

# **Language on stage**

**Particles in ancient Greek drama**

**Annemieke Drummen**



## Language on stage

### Particles in ancient Greek drama

This work is based on my doctoral thesis, which I successfully defended at the Department of Classics, Philosophical Faculty, University of Heidelberg, Germany, on 3 July, 2015. The original title of the thesis was *Dramatic pragmatics. A discourse approach to particle use in ancient Greek tragedy and comedy*.

Diese Arbeit basiert auf meiner Dissertation, die ich am 3. Juli 2015 am Seminar für Klassische Philologie an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg erfolgreich verteidigt habe. Der ursprüngliche Titel der Dissertation war *Dramatic pragmatics. A discourse approach to particle use in ancient Greek tragedy and comedy*.

Anna Maria Drummen

Heidelberg, 29 May, 2017

## Table of contents

<u>1. Introduction</u>	1
1.1 The drama corpus and its performative context	3
1.2 The innovations and characteristics of my work	5
1.3 Theoretical background: modern linguistic approaches	9
1.3.1 Terminology, definition, and classification	13
1.3.2 Different approaches in discourse-marker studies	19
1.3.2.1 Coherence approaches	20
1.3.2.2 Conversation Analysis	25
1.3.2.3 Relevance Theory	30
1.3.2.4 Construction Grammar	36
1.3.1 Further relevant studies from modern linguistics	42
1.3.4 Studies on particles and discourse markers in ancient Greek and Latin	45
1.3.5 Conclusions about modern linguistic approaches	52
<u>2. Distribution as input for interpretation</u>	54
2.1 Introduction	54
2.1.1 Theoretical background: registers and discourse patterns	55
2.1.2 Research on linguistic variation in ancient Greek drama	58
2.1.3 Methodology in this chapter	62
2.2 Distributions illuminating functions	66
2.2.1 δέ	66
2.2.2 και	74

2.2.3 τε	81
2.2.4 γάρ	92
2.2.5 γε and δῆτα	98
2.2.6 ἀλλά	104
2.2.7 μέν	109
2.2.8 δή	112
2.2.9 οὖν	118
2.2.10 ἤ	122
2.3 Conclusions	126
<b><u>3. Relevant repetitions</u></b>	<b>130</b>
3.1 Introduction	130
3.1.1 What is dialogic resonance?	131
3.1.2 Studies on resonance in modern languages	133
3.1.3 Studies on resonance in ancient Greek	135
3.1.4 This chapter	138
3.2 Resonance in tragedy and comedy	138
3.2.1 Functions of resonance	138
3.2.2 Resonance used by speaking characters	140
3.2.2.1 Resonance stressing unity of speakers and actions	140
3.2.2.2 Resonance stressing differences	145
3.2.3 Resonance used by playwrights	154
3.2.3.1 Resonance stressing a theme	154
3.2.3.2 Resonance characterizing a speaker and an interaction	162
3.2.3.3 Resonance used for humor	165

3.2.3.4 Resonance creating parody	170
3.3 The role of particles in the process of resonance	172
3.3.1 Particles indicating how resonance is used	172
3.3.1.1 γε	172
3.3.1.2 δέ γε/δέ... γε	175
3.3.1.3 δῆτα	178
3.3.1.4 καί	183
3.3.1.5 γάρ	187
3.3.2 Particles triggering resonance themselves	191
3.3 Summary and conclusions	194
<b><u>4. Conventions of composed conversation</u></b>	<b>198</b>
4.1 Introduction	198
4.1.1 Tragic and comic conversation	198
4.1.2 Conversation Analysis (CA)	201
4.1.3 Applying CA to particles in tragedy and comedy	210
4.2 Turn-taking	211
4.3 Sequence organization	215
4.3.1 Adjacency pairs and adjacency-pair series	216
4.3.2 Pair expansions	227
4.4 Preference organization	233
4.4.1 Preferred responses	234
4.4.2 Dispreferred responses	236
4.5 The actions performed by turns	238
4.6 Conclusions	252

<u>5. Calmness and agitation reflected in language</u>	254
5.1 Introduction	254
5.2 Approaches to emotions	257
5.2.1 Emotions in ancient Greek texts	257
5.2.2 Calmness versus agitation beyond ancient Greek	263
5.3 Reflections of calmness and agitation	266
5.3.1 Calmness	266
5.3.2 Agitation	281
5.4 The different emotional and interactional associations of γε in Aristophanes	287
5.4.1 γε in angry contexts	288
5.4.2 γε in stancetaking contexts	293
5.5 Two tragic case studies of calmness versus agitation	296
5.5.1 Sophocles' calm versus agitated Oedipus	296
5.5.2 Euripides' agitated Pentheus versus calm Dionysus	303
5.6 Conclusions	309
<u>6. The study of particles, and beyond</u>	314
6.1 Illuminating particle use in drama	314
6.2 Language on stage	321
<i>Bibliography</i>	326

# 1. Introduction

§1 The plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes are frequently read, studied, translated, and performed around the world. Innumerable people in the Western world have in some way come across the stories of the man who unwittingly killed his father and married his mother, the king who was murdered by his wife, or the woman who slaughtered her own children... Many, too, have enjoyed the humor of a sex strike creating peace, and of people dressing up as birds. In short, the ancient Greek tragedies and comedies written in the fifth century BCE are widely viewed as canonical. Because these plays are of such importance to our culture, even today, it is essential that we analyze and understand their original texts as carefully as possible. This task includes, among many other topics, investigating their language use, which is my focus. As drama consists of the representation of spoken dialogue, the linguistic connections between utterances by different speakers are of specific interest in this genre. In particular, I describe how we can better understand a group of peculiar words commonly called particles, which often have to do with such links across utterances and across speakers. I also explain how our deeper understanding of these words may refine our interpretations of the texts. To do so, I use concepts and methods drawn from modern linguistics. This introduction clarifies the nature and implications of my research corpus, the theoretical background with its issues and different approaches, the merits and characteristics of my work, and the topics of the individual chapters.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> This work is based on my PhD dissertation, defended at the University of Heidelberg in July 2015, with the title *Dramatic pragmatics. A discourse approach to particle use in ancient Greek tragedy and comedy*. This dissertation was assessed by Dr. Anna Bonifazi and PD Dr. Lothar Willms. I have undertaken most of the research within the Emmy-Noether project “The Pragmatic Functions and Meanings of Ancient Greek Particles,” carried out at the Classics



§2 Ancient Greek particles are uninflected function words, such as γε, δέ, and οὐν. They mainly signal relations between parts of a text and/or the speaker's attitude towards a text's content, rather than or in addition to expressing semantic or syntactic meanings. That is, particles indicate to a hearer or reader how to process the surrounding words. We will see that this general description in fact encompasses a wide range of very different functions.

§3 Particles populate every page of Greek literature, including tragedy and comedy, with high frequency and great variety. Understanding their uses is therefore helpful for the interpretation of these texts. However, the elusive nature and the multifunctionality of particles make their functions hard to grasp. Despite a long-standing tradition of Greek particle studies,<sup>2</sup> readers of Greek literature often do not fully appreciate these words' contributions to texts, or even ignore them altogether in interpretation.

§4 The solution lies in adopting a specific approach to particle use: one that takes into account more co-text than only the sentence in which a particle occurs, and more context than merely the co-occurring words. By applying such approach here, I provide new readings of ancient Greek particles, and new tools for analyzing and interpreting them. The resulting understanding of particles, I argue, is valuable for our reading and interpretation of the dramatic texts in general.

---

department of the University of Heidelberg (2010-2015). The other team members were Dr. Anna Bonifazi and Dr. Mark de Kreij. I have not been able to systematically take into account research that was published later.

<sup>2</sup> Although many works are less known or less available today, in fact no fewer than fourteen monographs on Greek particles have appeared between 1588 and 1995, not to mention the hundreds of insights in dedicated articles as well as entries in grammars, thesauruses, and lexica. The fourteen monographs are, in chronological order of the first editions: Devarius 1588, Hooegeveen 1769, Hartung 1832-1833, Stephens 1837, Bäumllein 1861, Paley 1881, Des Places 1929, Denniston 1934, Labéy 1950, Thrall 1962, Blomqvist 1969, Thyresson 1977, Sicking and Van Ophuijsen 1993, and Redondo Moyano 1995.

## 1.1 The drama corpus and its performative context

§5 The corpus for my research consists of three plays per author: Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, *Libation Bearers*, and *Persians*; Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Antigone*, and *Oedipus King*; Euripides' *Bacchae*, *Hippolytus*, and *Medea*; and Aristophanes' *Birds*, *Frogs*, and *Lysistrata*.<sup>3</sup> I will occasionally adduce examples and parallels from other plays by the same authors as well. Since tragedy takes up the lion's share of my corpus, it will receive more attention than comedy in my discussion, but most observations based on tragic material have also been checked in the comic material. All chapters include examples from each of the four playwrights.

§6 The dramas in my corpus were written for performances, consisting of several actors and chorus members who moved, gestured, danced, spoke, and/or sang. Most important for my current examination, in their capacity as characters they *interacted*. And of course, an audience was present at the performances to hear and see all of this. In line with these observations, I approach the tragedies and comedies as language meant for performance.<sup>4</sup> This does not mean, however, that I focus on anything else than the texts themselves: after all, the

---

<sup>3</sup> Unless otherwise noted, I have primarily used the editions from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Online*: Page 1972 for Aeschylus, Lloyd-Jones and Wilson 1990 for Sophocles, Diggle 1984 and 1994 for Euripides, Wilson 2007 for Aristophanes. For Aeschylus I have checked all examples in the edition by West 1998 [1990], and cite them from this more recent edition. I cite the translations from the most recent Loeb editions, unless indicated otherwise: for Aeschylus Sommerstein 2008a, 2008b; for Sophocles Lloyd-Jones 1997, 1998; for Euripides Kovacs 1998, 2001, 2002, 2005; for Aristophanes Henderson 1998a, 1998b, 2000, 2002. If these translations read a different Greek text than the edition I cite, I have adapted the translation accordingly.

<sup>4</sup> This general view on Greek drama has been common at least since Taplin's influential publications on tragedy (especially 1978 and 1989). It is adopted by e.g. Bain 1977 (on asides and other conventions in tragedy and comedy), Budelmann 2000 (on the language of Sophocles), Foley 2003 (on choral identity in Greek tragedy), Hesk 2007 (on combative strategies in Aristophanes). For me, this view forms a guiding perspective of my research; because my focus is on analyzing particle use, the scope of my work does not permit me to analyze the overarching concept of performance itself. See Willms 2014:134 for a recent theoretical discussion, with further references.

written words are all what remains from the performances of the fifth century BCE, and the other aspects of the originally multimodal event have to be inferred from these texts.<sup>5</sup>

§7 Recent literary and historical research has thrown light on various performative aspects of Classical drama. For example, costumes, masks, props, and gestures played a crucial role in the plot and meaning of tragedies.<sup>6</sup> Numerous studies, in addition, focus on the fifth-century audience, in particular their theatrical competence,<sup>7</sup> and their response to the performances.<sup>8</sup> Tragedy and comedy also carry political significance in their original context.<sup>9</sup> Analyses of the plays' later reception often focus on performance as well.<sup>10</sup> My work is complementary to the research on all of these topics, in that I focus on the linguistic part of the dramatic performance.

§8 Three implications of the performative context are especially relevant to my research. First, the language used in the plays can be assumed to be closer to real spoken dialogue than texts that were written to be either read or performed entirely by a single performer or single

---

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Willms 2014:129-130 on this inherent problem of the scholar of ancient drama. He writes, for instance: "Daß das antike Drama für uns also nur in seinem verschriftlichten Skelett faßbar ist, darf jedoch nicht den Blick auf seine einmalige mündliche Performanz verstellen" (130; "the fact that the ancient drama is, then, only visible for us in its scripted skeleton, may not, however, block our view on its one-time oral performance"). He also rightly points out that bodies and space cannot create meaning in ancient drama for us anymore, in contrast to modern performances (133); we therefore have to rely on the word as the sole meaning-carrying element (134).

<sup>6</sup> On costumes in Euripides, see e.g. Worman 1999. On tragic masks, see e.g. Wiles 2007 and Meineck 2011. On props in tragedy, see e.g. Sommerstein 2010 (on Aeschylus) and Mueller 2015. On gestures in tragedy, see e.g. Csapo 2002, and Mueller 2011. On gestures in tragedy and comedy, see e.g. Boegehold 1999. On various methodologies for analyzing all these performative aspects in tragedy, see e.g. Powers 2014. On comic masks, see e.g. Wiles 2008. On several performative aspects in Aristophanes, see e.g. Slater 2002 and Revermann 2006a.

<sup>7</sup> See Revermann 2006b.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Gruber 1986 on the audience response to Aristophanic and other comedies; Ruffell 2008 on audience response to Greek drama in general.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. Goldhill 2000 on tragedy and comedy; Slater 2002 on Aristophanes; Carter 2007 on tragedy; Sommerstein 2010 on Aeschylus.

<sup>10</sup> On modern performances of tragedy, see e.g. McDonald 1992; Foley 1999; Meineck 2013 (specifically on the chorus). On modern performances of Aristophanic comedy, see e.g. Van Steen 2000, and papers in Hall and Wrigley 2007 (eds.).

group of performers. Most importantly, the process of turn-taking (several speakers taking turns-at-talk after one another) found in normal spoken conversation is also present in dramatic dialogue, although we have to keep in mind that the dramas are instantiations of stylized poetry. What's more, particle use forms one of the rhetorical tools with which a poet can stylize the fictional orality of the plays, for example by choosing different particle constructions in different parts of a fictional exchange. Second, there are particularly salient and crucial differences among the parts of the plays. Dialogues, monologues, and lyric songs—the three main components of the plays—do not only differ in their metrical structures and linguistic features, but they were performed in fundamentally divergent ways, because of variation in the number of the speakers (one or more) and their type (character or chorus). This is considerably different for non-dramatic texts: although these may include passages of direct speech or variations in meter, they were continuously performed, or read, by one person or one group. This observation is related to a third point: while multiple opinions or viewpoints are regularly signaled implicitly in non-dramatic texts, in drama they are often explicitly present. That is to say, the utterances attributable to different (fictional) sources, i.e. the characters, were actually spoken by different actors embodying these characters. In general, then, the mimetic nature of dramatic texts is decisive for the creation of certain aspects of meaning.<sup>11</sup>

## 1.2 The innovations and characteristics of my work

§9 My work fills a gap in previous research on ancient Greek language and literature. For instance, commentators on tragedy and comedy do sometimes remark on uses of particles, and

---

<sup>11</sup> See Willms 2014 on the creative power of mimesis in ancient drama (113), with reference to Aristotle's *Poetics* and to Halliwell 2002. The concept of mimesis does not simply refer to "imitation," Willms explains (113), but plays a crucial role in artistic creation. This fundamental aspect distinguishes drama from the Platonic dialogue (30).

thereby explicitly or implicitly note recurring co-textual patterns.<sup>12</sup> However, because of the approach and aims of their work they do not analyze the interaction between certain pragmatic phenomena and certain particle constructions in a systematic way. They also frequently interpret a particle's function in a specific way without clarifying their reasons. Many other scholars offer useful observations on particles in their research on a particular topic, such as the style of one playwright,<sup>13</sup> the regularities of specific parts of the plays,<sup>14</sup> or the use of linguistic forms other than particles.<sup>15</sup> Particle use is however not their main focus. Another limitation, from my perspective in this work, is that these studies tend to concern one author or genre only; in contrast, I discuss and compare particle use across four authors and two genres, and my work has additionally been informed by research on particle use in epic, lyric, and historiography. Moreover, most previous scholarship does not apply a theoretical approach based on modern linguistics, and therefore does not systematically identify relevant co-textual or contextual features of particle constructions, or even leaves these features out of consideration.

---

<sup>12</sup> Examples are Wecklein 1902 *ad Aeschylus' Suppliant Women* 507 (see chapter 4 §51); Fraenkel 1950 *ad Aeschylus' Agamemnon* 1286 (see chapter 3 §80); Finglass 2011 *ad Sophocles' Ajax* 1332 (see chapter 4 §44); Elmsley 1821 *ad Euripides' Bacchae* 499 (see chapter 5 §82n114); Mastronarde 2002 *ad Euripides' Medea* 698 (see chapter 4 §62); Dunbar 1995 *ad Aristophanes' Birds* 1327 (see chapter 5 §61n92); Platnauer 1964 and Olson 1998 *ad Aristophanes' Peace* 628 (see chapter 2 §83).

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. Earp 1944 on the style of Sophocles, 1948 on the style of Aeschylus; Willi 2010b on the language of Old Comedy; Goldhill 2012 on the language of Sophocles.

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. Hancock 1917 on stichomythia in tragedy; Ireland 1974 on stichomythia in Aeschylus; Pfeiffer-Petersen 1996 on stichomythia in Sophocles; J. Barrett 2002 on tragic messenger speeches; Van Wolferen 2003 on Euripidean prologues; Schuren 2015 on Euripidean stichomythia.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Werres 1936 on swearing expressions in Aristophanes; Stevens 1976 on colloquial expressions in Euripides; Kloss 2001 on humor in Aristophanes; R.J. Allan 2007 (on Thucydides) and 2009 (on Euripides) on narrative modes; Van Emde Boas 2010 and 2017 on conversational phenomena in Euripides; Willi 2010a on register variation in drama and other genres; Rutherford 2012 on tragic language.

§10 Because of its focus, approach, and scope, my work throws new light on particle use in tragedy and comedy, and thereby sharpens our readings of these important texts.<sup>16</sup> These playwrights were not only masters of storytelling, staging, suspense, philosophy, politics, and poetic rhythm, but also of language use. Particle use, indeed, reflects many aspects of communication, such as argumentative structures, characterization, and emotions. If we manage to understand the use of particles better, passages can thus gain more expressive, thematic, or aesthetic power, for example because a character's attitude becomes clearer, or because similarities or differences between text parts stand out. In other words, once we discern these fine strokes of the poets' paintings, the entire works of art will shine to us all the more.

§11 I argue, then, that the analysis of particle use is useful to the literary interpretation of texts, and that a pragmatic approach is ideally suited for such analysis. Particles do not express meaning in isolation: they always work together in constructions with other linguistic or situational features.<sup>17</sup> On their own, particles can never be “explanatory,” “indignant,” “progressive,” or the like, as they are sometimes labeled. The relations among different constructions of individual particles point to multifunctionality.

§12 When a particle's co-text includes another particle, I speak of particle combinations. In case the particle combination arguably carries a distinct function, I call it a cluster. A cluster's function is not simply the sum of its component parts' functions; rather, the different particles have a joint pragmatic function. An example is μὲν οὖν in some of its uses (see chapter 2 §83).

---

<sup>16</sup> In-depth literary analyses of the cited passages fall outside the scope of my work. It is my goal to gain a better understanding of particle use, not to present new interpretations of the plays in their own right. My work unravels the poets' communicative strategies and hints at consequences for our interpretations, thereby providing other scholars with a clearer textual basis for their investigations.

<sup>17</sup> This view is reminiscent of Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd century CE) and Heliodorus (probably ninth century CE), who use the term συσημαίνειν (“co-signifying”) when discussing σύνδεσμοι (“combiners”). See Apollonius Dyscolus, *Syntax*, I.11.3-7 and I.14; Heliodorus, *Commentary to Dionysius Thrax* (p. 102 in the edition of Hilgard 1901).

In other cases, though, adjacent particles have separate functions, and the two items do not work as a cluster.

§13 A co-textual feature that is often essential for a particle’s interpretation is its position. The reason is that the position of any particle is linked to its scope. I use the term “scope” in a broad sense, referring to the text segment over which a particle’s contribution has effect.<sup>18</sup> When a particle is found in its first possible position—i.e. at the very start of a clause for prepositives such as ἀλλά, ἤ, or καί, or in peninitial position for postpositives such as γε, δέ, or μέν—it tends to have scope over the entire clause hosting it. Some particles (for example γε, δή, and καί) can also have smaller scope, over only an adjacent word or phrase; this is the most likely reading when those particles occur in a later position in a clause (see e.g. chapter 2 §79 on δή). In combination with other features, particles with clause scope may also mark major transitions, or project large speech units. An example is οὖν marking a preliminary question within a larger dialogue sequence (see chapter 4 §43).

§14 In the following chapters I regularly refer to functions that concern language use as “*de dicto*,” in order to distinguish them from “*de re*” functions that concern content.<sup>19</sup> For instance, γάρ used *de re* signals that the speaker presents one event, in the world spoken about, as the cause or explanation of another. An English example would be “I will sacrifice to the gods *because* they have helped me.” When γάρ marks a *de dicto* relation the speaker explains why she uttered a previous speech segment (as in “*because* you know the answer” after asking a question).<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Other scholars call a specific group of particles “scope particles”; see e.g. De Bakker, Van Emde Boas, Huitink, and Rijksbaron forthcoming 2017; Sicking 1986:125, 135, 138; Wakker 1994:307-342, 363-364.

<sup>19</sup> On *de re* vs. *de dicto*, see e.g. Torck 1996:48; Ferrari, Cignetti, De Cesare, Lala, Mandelli, Ricci, and Roggia 2008:37; Béguelin 2010:18-19.

<sup>20</sup> I discuss these uses of γάρ, with similar examples from the Greek, in chapter 2 §§50-57.

§15 All in all, my approach to particle use implies paying attention to various aspects of communication, alongside the syntactic organization of texts and the semantics of their content. I analyze particles and particle combinations within their co-text (co-occurring verbal features) and extralinguistic context. In other words, in my interpretations I combine syntactic and semantic evidence with implications of the communicative context and the general organization of texts. My analyses concern global issues, such as the distributions discussed in chapter 2 and certain uses of resonance in chapter 3, as well as local issues, such as many close readings of individual passages, or the use of a certain particle construction to highlight a speaker's hostility (see chapter 5). The local and global findings complement and inform each other. In total, my research refines the interpretation of many aspects of the dramas.

### **1.3 Theoretical background: modern linguistic approaches**

§16 Because of the importance of drama's performative context, a linguistic analysis of these texts requires a perspective that takes into account segments beyond the sentence level, as well as extralinguistic aspects of a communicative situation. In modern linguistics such approach is called a "discourse" perspective. This term needs clarification, because it is used in two fundamentally different ways.

§17 One research tradition builds on ideas of the philosopher Foucault, the most influential scholar concerning this use of the concept. In this field, the word refers to a cultural concept: all texts, opinions, and thoughts about a certain socially relevant topic in a certain community and a certain time period.<sup>21</sup> In this sense, we can speak about "the current discourse on climate change," for example, or "the democratic discourse in fifth-century Athens." Spitzmüller and

---

<sup>21</sup> See Foucault 1966 and 1971 for the original ideas about "discourse": he describes especially how the combined utterances that constitute a discourse in a certain culture are structured according to specific rules; these ordering principles impose boundaries on what is allowed to be said about a certain topic. See also Spitzmüller and Warnke 2011:75-78, and Egglar 2015 for discussion of Foucault's concept of discourse.



Warnke define the concept within this research tradition as a “Formationssystem von Aussagen, das auf kollektives, handlungsleitendes und sozial stratifizierendes Wissen verweist” (“formative system of utterances which refers to collective, action-guiding, and socially stratifying knowledge,” 2011:9).<sup>22</sup> Such “discourses” can be described in the plural as well. This concept is not my focus here; by extension, this is not how I use the term.

§18 The second use of “discourse” occurs only in the singular. It is related to the first use, but crucially different: Spitzmüller and Warnke summarize it as a “größere Äußerungseinheit oder auch eine durch Interaktivität gekennzeichnete sprachliche Entität” (“larger unit of utterances or a linguistic element characterized by interactivity,” 2011:9). In this sense, “discourse” refers to language as it is being communicated. This is the prevalent use of the term in modern linguistics with a pragmatic perspective (see the next paragraph), including countless publications on classical languages.<sup>23</sup> The fact that the concept has often been used to analyze ancient literature clarifies that it may involve both spoken and written language: in fact it is not restricted to one particular medium or context.<sup>24</sup> It thus encompasses all varieties such as different literary genres or registers. Because of the focus on communication, discourse in this sense is always situated: spoken or written utterances inherently occur in a specific context.<sup>25</sup> Adopting a discourse-analytic perspective means paying attention to the

---

<sup>22</sup> On the—difficult and disputed—definition(s) of “discourse” in this sense, see also e.g. Bendel Larcher 2015:11-15. She draws attention, for example, to the wide range of meaning of the term (“ein Begriff mit unterschiedlicher Reichweite,” 15): from a research corpus of texts on a certain theme to everything that can be said, written, or thought about that theme in a certain time period and culture.

<sup>23</sup> To mention only examples of monographs on Greek and Latin, see e.g. Rijksbaron 1991, Kroon 1995, E.J. Bakker 1997a, Buijs 2005, Minchin 2007, Adema 2008, S.J. Bakker and Wakker 2009, Runge 2010, Scheppers 2011, Huitink 2012, Schuren 2015, Soltic 2015, and Goldstein 2016.

<sup>24</sup> This means that Bendel Larcher 2015:23 and Spitzmüller and Warnke 2011:9 are not entirely correct when they suggest that this use of the term involves only spoken language, although this is the most central use.

<sup>25</sup> See e.g. Schiffrin 1994 on the inherent situatedness of discourse.

contexts in which language is produced, delivered, and/or received.<sup>26</sup> In particular, it means taking into account larger units than sentences, a method that is crucial to the analysis of particles.<sup>27</sup> My research, then, has been informed by this concept of discourse; however, because the term can be confusing, I use a clearer terminology when possible.

§19 Even more fundamental for my research is the broader perspective on language that is called pragmatics. This is “a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour.”<sup>28</sup> The object under investigation is language in use, with special attention to the influences of the nonverbal dimension of communication, as well as to the ways in which speakers convey meaning without explicitly saying it. For a pragmatic analysis of a linguistic segment, then, one always needs more context than an artificially isolated sentence. It is generally relevant who the speaker or writer is, what her communicative goals are, to whom the utterance is addressed, what is said or written before and after, and so on. A pragmatic approach can illuminate any type of linguistic communication, including the literary dramas of the ancient playwrights. Since the interpretation of particles depends on the co-text and context in which they occur, pragmatics is particularly illuminating for the analysis of particle use.

§20 In this section I will discuss several modern linguistic approaches that are useful to the study of particles, because they have provided insights into functionally similar words in modern languages, and methods for the analysis of such words. I will first describe the main theoretical issues that are important in this kind of research, and give an overview of several

---

<sup>26</sup> See Brown and Yule 1983 for an introduction to Discourse Analysis.

<sup>27</sup> Discourse Analysis shares this attention to larger linguistic units with narratology, a method that has been ever more prevalent in the study of ancient texts. See e.g. De Jong 1987 on the *Iliad*, 2001 on Euripidean messenger speeches, 2012 (ed.) on space in several Greek genres; Van Wolferen 2003 on Euripidean prologues; Grethlein and Rengakos 2009 (eds.) on several ancient genres. Narratological studies, however, do not systematically comment on particle use; moreover, they tend to analyze only narrative texts.

<sup>28</sup> Verschueren 1999:7.

frameworks that are often applied. Subsequent subsections will briefly discuss other relevant background from modern linguistic studies, as well as existing applications of the aforementioned approaches to Greek and Latin. The survey is intended to provide a context for my research by familiarizing the reader with the cross-disciplinary antecedents to my work.

§21 It is useful to be informed about general principles of verbal communication when investigating Greek particles, because ancient Greek, regardless of specific literary genres, was used for communication just like any language spoken and written today. In this fundamental assumption I employ a broad definition of “communication,” subsuming, for example, all six “functions of language” proposed by Jakobson 1960: the referential, emotive, conative, phatic, metalingual, and poetic functions. Indeed, Jakobson himself (353, 357) sees communication as the umbrella concept of all these. I also agree with Jakobson that it is hardly possible to “find verbal messages that would fulfill only one function” (353). In languages around the world, words functionally similar to Greek particles are found, also in literary works, and the research on these kinds of words has grown extraordinarily in the last few decades. If the differences in research material are carefully kept in mind, analyses of spoken language can illuminate communicative processes in written language as well, since all written language is ultimately based on speech. All in all, therefore, classicists can profit from contemporary approaches to particles and discourse markers, in working to refine understanding of the communicative role of Greek particles.<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> The study of particles may also profit from contemporary frameworks of a more general nature and their applications, that is, from research that does not (usually) deal with particles or discourse markers, but with general pragmatic and cognitive phenomena. Consider for example general analyses of narrative, which illustrate that this kind of communication comes in many varieties, such as oral vs. written, and conversational vs. literary. The studies provide insight into e.g. the stories’ internal structure and transitions, their formulaic nature, and the cognitive processing of anaphoric expressions. Oral narrative, mainly in conversational settings, is the focus of e.g. Georgakopoulou 1997 and 2007; Norrick 2000; papers in Schiffrin, De Fina, and Nylund 2010; and Rühlemann 2013 (this book includes remarks on the functions of *oh* and *well* in English conversational narrative). In contrast,

§22 For the overview I have selected four approaches that are employed frequently in discourse-marker studies and that I consider productive in certain respects. For each approach I will sketch its theoretical substance and provide a sample analysis. Before describing the four approaches, however, I will outline certain theoretical issues common to all of them.

### 1.3.1 Terminology, definition, and classification

§23 The same three related issues recur in many studies of particles and discourse markers across languages: terminology, definition, and classification. They are inextricably linked, and will therefore be discussed together. Each of these issues has troubled the scholars working in this field, regardless of the selected language. First, how to call words that, rather than modifying propositional content, mainly have pragmatic functions? Many scholars point to this problem of terminology, noting that many different terms are used for roughly the same group of words in several languages. The term “discourse marker” is the most well-known and frequently used, but many other terms exist.<sup>30</sup> The four most frequent terms are “discourse marker,”<sup>31</sup> “pragmatic marker,”<sup>32</sup> “discourse particle,”<sup>33</sup> and “pragmatic particle.”<sup>34</sup> The

---

Sanford and Emmott 2012, for instance, focus on written narrative, adopting a cognitive approach. Examples of other useful general frameworks besides narrative studies are the Birmingham and Geneva schools on discourse structure and segmentation; cognitive linguistics; register studies (see chapter 2); and dialogic syntax (see chapter 3).

<sup>30</sup> Brinton 1996:29 cites the following other terms: “comment clause, connective, continuer, discourse connective, discourse-deictic item, discourse operator, discourse particle, discourse-shift marker, discourse word, filler, fumble, gambit, hedge, initiator, interjection, marker, marker of pragmatic structure, parenthetical phrase, (void) pragmatic connective, pragmatic expression, pragmatic particle, and reaction signal.” Brinton is herself the first to use “pragmatic marker” instead. Taboada 2006:572 adds even more terms: “coherence discourse markers, (...) lexical discourse markers, (...) sentence connectives, cue phrases, clue words, discourse signalling devices”.

<sup>31</sup> The term “discourse marker” is used by e.g. Schiffrin 1987, 2006; Brinton 1990; Redeker 1990, 2006; Jucker 1993, 1997; Fludernik 1995, 2000; Lenk 1997; Bell 1998; Jucker and Ziv 1998a, 1998b; Lenk 1998; Hansen 1998a; Risselada and Sporeen 1998; Rouchota 1998; Fraser 1999; Schourup 1999; Bazzanella and Morra 2000; Archakis 2001; Norrick 2001; Waring 2003; Maschler 2003, 2009; Fleischmann and Yaguello 2004; Onodera 2004; Bazzanella 2006; Bolden 2006, 2009; Fox Tree 2006; Stvan 2006; Taboada 2006; Yang 2006; Furman and Özyürek 2007; Cuenca and Marín

important terminological distinctions, then, are between “marker” and “particle,” and between “discourse” and “pragmatic.”

§24 Different scholars use “marker” and “particle” in different ways: they may refer to the same class of words, to two different, possibly overlapping classes, or to a class and its subclass.<sup>35</sup> Schourup 1999:229 and Fischer 2006b:4, among others, argue that “particle” concerns the form and syntactic behavior of the words, whereas “marker” is a functional term. Particles are small, uninflected words that are only loosely integrated into the sentence structure, or not at all. Fischer adds that the term “particle” implies a contrast with clitics, full words, and bound morphemes, as well as with larger entities, such as phrasal idioms. As for the difference between “discourse” and “pragmatic,” choosing one or the other often has theoretical and methodological implications.<sup>36</sup> Scholars who speak of “discourse markers” tend

---

2009; Fairbanks 2009; Fuami 2009; Pons Bordería and Estellés Arguedas 2009; Christodoulidou 2011; Lee-Goldman 2011; Lewis 2011; Schourup 2011; Mazeland 2012; and Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2012.

<sup>32</sup> The term “pragmatic marker” is used by e.g. Brinton 1996, 2006; Andersen 1998, 2001; Andersen and Fretheim 2000; Erman 2001; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2004; González 2004; Aijmer, Foolen, and Simon-Vandenberg 2006; Defour 2008; Norrick 2009a, 2009b; Feng 2010; Fischer 2010; and Aijmer 2013.

<sup>33</sup> The term “discourse particle” is used by e.g. Schourup 1982; Abraham 1991; Hansen 1998b; Hakulinen 1998, 2001; Fischer 2000, 2006a, 2006b; Aijmer 2002; Yılmaz 2004; Bolden 2008; Lam 2009; Briz and Estellés 2010; Mazeland and Plug 2010; and Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2010.

<sup>34</sup> The term “pragmatic particle” is used by e.g. Hölker 1990; Östman 1991, 1995; Foolen 1996; Kirsner and Van Heuven 1999; Fujii 2000; Beeching 2002; Fried and Östman 2005; Mišković-Luković 2009; and Denis 2015.

Note that Aijmer, Brinton, Fischer, Hansen, Mišković-Luković and Dedaić, Norrick, and Schourup use different terms in different publications: “discourse particle” in Schourup 1982, Hansen 1998b, Fischer 2000, 2006a, 2006b, Aijmer 2002, and Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2010; “discourse marker” in Brinton 1990, Hansen 1998a, Schourup 1999, 2011, Norrick 2001, and Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2012; “pragmatic marker” in Brinton 1996, 2006, Norrick 2009a, 2009b, Fischer 2010, and Aijmer 2013; “pragmatic particle” in Mišković-Luković 2009.

<sup>35</sup> See Hölker 1990:81; Lenk 1997:1; 1998:1, 37; Jucker and Ziv 1998b:2; Andersen and Fretheim 2000:1; Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2010:4-5. See also Degand, Cornillie, and Pietrandrea (eds.) 2013a, and the editors’ introduction to that volume, for elaborate discussion of this problem of definition. The editors conclude that “DMs [discourse markers] and MPs [modal particles] are two subclasses of the general class of pragmatic markers.” (2013b:15)

<sup>36</sup> See e.g. Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2010:2-3.

to consider these words as primarily playing a role in coherence,<sup>37</sup> whereas those who use the term “pragmatic markers” often focus on how they constrain a hearer’s or reader’s inferential processes in utterance interpretation.<sup>38</sup> It is evident, then, that although the four main terms (discourse vs. pragmatic, and marker vs. particle) refer to functionally comparable words, they are—consciously or unconsciously—associated with different perspectives. For economy, I will henceforth use “discourse marker,” the most common term, as an umbrella term in my discussion of studies from modern linguistics, except when referring to specific studies that employ a different term.<sup>39</sup>

§25 How to define discourse markers as a category is another issue. Different scholars often stipulate different criteria, even when they use the same terms.<sup>40</sup> This issue is closely intertwined with that of delineating the category.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore hard to decide which words should be included and which should not. If one takes a functional approach, there can be no finite and exclusive list of lexical items, since many words can be used both propositionally and as discourse markers. Often intuition seems to be involved, as researchers tend to be native speakers of the language under discussion. One classification strategy is to contrast discourse markers with other categories, such as conjunctions, but this dichotomy has been criticized.<sup>42</sup> In sum, while scholars disagree about which criteria to use, they tend to agree that the boundaries of the discourse-marker category are fuzzy: it is unclear where exactly the category, however defined, ends.

---

<sup>37</sup> For example Schiffrin 1987, Lenk 1998, Taboada 2006. See also §§24-30 below on coherence-based approaches to discourse markers.

<sup>38</sup> For example Andersen 2001.

<sup>39</sup> See §61 below for discussion of my choice of the term “particle” for my own analyses.

<sup>40</sup> See e.g. Schourup 1999 for an elaborate overview, and Taboada 2006:572 for a concise one.

<sup>41</sup> Regardless of the criteria chosen, all scholars consider some members of the class prototypical, that is, as satisfying all criteria, and others peripheral, satisfying only some. See Jucker and Ziv 1998b:2-3.

<sup>42</sup> See e.g. Georgakopoulos and Goutsos 1998, and papers in Laury 2008.

§26 One commonly-used criterion for discourse markers is the idea that they do not contribute to the propositional or truth-conditional content of their host utterance.<sup>43</sup> In addition to that characteristic, Hölker 1990:78-80 lists the following criteria to define what he calls “pragmatic particles” in French: they do not have a referential or denotative function; and they are very loosely integrated into the sentence, that is, they are syntactically flexible.<sup>44</sup> Brinton 1996:33-34 adds the following features as prototypical of what she calls “pragmatic markers” in English:<sup>45</sup> they are used more frequently in spoken than in written language; they have a high frequency in spoken language; they are negatively evaluated in written or formal language; they tend to be short items, often unstressed; they may form separate tone groups; they are often sentence-initial; they often have no clear grammatical function; they are syntactically optional; they are marginal in terms of word class; they are multifunctional; and they seem to be used more in women’s than in men’s speech. With Brinton, Onodera 2011:620-623 also stresses the criterion that discourse markers occur predominantly in initial position in units of talk. She compares the markers (cross-linguistically) to traffic signs that mark a speed limit at the entrance rather than the end of a street. However, Brinton 1996:33 notes that pragmatic markers actually occur in other positions as well.<sup>46</sup> In addition to these criteria, several discourse-marker analyses emphasize the importance of prosody: different prosodic

---

<sup>43</sup> This criterion is used by e.g. Hölker 1990:78; Brinton 1996:6; Lenk 1997; Risselada and Spooren 1998:131; Schourup 1999:232; Imo 2013:159, 180. However, Andersen 2001:40 argues that “non-propositionality is only partly a valid criterion, because some pragmatic markers can be seen to have truth-conditional implications.” Andersen’s research concerns English, but his point also holds for several Greek particles: the same word may have propositional uses as well as non-propositional ones. I do not adopt non-propositionality as a defining criterion of ancient Greek particles, despite its centrality in many discourse-marker studies. Instead, I aim to explore the different uses of these polyfunctional words without being potentially restricted by *a priori* distinctions.

<sup>44</sup> The criterion of syntactic flexibility is also stated by e.g. Fischer 2006b:4; Lenk 1997:2; Schourup 1999:242; Imo 2013:180.

<sup>45</sup> Beeching 2002 on French pragmatic particles follows Brinton’s definition apart from the criterion of sentence-initial position.

<sup>46</sup> See also Fischer 2000 on discourse particles (in her terminology) in different positions of a turn.

realizations of the same lexical item may distinguish between the item's use as a propositional adverb and its use as a discourse marker, or between different discourse-marker uses.<sup>47</sup>

§27 Defining criteria are usually based on English discourse markers, and are not necessarily valid for functionally analogous words in other languages. For example, many particles in German and Dutch cannot occupy the first position of an utterance (e.g., in some of their uses, German *halt*, *ja*, *zwar*, and Dutch *even*, *maar*, *nou*).<sup>48</sup> More fundamentally, the English language and the cultural values attached to it are often mistakenly seen as the general human norm, as e.g. Wierzbicka 2006:11-13 discusses.<sup>49</sup> However, studies have appeared on discourse markers in many other languages, among them several non-Indo-European ones.<sup>50</sup>

§28 Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2010 summarize the definition issue as follows. After noting that there is little consensus about which words exactly should fall within categories such as “discourse particles,” they add:

---

<sup>47</sup> See e.g. Ferrara 1997 on the different prosodic profiles of *anyway* signaling different functions; Yang 2006 on the prosody of Chinese discourse markers; and Barth-Weingarten 2012 on *and*. Already Weydt 1969 offers insightful remarks on the prosodic realizations of German particles (e.g. on 39, 45-47, 55-58); however, he uses constructed examples.

<sup>48</sup> See e.g. Weydt 1969 and Abraham 1991 for early studies on German particles. For comparisons of cognate German and Dutch particles, see e.g. Foolen 2006 (*doch* vs. *toch*); Van Bergen, Van Gijn, Hogeweg, and Lestrade 2011 (*eigentlich* vs. *eigenlijk*).

<sup>49</sup> Wierzbicka 1986:519 even claims that the relative neglect of (in her terminology) particles in linguistic theory until at least 1986 was partly due to the focus on English, in which the role of particles is relatively limited. On the prevalence of discourse-marker studies on English, see also Schourup 1999:261 (this prevalence was even greater at the time than it is now).

<sup>50</sup> Examples of discourse-marker studies on non-Indo-European languages are R. Blass 1990 on Sissala (a language spoken in Ghana and Burkina Faso); Luke 1990 on Cantonese Chinese; Copeland 1997 on Tarahumara (a Mexican indigenous language); Fujii 2000 and Onodera 2004 on Japanese; Wouk 2001 on Indonesian; Walrod 2006 on Philippine languages; Yilmaz 2004 and Furman and Özyürek 2007 on Turkish; Keevallik 2008 and Valdmets 2013 on Estonian; Laury and Seppänen 2008 on Finnish; Fairbanks 2009 on Ojibwe (an endangered North-American language); Maschler 2009 on Hebrew; Dér and Markó 2010 on Hungarian; Feng 2010 on Chinese; Chang and Su 2012 on Taiwanese; Masinyana 2013 on Xhosa (a South African language).



What seems uncontroversial, though, is the versatile nature of such linguistic phenomena – morphologically, syntactically, distributionally and functionally, they do not form a class. However, they do form a “class” in another important respect – these linguistic encoders facilitate the process of utterance understanding not as syntactically-integrated constituents of the proposition expressed by an utterance, but as pointers to the ways the basic proposition or message should be taken by the addressee.

Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2010:2

This perspective is close to the one taken by Andersen 2001:41, who considers the most central feature of pragmatic markers their ability to “guide the hearer in utterance interpretation and constrain the identification of the intended explicit and implicit meaning of an utterance.”<sup>51</sup> Wierzbicka 1986:524 makes the “pointing” or “guiding” metaphor explicit: some particles (in her terminology) may function as “road signs in conversational exchanges or in discourse structure.”<sup>52</sup>

§29 In general, what connects words that are considered discourse markers is not their form, but their guiding function in utterance processing or in interaction. This general function can be subdivided: for example, Andersen 2001:26 describes the “main aspects of marker meaning” as subjective (referring to the speaker’s attitude toward a proposition), interactional (concerning the hearer’s relation, as perceived by the speaker, to a proposition),

---

<sup>51</sup> See Lenk 1997 for a similar view.

<sup>52</sup> For this metaphor, see also Onodera 2011:620-623 (referred to in §26 above). Similarly, Rijksbaron 1997b:14 compares Greek particles to “policemen controlling the traffic,” following Jespersen 1933:404, who compares particles and other small words to policemen that direct the other words to their proper place in the hearer’s brain.

and textual (involving coherence relations). Others posit different subcategories.<sup>53</sup> What all discourse-marker studies share, however, is a focus on functions and meanings that transcend the transfer of referential information: they rather concern aspects such as those mentioned by Andersen. In order to get a grip in this kind of functions and meanings, different approaches are available, to which I will now turn.

### 1.3.2 Different approaches in discourse-marker studies

§30 Different approaches to discourse markers illuminate their uses in different ways. I will introduce four: coherence approaches, Conversation Analysis, Relevance Theory, and Construction Grammar.<sup>54</sup> I will describe the theoretical substance of each approach, give a sample analysis, and discuss the advantages of each. All examples of discourse markers from modern languages are complemented by examples from my ancient Greek drama corpus, in order to highlight similarities and differences in functions and interpretation. It is not my goal to fully analyze these Greek particle instances here, let alone the entire passages cited. Rather, the examples serve to broadly compare communicative situations and functions across languages, in order to clarify the usefulness of considering such situations and functions—alongside other factors—in our interpretation of Greek particles.

---

<sup>53</sup> On the (functional) subclassification within the category of discourse markers, see e.g. Schiffrin 1987:e.g. 316-317; Brinton 1996:36-39; Fraser 1999; Louwse and Mitchell 2003.

<sup>54</sup> Aijmer 2002:7-8 mentions a different list of useful approaches to discourse particles (in her terminology), noting that only formal grammar seems to have less to say about such words. A formal, i.e. generative approach assumes that language users construct new utterances on the basis of subconscious rules, rather than from their knowledge of specific instances in context. Surprisingly (in view of the emphasis on non-propositional functions and context-dependence in discourse-marker studies), Urgelles-Coll 2010 does use a generative approach in her monograph on English *anyway*. See also e.g. Feng 2010:165-181 and Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2011 for elaborate overviews of discourse-marker approaches.

### 1.3.2.1 Coherence approaches

§31 Schiffrin's influential 1987 monograph on discourse markers focuses primarily on the role of discourse markers in coherence:

The analysis of discourse markers is part of the more general analysis of discourse coherence—how speakers and hearers jointly integrate forms, meanings, and actions to make overall sense out of what is said (...).

Schiffrin 1987:49<sup>55</sup>

Schiffrin defines discourse markers as verbal devices independent of sentential structure (32), “which provide contextual coordinates for ongoing talk” (41). Discourse markers, in other words, establish connections between linguistic units and parts of their context. Crucially, this functional definition encompasses items from different word classes, such as conjunctions, adverbs, and verb phrases (40).

§32 Schiffrin inspired many scholars to investigate discourse markers as connected to discourse coherence.<sup>56</sup> Though the precise definition and classification of discourse markers

---

<sup>55</sup> Schiffrin (9-10) builds on Halliday and Hasan 1976, who describe how certain linguistic forms work as cohesive devices. These forms indicate how different units of discourse relate to each other, but do not themselves create the relations. On the general concept of discourse coherence Schiffrin (21-22) follows Gumperz (e.g. 1982), who argues that hearers infer speakers' intentions through situated interpretation: coherence depends on the speaker's integration of verbal and nonverbal cues to situate a message, and the hearer's ability to interpret these cues as a totality. On Gumperz' notion of “contextualization cues” (coined in Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1976), see also chapter 4 §12.

<sup>56</sup> Other applications of a coherence-based approach include Redeker 1990 on a subclassification of discourse markers; Maschler 1998; 2003; 2009 on several Hebrew discourse markers; Risselada and Spooren 1998 on discourse markers and coherence relations; Bazzanella and Morra 2000 on translating English discourse markers into Italian; Norrick 2001 on discourse markers in English oral narrative; González 2004 on pragmatic markers in English and Catalan oral narrative; Aijmer, Foolen, and Simon-Vandenberg 2006 on a methodological proposal concerning pragmatic markers in translation; Taboada 2006 on discourse markers and rhetorical relations; Fairbanks 2009 on discourse markers in Ojibwe; Pons Bordería and Estellés Arguedas 2009 on Spanish digressive

vary among the studies, all these scholars consider such words to contribute to the coherence or structure of discourse. Their aim is usually to describe the core meanings or functions of a certain discourse marker, and to identify contextual features, both verbal and nonverbal, that play a role in their interpretation. Methodologies include classifying functions across communicative domains or discourse types, and comparing different discourse markers, both within one language and cross-linguistically. Coherence approaches have been applied to the analysis of both spoken and written language.

§33 Let us have a look at a sample analysis: the description of English *well* by Aijmer 2013. The author builds on various pragmatic approaches, thereby extending the one of Schiffrin: Aijmer considers coherence to be just one of the factors playing a role in the functions of pragmatic markers (her term).<sup>57</sup> In her study of *well*, she investigates the marker in different communicative situations, such as face-to-face conversations, courtroom interviews, and radio discussions. Discourse markers such as *well*, she argues (148), have specific functions depending on the situation. Consider the following example:

(t1)

A: One's about human brain and language, and the other's about this guy called Chomsky who's uh, well one of the world's most important human beings if you happen to be interested in linguistics.

---

markers; Aijmer 2013 on several English pragmatic markers. See also Lenk 1998:1, who considers the main function of discourse markers to be “to signal structural organization within discourse.”

<sup>57</sup> In particular, Aijmer adopts the recently developed framework of variational pragmatics, an approach that studies language use as influenced by regional as well as social differences. See Barron 2014 for a concise overview of variational pragmatics, and Schneider and Barron 2008 for several papers using this approach.

Fragment of a telephone conversation from Aijmer 2013:32, transcript slightly  
simplified<sup>58</sup>

Aijmer notes that this *well* “reflects [the speaker’s] ongoing cognitive process,” in a use belonging to unplanned, spoken language.<sup>59</sup> She interprets the marker here as connected to word search, one of the functions connected to coherence: *well* “signals that the speaker has found the right expression.”

§34 As a functionally comparable instance of a Greek particle combination, consider  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  in (t2), where Agathon suggests an object as an alternative to Euripides’ suggestion:<sup>60</sup>

(t2)

Ευ. κεκρυφάλου δεῖ καὶ μίτρας.

Eu. We need a hairnet and a hat.

Αγ. ἤδι  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  (257bis)<sup>61</sup>

Ag. Even better, this wig that I wear after

κεφαλή περίθετος, ἦν ἐγὼ νύκτωρ φορῶ.      dark.

Aristophanes’ *Women at the Thesmophoria* 257-258

Here  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  works as a cluster (see §12 above) indicating a substitution of an element from the preceding utterance.<sup>62</sup> By marking Agathon’s utterance with this communicative signal, the author Aristophanes explicitly mimics orality within his poetry: only in a spoken exchange

<sup>58</sup> This example of *well* is also analyzed in Aijmer 2009:7.

<sup>59</sup> All quotations in this paragraph are from Aijmer 2013:32.

<sup>60</sup> Throughout the chapters, I will use formulations such as “Agathon says to Euripides” as convenient shorthands for those such as “Aristophanes writes as Agathon’s utterance” or “the audience will have heard the actor performing Agathon say to the actor performing Euripides.”

<sup>61</sup> “Bis” and “ter” are Latin designations drawn from the *TLG*, where *bis* indicates the second turn of speaking within the same line, *ter* the third, and so on.

<sup>62</sup> This use of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  is discussed in chapter 2 §83. Austin and Olson 2004 *ad loc.* call  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$  here „strongly adversative.“ For another particle cluster functionally comparable to Aijmer’s example of *well* in (t1), consider καὶ δὴ in Aristophanes’ *Women at the Thesmophoria* 769. Though the Greek particle cluster here reflects, in contrast to Aijmer’s example, a sudden and even emotional realization, its function is similar, in that it reflects the speaker’s ongoing cognitive processes.

between several interlocutors—a situation that is artificially represented in drama—the dialogic signal given by μὲν οὖν is actually needed.

§35 To return to Aijmer’s analysis, she explains the following instance as a use of *well* that is typical for a broadcast discussion, specifically for the moderators of such a discussion. In this communicative situation, moderators employ *well* for specialized functions such as introducing a controversial issue, achieving a shift of topics, or asking clarification questions. In this case the moderator invites a new speaker to take the floor:

(t3)

A: Well Terence Hawkes as a professor, a university professor, you must disagree totally with (...)

Fragment of a broadcast discussion, from Aijmer 2013:59

The moderator “selects a speaker by using *well* followed by the name of the nominated speaker” (59). Here the marker “signals both that the speaker is the moderator and that the transition is to a new stage in the broadcast discussion” (59).

§36 A functionally similar example in Greek drama is found in Aristophanes’ *Frogs*, during the poetic contest between the characters Aeschylus and Euripides. In certain respects, the god Dionysus can be considered the “moderator” of this fictional competition: he asks questions and evaluates the answers.

(t4)

Eu. μισῶ πολίτην, ὅστις ὠφελεῖν πάτραν  
βραδὺς πέφανται, μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτειν ταχύς,  
καὶ πόριμον αὐτῷ, τῇ πόλει δ’ ἀμήχανον.

Eu. I detest the citizen who will prove to be slow  
to aid his country, quick to do her great harm,  
resourceful for himself, incompetent for the city.

Δι. εὖ γ’, ὦ Πόσειδον. σὺ δὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις; Di. Well said, by Poseidon! [to Aeschylus] Now

(1430)

what's your opinion?

Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1427-1430 (translation slightly modified)

After expressing his opinion about Euripides' reply, Dionysus turns to Aeschylus with the words  $\sigma\grave{\upsilon}$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . The particle indicates a certain boundary in the communication, and the pronoun shows that the boundary is, in this case, a switch to a different addressee. No name is needed in the address (as in the English example from Aijmer), because the audience can not only hear the different speakers, as on the radio, but also see them; moreover, the spectators are well aware of their identities, which makes an introduction with name and function unnecessary. Just as English *well* is only a potential clarifier of a change in addressee, the particle  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is not obligatory in such contexts (see *Frogs* 1166 without it); the boundary can be made more or less explicit.<sup>63</sup>

§37 Aijmer points out that different communicative situations lead to different interpretations of the same marker. Collocations play a role as well in selecting the intended interpretation; examples are “well I guess” for *well*'s function connected to word search (32), or “well here is” to introduce a new player in a radio sports commentary (69). Aijmer thus stresses that local and global contexts may simultaneously be relevant to the use of discourse markers. We have seen that this also holds for the interpretation of the Greek examples: in (t2) it is relevant, for example, that  $\mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu$   $\omicron\upsilon\breve{\nu}$  occurs near the start of an utterance; in (t4) we need to take into account the pronoun  $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$  as well as the global context of the poetic contest with Dionysos as moderator. In general, coherence approaches show the fundamental relation of linguistic choices to language users within their environments.

---

<sup>63</sup> What may also play a role in line 1166 is that Dionysus sticks to the same topic as before, even though he changes his addressee.

### 1.3.2.2 Conversation Analysis

§38 Conversation Analysis (CA) looks at the regularities of talk-in-interaction.<sup>64</sup> It is concerned with the communicative actions performed by turns-at-talk, with the organization of turn-taking, the structuring of turns, the sequencing of actions, and the organization of turn sequences. The main focus of this approach is on the interaction between speaker and hearer. CA began with Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974 on turn-taking practices.<sup>65</sup> These sociologists show that there is systematicity in conversation, even though it often seems otherwise.<sup>66</sup> The main assumption within CA is that utterances are seen as vehicles for social action.<sup>67</sup> Examples of “actions” in CA are complaining, (dis)agreeing, evaluating, inviting, offering, requesting, summoning, and so on.<sup>68</sup> CA researchers find that for the accomplishment of such actions, the structural position of linguistic material within a turn and within a sequence or “pair” of turns is crucial.<sup>69</sup> Other contextual features, such as status differences between speaker and hearer, or the location of the interaction, are considered relevant

---

<sup>64</sup> Helpful recent introductions to CA are Schegloff 2007 and Sidnell 2010, and in shorter form Gardner 2005 and Heritage 2010. See chapter 4 for elaborate discussion of CA and an application of this approach to the analysis of particle use in Greek tragedy and comedy.

<sup>65</sup> Prior to this publication, Sacks had given lectures on conversation (1964-1968), posthumously published as Sacks 1995; and Schegloff had analyzed conversational openings (1967, 1968).

<sup>66</sup> Following the seminal work of Sacks *et al.*, sociologists as well as linguists developed the theoretical framework that is now known as Conversation Analysis. Examples of a CA approach to discourse markers are Jefferson 1983 on *yeah* and *mmhm*; Heritage 1984, 1998, 2002 on *oh*; Luke 1990 on several Cantonese Chinese particles; Hakulinen 1998 and 2001 on several Finnish particles; Mazeland and Huijskes 2001 on Dutch *maar*; Sorjonen 2001 on Finnish response particles; Waring 2003 on *also*; Raymond 2004 and Bolden 2006, 2009 on *so*; Bolden 2008 on Russian *-to*; Person 2009 on *oh* in Shakespeare; Mazeland and Plug 2010 on Dutch *hoor*; Christodoulidou 2011 on several Cypriot Greek discourse markers; Gaines 2011 on *okay*; Lee-Goldman 2011 on *no*; Mazeland 2012 on Dutch *nou*; Imo 2013 on German *ja* (combining CA with other frameworks).

<sup>67</sup> See also the similar framework of Interactional Linguistics: e.g. Barth-Weingarten 2012; Ochs, Schegloff, and Thompson (eds.) 1996; Selting and Couper-Kuhlen (eds.) 2001. Couper-Kuhlen and Selting call Interactional Linguistics (2001:1) a research field “at the intersection of linguistics, conversation analysis and anthropology.”

<sup>68</sup> On actions in CA, see e.g. Schegloff 2006:73; 2007:xiv; Sidnell 2010:61; Sidnell and Enfield 2012:328; Enfield 2013:86-103. See also the discussion in chapter 4 §21.

<sup>69</sup> On the notion of “sequence” or “adjacency pair” in CA, see chapter 4 §15.



whenever conversation participants show in their utterances or other behavior that they themselves take them into account.

§39 CA analyzes spoken language; written material is rarely used, and constructed examples never. CA scholars take into account not only linguistic, but also paralinguistic features (such as loudness and pauses) and extralinguistic features (such as laughter, and, if known, gestures, gaze, and movements). In their analyses of discourse markers they investigate, for example, for which actions a certain marker can be used, and what position it tends to occupy within the sequence and within the turn. Different positions are those in initiating versus reacting turns, and in turn-initial versus later positions.<sup>70</sup>

§40 Let us take the work of Heritage on English *oh* as an example. He distinguishes among the uses of this discourse marker in three different interactional environments. Consider the following example, in which speaker B receives a piece of news from speaker A.

(t5)

A: I was just ringing to say I'll be comin' down in a moment.

B: Oh good.

Fragment of a telephone conversation, from Heritage 1984:302

Heritage 1984 notes that turn-initial *oh* often occurs in responses to utterances that inform the hearer of something. In this environment it signals that the new speaker has undergone a change in her current state of knowledge or awareness. The closest parallel to this kind of signal in Greek drama is that of a turn-initial interjection such as οἴμοι or φεῦ.<sup>71</sup> The mild and pleasant surprise expressed in Heritage's example is rare in my Greek corpus, since the news

---

<sup>70</sup> See chapter 4 for the relevance of these positions for a number of Greek particles in drama.

<sup>71</sup> On turn-initial interjections, see chapter 4 §65.

that characters receive, especially tragic ones, tends to be shocking and life-changing. The big content differences between daily telephone conversations and ancient Greek drama therefore lead to the use of different linguistic constructions, even though the communicative processes are comparable.

§41 The English marker *oh* works differently in other interactional contexts, such as at the beginning of responses to questions (see Heritage 1998):

(t6)

A: Some of my students translated Eliot into Chinese. I think the very first.

B: Did you learn to speak Chinese?

A: Oh yes. You can't live in the country without speaking the language.

Fragment of a radio interview, from Heritage 1998:294

Heritage interprets such *oh* as signaling that the preceding question was somehow inappropriate. In the interview in (t6), speaker A has already given information from which it can be inferred that he had learned Chinese; the interviewer's question is treated as problematic, because the answer is considered self-evident.

§42 As comparison to this use of *oh*, consider the answer by Medea in the following passage:

(t7)

Ια. θάψαι νεκρούς μοι τούσδε καὶ κλαῦσαι πάρες.

Ja. Allow me to bury these dead children and

Μη. οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ σφας τῆιδ' ἐγὼ θάψω χερί,

to mourn them.

Me. Certainly not. I shall bury them with my own hand, (...).

Euripides' *Medea* 1377-1378

Medea strongly denies Jason access to the dead children. Her reinforcement of the negation οὐ with the particle δῆτα (see chapter 3 §§76-77 for discussion) may even imply, similar to English *oh* in answers, that asking the question was useless in the first place.

§43 In the third type of context for turn-initial *oh*, that is, responses to assessments, Heritage finds that the word can modify an expression of agreement or disagreement with the previous speaker (see Heritage 2002). In particular, *oh* may signal that the observation being evaluated had already been independently arrived at by the current speaker, who thereby claims greater expertise on the topic at hand. This is illustrated in “oh it’s a great cat” in (t8).

(t8)

A: I acquired a Burmese. D’you know what that breed is?

B: Oh yes indeed, uh, we had a neighbour that had a couple of Burmese. They’re nice.

A: Oh it’s a great cat. It’s the only cat I ever saw that chased dogs.

Fragment of a telephone conversation, from Heritage 2002:207

Speaker A agrees with speaker B, yet at the same time A claims that he is in a better position than B to evaluate Burmese cats, since he owns one. Heritage finds that this implication of presenting oneself as a better judge than the addressee only arises when *oh* occurs at the start of a turn after an assessment.<sup>72</sup>

§44 Another passage from Euripides’ *Medea* forms a literary parallel to the daily conversational use of *oh* in agreements.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Note, incidentally, the other turn-initial *oh*, spoken by speaker B: this one is in an answer to a question, which implies, according to Heritage’s analysis, that the question was somehow problematic.

<sup>73</sup> This example from *Medea* is discussed more fully in chapter 3 §76.

(t9)

Μη. Ἴσασιν ὅστις ἦρξε πημονῆς θεοί.

Me. The gods know who struck the first blow.

Ια. Ἴσασι δῆτα σὴν γ' ἀπόπτυστον φρένα.

Ja. Yes, they know indeed your loathesome heart.

Euripides' *Medea* 1372-1373

Jason pretends to agree with Medea's utterance; this agreement is marked with the particle δῆτα. This agreement of course turns out to be ironic. The particle γε in such contexts marks a hostile change in communicative goal. Like in Heritage's conversational example, then, the apparent agreement is communicatively complex, and the particles play a role in clarifying that. The main difference from (t8) lies in the extraordinary nature of the literary interaction: Medea has just killed her own and Jason's children. Nevertheless, even in the stylized life-and-death situations of tragedy, the fictional speakers use communicative strategies that are comparable to those in modern daily conversation—those are the strategies, after all, that the audience will recognize. The poets exploit such general communicative processes to build up their literary works in ways that will be understood by spectators and readers.

§45 Heritage's analyses of the English examples show that a speaker's goal in speaking (receiving information, answering, agreeing), and the nature of the previous turn (news, question, assessment) are relevant to our interpretation of *oh*. This discourse marker, though apparently meaningless and random at first sight, turns out to be used according to clear patterns. The results serve as a reminder that when describing the functions of a discourse marker, we should take into account its larger context and not just the individual sentence in which the marker appears. In particular, the action performed by the first turn in a sequence raises expectations about the form of the reacting turn. Finally, not only the utterances themselves, but everything that is happening during an interaction may play a role in

utterance interpretation or understanding, e.g. what the speaker wants to accomplish in terms of negotiating the relationship with the hearer.

### 1.3.2.3 Relevance Theory

§46 Relevance Theory (RT) has been developed by Sperber and Wilson 1986, building especially on the ideas of Grice (e.g. 1961, 1989).<sup>74</sup> Grice argues that most communication involves the expression and recognition of intentions, and that not only the decoding of linguistic signs, but also inference, is crucial for successful communication. He claims that utterances automatically create expectations that guide the hearer toward the speaker's intended meaning. In particular, hearers expect speakers to be cooperative, that is, to produce utterances that are of proper length, truthful, relevant, and clear.<sup>75</sup>

§47 Sperber and Wilson follow Grice in that they too assume that utterances create expectations for hearers. More specifically, Sperber and Wilson start from the cognitive assumption that the human mind tends to be geared toward the maximization of relevance, that is, toward achieving as many cognitive effects as possible with a minimum of processing effort. Cognitive effects can consist of producing a new assumption, strengthening an existing assumption, or deleting a previously held assumption. From this “cognitive principle of relevance” Sperber and Wilson develop a “communicative principle of relevance”: “[e]very act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance” (1995:158). According to Sperber and Wilson, hearers approach all utterances with the

---

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. Wilson and Sperber 2004 for a compact overview of Relevance Theory. See Wilson and Sperber 2012b for an elaborate, recently updated discussion of Relevance Theory; this collection of papers also includes previously published material by the two authors.

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. Grice 1989:26-27 on the corresponding “maxims” (as he calls them) that speakers are expected to conform to. These concepts have been highly influential in pragmatics.

presumption of optimal relevance in mind. This principle enables hearers to search for the intended context and the intended interpretation of an utterance.<sup>76</sup>

§48 RT makes a fundamental distinction between conceptual meaning, which refers to something in the world spoken about, and procedural meaning, which restricts the ways in which a hearer can interpret an utterance. Some linguistic items have conceptual meaning, but discourse markers mainly have procedural meaning: they encode certain constraints on the inferential processes that are needed for utterance interpretation.<sup>77</sup>

§49 Some scholars contrast RT with theories concerned with discourse and coherence.<sup>78</sup> RT also differs from CA in that RT's primary focus is not on utterances as social actions, but on utterances as expressions of cognitive processes.<sup>79</sup> Another difference from CA is that RT researchers make use of constructed examples, usually in their native language, in addition to or instead of corpus data.<sup>80</sup> For example, Wilson and Sperber 2012a:158 discuss the following constructed utterances:

(t10)

---

<sup>76</sup> Works such as Blakemore 1987, 1992, 2002; Carston and Uchida 1998; Rouchota and Jucker 1998; Noh 2000; and Carston 2002 represent a few of the important developments made in RT. Concerning discourse markers, RT has been elaborated upon by e.g. Blakemore 1987 (monograph); 2000; 2002 (monograph); R. Blass 1990 (monograph); Haegeman 1993; Jucker 1993; Andersen 2001 (monograph); Ifantidou 2001 (monograph); Mišković-Luković 2009; Fielder 2010; Schourup 2011; Mišković-Luković and Dedaić 2012; several contributions in Jucker and Ziv (eds.) 1998a (e.g. Rouchota on parenthetical discourse markers); Andersen and Fretheim 2000; and Dedaić and Mišković-Luković 2010; Schourup 2011.

<sup>77</sup> See Andersen and Fretheim 2000: 7: "From a relevance-theoretic point of view, pragmatic markers can be seen to facilitate inferential processes." See also Andersen 2001:33: pragmatic markers (in his terminology) "contribute to relevance by telling the hearer how an utterance is to be understood, thus reducing the processing effort that the hearer must employ in utterance comprehension."

<sup>78</sup> For example, Blakemore 2002:157 claims that hearers aim to construct representations of the speaker's thoughts, but not representations of relationships in discourse. See Blakemore 2002:149-185 for a full discussion. See also Schourup 2011:2110 on RT as different from discourse- or coherence-oriented approaches. Interestingly, Lenk 1998 combines a coherence-based and a relevance-theoretic approach in her study of "pragmatic markers."

<sup>79</sup> See e.g. Blakemore 2002:155.

<sup>80</sup> An exception is, for example, Fielder 2010, who applies RT to the connective *ama* in Bulgarian, which is not her native language. This study uses only corpus material and no constructed examples.

- a. Peter's not stupid. He can find his own way home.
- b. Peter's not stupid; so he can find his own way home.
- c. Peter's not stupid; after all, he can find his own way home.

Example from Wilson and Sperber 2012a:158 (highlighting added)

The authors explain that the sentence “Peter’s not stupid” is either interpreted as *evidence for the conclusion* “he can find his own way home,” as represented in (t10b); or as a *conclusion derived from evidence* presented in the second sentence, as made explicit in (t10c). For (t10a) both interpretations are possible. Referring to Blakemore’s account of procedural meaning (e.g. 1987, 2002), Wilson and Sperber argue that discourse connectives (in Blakemore’s terminology) such as *so* and *after all* do not encode concepts, but instead constrain the hearer’s inferential processes in different ways. A similar example to (t10c) from my Greek corpus is Euripides’ *Andromache* 85: πολλὰς ἂν εὔροις μηχανάς γυνὴ γὰρ εἶ: “you will find many ruses: you γὰρ are a woman.” Here Andromache presents the servant’s gender as evidence for her resourcefulness, and makes this link explicit with γὰρ.<sup>81</sup>

§50 An example of a relevance-theoretic discourse-marker study is found in Mišković-Luković 2010 on the Serbian “pragmatic particles” (her term) *baš* and *kao*. By using spoken, written, and constructed examples, the author describes both particles as semantic constraints on the explicit content of utterances. The two particles work in opposite directions: *baš* (“exactly,” “really”) makes an utterance stronger or more precise, whereas *kao* (“like,” “or something,” “kinda”) makes it weaker or looser. Consider the following *baš* example:

(t11)

---

<sup>81</sup> Stevens 1971 *ad loc.* remarks that the utterance is perhaps a modification of a proverb. Such a gnomic context is highly suitable for the use of γὰρ: see chapter 2 §54 for discussion.

A: To je konzulat sakupljao. Ne znam zbog čega.	A: The consulate was collecting it [i.e. certain data]. I don't know what for.
B: Konzulat u Štuttgartu?	B: The consulate in Stuttgart?
A: Da, <u>baš</u> konzulat.	A: Yes, <i>baš</i> the consulate. (“That very consulate.”)

Fragment of spoken conversation, from Mišković-Luković 2010:69 (her translation)

The particle here “serves to confirm the identity” (75) between the concept of “consulate” that speaker A refers to in the first utterance, and the more specific consulate suggested in speaker B’s question. That is, Mišković-Luković interprets *baš* as “a marker of non-loose use” of language (80). She argues that the particle helps the hearer in his “conceptual adjustment” (74-75): when *baš* is present, the concept that a speaker intends to communicate is exactly the same as the concept she puts into words, something that is actually uncommon in communication, either spoken or written.

§51 A similar situation is found in (t12) from Aristophanes:

(t12)

ΠΑΝΔΟΚΕΥΤΡΙΑ Πλαθάνη, Πλαθάνη, δεῦρ’	Innkeeper. Plathane, Plathane, come here!
ἔλθ’, ὁ πανοῦργος οὐτοσί,	Here’s that hooligan, the one who came to the inn
ὃς εἰς τὸ πανδοκεῖον εἰσελθὼν ποτε (550)	and gobbled sixteen loaves of bread!
ἐκκαίδεκ’ ἄρτους κατέφαγ’ ἡμῶν—	
ΠΛΑΘΑΝΗ νῆ Δία, (551bis)	Plathane. By god, it is him!
ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς <u>δῆτα</u> . (...)	

Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 548-552

Plathane expresses her total agreement with the referent (Heracles) suggested by the innkeeper. Here the pronouns ἐκεῖνος and αὐτός indicate the reference to the same person. The particle δῆτα, together with the swearing expression νῆ Δία, highlights the agreement



with the previous speaker.<sup>82</sup> In the higher-level communication between the poet and the audience, this linguistic emphasis on the identity of “Heracles” underscores the theme of identity switching that is going on in the scene.

§52 Mišković-Luković also offers one *baš* example from a newspaper article:

(t13)

Borislav Milošević slovi kao ključna figura u klanu. (...) Navodno je <u>baš</u> Borislav Milošević u Rusiji pohranio milionske sume, što sam osporava.	Borislav Milošević is considered to be a key figure in the clan. (...) Allegedly, it was <i>baš</i> Borislav Milošević who had deposited millions in Russia, which he himself denies.
---	---

Newspaper fragment, from Mišković-Luković 2010:75-76n12 (her translation)

At the time of publication of the newspaper, in 2003, the main referent in focus for the readers was not Borislav Milošević, but his brother Slobodan, the ex-president of Yugoslavia. According to Mišković-Luković, “[*b*]aš before the proper name is used to block this immediately accessible assumption [i.e. that Slobodan Milošević would be referred to] by reaffirming the identity of the referent [i.e. Borislav Milošević]” (76n12).

§53 In comparison to this example I offer the following tragic passage, where Heracles on his deathbed gives an order to his son Hyllus:

(t14)

Ἡρ. οἴσθ' οὖν τὸν Οἶτης Ζηνὸς ὑψίστου πάγον;

He. Then do you know the mountain of Oeta, which belongs to the highest Zeus?

Ἦλ. οἶδ', ὡς θυτήρ γε πολλὰ δὴ σταθεὶς ἄνω.

Hy. I know it, having often stood up there to sacrifice.

<sup>82</sup> See chapter 3 §§76-77 on the particle *δητα*; see chapter 2 §59 on swearing expressions in Aristophanes. Dover 1993 *ad loc.* notes that *δητα* is used for “confirming the previous speaker’s utterance.”

Ηρ. ἐνταῦθά νυν χρὴ τοῦμόν ἐξάραντά σε  
σῶμ' ἀτόχειρα καὶ ξὺν οἷς χρήζεις φίλων,

He. You must lift my body and carry it there with  
your own hands and with those of your friends  
you choose.

Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* 1191-1194

After Heracles has checked that the mountain Oeta is known to Hyllus, he refers to the place with ἐνταῦθά in 1193. The particle νυν marks that this reference has been announced in Heracles' previous utterance (1191), where οὖν was a signal that the question prepared for something else.<sup>83</sup> We see here, then, a different communicative strategy from that in the Serbian newspaper—νυν marks that two utterances are connected, not that the referent is literally the same as an earlier referent—but a similar pragmatic effect. In this dialogue Sophocles makes Heracles carefully build up his communication, so that it becomes worse for Hyllus to refuse to carry out the order, when he finally finds out what his father expects of him.

§54 The strength of Relevance Theory lies in its use of a consistent explanation for every context and situation. It employs general cognitive principles to explain how different uses of a discourse marker are connected. The distinction that it makes between procedural meaning and referential (“conceptual”) meaning helps to clarify how discourse markers, which usually have no referential meaning, can still provide a specific contribution to the communication.

---

<sup>83</sup> This use of οὖν and νυν is discussed in chapter 4 §§43-44.

### 1.3.2.4 Construction Grammar

§55 The research field of Construction Grammar (CxG) developed as one of the alternatives to generative linguistics.<sup>84</sup> A generative approach does not describe the use of language, but the knowledge of speakers about grammatical structures in a given language; speakers are said to “generate” sentences from a set of rules.<sup>85</sup> CxG, by contrast, is usage-based, and assumes that words and other linguistic structures are learned and interpreted in context.<sup>86</sup> The framework began with Fillmore, Kay, and O’Connor 1988 on the meaning of English *let alone*. Based on the explanation of this idiomatic construction, these authors propose (501) that we view not rules, as in generative linguistics, but constructions, as the “proper units of grammar.”<sup>87</sup> Currently, numerous scholars are active in this field, including researchers of discourse markers.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Other frameworks developed in the same vein are for example Functional Grammar (see e.g. Dik 1968; 1978; 1989), Cognitive Grammar (see note 77 below), and Emergent Grammar (see e.g. Hopper 1988; 2011; Bybee and Hopper 2001).

<sup>85</sup> The framework of generative linguistics originated in the work of Chomsky (e.g. 1965). Current overviews of generative linguistics are e.g. Philippi 2008; Ludlow 2011; Chomsky and McGilvray 2012; Den Dikken 2013.

<sup>86</sup> Langacker (e.g. 1987, 1990) has been especially influential in developing the framework of Cognitive Grammar, a field of research foundational to CxG. See Langacker 2008 and 2010 for recent overviews of Cognitive Grammar. He argues, for example, that the grammar of a language provides speakers with pairings of phonological and semantic units. All linguistic structures are based on general cognitive processes, according to Langacker. See also Bybee 2010 on general cognitive principles as an argument for a usage-based theory of grammar, such as CxG. See also the introduction to cognitive linguistics in Rickheit, Weiss, and Eikmeyer 2010. Among other things, they draw attention (17) to the important observation that: “sprachliche Äußerungen in der alltäglichen Kommunikation nie isoliert auftreten, sondern immer in bestimmte Situationen eingebettet sind” (“linguistic utterances never occur in isolation in daily communication, but are always embedded in certain situations”; see also p. 14).

<sup>87</sup> CxG has been further developed by, among others, Goldberg 1995, 2006; Croft 2001; Verhagen 2005; Boas 2010; and Traugott and Trousdale 2013. Östman and Fried 2004 give an overview of the historical and intellectual background of Construction Grammar. E.g. Traugott and Trousdale 2013:2-8 give a short overview of different constructional approaches to language. See e.g. the recent *Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar* (Hoffmann and Trousdale 2013) for a detailed overview of the theoretical substance, development, and sub-approaches within Construction Grammar.

<sup>88</sup> Applications of Construction Grammar to discourse-marker studies include Fujii 2000 on Japanese *mono*; Fried and Östman 2005 on pragmatic particles in Czech and Solv; Imo 2005 on *I mean* (interestingly combining CxG and CA); Imo 2007 on several discourse markers developed from verbs in spoken German; Diewald 2008 on German

§56 Constructions are conventional and symbolic pairings of form and meaning. They are conventional because their use is shared among a group of speakers; and they are symbolic because they are signs, that is, potentially arbitrary associations of form and meaning.<sup>89</sup> Phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics all work together in a construction: no one level of grammar is seen as autonomous in this approach.<sup>90</sup> According to a CxG approach, words are not normally interpreted or learned in isolation. It is likely, therefore, that speakers and hearers use specific co-textual or contextual features to identify which forms (for speakers) or meanings (for hearers) they need. CxG does not assume specific communicative principles for this, as RT does, but assumes that speakers and hearers simply have knowledge about language use from their experience. The formal features of a construction can be morphemes, words, phrases, intonational patterns, syntactic structures, even whole text types, among others. A construction's description should thus specify which co-textual features, if any, are crucial for an interpretation of a word. On the "meaning" pole, not only semantic information, such as the reference to a certain concept, can be represented, but also pragmatic information, such as the expression of a specific stance of the speaker, and discourse-functional information, such as a connective function.

§57 Questions concerning discourse markers within a constructional framework concern, for example, the different constructions in which a certain marker participates, and which other features exactly are relevant to the several constructions in which the marker is found.

---

*ruhig*; Imo 2008 on German *halt*; Fried 2009 on Czech *jestli*; Fischer 2010 on several pragmatic markers in spoken English; Masini and Pietrandrea 2010 on Italian *magari*; Lewis 2011 on the diachronic development of *instead* and *rather*; Fischer and Alm 2013 on German *also* and Swedish *alltså*; Van der Wouden and Foolen 2011 on several Dutch utterance-final particles; Koier 2013 on ancient Greek *πov* and Dutch *ergens*.

<sup>89</sup> See e.g. Traugott and Trousdale 2013:1.

<sup>90</sup> See e.g. Fried and Östman 2004:24; Traugott and Trousdale 2013:3. This holistic view of grammar means, for example, that there is no sharp boundary between grammar and lexicon. Traugott and Trousdale 2013:31 note that outside of CxG the term "construction" has usually been associated with syntax only; however, in CxG it is explicitly extended to include lexicon as well.

By analyzing how the interpretations of a linguistic expression change across many different contexts, CxG studies aim to map the features in the co-text and context that play a role in those changes. The data used is always drawn from actually spoken or written language; CxG does not use constructed examples.

§58 An example study is Koier 2013 on the Dutch particle (her term) *ergens*.<sup>91</sup> The author shows that readers use specific parts of the co-text when interpreting this multifunctional particle. *Ergens* can function as an adverb with a locative meaning (“somewhere,” “anywhere”) or one of several modal interpretations (e.g. “somehow,” “from a certain point of view”). Koier identifies triggers, that is, words in the co-text that are responsible for each specific interpretation of *ergens* (66).<sup>92</sup> For instance, in (t15), *ergens* is generally interpreted as “in someone’s feelings or thoughts.”

(t15)

Ik zou dat <u>ergens</u> wel willen maar ja, we maken keuzes in het leven hè?	I would <i>ergens</i> want [to do] that but well, we make choices in life, don’t we?
---	--

Fragment of a transcribed interview, from Koier 2013:72 (her translation)

Koier explains (72-74) that the interpretation “in someone’s feelings or thoughts” is triggered by references to the first person, or by subjective forms such as the mental state predicate “want.” Even informants who are presented with only the shorter word string “zou dat ergens wel willen” (“would *ergens* want that”) tend to choose the same interpretation. In this case, one of the two triggers, namely “want,” remains explicitly present in the version with a restricted co-text.

<sup>91</sup> Koier also analyzes ancient Greek πον in the same monograph; see §74 below.

<sup>92</sup> She did this by asking a group of native speakers to choose one of eight interpretations of *ergens* for a number of corpus instances. A similar online-survey method is used by e.g. Van Bergen, Van Gijn, Hogeweg, and Lestrade 2011 in their investigation of the Dutch discourse marker *eigenlijk*.

§59 In tragedy the following lines by Jason present a similar construction:

(t16)

(Ia.) <u>κἀγὼ μὲν</u> αἰεὶ βασιλέων θυμουμένων (455) ὀργὰς ἀφήριουν καὶ σ' <u>ἐβουλόμην</u> μένειν· <u>σὺ δ'</u> οὐκ ἀνίεις μωρίας, λέγουσ' αἰεὶ κακῶς τυράννουσ· τοιγὰρ ἐκπεσῆι χθονός.	(Ja.) For my part I have always tried to soothe the king's angry temper, and I wanted you to stay. But you would not cease from your folly and always kept reviling the royal house. For that you will be exiled.
---	---

Euripides' *Medea* 455-458

ἐγὼ μὲν in 455 and ἐβουλόμην in 456 set up the expectation of a contrast, that is, of the non-fulfillment of Jason's mentioned desire. Jason's wishes and plans, which he presents as friendly,<sup>93</sup> were thrown over, he says, by Medea's hostile behavior (marked as the other part of the contrast with the particle δέ). Such expectation of a contrast between wishes and reality is also found in the utterance quoted by Koier: "I would (lit.) somewhere want that" with the mitigating particle *wel* implies that the speaker's wish is probably not sufficient for achieving the desired outcome. In the Greek example the vagueness conveyed by *ergens* is not present, but the construction as a whole is pragmatically comparable. Another similar example is Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 583-585, spoken by Praxagora: καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν χρηστὰ διδάξω πιστεύω· τοὺς δὲ θεατάς,/ εἰ (...), τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ὃ μάλιστα δέδοικα: "well, I'm sure my proposals are worthwhile, but I'm awfully worried about the spectators: (...)." Also here there is an expectation that the speaker's confidence and good intentions are not enough, and again we find μὲν and δέ. Like for Jason in the Euripidean example, however, the content is much more important to the speaker than it appears in the Dutch example given by Koier. Indeed, an utterance implying only a weak desire such as (t15) is rare in Greek drama, where characters are usually involved in life-changing or even life-threatening events. The crucial

---

<sup>93</sup> As Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.* points out, the "audience has only Jason's word for this claim".

communicative similarity lies in the fact that in the Dutch as well the Greek examples several linguistic elements are needed to come to an interpretation: words are not interpreted in isolation.

§60 In contrast to (t15), the interpretation of *ergens* in (t17) changes when the co-text is marginalized. *Ergens* is interpreted as “about,” “around” when informants read the full co-text, but receives various other interpretations when only a restricted co-text is given.

(t17)

Stenen voorwerpen uit een periode die men het mesolithicum noemt. Dat is <u>ergens</u> laten we zeggen zesduizend, vijfduizend voor Christus.	Stone objects from a period that is called the mesolithicum. That is <i>ergens</i> let’s say six-thousand, five-thousand before Christ.
---	---

Fragment of a transcribed interview, from Koier 2013:75 (slightly simplified; her translation)

Koier points out (67) that numbers are a required co-textual trigger for the interpretation of *ergens* as “about,” “around.” Informants do not choose this interpretation when they only have access to a restricted version of the example that does not contain the numbers. That version does not provide enough help on choosing an interpretation, and accordingly informants’ answers vary widely (75).

§61 The following Greek example shows similarities in its communicative context. Here the Pythia, Apollo’s prophetess, tries to describe the frightening creatures she has just seen.

(t18)

(ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΣ) πρόσθεν δὲ τάνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος εὔδει γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἦμενος—	(Pythia.) In front of this man there is an extraordinary band of women, asleep, sitting on chairs—no, I won’t call them women, but Gorgons;
--	---

οὔτοι γυναικάς, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω·  
οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις.

but then I can't liken their form to that of  
Gorgons either.

Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 46-49

Here the speaker corrects herself several times, thereby betraying her ongoing cognitive processes, just as the speaker's thinking in (t17) was reflected in their language.<sup>94</sup> While Aeschylus adapts this context to a suitable poetic form, pragmatic similarities between the examples can still be seen. The particles *τοι* in *οὔτοι*, *ἀλλά*, *δέ* in *οὐδέ*, and *αὖτε* play a role in marking the corrections.<sup>95</sup> It is thus made explicit to the audience that the monstrous sight defied immediate adequate description, which emphasizes the thematic importance of the Furies already at this early point of the play.

§62 The relevant point from the constructional analysis by Koier is that the co-textual triggers of interpretations of *ergens* are not just co-occurring, but necessary for the interpretations—that is, they are part of the various constructions that *ergens* can appear in. For example, the specific construction that has the meaning pole “about,” “around” does not only include the lexical item *ergens* in its form pole, but also “numbers” as a co-textual feature (see Koier 2013:67). A CxG approach, then, based on general cognitive principles, may explain how a hearer or reader interprets a multifunctional discourse marker, by specifying which co-textual elements are crucial for each interpretation.

---

<sup>94</sup> Podlecki 1989 *ad loc.*: “The Pythia’s disconnected speech reflects her confusion of mind.” Similarly Sommerstein 1989 *ad loc.*: “The Pythia struggles to describe adequately the beings she has seen.”

<sup>95</sup> Another example that is pragmatically similar to (t17) is Aristophanes’ *Women at the Thesmophoria* 620-622, where we find as many as five instances of the construction *ὁ δεῖνα* to indicate a vague reference. The construction is explained *ad loc.* by Austin and Olson 2004 and Sommerstein 1994.



### 1.3.3 Further relevant studies from modern linguistics

§63 Modern studies on discourse markers do not only apply different approaches to language use, but also provide other useful background for investigating ancient Greek particles. Without claiming to be complete, I will in this section discuss four connected areas of research. First, many discourse-marker studies are contrastive, that is, they compare markers across different languages, analyzing their functional similarities and differences.<sup>96</sup> Such comparisons among formally and/or functionally similar words may clarify their multifunctionality. If the compared words have the same origin, such as German *doch* and Dutch *toch* analyzed by Foolen 2006, they may still differ in use. If the forms are not etymologically related, as in Takahara's 1998 study of English and Japanese, their uses may show similarities because of similarities in context and development.

§64 Second, diachronic studies on discourse markers describe their development from words or phrases with propositional content into items with mainly pragmatic functions. These studies cut across several of the approaches mentioned, and sometimes present the diachronic focus as a theoretical perspective in its own right.<sup>97</sup> Processes that play a role in the

---

<sup>96</sup> Examples of cross-linguistic discourse-marker studies are Weydt 1969 on German, French, and ancient Greek; Fraser and Malamud-Makowski 1996 on English and Spanish; Takahara 1998 on English and Japanese; Bazzanella and Morra 2000 on Italian and English; Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberghe 2003 on English, Swedish, and Dutch; Fleischmann and Yaguello 2004 on English and French; González 2004 on English and Catalan; Foolen 2006 on Dutch and German; Bouma, Hendriks, and Hoeksema 2007 on Dutch, English, and German; Altenberg 2010 on English and Swedish; Sudhoff 2012 on German and Dutch; Bruijnen and Sudhoff 2013 on German and Dutch; Fischer and Alm 2013 on German and Swedish; Izutsu and Izutsu 2013 on German, French, Japanese, and English; Koier 2013 on Dutch and ancient Greek; Squartini 2013 on Italian and French.

<sup>97</sup> Examples of diachronic discourse-marker studies (with or without a specific approach) are Traugott 1986 on *but* and *and*; Brinton 1990 and 2006 on English; Fludernik 1995 on Middle English *þo*; Jucker 1997 on *well*; Traugott and Dasher 2002:152-189; Onodera 2004 on Japanese; Diewald 2008 on German *ruhig*; Defour 2008 on *well* and *now*; Stvan 2006 on *why* and *say*; Visconti 2009 on Italian *mica*; Meurman-Solin 2012 on *and*, *for*, *but*, and *only*; Bolly and Degand 2013 on French discourse markers derived from *voir* ("to see"); Denis 2015 on general extenders (such as *and stuff*) and epistemic parentheticals (such as *I think*) in Canadian English; and papers in Davidse, Vandelanotte,

development of discourse markers are subjectification, intersubjectification, and grammaticalization.<sup>98</sup> These terms refer to the developments of meanings that are progressively more subjective (involving speaker reference or speaker perspective), more intersubjective (involving the speaker’s attention to the addressee’s “self”), or more grammatical than the original meanings of a form. Different uses of a discourse marker develop separately and end up co-existing.

§65 Third, several studies analyze discourse markers in historic corpora from a synchronic perspective. These scholars can obviously only use written language as their material, but they nevertheless pay attention to the interaction between an (explicit or implied) speaker and her addressees. Usually the corpus includes dramatic texts, such as Shakespeare, or narratives with direct speech. Consider the following example of Old English *hwæt*, from Brinton’s 1996 monograph on “pragmatic markers” (her term) in Old and Middle English.<sup>99</sup> The cited passage, from the poem *Juliana* by Cynewulf, is spoken by a devil to the martyr Juliana, who had just asked who sent him.

(t19)

Hwæt, mec min fæder on þas fore to þe,/	What, my father, the king of the hell-dwellers,
hellwarena cyning, hider onsende (...)	sent me hither on this journey to you (...)

Poem fragment (old English, ca. ninth century), from Brinton 1996:188 (her translation)

---

and Cuyckens 2010 and in Degand and Simon-Vandenberg 2011 on discourse markers in several languages. Heine 2013 discusses approaches to the genesis and development of discourse markers in general.

<sup>98</sup> See e.g. Davidse, Vandelanotte, and Cuyckens 2010 on these three processes. See e.g. Traugott and Trousdale 2013 for elaborate discussion of several kinds of language change, including grammaticalization and pragmaticalization.

<sup>99</sup> Other examples of synchronic studies on historic corpora are Fludernik 1995 and 2000 on discourse markers in Middle English; Blake 1996 on *why* and *what* in Shakespeare; Fuami 2009 on *well* in Shakespeare; Person 2009 on *oh* in Shakespeare; Lutzky 2012 on three discourse markers in Early Modern English; Lutzky and Demmen 2013 on *pray* in Early Modern English; Jonker 2014 on several discourse markers in Jane Austen.

*Hwæt* usually accompanies old (that is, shared) information, or the speaker at least pretends that the information is old. In this use, *hwæt* is similar to Modern English *you know*. The instance in (t19) can be considered “insulting”: the information given by the devil is clearly new to Juliana, but he implies that she should have known it already, and conveys irritation at her “slowness in understanding” (188).

§66 A comparable Greek example is Lichas’ reply to Deianeira in this passage:

(t20)

<p>(Δη.) χαίρειν δὲ τὸν κήρυκα προὔννεπῶ, χρόνῳ πολλῶ φανέντα, χαρτὸν εἴ τι καὶ φέρεις. ΛΙΧΑΣ <u>ἀλλ'</u> εὖ μὲν ἴγμεθ', εὖ δὲ προσφωνούμεθα,</p>	<p>(De.) and I welcome you the herald, who have now at last appeared, if indeed your news is welcome. Li. I am happy in my coming and happy in my salutation.</p>
---	---

Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* 227-229

In (t19), asking the devil who sent him implies that one does not know the answer; in (t20), similarly, saying to Lichas that he might bring good news or not implies that his news might very well be bad. It is this implication that he corrects with *ἀλλά* at the beginning of his reaction.<sup>100</sup> In the Old English example, the discourse marker indicates that Juliana’s implied ignorance is wrong by stressing the sharedness of the information; in the Sophoclean example, the implication is contradicted by signaling some kind of correction through *ἀλλά*, in this case not about knowledge, but about evaluation. Both examples come from written poetry and therefore involve stylization of the dialogue; what in spoken conversation could have been

---

<sup>100</sup> See the discussion of this example in Drummen 2009:150-151.

spontaneously expressed or underlined by signals such as gestures or facial expressions, we here have to infer from carefully composed language.<sup>101</sup>

### 1.3.4 Studies on particles and discourse markers in ancient Greek and Latin

§67 In fact many of the insights offered by the studies mentioned above have already been applied to Greek and Latin. It is to an overview of this scholarship that I now turn. I pay attention to Latin alongside Greek, because methodologies for investigating both classical languages are similar. By extension, and also because my work has a synchronic perspective, I do not discuss research on Modern Greek discourse markers: these studies tend to use spoken corpora and to (partly) rely on native-speaker intuitions.<sup>102</sup>

§68 Let us first step back, in order to look at the general issues of terminology, definition, and classification discussed in §§16-22 from a Hellenist's perspective. These issues are relevant to the study of ancient Greek particles as well. Hellwig 1974, for example, observes that words which are sometimes called “particle” are at other times designated as “adverb,” “interjection,” or “conjunction.” Despite the problems surrounding the term “(Greek) particle,”<sup>103</sup> I adopt this term because it has been the common term throughout centuries of

---

<sup>101</sup> Also studies on discourse markers in narrative texts may resemble research on Greek particles. Some of the works just mentioned that deal with older corpora inevitably discuss narrative, such as Fludernik 1995 and 2000, and Brinton 1996. Other analyses describe the use of discourse markers in oral narrative, and therefore use modern, spoken corpora. Examples are Koike 1996 on Mexican Spanish *ya*; zález 2004 on English and Catalan pragmatic markers; Fox Tree 2006 on *like*; Fairbanks 2009 on discourse markers in Ojibwe (an endangered North American language); Furman and Özyürek 2010 on Turkish discourse markers.

<sup>102</sup> For studies on *Modern* Greek discourse markers, see e.g. Brewster 1992 on *lipon*; Georgakopoulos and Goutsos 1998 on the distinction between conjunctions and discourse markers; Ifantidou 2000 on *taha*; Archakis 2001 on *diladi*, *m ala loja*, *thelo na po*, and *i malon*; Christodoulidou 2011 on *lipón*, *ára*, and *oréa* in Cypriot Greek.

<sup>103</sup> See e.g. Revuelta Puigdollers 2006a:468-469; Bonifazi 2012:201. The historical linguistic work of Dunkel 2014 uses the term “particle” in a much broader sense, including all adverbs, conjunctions, and other indeclinable words; in short, with “particle” Dunkel designates all words that are not nouns, adjectives, verbs, or pronouns (see p. 7-8).

scholarship on ancient Greek.<sup>104</sup> Another advantage of “particle” is that it does not restrict one’s analysis *a priori* to either connective or adverbial functions, as the terms “conjunctions” and “adverbs” would, respectively. Besides the syntactic role of particles, they have a variety of pragmatic functions. Since the latter are what I focus on in my research, the term is convenient. In addition, the term does not exclude from the outset words that do carry propositional content (also called referential content). This is helpful, because the same lexical item can be used both propositionally and non-propositionally depending on genre or context, and words can develop a non-propositional value over time, without necessarily becoming enclitic.

§69 As for the issue of definition, Duhoux 1997:16 posits that a defining feature of Greek particles is that they never form an utterance on their own, unlike adverbs.<sup>105</sup> This characteristic also makes them different from interjections, though Duhoux does not make this distinction explicit.<sup>106</sup> In his 2006 article he adds two other criteria: he claims that they are morphologically invariant, and that they have no referential meaning.<sup>107</sup> Building further on this, Bonifazi argues (2012:10, 186) that certain lexical items sometimes function as adverbs, with propositional content, and sometimes as particles, without such content. Koier 2013:28 also points out that particles form an ill-defined category, and chooses as a working definition: “an uninflected form with no referential function that manages the speaker-hearer interaction

---

<sup>104</sup> The particles discussed by Bäumlein 1861 and Denniston 1950 [1934] represent the core of the group of words currently regarded as particles. See De Kreij 2016a for discussion of the scholarship on particles from the scholia and the ancient grammarians onwards.

<sup>105</sup> Duhoux 1997:16: “Comme les adverbes, les particules sont invariables, mais elles diffèrent d’eux en ceci qu’elles ne peuvent pas être employées de façon autonome: elles doivent obligatoirement être utilisées avec d’autres mots, alors qu’un adverbe peut, à lui seul, constituer un énoncé (ainsi, Καλῶς, ‘Bien’).” He adds in a footnote that this is why he excludes οὐ and μή from his study on particles.

<sup>106</sup> Hölker 1990 also mentions this criterion, concerning French, in order to distinguish connecting markers from interjectional markers: the former never occur as independent utterances, he claims.

<sup>107</sup> Ancient scholars also used these criteria: see De Kreij 2016a.

on a textual or social level.”<sup>108</sup> There is a clear similarity, then, between the way Greek particles are defined in modern scholarship and the way discourse markers are defined in discourse-marker studies: lack of propositional meaning is a standard criterion for both categories. This characteristic involves subjective judgments, however, since it depends on our interpretation of words in specific usage contexts. Therefore, alleged presence or absence of propositional meaning cannot form an objective defining criterion of Greek particles, especially since no native speakers exist. As a result, it is impossible to formulate a definition that means the same to all researchers and that does not depend on specific assumptions. It is more useful, in my view, to follow the generally accepted, if vague, definition of particles and focus on analyzing the uses of the individual words.

§70 As for the issue of classification, the list of Greek lexical items considered to belong to the category of particles varies from study to study.<sup>109</sup> Many modern scholars take Denniston’s 1934 list as their guideline, but some studies expand the range of words he includes.<sup>110</sup> Since the category is ill-defined, there can be no complete consensus about which words to include or exclude either.<sup>111</sup>

§71 Studies on Greek particles adopt different approaches, just as discourse-marker studies do for the modern languages. Of the approaches described above, several Hellenists have applied insights from coherence approaches and Relevance Theory (see §§74-80 below). Construction Grammar is adopted in Koier 2013 on *που* (see §81 below). Conversation Analysis

---

<sup>108</sup> She here refers to the presentational and interactional levels of discourse as used by Kroon 1995 (see §72 below).

<sup>109</sup> See e.g. Páez Martínez 2012 §4 on this issue.

<sup>110</sup> See e.g. Blomqvist 1969 on several other particles in Hellenistic Greek; Muchnová 1993, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2009 and 2011 on *ἐπεὶ*; Sicking 1993:17-18 on *εἶτα* and *ἔπειτα*; Duhoux 1997:16-17, who adds *αὖ*, *ἦ*, *νυν*, and *ὄμως*; e.g. Basset 1988 and Wathelet 1997 on *ἄν* and *κε(v)* as particles; Muchnová 2004 on *ὥς*, and 2007 on *ὅτι*; Revuelta Puigdollers 2009b and Bonifazi 2012:185-292 on several *αὖ*-particles.

<sup>111</sup> On the (functional) subclassification *within* the category of ancient Greek particles, see e.g. Stephens 1837; Denniston 1950 [1934]; Blomqvist 1969; Hellwig 1974; Sicking 1986; George 2009; E.J. Bakker 2011.

has received less attention so far.<sup>112</sup> More important, many classicists use a generally pragmatic approach. That is, they pay attention to the linguistic and extralinguistic context of a passage: they treat text as language in use.<sup>113</sup> Therefore their descriptions of particles are not restricted to syntax or to the level of the sentence.<sup>114</sup>

§72 Apart from discourse-marker studies on modern languages, contemporary analyses of Latin particles have clearly influenced the research on Greek particles. The most well-known Latinist in this field is Kroon, who has published numerous articles and a monograph on the topic.<sup>115</sup> In her 1995 monograph, the author develops a specific coherence-based approach to discourse particles (her term) in Latin, building in particular on Halliday and Hasan 1976, Roulet *et al.* 1985, Mann and Thompson (e.g. 1987), Schiffrin 1987, and Foolen 1993. Kroon establishes a definition of and distinction among the so-called representational, presentational, and interactional levels of discourse.<sup>116</sup> The representational level concerns relations between states of affairs in a represented world; in other words, between parts of the content of a text. The presentational level involves the manner in which a language user organizes communicative units, such as clauses, but also larger text segments. The

---

<sup>112</sup> See chapter 4 for the application of CA to the study of particles in ancient Greek drama. See also Van Emde Boas 2010 and 2017 for a CA approach to Greek tragedy; particles are however not his main focus.

<sup>113</sup> On pragmatics in general, see e.g. Verschueren 1999; Grundy 2000; Mey 2001; Horn and Ward 2006; Huang 2007; Cutting 2008. On applying a pragmatic approach to ancient Greek, see Collinge 1988; Bonifazi 2001, 2012; and E.J. Bakker 2010b.

<sup>114</sup> S.C. Dik's framework of Functional Grammar (see e.g. S.C. Dik 1978; 1989) has been highly influential and is sometimes even seen as equivalent to "pragmatics." Examples of Functional-Grammar applications to ancient Greek are Wakker 1994 (see §76 below), H.J. Dik 1995 (see note 128 below), Revuelta Puigdollers 2009a (see §77 below), and Polo Arrondo 2007; 2011; forthcoming. I subscribe to a broader view of pragmatics, of which Functional Grammar is only one of several sub-branches.

<sup>115</sup> Kroon 1989 on *nam*, *enim*, *igitur*, and *ergo*; 1992 on several particles; 1994a on *at*; 1994b on Latin equivalents of Dutch *maar*; 1995 (monograph) on *nam*, *enim*, *autem*, *vero* and *at*; 1997 on discourse markers in a Functional-Grammar perspective; 1998 on a framework for Latin discourse markers; 2004, 2005, and 2009 on *quidem*; Kroon and Risselada 1998 and 2002 on *iam*.

<sup>116</sup> This approach is explicitly adopted by e.g. Wakker 1997a on γε, δῆ, ῆ, and μὴν in tragedy; 2009a on οὐν and τοῖνυν in Lysias; Schrickx 2011 on Latin particles; Bonifazi 2012:185-291 on several discourse markers in Homer.

interactional level, finally, concerns the exchange and relationships between speaker and addressee within a particular communicative situation.

§73 Numerous other scholars have analyzed Latin particles using a pragmatic approach.<sup>117</sup> Particularly prolific scholars from the 1990s onwards include Orlandini,<sup>118</sup> Risselada,<sup>119</sup> and Rosén.<sup>120</sup> Recently, Schrickx has published several articles and a monograph on Latin particles.<sup>121</sup> In her 2011 book, this author points to problems of terminology and definition in the research on Latin particles, similar to the situation in studies of other languages. Schrickx mainly builds on Kroon 1995, and chooses Functional Discourse Grammar (see especially Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) as her approach.

§74 Let us now turn to pragmatic analyses of Greek particles.<sup>122</sup> E.J. Bakker (to be distinguished from S.J. Bakker) has done important work in this area: from the 1980s onward he has published on several particles, primarily in Homer.<sup>123</sup> His approach is to a large extent

---

<sup>117</sup> Examples are Revuelta Puigdollers 1998 on Latin “focusing particles”; Langslow 2000 on the diachronic development of several Latin particles, and the influence of genre differences; Moore 2006 on *videlicet*; Tarrío Ruiz 2009 on several Latin adverbs and particles; Molinelli 2010 on the pragmaticalization of certain Latin verb forms into discourse markers; Pinkster 2010 on *quia* and *quoniam*; Holmes 2011 on *nam*; Goldstein 2013 on *nedum*. See also the elaborate online bibliography on Latin particles at <http://latinparticles.userweb.mwn.de>, maintained by Josine Schrickx (last accessed 27 Feb., 2017).

<sup>118</sup> Her particle publications include Orlandini 1994 on *at*; 1995 on *atqui* and *immo*; 1999 on *autem* and *ceterum*; Orlandini and Poccetti 2007 and 2009 on several particles.

<sup>119</sup> Her particle publications include Risselada 1994 on *modo* and *sane* in directives; 1996 on *nunc*; 1998a on *sane*; 1998b on *tandem* and *postremo*; 2005 on particles in questions; Kroon and Risselada 1998 and 2002 on *iam*.

<sup>120</sup> Her particle publications include Rosén 1989 on several Latin particles; 1993 on *demum*; 2002 on several Latin particles as cohesive devices; 2003 on *immo*; 1999 on several Latin connecting particles; 2007 on *sed*; 2009 on several Latin particles.

<sup>121</sup> Her particle publications include Schrickx 2009 on *nam* and *namque*; 2010 on *nempe*; 2011 (monograph) on *nempe*, *quippe*, *scilicet*, *videlicet* and *nimirum*; 2014 on *scilicet* and *videlicet*.

<sup>122</sup> In the following overview, I will restrict myself to monographs on particles and scholars who have published repeatedly on this topic. Numerous other articles on Greek particles that adopt a modern linguistic approach are mentioned and summarized in the forthcoming database *Online Repository of Particle Studies*.

<sup>123</sup> His particle publications include E.J. Bakker 1986, 1988, and 1993c on *περ*; 1993a on *δέ*; 1993b on *ἄρα*; 1997a on many aspects of the Homeric language, including the use of *ἄρα*, *αὐτάρ*, *γάρ*, *δέ*, *δή*, *καί*, *μέν*, and *οὖν*; 2005 on *γάρ*, *γε*, *δέ*, *καί*, *περ*, and *τε*; 2011 for a short overview of Homeric particles.



based on the insights of the cognitive linguist Chafe (e.g. 1980, 1994), who argues that spoken language represents the speaker's flow of consciousness. Bakker approaches the Homeric poems in a similar way: he interprets the "intonation units" that make up the epics as reflecting the singer's focus of consciousness at a given moment. In other words, Bakker takes into account the wider textual context as well as the cognitive constraints on the speaker and listener.

§75 Sicking published several works on Greek particles in the 1980s and 1990s as well.<sup>124</sup> He implicitly adopts a pragmatic approach, as he emphasizes the general importance of analyzing segments larger than sentences, and of viewing language as a means for communication rather than merely a means for the expression of thoughts.<sup>125</sup> Sicking's 1993 study on particles in Lysias is published together with Van Ophuijsen 1993 on four particles in Plato.<sup>126</sup> Like Sicking, Van Ophuijsen takes a general pragmatic approach.

§76 Wakker adopts a pragmatic approach in her various studies of (primarily classical) Greek particles, published from the 1990s onwards.<sup>127</sup> In her 1994 monograph on conditional clauses in several Greek genres she uses the framework of Functional Grammar, mainly developed by S.C. Dik in 1978 and 1989.<sup>128</sup> In later publications (1997a on γε, δή, ἤ, and μήν in

---

<sup>124</sup> His particle research includes Sicking 1986 on classical Greek; 1993 on Lysias; 1996 and 1997 on Plato.

<sup>125</sup> Sicking 1986:125-126, 138-139; 1993:7-8; 1997:157, 173-174. On 1986:136 and 1993:48 he cites the framework of Functional Grammar by S.C. Dik 1978 (see note 114 above).

<sup>126</sup> Van Ophuijsen and Stork 1999 also pay considerable attention to particle use in their commentary on parts of book 7 of Herodotus' *Histories*.

<sup>127</sup> See Wakker 1994 on ἄρα, γε, δή, καί, περ, που, and τοι in conditional clauses in several authors; 1995 on several particles in Sophocles; 1996 on μάν and μήν in Theocritus; 1997a on μήν in tragedy; 1997b on several particles in Herodotus and Thucydides; 2001 on μέν in Xenophon; 2002 on ἤδη in Xenophon; 2009a on οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias; 2009b on several particles in several authors.

<sup>128</sup> Similarly to Wakker, H.J. Dik uses Functional Grammar in her 1995 monograph on word order in Herodotus, and includes some observations on particle use. Polo Arrondo 2007; 2011; forthcoming on πλήν also uses the framework.

tragedy; 2009a on οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias) Wakker adopts the discourse model developed by Kroon 1995 (see above, §72).

§77 Revuelta Puigdollers has investigated several Greek particles in the 1990s and 2000s.<sup>129</sup> He pays special attention to αὖ and αὖτε, and to πάλιν. In his 2006a article on πάλιν Revuelta Puigdollers uses, as Wakker does, ideas from Functional Grammar as well as from the discourse model developed by Kroon 1995. His 2009a and 2009b publications, which mainly analyze αὖ and αὖτε, explicitly apply Functional Grammar.

§78 The volume *New approaches to Greek particles* (1997) edited by Rijksbaron presents several applications of modern linguistic frameworks to the study of Greek particles. Apart from Wakker, Basset 1997 on ἀλλά, Jacquinod 1997 on καίτοι, and Slings 1997 on adversative particles use specific approaches that fall under pragmatics.<sup>130</sup>

§79 Bonifazi throws light on several particles and adverbs in Homeric Greek (2008, 2009, and 2012). The author analyzes αὖ, αὖτε, αὐτάρ, αὖτις, αὐτίκα, αὐτως, αὖθι/αὐτόθι, and αὐτοῦ from a pragmatic perspective, explicitly applying insights from coherence approaches to discourse markers in modern languages, as well as from Relevance Theory, in particular the concept of “procedural meaning.”<sup>131</sup> She also builds on E.J. Bakker’s work on particles and Homer, and on Kroon’s 1995 research on Latin particles.

§80 In 2009 S.J. Bakker and Wakker published *Discourse cohesion in ancient Greek*, a collection of papers on several cohesive devices, including particles. In that volume S.J. Bakker discusses γάρ and οὖν in Plato; Drummen analyzes ἀλλά in drama; Van Erp Taalman Kip writes about καὶ

---

<sup>129</sup> His particle research includes Revuelta Puigdollers 1996 (the author’s unpublished dissertation) on αὖ, αὖτε, αὖθις, ἄψ, πάλιν and ὀπίσω; 2000 on focus particles; 2006a on πάλιν; 2006b is an overview of Greek particles; 2009a and 2009b on αὖ, αὖτε, and other particles as topicalizing devices (2009b is a more elaborate version of 2009a); 2013 on an overview of Greek particles.

<sup>130</sup> Basset and Jacquinod mainly build on the ideas of Ducrot 1972, 1975, 1980, 1984; Slings on those of Polanyi and Scha 1983, and Roulet *et al.* 1985.

<sup>131</sup> Bonifazi 2012 drops “procedural meaning” in favor of the terms proposed by Kroon 1995 (see §72 above).

μήν, καὶ δὴ, and ἤδη in drama; Revuelta Puigdollers investigates αὖ and αὖτε in several genres; and Wakker delves into οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias.<sup>132</sup> Each of these authors emphasizes different aspects of the broad framework of pragmatics.

§81 A recent particle study that takes a Construction Grammar approach is Koier 2013 on πού in several genres.<sup>133</sup> The author identifies co-textual features that lead to a specific interpretation of this multifunctional particle. In addition, she carries out a diachronic analysis in order to describe the functional development of πού from Homer to Isocrates.

### 1.3.5 Conclusions about modern linguistic approaches

§82 The above discussion makes it clear that in recent years much linguistic research has been carried out on words in various languages that are functionally similar to ancient Greek particles. These words are often called “discourse markers.” Three related issues surrounding them recur: terminology, definition, and classification. Despite disagreements on these points, scholars of discourse markers have developed many theoretical insights and methodological tools. Different approaches are used in discourse-marker studies, with varying assumptions, questions, and methods. Several of them have already been applied to the study of Greek and Latin particles by numerous classicists.

§83 The study of Greek particles can profit from taking into account both the findings of previous work on the particles themselves—the “horizontal axis” of my research—and the theoretical and methodological insights of contemporary research on functionally similar words in other languages—my work’s “vertical axis.” The intellectual footprint of this vertical

---

<sup>132</sup> R.J. Allan 2009 on narrative modes in Euripides in the same volume also provides many remarks on particles. Additionally, George 2009 in the same volume is highly relevant to the study of particles, although not because of particular pragmatic analyses. Instead, he qualifies the findings of Duhoux 1997a; 1997b; 1998; 2006 on the distribution of particles across dialogic versus non-dialogic texts.

<sup>133</sup> See §§58-62 above on Koier’s analysis of the Dutch particle *ergens*, published in the same monograph.

axis is discernible in my sensitivity to the kind of language use being studied (as in coherence approaches), to the communicative actions performed by speakers (as in CA), to the constraints on interpretation that particles may encode (as in RT), and to the specific contextual features that influence our interpretation (as in CxG).

§84 In other words, the insights of these and similar approaches have led me to approach Greek particles the way I do: not as syntactically irrelevant parts of sentences, but as pragmatically crucial parts of verbal interactions. Particles were important to the communicative strategies that the represented characters on stage used to interact with each other, as well as to the strategies used by the authors themselves to communicate with their original fifth-century BCE audiences. If viewed through the analytic tools offered here, particles can once again be of aid to the modern readers of these fascinating literary works.

## Distribution as input for interpretation

### 2.1 Introduction

§1 Language use varies according to different communicative situations, also within literature. Writers make different linguistic choices, for example, when depicting a long battle scene, when imagining a courtroom audience, or when composing a love poem. Not only will we find other words: the kind of grammatical constructions and the use of function words will change as well. In general and cross-linguistically, the communicative situation influences many linguistic choices.<sup>1</sup> Linguistic variation based on situational context has been the subject of the fields of register studies and Construction Grammar, which have developed the concepts of “register” and “discourse pattern.” In this chapter I will build on this research to explore particle use in Greek drama.

§2 Dialogues, monologues, and choral songs may be considered the clearest communicative situations in Greek drama, each with different functional and formal characteristics. Because of these differences, a particle’s distribution across these three formats illuminates its functions and uses. If a particle is usually more frequent in one part rather than another, this means that it is connected to specific pragmatic goals associated with that situation. Consequently, the non-random macro-distributions of particles contribute to the interpretation of their local functions. My analysis in this way refines specific readings of particles, and at the same time highlights pragmatic characteristics of each conventional part

---

<sup>1</sup> On the fundamental dependency of linguistic choices on communicative situations, see, among many others, Schegloff, Ochs, and Thompson 1996 (they speak of “the thoroughgoing situatedness of language’s observable engagement with the world,” 26); Linell 2009 (e.g. 16: “sense-making processes and situated discourse are *always* interdependent with contexts.” [emphasis original]).

of the dramas, which inform, and are informed by, the use of linguistic features other than particles as well. We shall see that the distributions differ widely across the particles, and that each particle has different associations that explain why it is more or less frequent in a certain situation. A variety of topics, such as shared knowledge, the speaker's prominence, and allusions to other genres, will therefore come up in my explanations.

§3 I begin by introducing the concepts of “register” and “discourse pattern” (§§4-9), and then discuss previous research on linguistic variation in Greek drama (§§10-15), and situate my analytical method within the scholarship (§§16-21). The main part of the chapter (§§22-89) discusses the distributions of eleven particles (ἀλλά, γάρ, γε, δέ, δή, δῆτα, ἤ, καί, μέν, οὖν, and τε) in order of their frequencies, and uses these distributions as input for interpretation. Finally, in §§90-95 I will present my conclusions.

### **2.1.1 Theoretical background: registers and discourse patterns**

§4 Scholars who study “registers” or “discourse patterns” aim to learn about the interrelation between situational and linguistic variation. The situational variation includes, in the case of different formats within tragedy or comedy, sub-situations within one larger situation. Such a language variation depending on the communicative situation is often called a “register.”<sup>2</sup> Halliday 1978 argues that registers mainly differ semantically, and that their lexicogrammatical differences derive from these semantic differences.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Agha 2001:212 defines a register as “a linguistic repertoire that is associated, culture internally, with particular social practices and with persons who engage in such practices.” A main method developed in register studies, which are part of sociolinguistics, is to study the co-occurrence

---

<sup>2</sup> On registers and register variation, see e.g. Agha 2001; Biber 1994, 1995, 2006, 2010; Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998; Conrad and Biber (eds.) 2001; Dittmar 2010; Halliday 1978; Quaglio 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Halliday 1978:185.

patterns of linguistic features in different texts.<sup>4</sup> Co-occurrence tendencies tell us something about the functions of the counted linguistic features, for “co-occurrence reflects shared function.”<sup>5</sup>

§5 Furthermore, register studies provide evidence for different dimensions of variation in order to interpret the co-occurrence patterns. These dimensions have both linguistic and functional content: they are sets of co-occurring linguistic features that can be tied to a certain communicative aspect, such as the degree of formality or narrativity.<sup>6</sup> For example, a high frequency of first- and second-person pronouns, imperatives, questions, and a low frequency of nouns typically co-occur in certain English registers, such as informal conversation. These linguistic characteristics belong to the same dimension of variation; together they indicate high involvement of the speaker, and little time for speech production. Other dimensions concern, for example, narrative versus non-narrative texts, or the presence of an impersonal style. Such dimensions can also illuminate linguistic differences between different parts of a literary work, as an author may mimic a certain register more in one part than in another.

§6 The terminology used in register studies is not always clearly defined. In particular, researchers use the term “register” to refer to extralinguistic, situational characteristics, or to linguistic co-occurrence patterns, or to the combination of both. In other words, it is ambiguous whether form, meaning, or both are included in “register.” As Lee 2001 and Sampson 1997 point out, there is much terminological confusion in the scholarly literature about terms such as “genre,” “register,” and “text type”: different authors use these terms in a different way, without clearly distinguishing between them. Lee 2001 attempts a clarification: he notes that “genre” is sometimes set in opposition to “text type,” with “genre” referring to

---

<sup>4</sup> See e.g. Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Biber 1994:36; 2006:178; Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:147; Conrad and Biber 2001:6.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Biber 1988:*passim*; 1994:35-36; Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:148. Willi 2010:309, on ancient Greek registers, also discusses multidimensional analysis.

criteria external to the text (such as the audience and nonverbal activity), and “text type” referring to internal criteria (such as lexical and grammatical co-occurring features). Additionally, he observes, “genre” tends to be associated with social purposes of language, while “register” tends to be associated with the situation or immediate context. Despite Lee’s efforts to clarify, however, “genre,” “register,” and “text type” are often used interchangeably.

§7 In Construction Grammar, a cognitive approach to language use, the similar term “discourse pattern” was developed. Construction Grammar assumes that all the linguistic knowledge of speakers and writers is stored in symbolic pairings of form and meaning, called “constructions.”<sup>7</sup> The form can be anything, from a morpheme to a word, a phrase, a sentence, or a metrical pattern. Like the form, the meaning may also be as specific or abstract as the construction in question requires. Examples of constructions that have been studied from this perspective are the classical Greek potential optative, and pragmatic particles in several languages.<sup>8</sup>

§8 Östman 2005 argues that even whole texts, such as recipes, novels, or conversations, should be considered constructions, because their general make-up is part of the linguistic knowledge of speakers and writers.<sup>9</sup> That is, speakers and writers know which specific forms are allowed and appropriate in which kinds of text. An entire text, Östman argues, can thus be one construction, with a “form” pole and a “meaning” pole. He calls these large constructions “discourse patterns”: they are “conventionalized associations between text type and genre”

---

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Croft and Cruse 2004 for a general overview of Construction Grammar; see also chapter 1, section 3.2.4.

<sup>8</sup> On the classical Greek potential optative, see Drummen 2013; on pragmatic particles, see e.g. Fischer 2010 (on English); Fried 2009 (on Czech); Fried and Östman 2005 (on Czech and Solv).

<sup>9</sup> In his 2005 article, Östman builds on his 1999 article, in which he introduces the cognitive concept of discourse pattern but does not elaborate on its possible link to Construction Grammar. Antonopoulou and Nikiforidou 2011 apply Östman’s concept of discourse pattern to an analysis of discursal incongruity, which may have humorous effects. For example, when formal features that are part of the discourse patterns “classroom discourse” or “philological text edition,” such as footnotes, are taken over in a different context, the borrowing may signal a parody of the genre of origin.



(132), just as constructions are conventionalized form-meaning pairings. What is acceptable as a whole text, he argues (127), is subject to similar conventionalizations as what is grammatical as a sentence.

§9 The form pole, called “text type” by Östman, is highly general, and much less filled in with specific words and forms than a small construction such as a word or a phrase. It includes information about the relative frequency of linguistic features, in comparison to other discourse patterns. The meaning pole, which Östman calls “genre,”<sup>10</sup> is also general: it can be a designation such as “an academic article,” “a recipe,” or, we may infer, “an Aristophanic lyric song.” The broad, overarching meaning is not derivable from the parts of the construction, such as a high frequency of nouns, imperatives, or a certain particle. Although it is clear that “discourse pattern” includes both form and meaning, it is also a problematic term, because Östman uses the poorly defined terms “text type” and “genre” (see above, §6) to define it.

### **2.1.2 Research on linguistic variation in ancient Greek drama**

§10 Linguistic variation in Greek drama has been studied from different perspectives using different terminology. For example, Earp discusses several aspects of “style” in two monographs, one written in 1944 on Sophocles, and the other in 1948 on Aeschylus.<sup>11</sup> The major stylistic difference he identifies is between “elevated” and “colloquial” style.<sup>12</sup> Earp describes several factors that influence differences in frequency and use of associated linguistic features. One factor is time: because Aeschylus and Sophocles developed their styles

---

<sup>10</sup> Note that I use the term “genre” in a different way, that is, to refer to established literary genres, such as epic, tragedy, and historiography. On the dynamic nature of this concept, see e.g. Nagy 1999, who argues that genre is not an absolute concept, but different genres are interdependent; likewise Mastrorarde 2000, who argues that a genre such as tragedy is a moving, not a frozen form.

<sup>11</sup> Earp does not define “style” precisely, but his use of this term roughly equals the use of “register” in later research.

<sup>12</sup> On colloquialisms in tragedy, see also Stevens 1976 on Euripides, West 1990 on Aeschylus, and Halla-Aho and Kruschwitz 2010 on early Roman tragedy.

over the course of their careers, fewer ornamental epithets appear in the later Aeschylean plays than in the earlier ones, and similarly the use of amplification declines in Sophocles. Two other factors influencing stylistic difference are a play's subject matter and the purpose of each individual scene. Earp finds that "intense emotion leaves little room for conventional ornament" in Aeschylus (1948:57), and that Sophocles uses antithesis mainly in argumentative contexts (1944:95).<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the most important factor is the difference between lyric parts and what Earp calls "dialogue," i.e. all non-sung parts. "Ornament" and other "elevated" features are more frequent in lyric, "for the same mood which impels us to sing impels us also to use heightened language" (1948:78). Even though Earp does not pay attention to particle use, here and in many other places he shows great sensitivity to the influence of external factors, such as communicative situation and a depicted speaker's goals, upon language variation.<sup>14</sup>

§11 Other scholars note similar linguistic tendencies, though without analyzing as many details as Earp does. Examples are Ruijgh 1971:988-989, H.J. Dik 2007:6, and Rutherford 2010:441, 443-444, who draw attention to the linguistic differences between lyric and iambic parts of tragedies. According to Ruijgh, the non-sung parts are mainly based on contemporary Attic, whereas the sung parts are strongly modeled on choral lyric, usually from different dialects. Baechle 2007 provides metrical and prosodic evidence for the similar claim that "the tragedians had a very highly developed sense of what style was appropriate to dialogue, as opposed to tragic lyric" (4). Rutherford 2010 juxtaposes a lyric passage, an excerpt from a long *rhexis*, and a stichomythic passage, in order to illustrate the main "modes" (448) of tragic

---

<sup>13</sup> Concerning antithesis in tragedy, Finley 1939:57-59 argues that Sophocles and Euripides were both influenced by the antithetical style of the sophists. Sophocles' *Antigone*, Finley claims (58), is "in style the most antithetical (...) of all extant Greek tragedies." This play therefore shows the influence of prose style on Sophocles. See also Navarre 1900:106 on antithesis in tragedy.

<sup>14</sup> For recent discussion of different styles in tragedy, see e.g. Rutherford 2010 and 2012.

language. Barlow 1971, a study on imagery in Euripides, emphasizes different distinctions: this author includes separate discussions of (1) choral odes, (2) monody and lyric dialogue, (3) messenger speeches, and (4) *rheseis* and iambic dialogues. She notes for example that the two lyric “modes” employ an “elevated tone” (43).

§12 With a different perspective, Sideras 1971 demonstrates that Aeschylus employs many Homerisms, in lexicon, syntax, morphology, word order, and rhetorical figures.<sup>15</sup> Sideras does not mention particle use, but we will see in this chapter that also in that domain Aeschylus resembles Homer more than the other tragedians. Stevens 1976, furthermore, discusses “colloquialisms” in Euripides, using other genres, mainly Aristophanes, as evidence that certain expressions, including specific particle constructions, were felt as “colloquial.”<sup>16</sup> With this term he means less suited for “poetic,” “prosaic,” or “neutral” language (2). However, as he admits (64), most of these expressions are not frequent enough to provide statistically significant information about their distributions, and the effect of different expressions varies. On top of that, any classification of certain features as colloquial involves a certain degree of subjectivity, as e.g. Collard 2005:358 points out.

§13 Concerning Aristophanes, likewise, Dover 1972 notes the linguistic differences between lyric and iambic parts. Lyric passages share vocabulary with “the serious lyrics of tragedy,” but are still more similar to comic dialogue, even though “the expression is more concentrated” (71).<sup>17</sup> In other words, I infer, lyric parts are generally more concerned with *what* is said, and *how*, than iambic parts, and less with *who* is saying it to *whom*. Comedy as a whole, Dover argues, “combines all the registers of Greek utterance which are known to us: at one extreme a

---

<sup>15</sup> On linguistic and other similarities between Aeschylus and Homer, see also e.g. Schnyder 1995:24-25.

<sup>16</sup> Collard 2005 supplements Stevens’ work, adding many examples from Euripides as well as Aeschylus and Sophocles. See also López Eire 1996 on colloquialisms in Aristophanes.

<sup>17</sup> Compare Rutherford’s remarks on tragic lyric: “imagery is denser and more complex than in the iambic parts (2010:444).

solemnity evocative of heroic warfare and gorgeous processions, at the other a vulgarity inadmissible in polite intercourse” (72).

§14 Willi’s exploration of “registers” in classical Greek (2010a) is an important precedent to the current study.<sup>18</sup> The author builds upon register studies in order to analyze linguistic differences across Greek (parts of) texts in a detailed manner. He undertakes a sample study of three registers: that of forensic oratory, that of historiography, and that of the approximation of casual conversation. He gives the number of occurrences of 23 linguistic features in six roughly contemporaneous text samples of 1,000 words each.<sup>19</sup> Several of these features indeed seem to be influenced by the register that is appropriate to the text in question. For example, nouns are more common in historiography than in the other genres, whereas the inverse distribution is found for first-person verbs. I will refer to specific results of Willi’s study at several points below.

§15 The underlying assumption of all the preceding scholarship is that situational differences within plays are reflected in linguistic differences. When the chorus members sing a song, for example, this constitutes a different communicative situation in drama than when characters have a dialogue: the meter, music, speakers, length of the turns, and communicative goals are different. The assumption that these differences influence language choices also informs the current work.

---

<sup>18</sup> Also Willi’s 2010b publication on the language of comedy is relevant: there the author notes that comic dialogue is characterized by colloquialisms, such as a high frequency of parataxis, “certain particles or function words” (483), and oaths (488).

<sup>19</sup> The features that Willi takes into account and that are also considered here are nouns, first- and second-person references (in his study only verbs), future indicatives, finite passives, participles, oaths; features appearing in his study but not counted by me are adjectives, pronouns, past-tense indicatives, perfect indicatives, subjunctives, potential optatives, imperatives (I included second-person imperatives in the category of second-person references), relative clauses, conditional clauses, direct questions, average sentence length, vocative phrases (I included these in the category of second-person references). Note that Willi has counted “particles” as one feature comprising a group of 21 lexical items (ἀλλά, ἄν, ἄρα, ἀτάρ, αὖ, γάρ, γε, γοῦν, δέ, δή, δήπου, δήτα, ἦ, καίτοι, μέν, μέντοι, μήν, οὔν/ὄν, περ, τοι, τοίνυν), but excluding e.g. καί and τε.

### 2.1.3 Methodology in this chapter

§16 This chapter builds on Willi's study and the other research described above, focusing on the three main communicative situations of Greek drama, and specifically using the results as input for the interpretation of particles.<sup>20</sup> Because of the specific focus on particle use, information about the distributions of 14 individual particles is taken into account. In scope and detail, my study fills a gap in previous work, as Earp does not discuss particle use at all, and Willi mentions particles only as a group, without considering the distribution of individual items. I also refine earlier work by distinguishing three different situations, rather than only a iambic and lyric part.<sup>21</sup>

§17 The frequencies of 25 linguistic features have been collected in three communicative formats within tragedy and comedy: (1) iambic dialogues with short turns of speaking, (2) iambic monologues, and (3) lyric choral songs. These settings constitute the bulk of tragedy and comedy, and have a clearly distinct linguistic shape. Delving into the linguistic shapes associated with these three communicative formats therefore forms a natural starting point for this type of investigation in drama. Indirectly, my study may shed light on the linguistic

---

<sup>20</sup> What I am not exploring here are related concepts such as key words (for which see e.g. Scott and Tribble 2006), formulaic language, as investigated in modern languages (for which see e.g. Corrigan, Moravcsik, Ouali, and Wheatley (eds.) 2009; Wray and Perkins 2000), and discourse modes (for which see e.g. Smith 2003 on English; Adema 2007 on Virgil; R.J. Allan 2007 on Thucydides; 2009 on Euripides). The investigation of key words tends to focus on (clusters of) words only, not on grammatical features or the co-occurrence of several features. Studies of key words therefore do not aim to give an overview of the linguistic differences between language varieties. The study of formulaic language (not to be confused with Homeric formulae) concerns expressions that are restricted in form and in distribution (Corrigan *et al.* 2009:xv). The aim of this research on formulae is to analyze their frequency, distribution, change, acquisition, use, explanations, and functions. That is, it focuses on several aspects of specific formulae, rather than on entire language varieties in different situations. Discourse modes or narrative modes are very similar concepts to registers or discourse patterns. However, discourse modes are linguistic units, close to the concept of "text type" as used by Östman. They are mainly identified by the patterns of linguistic features found; discourse patterns and registers, in contrast, are identified first by the communicative situation, after which their linguistic shape is investigated.

<sup>21</sup> See Rutherford 2010:448-453, mentioned in §11 above. Another addition is the use of a statistical chi-squared test to verify the significance of my findings; see §21 below.

tendencies of rarer formats as well, such as anapaests and lyric parts sung by individual characters, which I leave out of consideration here. For my data collection, turns in the dialogue patterns are no more than 4 lines long; monologues are at least 15 lines long in Aristophanes, and at least 25 lines long in tragedy. The corpus used for this collection is made up of a collection of passages, rather than entire plays.<sup>22</sup>

§18 The count includes a selection of 14 different particles: ἀλλά, ἄρα/ἄρα,<sup>23</sup> γάρ, γε,<sup>24</sup> δέ, δή, δῆτα, ἦ, καί,<sup>25</sup> μέν, μέντοι, μήν, οὖν,<sup>26</sup> and τε. Other linguistic features selected are nouns,

<sup>22</sup> It includes passages from my twelve core texts as well as from other plays, namely dialogues, monologues, and choral songs from Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, Euripides' *Andromache*, and Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen*; monologues and choral songs from Aristophanes' *Clouds*; and choral songs from Sophocles' *Women of Trachis*. For the twelve core plays of my general corpus, see chapter 1 §5.

The passages have the following total size:

	Aeschylus	Sophocles	Euripides	Aristophanes	<i>total</i>
dialogues	2,235	6,424	5,152	3,636	17,447
monologues	3,729	7,732	9,554	1,997	23,012
choral songs	3,881	3,076	3,199	1,715	11,871
<i>total</i>	9,845	17,232	17,905	7,348	52,330

Table 1. Number of words in the selected passages

For the linguistic features nouns and participles I used a smaller tragic corpus. Because of the high average frequency of these features, a smaller tragic corpus was sufficient to get statistically significant results: 5,075 words from dialogues (1,455 Aeschylus, 1,975 Sophocles, 1,645 Euripides); 7,599 words from monologues (1,280 Aeschylus, 3,573 Sophocles, 2,746 Euripides); and 5,103 words from choral songs (2,311 Aeschylus, 1,455 Sophocles, 1,337 Euripides).

<sup>23</sup> I did not distinguish between ἄρα and ἄρα for this count, because the difference in function depends primarily on its position, rather than on whether the alpha is long. That is, in act- or clause-initial position ἄρα is the question particle, while in peninitial position both ἄρα and ἄρα can be found. The distribution of ἄρα/ἄρα turned out not to be statistically significant, as the particle is relatively infrequent in drama; see note 34 below.

<sup>24</sup> The instances of γε counted include those of γοῦν. This latter particle is still clearly recognizable as a combination of γε and οῦν; see e.g. Hoogeveen 1769:232-233, Kühner 1835:399, and Bäumllein 1861:188. Denniston 1950 [1934]:448 notes that it is even disputed when to write γ' οῦν as two words. In any case, γοῦν is highly infrequent compared to γε (on average 0.02% in Aeschylus, 0.02% in Sophocles, 0.01% in Euripides, and 0.05% of all words in Aristophanes).

<sup>25</sup> The instances of καί counted include all crasis forms.

participles, finite verbs, imperfects, present indicatives, future finite verbs, finite passives, first-person references, second-person references,<sup>27</sup> negations, and swearing expressions.<sup>28</sup> These can be compared to features of modern languages that are analyzed in register studies.<sup>29</sup>

§19 Note that it is not my goal to describe all linguistic characteristics of the three communicative settings. Differences in lexical semantics, for example, are not taken into account here, despite their relevance for situationally-motivated linguistic variation; these differences involve subjective judgments, and are therefore harder to quantify.<sup>30</sup> The current study uses the frequencies of a limited number of linguistic features;<sup>31</sup> my objective is to use these distributions, whenever possible, in order to understand particles better. The features chosen have a relatively clear general function, and can be compared to modern-language features that have been analyzed in register studies. For example, Biber 1995:94-104 mentions nouns, past tense (markers), present tense (markers), passives, first- and second-person pronouns, and negations as among the features that distinguish registers in English, Tuvaluan, Korean, and Somali. I use these comparisons from modern languages on the assumption that

---

<sup>26</sup> The instances of οὖν counted include those of οὔκουν, οὐκοῦν, and γοῦν. See note 24 above; in these forms οὖν is usually considered to be recognizable. See e.g. Rost 1859 and Bäumllein 1861:173-198 for discussion of οὖν and several of its combinations.

<sup>27</sup> First- and second-person references include personal and possessive pronouns as well as verb forms and vocatives.

<sup>28</sup> Only swearing expressions in the form of νή or μά plus the name of a god or gods were included. I do not call these constructions “oaths,” as e.g. Willi 2010b:488 does, because in most cases in comedy they are not used in this manner (see (t10) on τε below for an example of a real oath).

<sup>29</sup> See §§19-20, §45, and §59 below for discussions of such features from modern languages.

<sup>30</sup> Clarke 2010 also points out other problems concerning the lexical semantics of Ancient Greek.

<sup>31</sup> I did not count the frequencies of, for instance, demonstratives, infinitives, imperatives, perfects, subjunctives, (potential or other) optatives, relative or conditional clauses, and questions. These features do appear in the sample study of Willi 2010a (see p. 307). Neither do I take into account the feature of sentence length, which he does mention. Where a “sentence” starts and ends in ancient Greek is partly a subjective decision by the editors. Since a “sentence” tends to contain at least one finite verb, short sentences in a certain passage are usually connected to a high frequency of finite verbs. I have chosen to focus on the frequencies of verbs and particles directly, rather than on their indirect reflection in punctuation choices by editors.

situational variation functions similarly across languages. That is, I assume that the use of, for example, first-person references or negations in ancient Greek drama is at least so similar to their use in different modern languages that a high or low frequency of these features reflects similar fundamental aspects of verbal communication. Such aspects can be, for instance, a high or low level of interactiveness or narrativity, as in modern-language registers that have been investigated.

§20 Biber 1995 also includes English discourse particles and Tuvaluan discourse linkers (in his terminology) in his register analysis, but only as a group. In his comparison of registers in ancient Greek, Willi 2010a similarly reports the combined frequency of 21 particles (see note 21). In my analysis, on the contrary, the distributions of each particle have been collected separately, which has allowed me to perceive distributional differences across particles.<sup>32</sup>

§21 To test the statistical significance of the attested distributions, I used the software of Preacher 2001 to calculate a chi-squared ( $\chi^2$ ) test of independence.<sup>33</sup> This test helps us to see whether it is likely that a certain distribution is indeed meaningful instead of due to mere

---

<sup>32</sup> It would be interesting to investigate whether functionally similar words in English or other languages also differ in their distribution across registers, since particles and discourse markers tend to show a wide functional variety in any language. See chapter 1, section 3, for more on this general functional variety.

<sup>33</sup> A chi-squared test calculates the probability that a certain attested distribution of a feature is found in samples from groups with the same average frequency of that feature, in which case that distribution would not be meaningful (“significant”). In our case, the “groups” are texts, that is, groups of words. The features are particles and other linguistic items with a certain number of occurrences in the different samples. An attested distribution yields a chi-squared value; from this value Preacher’s software calculates the probability, called p-value, that the given distribution would be attested in two random samples from the same text. If the p-value is very low (it may range between 0 and 1), then this attestation is very unlikely, and we may assume that the text A and B in fact do differ in their overall frequency of the feature in question. Normally a distribution with a p-value below 0.05 is considered statistically significant; this means that there is a less than 5% chance that the distribution is due to chance. For example, if a sample of 1,000 words from text A contains 22 δέ instances, and a sample of the same size from text B contains 45 δέ instances, the chi-squared value is 8.169; the p-value is 0.00426 (or 0.426%). This is smaller than 0.05 (or 5%), so the distribution is significant. Once significance has been established, we may then turn to explaining the difference in frequency of δέ between text A and B. (I thank Maxim Hendriks and Alessandro Vatri for their help in the use and explanation of the chi-squared test.)



chance. As is usual in statistical tests of this kind, I consider a chance of less than 5% significant.

## 2.2 Distributions illuminating functions

§22 In this main part of the chapter I use information about particle distributions as input for interpreting the particles' functions. If several playwrights consistently choose a certain particle more often in one of the settings, this suggests that that particle is associated with some communicative purposes or circumstances of the situation related to that situation. For example, a consistently higher frequency in dialogues may reflect the particle's association with more interactive speech. If no such consistent frequency differences can be detected for a certain particle, then this particle has several functions, each of which is associated with different communicative aspects, or its functions are equally relevant to all situations. In either case, tendencies on a macro-level can be illuminating for interpreting individual instances within their contexts.

§23 The analyses focus on different particles in order of their average frequency, starting from the most frequent ones. I will only discuss the eleven particles that have a statistically significant distribution in at least two out of four authors.<sup>34</sup>

### 2.2.1 δέ

§24 The most frequent particles overall are δέ and καί.<sup>35</sup> Aeschylus uses δέ especially often in choral songs, such as the one in *Agamemnon* 367-474:

---

<sup>34</sup> The distributions of ἄρα/ἄρα, μέντοι, and μήν are not statistically significant in most authors, because they are too infrequent overall. The frequency of ἄρα/ἄρα varies between 0.03 and 0.41% of all words; in Aeschylus it is significantly more frequent in dialogues, and least frequent in monologues. The frequency of μέντοι is 0 to 0.09% of all words. μήν occurs in frequencies between 0 and 0.25% of all words; Sophocles uses it significantly more often in dialogues, and least in choral songs.

<sup>35</sup> These particles are also the most frequent ones in Homer, Pindar, Herodotus, and Thucydides. See Bonifazi, Drummen, and De Kreij 2016:1.5 for an overview of particle frequencies. The distribution of δέ in the different

(t1)

(Χο.) (...) φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρ- (450)  
 πει προδίκους Ἀτρεΐδαις.  
 οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος  
 θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς  
 εὖμορφοι κατέχουσιν, ἔχ-  
 θρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν. (455)  
 βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις σὺν κότῳ, (ἀντ. γ)  
 δημοκράντου δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος·  
 μένει δ' ἀκοῦσαί τί μου (459)  
 μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές (460)

(Ch.) And grief steals over them, mixed with  
 resentment against the chief prosecutors, the  
 Atreidae. And over there, around the city wall, the  
 men in their beauty occupy sepulchres in the land  
 of Ilium: the enemy's soil covers its conquerors.  
 The talk of the citizens, mixed with anger, is a  
 dangerous thing: it is the equivalent of a publicly  
 ordained curse: I have an anxiety that waits to hear  
 of something happening under the cover of night.

*Aeschylus' Agamemnon 450-460*

The several instances of δέ have a relatively neutral function, signaling that a new step in the song has begun, or a new so-called discourse act.<sup>36</sup> The step can in principle correspond to anything: a new event in a narrative, an argumentative point, a vocative, a contrastive noun phrase, an apposition, and so on. In this passage, for example, the act φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει προδίκους Ἀτρεΐδαις (450-451) describes one aspect of the scene “Greeks grieving over men lost in Troy” that the singing elders are depicting. οἱ δ' in 452 constitutes a new step, signaling a switch from the grieving family at home to the deceased warriors themselves. The next δέ, in 455, introduces a new act again, adding another facet to the “deceased warriors at

---

drama parts varies between 1.98 and 5.20% of all words, and is significant for Aeschylus and Euripides. Aeschylus uses δέ most in songs (5.20%), less in monologues (4.13%), and least in dialogues (2.46%). Euripides has the highest δέ frequency in monologues (3.68%), a lower one in songs (3.38%), and the lowest in dialogues (2.41%).

<sup>36</sup> Discourse acts are short communicative steps in a text that may or may not coincide with a clause. On the concept of discourse act, see e.g. Sinclair and Coulthard 1975 and 1992; Hannay and Kroon 2005; De Kreij 2016c:II.2; Bonifazi 2016:IV.3. On the general function of δέ marking a new or different step, see e.g. Bäumllein 1861:89; Bakker 1993; 1997:62-68.

Troy” picture. In 456 δέ starts a gnomic clause, and simultaneously accompanies the start of a new antistrophe, a larger boundary than just a new communicative step. In fact, throughout this whole first stasimon (367–474) every strophe and antistrophe except for the very first strophe starts with a δέ. The parallels show that this is a typically Aeschylean phenomenon.<sup>37</sup> Admittedly, apart from this pragmatic boundary-marking function, the δέ instances in this passage work to prevent hiatus. However, other words could have been used for that as well, so its metrical function cannot have been the only justification for the use of δέ. In other words, the particle’s non-random distribution proves that it cannot have been mainly a metrical tool.

§25 The relatively high frequency of δέ in all three communicative settings in all four authors can be connected to the particle’s relatively neutral, “minimal” function, which makes it compatible with many different contexts and co-texts. The especially frequent use in Aeschylean choral songs makes their communication appear less explicitly subjective, since the nature of the connections between most speech segments is not spelled out. That is, the singers do not make it explicit how exactly they consider the pieces of their song to be related.<sup>38</sup> The “neutral” presentation fits the specific context at this moment of the *Agamemnon*: as Raeburn and Thomas 2011 point out in their commentary on this stasimon, the song contains many “shifts of thought,” but the idea of retribution unites the different topics.

---

<sup>37</sup> Other δέ instances at the start of choral (anti)strophes include Aeschylus’ *Persians* 74, 81, 86, 93, 106, 133, 576, 584; *Seven Against Thebes* 304, 333, 345, 357, 727, 734, 758, 778, 785, 900, 922; *Suppliant Women* 40, 57, 91, 96, 104, 122, 144, 154, 538, 547, 556, 565, 595, 688, 704, 743, 750, 757, 784, 792, 800, 1026, 1034, 1043, 1057; *Agamemnon* 122, 192, 205, 218, 228, 248, 385, 403, 420, 437, 699, 717, 727, 737, 750, 763, 772, 988; *Libation Bearers* 55, 603, 613, 623, 631, 639, 646, 794, 812, 831, 946, 965; *Eumenides* 155, 169, 366, 377, 550, 558, 938, 956, 976, 1040, 1044; Sophocles’ *Antigone* 117, 134, 955, 966, 1126; *Oedipus King* 883; *Oedipus at Colonus* 681, 694, 707; *Philoctetes* 719; *Women of Trachis* 962; Euripides’ *Alcestis* 121, 578, 973; *Andromache* 479, 1019, 1028, 1037; *Electra* 442, 452, 713; *Hecuba* 923, 933; *Helen* 1122, 1337; *Heracles* 655; *Hippolytus* 742; *Ion* 1061; *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 185, 231, 242, 253, 265, 557, 762; *Medea* 421, 431, 439, 636, 990, 996; *Phoenician Women* 239, 250; *Trojan Women* 531, 551.

<sup>38</sup> This less explicit textual organization is also reflected in an extremely low frequency of the particles γε and ἀλλά in Aeschylean choral songs: see below, Table 7 in note 114 on γε and Table 11 in note 130 on ἀλλά.

From the other instances of punishment in the song, Raeburn and Thomas note, the chorus can draw the obvious conclusion about Agamemnon’s upcoming fate, “but dare not voice it.” The audience, of course well aware of what will happen to the king, will understand what the song is hinting at.<sup>39</sup> In this context with emphasis on implicit meaning, the minimal boundary signals conveyed by the δέ instances are appropriate.

§26 The high frequency of δέ in Aeschylean songs may at the same time lend these passages an epic air, since δέ is very frequent especially in Homeric narrator text.<sup>40</sup> The songs share with epic a concern with famous, traditional stories and a general tendency to avoid explicitly encoding subjectivity. The same holds true for non-dramatic lyric, where δέ is similarly frequent.<sup>41</sup> The allusion to epic and lyric helps establish Aeschylean songs *qua* songs, that is, underscore their genre affiliations, as well as endow them with an authoritative voice, typically associated with these genres.

§27 Aeschylus uses δέ especially often in songs, but in monologues too he employs it more frequently than the other dramatists. As for Euripides, he uses δέ most in his monologues.<sup>42</sup> Consider the following passage from a messenger speech, which describes how Dionysus bent down a fir tree:

(t2)

(Aγ.) κυκλοῦτο δ' ὥστε τόξον ἢ κυρτὸς τροχὸς (Me.) It [i.e. the tree] began to curve like a bow or a

<sup>39</sup> See also Fraenkel 1950 *ad* 429, earlier in this same song: “*by smooth and almost imperceptible transitions*, we are led from the picture of the departing Helen and the sorrows of her husband back to the wretched victims of her rashness” (my emphasis). Also 429 contains a δέ.

<sup>40</sup> The average frequency of δέ in Homer is 5.4% (7.0% in narrator text and 2.9% in direct speech). See De Kreij 2016c:II.2. There are also several Homeric words in this song: see e.g. Fraenkel 1950 *ad* ῥίμφα 407, τλησικάρδιος 430, and οὐκ ἄσκοποι 462.

<sup>41</sup> The average frequency of δέ in Pindar is 3.6% of all words. See Bonifazi, Drummen, and De Kreij 2016:I.5.

<sup>42</sup> Unlike Aeschylus and Euripides, Sophocles and Aristophanes employ this particle roughly equally often throughout the three communicative situations. Aristophanes is especially fond of turn-initial δέ in quickly alternating dialogue; this construction occurs in Aeschylus as well, but in Aristophanes these instances make up a larger part of the total number of δέ. See chapter 4 §§34-38 for discussion and parallels of turn-initial δέ in drama.

<p>τόρνῳ γραφόμενος περιφορὰν ἑλικοδρόμον· ὥς κλῶν' ὄρειον ὁ ξένος χεροῖν ἄγων ἔκαμπτεν ἐς γῆν, ἔργματ' οὐχὶ θνητὰ δρῶν. Πενθέα δ' ἰδρύσας ἐλατίνων ὄζων ἔπι (1070) ὀρθὸν μεθίει διὰ χερῶν βλάστημ' ἄνω ἀτρέμα, φυλάσσων μὴ ἀναχαιτίσειέ νιν, ὀρθὴ δ' ἐς ὀρθὸν αἰθέρ' ἔστηρίζετο ἔχουσα νώτοις δεσπότην ἐφήμενον. ὤφθη δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ κατεῖδε μαινάδας (1075)</p>	<p>rounded wheel when its shape is being traced by the peg-and-line with its spiraling rotation. So the stranger, drawing down with his hands the mountain tree, bent it to the ground, a deed no mortal could do. Then, having set Pentheus atop the fir branches, he set the tree straight again by letting the branches slip upwards through his hands—gently, taking care not to unseat Pentheus—and sheer to sheer heaven it towered, with my master on its back. He now was seen by the maenads more than he saw them.</p>
--	--

Euripides' *Bacchae* 1066-1075

Again, δέ marks the boundaries of communicative units, which in this context are part of narrative steps.<sup>43</sup> Each narrative step in this excerpt is in fact constituted by several discourse acts; because of its neutral function, δέ may also appear at the boundaries of such multi-act units. First the messenger describes the bending of the fir tree (1066-1069). Next (δέ 1070), Dionysus places Pentheus on top of the tree and sets it straight again. Subsequently, the acts starting with δέ in 1073 describe what happened to the tree as a consequence. In 1075, finally, the particle introduces the next narrative event: the bacchantes see Pentheus on the tree. This next step is in fact the climax of the story, as reflected in the change from imperfects to aorist (ὤφθη, 1075). δέ thus helps to move the story forward from one event to the next, marking

---

<sup>43</sup> Other Euripidean messenger speeches with a high number of δέ instances are *Hippolytus* 1173-1254 and *Medea* 1136-1230. However, Hippolytus' argumentative and angry speech in *Hippolytus* 616-668 has an even higher frequency of δέ (19 instances in 333 words) than the narrative speech by the messenger; yet four of these δέ instances are in dubious, probably interpolated lines; see e.g. W.S. Barrett 1964 *ad loc.*

discrete steps in a continuous text, in a manner similar to its use in Homeric or Pindaric narrative.

§28 Although commentators do not remark on the high frequency of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  in Euripidean speeches, they often note that messenger speeches in general resemble epic language. For example, Page 1938 *ad Euripides' Medea* 1141 explains that messenger speeches are modeled upon epic.<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Palmer 1980 notes that in tragedy, “Homerisms are particularly frequent in messenger speeches” (133). J. Barrett, in his 2002 study of messenger speeches, argues that “the messengers’ narrative voice typically resembles that of epic” (xvi). In such epic environments, then, a higher frequency of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is also appropriate.

§29 Let us compare the distribution of three other linguistic features than particles, in order to establish an interpretive link between these other features and the distribution of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . First, imperfects are relatively frequent in monologues in all four authors. In (t2), for example, we find  $\kappa\upsilon\kappa\lambda\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron$  (1066),  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\tau\epsilon\nu$  (1069),  $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\iota}\epsilon\iota$  (1071; this form could also be present tense), and  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$  (1073). This high frequency of imperfects can be connected to a frequent occurrence of narratives in monologues.<sup>45</sup> On imperfects, Rijksbaron writes that it is “crucially

<sup>44</sup> He writes that messenger speeches “are the least dramatic parts of the drama: they are full of description, and while they are being spoken the action of the play is at a standstill. Their literary model is therefore the narrative of epic poetry, which they resemble in being descriptions of action rather than action itself. In this least dramatic, most epic, part of his play the poet turns to the language of the epic poets for one or two tricks of style.” See also e.g. Mastronarde 2002 *ad Euripides' Medea* 1116-1250, who speaks of “reminiscences of epic” in messenger speeches, and Rutherford 2010:444: tragic messenger speeches “often include reminiscences of epic narration.”

<sup>45</sup> The distribution of imperfects is as follows. In this table and following ones, a darker shade reflects a higher frequency. All four imperfect distributions are statistically significant.

Author	Dialogues	Monologues	Choral songs
Aeschylus	4	18	7
Sophocles	8	13	6
Euripides	3	11	4
Aristophanes	3	17	8

Table 2. Frequencies of imperfects in percentages of all finite verbs

connected with historical narrative” (1988:254): the imperfect “unequivocally locates a state of affairs in the past.” Likewise, Bakker 1997:20-21 considers the imperfect, but not the aorist, to be a true past tense. Rijksbaron observes (248) that in Herodotus, the imperfect is much more frequent in narrative than in direct speech.<sup>46</sup> In all four Greek dramatists, the imperfect’s distribution is in line with these observations: it is most common in monologues, the best setting for telling a story.<sup>47</sup> This distribution indirectly confirms the affinity of δέ for narrative contexts.

§30 Second, the distribution of present indicatives is useful in so far as we can interpret it in light of general, cross-linguistic functions of these forms and of other tense-mood combinations, that is, bound to characteristics of ancient Greek as well as other languages. Sophocles uses present indicatives most in choral songs, Euripides most in dialogues (for Aeschylus and Aristophanes the distribution is not significant).<sup>48</sup> In dialogues, the present tense tends to be communicatively appropriate because of the implied attention to the current

---

<sup>46</sup> Similarly, in English the past tense is more common in fiction texts than in other registers (Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:143).

<sup>47</sup> While the imperfect is generally less frequent in choral songs, there are exceptions. E.g. the third stasimon in Aeschylus’ *Persians* 852-907 contains a remarkably high frequency of imperfections: 4 to 8 forms out of all 12 finite verbs. The exact number of imperfections is unclear because of ambiguous forms (that can be both imperfect or aorist) and textual problems (that lead to ambiguity as to whether a form is imperfect or present). The Persian chorus members here relate how pleasant life was during the reign of king Darius. This song takes the audience out of the events of the play itself—the recent disaster and current lamentation—not into timeless considerations, as in many other choral songs, but into the chorus’ and the characters’ past. As Broadhead 1960 *ad loc.* points out, this praise of Darius’ deeds is fitting, because it follows naturally upon the previous ghost-scene; it also throws into relief the humiliation and misery of Darius’ son Xerxes. Italic 1953 and De Romilly 1974 also note the contrast between Darius and Xerxes.

Another choral song with many imperfections, relating past events from the play’s characters’ lives, is Sophocles’ *Women of Trachis* 497-530.

<sup>48</sup> The frequencies of present indicatives range from 35 to 43% of all finite verbs. For Sophocles: in dialogues 40%, in monologues 35%, and in choral songs 43% of all finite verbs. For Euripides: in dialogues 42%, and in both monologues and songs 36% of all finite verbs. For Aeschylus and Aristophanes the distributions are not significant.

speech situation.<sup>49</sup> In choral songs, conversely, the present tense fits references to general or timeless states. I relate the lower frequency of present indicatives in monologues to analogously general tendencies: this communicative setting is especially used in Classical drama for narratives about the past, and for argumentative purposes. Both scenarios typically require other verb forms besides present indicatives. The distribution of present indicatives, then, on a general level confirms my claim that the communicative situation determines linguistic choices, and more specifically strengthens the connection that I have drawn between monologues and narrative purposes. This indirectly supports my interpretation of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ 's distribution as reflecting, among other things, an affinity for narrative contexts.

§31 Third, the distribution of participles is similar to that of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ : participles are most frequent in Aeschylean choral songs and Euripidean monologues.<sup>50</sup> In the Ancient Greek register study by Willi 2010a, participles are found to be more frequent in oratory and historiography, and less frequent in texts that represent conversation. More participles, he observes, seem to be related to a greater average sentence length. Indeed, participles help to segment the text into small chunks, just as  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , but they achieve this syntactically; we can imagine that such syntactic chunking would be especially helpful in a long, complex turn of speaking.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> See Biber 1995:143 on the English present tense. He explains that the concern with immediate circumstances that present tense verbs reflect can be connected to interactivity and involvement.

<sup>50</sup> The frequencies of participles range from 3.2 to 6.3% of all words. In Aeschylus they are the most frequent in songs (6.3%), in Euripides and Aristophanes most in monologues (5.5% for both). For Sophocles the distribution is not significant.

<sup>51</sup> Besides this general function, participles' similarity to nouns may play a role in their distribution. They seem to be closer to nouns than finite verbs in this respect; see Tables 5 and 6 in note 89 below for the distributions of nouns and verbs. Fox 1983 explores the hybrid nature (between noun and verb) of the participle in Herodotus and argues that participles are backgrounding devices. Hopper and Thompson 1984:741 argue that participles cross-linguistically tend to share more with nouns than with verbs. I remind the reader here that I did not count the frequencies of adjectives, to which participles are closest in function. Observations on English registers (Biber 2006:14; Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:7) suggest that adjectives, like nouns, are connected to formality.



§32 To sum up the findings of this subsection,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is very frequent (compared to other particles) throughout the communicative settings in all authors, and especially so in Aeschylean choral songs. In this type of text, I have argued, the high frequency of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  reflects a seemingly neutral presentation of the communication in which the speaking “I” does not come to the fore, and evokes a Homeric style. Euripides’ preference for the particle in monologues may be explained by  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ’s affinity with narratives, and from the well-known link between messenger speeches and epic story telling. Other linguistic characteristics, such as the imperfect and present tenses and participles, also reflect such pragmatic associations in their distributions.

### 2.2.2 $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$

§33 The other frequently occurring particle,  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ , shows a striking distribution across the three situations. Aeschylus uses  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$  more often in dialogues, but Sophocles and Euripides prefer to use it in monologues. Aristophanes, however, uses it more often in songs.<sup>52</sup> The distribution of  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$ , then, reflects differences in particle use across the playwrights. In fact  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$  has multiple functions in all authors, but each author tends to exploit this variety in different contexts.

§34 Aeschylean dialogues are a case in point: they contain various  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$  constructions. Consider the following excerpt, from a scene in which the messenger is telling the Persian queen about the army’s defeat:

---

Infinitives are also missing from my counts; according to Fox 1983:28, infinitives in Herodotus are functionally closer to finite verbs than participles, which are closer to nouns.

<sup>52</sup> The average frequencies of  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$  are as follows; in all authors the distribution is statistically significant.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	3.09	2.90	1.67
Sophocles	2.52	3.50	2.15
Euripides	2.45	2.89	1.19
Aristophanes	2.86	3.61	4.14

Table 3. Frequencies of  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\iota$  in percentages of all words

(t3)

Βα. αἰαῖ, κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα

Πέρσαις τε καὶ πρόπαντι βαρβάρων γένει.

Αγγ. εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδέπω μεσοῦν κακόν· (435)

τοιιάδ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦλθε συμφορὰ πάθους,

ὡς τοῖσδε καὶ δις ἀντισηκῶσαι ῥοπήι.

Βα. καὶ τίς γένοιτ' ἄν τῆσδ' ἔτ' ἐχθίων τύχη;

Qu. Aiai, what a great sea of troubles has burst upon the Persians and the whole Eastern race!

Me. Well, be sure of this, the tale of disaster is not yet even half told: such a calamitous event has occurred, on top of what I have told you, that it outweighs that in the scale fully twice over.

Qu. What possible misfortune could be even more hateful than the one we have heard of?

Aeschylus' *Persians* 433-438

Each of the three instances of καί in this passage is part of a different construction. The first has a small scope and marks a close connection, together with τε,<sup>53</sup> between Πέρσαις, “the Persians,” and πρόπαντι βαρβάρων γένει, “the whole race of the barbarians.” The two items are semantically and morphologically similar, so there can be no doubt about the function of the particle combination. The second instance of καί, in 437, is not surrounded by two items that could be connected. It must be interpreted as pinning down and highlighting the adverb δις: “even twice” or “really twice.”<sup>54</sup> The third instance is found at the start of a question, and has a large scope over that entire question. In this construction the use of καί may imply the speaker’s surprise.<sup>55</sup> All of these specific functions interact with the dialogic situation at hand.

<sup>53</sup> On τε, see §§39-49 below.

<sup>54</sup> See Roussel 1960 *ad loc.* for this interpretation here; see IV.2 for discussion of this function of καί in general. Other examples of καί with this pinning-down function include Aeschylus' *Persians* 1045; *Seven against Thebes* 657, 760; Sophocles' *Antigone* 772, 1253; *Oedipus King* 557; Euripides' *Medea* 526; Aristophanes' *Knights* 342.

<sup>55</sup> See Broadhead 1960, Pontani 1951, Italie 1953, and Hall 1996 *ad loc.* Other examples of turn-initial καί with this “zooming-in” function, implying surprise or indignation, include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 280; *Libation Bearers* 179, 776; *Eumenides* 204, 206, 898; *Suppliant Women* 509; Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 976, 1019, 1023; *Oedipus at Colonus* 73, 414; Euripides' *Alcestis* 43; *Andromache* 917; Aristophanes' *Birds* 829, 963bis, 1437bis. On turn-initial καί in drama, see also chapters 3 §§81-86 and 4 §36. The three Aeschylean plays in my corpus have a higher relative frequency

The close connection marked by *τε καί* in 434 indicates that the two interlocutors share certain knowledge (see the subsection on *τε* below), drawing them closely into the interaction. The “even twice” highlight in 437 fits the messenger’s current dialogic task: to announce a further shocking narrative in addition to his earlier speeches. Finally, the implied surprise in 438 relates to the high interactiveness of this situation in which the speakers immediately react to each other after short utterances. In other words, the larger context of the communicative situation throws light on the interpretation of *καί*’s local functions that depend on the direct co-text.

§35 In Sophocles we find the highest frequency of this particle in monologues.<sup>56</sup> The following passage from a speech by Tecmessa, relating Ajax’ actions in his madness, illustrates this tendency:

(t4)

<p>(Τε.) ὁ δ’ εἶπε πρὸς με βαί’, αἰ δ’ ὑμνούμενα·  “γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴ φέρει.”  <u>κἀ</u>γὼ μαθοῦσ’ ἔληξ’, ὁ δ’ ἐσσύθη μόνος.  <u>καὶ</u> τὰς ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν πάθας· (295)  εἴσω δ’ ἐσηλθε συνδέτους ἄγων ὀμοῦ  ταύρους, κύνας βοτῆρας, εὐερόν τ’ ἄγραν.  <u>καὶ</u> τοὺς μὲν ἠύχενιζε, τοὺς δ’ ἄνω τρέπων  ἔσφαζε <u>κἀ</u>ρράχιζε, (...)</p>	<p>(Te.) But the words he spoke to me were few and hackneyed: “Woman, silence makes a woman beautiful.” Hearing this, I ceased, and he sped off alone. What happened there I cannot tell you; but he came in bringing with him bound bulls, herdsmen’s dogs, and woolly prizes. Some he decapitated, others he turned upside down and cut their throats or clove their spines, (...)</p>
--	--

Sophocles’ *Ajax* 292-299

---

of turn-initial *καί* than those of the other dramatists: 7.2% of the turns start with *καί*, whereas this percentage is 5.4 in Sophocles, 3.4 in Euripides, and 6.0 in Aristophanes.

<sup>56</sup> My corpus does not even contain any Sophoclean monologue without *καί*.

Again, we see the multifunctionality of the particle. The different *καί* instances have different scopes: the first three introduce whole clauses, the fourth one only one verb form. According to Stanford 1963 *ad* line 294, this *καί* indicates a consequence, and at the same time emphasizes the pronoun *ἐγώ*. The “consequence” Stanford refers to is implied by the co-text: the connection marked by *καί* can here be interpreted as “and therefore.” Jebb 1896 translates this *καί* with “and.” The instances in 295 and 298 (both untranslated by Jebb) each form an isolated discourse act on their own—an act boundary can be inferred from the *μέν* instances in the following acts. These two *καί* instances each project an upcoming multi-act structure, encompassing a *μέν* act, a *δέ* act, and more.<sup>57</sup> Finally, *καί* in 299 connects two items that are morphologically and semantically similar, just as we had seen for *τε καί* in the *Persians* example.<sup>58</sup> Jebb’s choice of “or” to translate this *καί* reflects that the particle and its co-text here carry different implications than in the other three instances. In the *καί* constructions in this monologue, then, the particle has slightly different pragmatic functions. These functions relate less to interactiveness, as I found in the dialogic example, and more to a speaker represented as taking her time to formulate her utterance.

§36 In some cases, mainly found in monologues, the two conjuncts connected by *καί* are so close in meaning that the second one can be interpreted as a specification or reformulation of the first one. *καί* then receives the paraphrase “that is,” “better to say,” “in other words,” or “to be more precise.” Here is an example of this construction from a monologue by Pentheus:

(t5)

---

<sup>57</sup> See chapter 5 §§30-31 on such “priming acts” typically used in calm contexts in drama.

<sup>58</sup> Other Sophoclean monologues with a high frequency of *καί* (more than 4% of all words) are *Ajax* 646-692; *Antigone* 162-210, 249-277, 280-314, 407-440, 998-1032; *Oedipus King* 771-833. In all of these speeches we find the particle in several different constructions, such as combined with *τε* (e.g. *Antigone* 176, 177, 181), with *καί* itself repeated (e.g. *Ajax* 669; *Antigone* 264-265), with small scope (e.g. *Antigone* 436; *Oedipus King* 787), with large scope (e.g. *Antigone* 260, 422), “pinning down” one constituent rather than connecting two items (e.g. *Ajax* 680, 692; *Antigone* 296), and as a fronted discourse act (e.g. *Antigone* 434).

(Πε.) ταῦτ' οὐχὶ δεινὰ κἀγχόνης ἔστ' ἄξια,  
ὑβρεις ὑβρίζειν, ὅστις ἔστιν ὁ ξένος;

(Pe.) Is it not dreadful and enough to make a man  
hang himself, <if we are to allow this> stranger,  
whoever he is, to commit such an outrage (...)?<sup>59</sup>

Euripides' *Bacchae* 246-247

ἀγχόνης ἄξια (“worthy of death by hanging”) can be considered a specification of the first conjunct (“terrible”). This use of *καί* is described by Hartung 1832, who speaks of “eine nähere Bestimmung des Vorangehenden” (145), and by Humbert 1960: *καί* marks a “meilleure approximation” (412). All four playwrights employ this construction: other examples are *κατεῖχε κἀ*πράυνεν (“he tried to restrain and, that is to say, to calm them,” Aeschylus’ *Persians* 190, in a monologue), *ὑπερμαχοῦμαι κἀ*πὶ πάντ’ ἀφίξομαι (“I will fight and, that is, go to all lengths,” Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 265, in a monologue), and *ἐχθρῶν κ*οὺ φίλων (“from enemies, I mean, not from friends,” Aristophanes’ *Birds* 378, in an utterance of six lines).<sup>60</sup> This use of *καί* shows again how a specific co-text leads to a certain interpretation of the particle. Just as *καί* may mark a large-scope “zooming in” at the start of questions, likewise it may specify, with smaller scope, a noun phrase or verb phrase when it connects two semantically similar items. The tendency for this function to occur mainly in monologues can be connected to a general pragmatic need of monologues, which is to hold the floor: only when a speaker has ample time to put her message into words, she can “afford” to describe a certain action or concept in two

<sup>59</sup> Kovacs takes ἀγχόνης ἄξια to refer to suicide; Dodds 1960 [1944] and Seaford 1996 *ad loc.* argue against such a reading, and think that Pentheus is threatening to hang the stranger. For my interpretation of *καί* here this issue is irrelevant: in both cases the particle can be read as marking a specification.

<sup>60</sup> Other examples of *καί* marking the second conjunct as a specification of the first one include Aeschylus’ *Libation Bearers* 1028 (in a monologue); Sophocles’ *Ajax* 496 (in a monologue), 808 (in a 10-line utterance); *Antigone* 718 (in a monologue), 1193 (in a monologue); *Oedipus King* 593 (in a monologue); *Philoctetes* 71 (in a monologue); Euripides’ *Bacchae* 198 (in a one-line utterance), 308 (in a monologue); *Hippolytus* 457 (in a monologue); *Medea* 560 (in a monologue), 1152 (in a monologue); Aristophanes’ *Birds* 499 (in a one-line utterance that is in fact part of a longer speech with interruptions), 1683 (in a two-line utterance; see chapter 6 §33 for discussion); *Lysistrata* 227 (in a one-line utterance that is in fact part of a longer speech), 529 (in a one-line utterance).

slightly different ways. In addition, using such specifications may support an argumentative goal, which speakers often pursue in uttering a long speech.<sup>61</sup>

§37 Unlike the tragedians, Aristophanes exploits the multifunctionality of *καί* most in choral songs. The following example from *Lysistrata* contains many instances; the singers are the united choruses of both men and women, who have finally decided to make peace.

(t6)

(Χο.) ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοῦμπαλιν πάντ' ἀγαθὰ <u>καὶ</u> λέγειν	(Ch.) but quite the opposite: to say and do only what's nice, because you've already got more
<u>καὶ</u> δρᾶν· ἱκανὰ γὰρ τὰ κακὰ <u>καὶ</u> τὰ παρακείμενα.	than enough troubles.
ἀλλ' ἐπαγγελλέτω πᾶς ἀνὴρ <u>καὶ</u> γυνή, (1048-49)	So let every man and woman tell us if they need
εἷ τις ἀργυρίδιον (1050)	to have a little cash, say two or three minas;
δεῖται λαβεῖν, μνᾶς ἢ δύ' ἢ	we've got it at home, and we've even got purses
τρεις· ὡς ἔσω 'στὶν <u>κᾶ</u> χομεν βαλλάντια.	to put it in.
<u>κᾶ</u> ν ποτ' εἰρήνη φανῆ, (1053-54)	And if peace should ever break out, anyone that
ὅστις ἂν νυνὶ δανείσηται παρ' ἡμῶν, (1055)	borrow from us now need no longer repay it—if
ἂν λάβῃ μηκέτ' ἀποδῶ.	he's had it!
ἔστιᾶν δὲ μέλλομεν ξένους τινὰς Καρυστίους, We're getting set to entertain some visitors from	
ἄν- (1057-59)	Carystus today; they're fine and handsome
δρας καλοῦς τε <u>κᾶ</u> γαθούς. (1060)	gentlemen.
<u>κᾶ</u> στι <μὲν> ἔτνος τι <u>καὶ</u> δελφάκιον ἦν τί μοι,	There's some soup, and I had a nice piglet and
<u>καὶ</u> τοῦτο τέθυχ', ὥστε γίγνεσθ' ἀπαλὰ <u>καὶ</u> καλά.	sacrificed it, so it's turning into tasty tenders.

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 1046-1064

In *καὶ* λέγειν *καὶ* δρᾶν (1046-1047), the repetition of the particle emphasizes the addition of the two items: “both to say and to do.” The *καί* in τὰ κακὰ *καὶ* τὰ παρακείμενα (1047) has a small

<sup>61</sup> On monologues often having an argumentative goal, see §30 above and §67 below.

scope, like the first two instances, but in this case the element before it and the one after it refer to the same entity: the current troubles. That is why the translation “and” is less appropriate here; Henderson 1987 *ad loc.* calls this *καί* “emphatic.” In fact, its function is not really distinct from a *καί* that we do translate as “and”: it binds the two aspects of the troubles closely together, creating a hendiadys. At the same time, it contributes to the *κ*-alliteration here. The instance in 1049 (*ἄνῆρ καὶ γυνή*) has a small-scope connecting force; those in 1052, 1053, 1061, 1062, and 1063 have a larger scope, since they connect entire verb phrases or clauses. The *καί* in 1052 may trigger an interpretation as “even,” as Henderson’s translation shows. The instance in 1060, finally, is found in the fixed phrase *καλοῦς τε κάγαθούς*, another hendiadys as in 1047; also *καί* in *ἀπαλὰ καὶ καλά* (1064) works in a similar way. All in all, the particle binds together segments of different size and nature. In this specific song, the staggering number of *καί* instances may iconically underline that the two semi-choruses are now united. As Wilamowitz 1927 *ad loc.* remarks, the male and female chorus members possibly form pairs while singing this song. This would be especially apt, we can imagine, for the phrase *ἄνῆρ καὶ γυνή* in 1049. Thus, the local functions of these *καί* instances are either appropriate to any communicative situation (1049, 1052, 1053, 1061, 1062, 1063) or reflect the general poetic attention—high in choral language—to how things are said (1046, 1047 (twice), 1060, 1064).<sup>62</sup> The particle’s repetition is especially related to this song’s overarching goals, namely to underline and celebrate the union of the two semi-choruses.

§38 The above passages show that *καί* participates in several different but related constructions, and that these constructions tend to occur mostly in one of the settings.<sup>63</sup> Aeschylus’ preference for using *καί* especially in dialogues may additionally reveal influence of

---

<sup>62</sup> See §13 above on this general characteristic of the language of choral songs in Aristophanes.

<sup>63</sup> However, since I did not count the relative frequencies of the different constructions—an enterprise which would moreover be subjective—the exact distributions of each construction cannot be established.

Homeric particle use: in Homer *καί* is more frequent in direct speech than in narrator text.<sup>64</sup> Sophocles and Euripides employ a broad range of *καί* constructions especially in monologues, where some of its functions are related to holding the floor for an extended period of time. Aristophanes uses *καί* mostly in choral songs. The multifunctionality of this particle seems to make it especially suitable for exaggerated repetition, a strategy that fits the mocking tone of many comic songs.

### 2.2.3 *τε*

§39 Like *καί*, *τε* marks connections, but it differs in its implications and specific constructions. *τε* also has a distribution unlike that of any other particle. The use called “epic” does not occur in tragedy and comedy, except for the idiomatic construction *οἷός τε* “able to”: all other instances of *τε* here have a connective function.<sup>65</sup> However, that does not mean that these instances in drama are in no way related to the “epic” ones. The distributions of *τε* prove that it does more than merely connect; after all, the action of connecting items is not tied to a particular communicative situation, and *τε* in fact displays relatively large frequency differences across the three settings. Most authors prefer to use it in choral songs; only Aeschylus uses it most often in monologues. In all authors its frequency is lowest in dialogues.<sup>66</sup> This distribution can be explained from several related associations of the particle.

<sup>64</sup> See §26 above on *δέ* in Aeschylus for another potential link to Homeric particle use in this author.

<sup>65</sup> See Ruijgh 1971:990 on *οἷός τε* in tragedy, 1004 on *οἷός τε* in comedy. On 991-1004 he discusses the other fixed constructions in drama containing an original “epic” *τε*. These are usually written as one word: *ἄτε*, *ὄστε*, and *ὥστε*.

<sup>66</sup> The average frequencies of *τε* are as follows; in all authors the distribution is statistically significant.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	0.58	2.15	1.67
Sophocles	0.44	1.22	1.43
Euripides	0.74	1.63	2.47
Aristophanes	0.22	0.80	2.57

Table 4. Frequencies of *τε* in percentages of all words



First and most fundamentally, τε marks certain knowledge as shared between speaker and addressee. In arguing this I follow the descriptions of τε in Wentzel 1847:2, Bloch 1955:147, and Gonda 1954:207, and build on recent analyses of τε in epic, lyric, and historiography.<sup>67</sup> Second, what is shared is often traditional or even part of a traditional performance or ritual: τε may imply a link to tradition and rituality as well. Third, a high frequency of the particle may trigger an allusion to epic or lyric, genres where τε is naturally frequent because of the importance of traditional knowledge. Fourth, because of these associations, τε can convey a generally solemn and formal tone. I will discuss each of these implications in turn.

§40 First consider the many τε instances in this excerpt from a speech by the messenger in Aeschylus' *Persians*, shortly after he brought the news of the Persian defeat:

(t7)

<p>(Αγ.) Ἄμιστρις Ἀμφιστρεύς τε πολύπονον δόρυ (320) νωμῶν, ὃ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος, Σάρδεσιν πένθος παρασχών, Σεισάμης θ' ὁ Μύσιος, Θάρυβίς τε πεντήκοντα πεντάκις νεῶν ταγός, γένος Λυρναῖος, εὐειδῆς ἀνὴρ, κεῖται θανῶν δαίλαιος οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς (325)</p>	<p>(Me.) and Amistris, and Amphistreus who wielded a spear that caused much trouble, and brave Ariomardus who dispensed grief with his arrows, and Seisames the Mysian, and Tharybis, admiral of five times fifty ships, a Lyrnaean by birth and a handsome man, lies wretchedly dead, having enjoyed no very good fortune.</p>
--	---

Aeschylus' *Persians* 320-325

The messenger here sums up the names of commanders who died in the recent battle, connecting them with τε. These names are well-known to the speaker and his addressee, the

---

<sup>67</sup> See De Kreij 2016c:II.4 on τε in Homeric similes, and connective τε in Pindar; Bonifazi 2016:IV.2 on τε in Herodotus and Thucydides.

queen, as well as possibly to the audience. That is, they represent shared knowledge.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, the high frequency of τε in this speech (as many as 10 instances out of 147 words total) lends a Homeric note to the messenger’s voice.<sup>69</sup> As J. Barrett 2002 shows, tragic messengers in general, and this one in *Persians* in particular (23-54), are consistently portrayed as resembling an epic storyteller.<sup>70</sup>

§41 The prototypical kind of shared knowledge is the knowledge associated with traditions and rituals. Since the singing of choral songs is a traditional, ritual activity, the use of τε is especially suitable for this environment, regardless of the specific elements that the particle connects.<sup>71</sup> This is a further connection, then, between a particle’s local function, depending on the immediate co-text, and a co-existing global function, depending on the broad communicative situation. An example of a lyric passage with many instances is the following part of a Euripidean song:

(t8)

<p>(Χο.) τοῦδὲ γὰρ ἐντὶ πόλεσι δίπτυχοι τυραννίδες          μιᾶς ἀμείνονες φέρειν,          ἄχθος τ’ ἐπ’ ἄχθει καὶ στάσιν πολίταις (475)          τεκόντοιν θ’ ὕμνον ἐργάταιν δυοῖν          ἔριν Μοῦσαι φιλοῦσι κραίνειν.</p>	<p>(Ch.) For cities, likewise, double kingship is worse          than single to endure, grief piled on grief for the          citizens and the cause of faction.          When two poets produce a hymn, the Muses are          wont to work strife between them.</p>
--	---

<sup>68</sup> Other examples of τε connected to shared knowledge (not necessarily traditional; see note 72 below) include Aeschylus’ *Suppliant Women* 256, 257, 258; Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus* 551, 553, 555, 765; *Philoctetes* 314; Euripides’ *Heracles* 1290.

<sup>69</sup> τε’s frequency in Homer is 2.0%, much higher than the average in drama. τε is roughly equally distributed across narrator text and direct speech in Homer, though in the *Iliad* slightly more common in narrator text; see De Kreij 2016c:II.1.

<sup>70</sup> See §28 with note 44 above on the similarity between messenger speeches and epic language in general.

<sup>71</sup> See e.g. Nagy 1995:45 on the ritual dimension of choral lyric performance in the Athenian theater, and Calame 2013 and Grethlein 2013:96-98 on several ritual functions of tragic songs. See also Burton 1980 on the Sophoclean chorus (“Many of the odes take the form of conventional types of ritual utterance,” 3). On rituality and comic songs, see e.g. Bierl 2001 and Auffarth 2007.

<p>πνοαὶ δ' ὅταν φέρωσι ναυτίλους θοαί, κατὰ πηδαλίων διδύμα πραπίδων γνώμα (480) σοφῶν τε πλήθος ἀθρόον ἀσθενέστερον φαιλοτέρας φρενὸς αὐτοκρατοῦς.</p>	<p>When swift breezes are hurtling sailors along, a double intelligence at the helm and a throng of wise men conjoined is not as effective as a lesser mind with full authority.</p>
--	--

Euripides' *Andromache* 471-482

At this point in the play it is becoming clear how disastrous it is that Neoptolemus has “a double marriage,” as the chorus calls it: his jealous wife Hermione is threatening to kill his concubine Andromache and her child. In the song the chorus expands on the topic of disastrous rivalry, generalizing it to other spheres of private and public life. As Stevens 1971 and Lloyd 1994 *ad loc.* point out, this song fits into “a common pattern in Greek lyric” (Lloyd) through generalization, development, and then applying the general themes to the current situation. Indeed, the τε instances in 476 and 481 are found in *gnômai*. In general the traditional context is a fitting environment for the particle. In 475 it is combined with καί, closely connecting two noun phrases; in 476 τε has a larger scope, introducing a whole clause; in 581 it has a small scope again. All these instances of τε, then, have a connecting function, but the particle’s distribution shows that there is more to the use of τε than this local function. More globally, the many τε occurrences here strengthen the ode’s link to tradition.<sup>72</sup>

§42 There are only five tragic songs without τε in my corpus (which contains 55 tragic choral songs in total).<sup>73</sup> These songs are exceptional in other ways as well: they contain, for example, more first- or second-person references than the average choral ode, and fewer

---

<sup>72</sup> On τε and tradition, see De Kreij 2016c:II.1 and II.4 (on Homer and Pindar); Bonifazi 2016:IV.2 (mainly on historiography). Other τε instances in drama connected to traditional knowledge include Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* 128, 130, 135, 147; Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus* 793; *Philoctetes* 726; Euripides’ *Hecuba* 18, 19, 21 (two τε instances), 22; *Heracles* 1274, 1275.

<sup>73</sup> The five tragic songs without τε are Aeschylus’ *Eumenides* 254-275; Sophocles’ *Ajax* 172-200, 1185-1222; *Oedipus King* 1086-1109; Euripides’ *Andromache* 117-146.

nouns. Their style is in certain respects closer to that of the average dialogue than to that of the average song. In terms of content, they are all directly tied to the immediate context of the play, and do not take the audience out of the ongoing story as many other songs do.<sup>74</sup> One of them is the parodos by the Salaminian sailors in Sophocles' *Ajax*:

(t9)

(Χο.) οὔποτε γὰρ φρενόθεν γ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά,	(Ch.) Never were you in your right mind
παῖ Τελαμῶνος, ἔβας	when you went so far astray as to fall upon
τόσσον ἐν ποιίμναις πίτνων	the flocks! No, a godsent sickness must have
ἦκοι γὰρ ἂν θεία νόσος ἀλλ' ἀπερύκοι (185)	come upon you; but may Zeus and Phoebus
καὶ Ζεὺς κακὰν καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀργείων φάτιν	avert the evil rumour of the Argives!

Sophocles' *Ajax* 182-186

The song as a whole (lines 172-200) contains 12 references to a “you” (about 10% of all 126 words), a much higher frequency than the average of about 5% for Sophoclean songs.<sup>75</sup> Indeed, three out of four songs in *Ajax* have a higher frequency of references to either first or second person.<sup>76</sup> These chorus members, in other words, advance themselves as communicators more than is usual for a tragic chorus. This is also reflected in the occurrence of γε in two of the

<sup>74</sup> For example, the songs in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 585-652; Sophocles' *Antigone* 332-375; *Oedipus King* 863-910; Euripides' *Andromache* 274-308; *Hippolytus* 525-564, 732-775.

<sup>75</sup> See Table 10 in note 114 below for the frequencies of second-person references across the three communicative situations. Burton remarks on this ode that the chorus members “address Ajax in the second person, even though he is not present on stage, because he dominates their thoughts and because they urgently need his presence.” (1980:11)

<sup>76</sup> In 693-718 there are 6 first-person references (frequency of 6%) and 11 second-person references (frequency of 10%); in 1185-1222, there are 7 first-person references (frequency of 6%). See Tables 9 and 10 in note 114 below for the average frequencies of first- and second-person references. These other stylistically exceptional songs contain two τε instances (one of which is not found in all manuscripts) and no τει instances, respectively.

songs, such as here in line 182—this particle is normally absent from tragic choral songs.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, these linguistic features accompany atypical content: the songs concern Ajax himself, or the influence of his troubles on the lives of the chorus members, rather than general or timeless considerations.<sup>78</sup> In different ways, then, the singing sailors show their personal involvement in what they are singing about, that is, the fate of their leader Ajax, and their emotional nearness to him. This fits well with their identity as his followers and friends.<sup>79</sup> Such a chorus of Greek men of military age was unusual in tragedy.<sup>80</sup> In this case, Sophocles has matched the unusual choral identity with unusual language use. The chorus' characterization is therefore strengthened by the linguistic choices in the odes.

§43 τε tends to appear also in ritual contexts other than choral lyric, such as prayers, prophecies, or the swearing of an oath. This includes instances in dialogues, even though the particle is less frequent there than in monologues and choral songs. In tragic dialogues the τε frequency is significantly higher than in comic dialogues. Consider the following instances:

(t10)

Μη. ὄμνυ πέδον Γῆς πατέρα <u>θ'</u> Ἥλιον πατρός τοῦμοῦ θεῶν <u>τε</u> συντιθεῖς ἅπαν γένος.	Me. Swear by the plain of Earth, by Helios, my grand- father, and by the whole race of gods all together.
Αἰ. τί χρῆμα δράσειν ἢ τί μὴ δράσειν; λέγε.	Ae. To do what or refrain from what? You must say.

<sup>77</sup> See §§58-61 below on the distribution of γε, and the association of this particle with the explicit expression of the speaker's stance. The other γε is in line 716. No commentator comments on the particle's unusual environment.

<sup>78</sup> The one song which does not have a strikingly high frequency of references to the "I" or "you" (596-645) zooms out slightly more from the immediate context of the play: it still concerns the troubles of Ajax, but now from the perspective of his mother's expected reaction. This song has 4% references to the first person (more than the average of 2.8% in Sophoclean choral songs, but less than in the other songs in *Ajax* (see note 82 above), and 5% to the second person (which is the average for Sophoclean choral songs).

<sup>79</sup> Finglass 2011 *ad* 134-200; Garvie 1998 *ad* 134-200; Hesk 2003:30, 48; Jebb 1896:xlvi; Kamerbeek 1953 *ad* 134-200; and Stanford 1963:li-lii, *ad* 134-200 all note the chorus' exceptional loyalty to and dependence on Ajax. See also Burton 1980:39: "The lyrics are (...) a mirror in which we see reflected the characters of Ajax and of his sailors, and their mutual relationship of devotion and interdependence."

<sup>80</sup> See Foley 2003:26-27: there were more female choruses, and most male ones consisted of old or foreign men.

Euripides' *Medea* 746-748

Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.* notes that the “generalizing formula” in Medea’s list of gods is typical of “ritual contexts.” Similarly, Page 1938 comments that Euripides “is using conventional language” in 747, and Mossman 2011 observes “the solemnity of the ritual.” A solemn tone fits the situation, because Medea’s life might later depend on the oath that she is now proposing. The double τε is repeated by Aegeus when he indeed swears the oath in lines 752-753. In addition to emphasizing the ritual activity of swearing an oath, τε here marks the entities it connects (the Earth, the Sun, and all gods) as belonging to shared encyclopedic knowledge.<sup>81</sup>

§44 Besides these associations with shared knowledge, tradition, and rituality, a high τε frequency may remind the audience of epic, of non-dramatic lyric, and, in Aristophanes, of tragic lyric.<sup>82</sup> The allusion to other genres is especially apparent in Aristophanic choral songs, where the average frequency of τε is more than *eleven times* as high as in dialogues. Consider the following example:

(t11)

(Χο.) οὐ̃ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα μυστοδόκος δόμος	(Ch.) where ineffable rites are celebrated, where the temple that received initiates is thrown open
ἐν τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναδείκνυται, (303-304)	during the pure mystic festival;
οὐρανίοις τε θεοῖς δωρήματα, (305)	and where there are offerings of the heavenly
ναοὶ θ' ὑπερεφεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα,	host, temples with lofty roofs and statues,

<sup>81</sup> Other τε instances in contexts of oath swearing are found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1433 and *Seven against Thebes* 45 (both in monologues), similarly connecting names of deities. Note also the τε instances in addresses to deities in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 509, 513-514, 516, 519, and Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 134; in official advice by the seer Teiresias in Sophocles' *Antigone* 1016-1017; in references to prayers in Sophocles' *Antigone* 1200 and *Philoctetes* 738 (cited in (t19) below); in a supplication in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 468, 469, 472; in reporting a prophesy in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 995; and in reporting an official message from Zeus in Aristophanes' *Birds* 1232-1233.

<sup>82</sup> See Swift 2010 about the influence of lyric poetry on tragedy, esp. tragic songs. The lyric poets Pindar and Bacchylides use τε in frequencies of 2.11% and 1.67%, respectively, whereas in the tragedians its overall frequencies are 0.85%, 0.89%, and 1.36%, respectively. Aristophanes has 0.58%.

καὶ πρόσοδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται,	most holy processions for the Blessed Ones, well-
εὐστέφανοί τε θεῶν θυσίαι θαλίαι τε (308-309)	garlanded victims for the gods, and feasts in all
παντοδαπαῖσιν ὥραις, (310)	seasons; (...)

Aristophanes' *Clouds* 302-310

Aristophanes' overuse of the particle in this choral song (six instances in 56 words in total) mockingly mirrors τε's traditional implications, and at the same time parodies epic and tragic lyric. Echoes from epic are also apparent in the lexical choices: words like ὑπερφεῖς ("high-roofed," 306) and εὐστέφανοι ("well-garlanded," 308) are taken from epic vocabulary. The clouds, who form the chorus here, are thus presented as exaggeratedly solemn and divine creatures.<sup>83</sup> τε contributes to this image, beyond its local connecting function in the specific instances.<sup>84</sup>

§45 This example of parody also illustrates the last, related association of τε in my corpus: the particle's connection to a generally formal or solemn tone. Not only τε's frequent occurrence in contexts of shared knowledge, tradition, and rituality suggests this formal or solemn implication, but also the distribution of other linguistic features over the communicative settings, such as nouns and finite verbs. The distributions of these features are illuminating, because they are connected to levels of formality in modern-language registers. For example, in the four languages analyzed in Biber 1995 (English, Nukulaelae Tuvaluan,

---

<sup>83</sup> Similarly, the 18 τε instances (2.4% of 752 words) in the parabasis of Aristophanes' *Birds* (676-800) contribute to an exaggeratedly solemn presentation of the bird chorus. τε is found, in Wilson's 2007 edition, in lines 691 (4 instances!), 693, 701, 702, 704 (here τε is a conjecture), 718, 719, 720, 734, 740 (here τε καί is a conjecture), 746, 778, 782, 790, 793. In 777 τε in the manuscripts has been changed into τά by Bentley, which is accepted by Wilson; Dunar 1995 however retains τε, albeit in a different position of the verse.

<sup>84</sup> In lines 308-309, τε also contributes to the alliteration between the τ- and θ-sounds. In 306, as often in Aristophanic choral songs, τε is combined with καί; the frequency of καί is also relatively high in this environment. Together the two particles indicate an especially tight link between two items, as well as an association with shared or ritual knowledge. Other examples of the combination τε καί/τε... καί in Aristophanic songs are found in e.g. *Birds* 1069, 1332, 1697, 1701; *Clouds* 567; *Frogs* 388, 407, 1107, 1489; *Lysistrata* 323, 1060 (cited in (t6) above), 1067; *Peace* 348, 779, 809, 1129; *Women at the Thesmophoria* 669, 975.

Korean, and Somali), a higher frequency of nouns is associated with language that is less involved, less interactive, and has a less overt expression of personal stance than other texts.<sup>85</sup> This means, for example, that English academic prose, a relatively formal register, has a noun-verb ratio twice as high as English spoken conversation, which is relatively informal.<sup>86</sup> Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:69 explain that nouns typically convey something more abstract and more information-focused than verbs. Verbs, in contrast, refer to actions, and also often to thoughts and feelings of the speaker.<sup>87</sup> This makes verbs more suitable for highly interactive situations—or for literature that mimics such interactivity.<sup>88</sup>

§46 The dialogues in my corpus tend to have a higher frequency of finite verbs and a lower frequency of nouns than monologues and choral songs.<sup>89</sup> Stichomythic conventions may play a

<sup>85</sup> Biber 1995:142, 173, 194, 206, 242, 249.

<sup>86</sup> Biber 2006:14; Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:67-69.

<sup>87</sup> See Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:69: there is an “emphasis in academic prose on objects, states, and processes—all referred to with nouns—rather than human agents and their actions (described with verbs).”

<sup>88</sup> This observation might also be connected to the findings discussed by Pennebaker 2011:42-43 that in English, men use on average more nouns than women, and women more verbs than men. Also in other characteristics of their language use, men tend to focus more on abstract objects, and women more on (social) actions. These differences suggest that women, more than men, tend to use linguistic features that reflect interactivity. Such evidence demonstrates once again the influence of situational characteristics on linguistic choices, in particular on the frequency of nouns and verbs (see also §§1-2 and §§4-8 above).

<sup>89</sup> The distributions of nouns and finite verbs in my corpus are as follows; in all authors they are significant.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	23.2	30.9	30.1
Sophocles	16.4	19.7	31.1
Euripides	21.6	24.9	34.1
Aristophanes	16.2	21.0	25.3

Table 5. Frequencies of nouns in percentages of all words

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	15.4	11.3	10.0
Sophocles	15.9	12.5	9.8
Euripides	16.5	12.6	10.7
Aristophanes	15.7	14.7	11.4

Table 6. Frequencies of finite verbs in percentages of all words



role in the high frequency of verbs in dialogues: the tight schema of turns ensures that a speaker has only a short time to express her message. Since a finite verb is often needed for that, this increases the frequency of verbs in such an environment.<sup>90</sup> This conventional “pressure” may mirror a similar situation for speakers in face-to-face conversation, to which dramatic dialogues are closer than monologues or songs.<sup>91</sup> More generally, a lower verb frequency and a higher noun frequency are found in formal, less interactive, and less explicitly involved communication in the modern languages analyzed in register studies.<sup>92</sup> The language used in tragic and comic monologues, as compared to that used in dialogues, thus reflects these situational characteristics, and choral lyric language even more so. Not only nouns and verbs indicate these correlations, but also the distributions of first- and second-person references, negations, and swearing expressions.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> For this suggestion I thank Marco Catrambone, who reacted to my paper “Discourse patterns in Aristophanes” at the 2013 *Classical Association Annual Conference* in Reading, UK.

<sup>91</sup> See e.g. Biber 2006:213-218 on the influence of production circumstances on patterns of linguistic variation across registers.

<sup>92</sup> With “less interactive” I do not mean that there is less interaction going on in choral songs, because the songs are crucial for the audience, but that the singers do not expect to receive an immediate explicit reply, as a speaker of a dialogue or monologue would expect.

<sup>93</sup> These features are discussed in §59 (first- and second-person references, and swearing expressions) and §66 (negations) below.

Passive finite verbs seem to point in the same direction: they are the most frequent in choral songs in all authors, but their distribution is significant in Sophocles only (4% of all finite verbs in dialogues, 6% in monologues, 7% in choral songs). Van Hell, Verhoeven, Tak, and Van Oosterhout 2005:245 claim that passive constructions in several modern languages are typically associated with “a more detached, distanced, generalized, and objective stance” than the active voice, and a higher degree of formality. In the same vein, Biber 1995:70-71 observes that impersonal constructions in Somali and passive constructions in English can be used “to suppress the source of information and the role of the author in the assertion of information.” The passive, then, may help to make the speaker “invisible” concerning her influence on what she is saying. Regarding the ancient Greek passive, George 2005:13 observes its high frequency in administrative Mycenaean documents, and proposes to “compare the widespread use of the passive in contemporary bureaucracy.” Similarly, Schironi 2010:349 notes that the ancient Greek passive is relatively frequent in mathematical texts.

§47 In formal or solemn communicative environments, such as prayers, we find a corresponding high frequency of  $\tau\epsilon$ .<sup>94</sup> Here the particle still has a connective function, as always in drama, and carries an implication of shared knowledge at the same time. The solemn tone can be seen as a side-effect of this general implication.

§48 Choral songs exceed the spoken parts in their formal and ritual nature. In addition to all the features mentioned, other characteristics of lyric language, such as more semantically obscure words and Doric coloring, contribute to the defamiliarizing style of choral songs, since they remove the language even more from daily spoken Attic than the general stylization throughout tragedy already does.<sup>95</sup> The characteristics of the songs' melodic patterns and accompanying dances will have played a role in the overall defamiliarization of this communicative situation as well.<sup>96</sup>

§49 The distributions of  $\tau\epsilon$  as well as of other linguistic features over the three settings make it apparent that this particle contributes more to the communication than only its local connecting force. I associate  $\tau\epsilon$  with several implications deriving from their performative context: shared knowledge, tradition, rituality, an allusion to epic, a parody of tragic lyric, and a generally solemn or official tone.

---

<sup>94</sup> Examples of  $\tau\epsilon$  contributing a formal or solemn tone include Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 124a, 128, 130, 131; Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 253 (three  $\tau\epsilon$  instances), 1184-1185 (three  $\tau\epsilon$  instances); Euripides' *Heracles* 1325 (two  $\tau\epsilon$  instances); Aristophanes' *Birds* 379 (two  $\tau\epsilon$  instances); *Lysistrata* 502 (one  $\tau\epsilon$  instance). Often  $\tau\epsilon$  also has a metrical function, but its distribution proves that metrical considerations cannot have been decisive for its use.

<sup>95</sup> See Battezzato 2005:149; Silk 2010.

<sup>96</sup> An effect of this style, in combination with a certain content, may be "to draw us away for the moment from the happenings on the stage," as argued by W.S. Barrett 1964 for the song in Euripides' *Hippolytus* 732-775. See also Burton 1980 about Sophocles in particular: a choral song may create a pause, "diverting the audience with mythical parallels" (132) just before quick plot movements need their attention again. Similarly, he writes on the ode in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 863-910: "the song provides a pause for reflection within the gathering menace of the tragedy." (157) Also Willms 2014:323 considers it typical for a tragic choral song that it "die Ereignisse reflektiert, kommentiert und insgesamt den Blick weitert" ("reflects and comments on the events and overall broadens the view"). In general, tragic choral songs are usually seen as "more weakly contextualized" than other parts of the plays (Silk 1998:15). See also Battezzato's remark that the tragic chorus is often seen as "an impersonal entity" (2005:155).

### 2.2.4 γάρ

§50 In Aeschylus and Euripides γάρ is roughly equally distributed, whereas in Sophocles and Aristophanes it is used more frequently in dialogues.<sup>97</sup> Compared to τε, γάρ has a more complex distribution pattern, a probable result of its use in several constructions, in which it has varying functions.

§51 γάρ in drama often marks its host act as the cause, explanation, or clarification of a preceding (or sometimes following) speech segment.<sup>98</sup> This cause or explanation may relate to the other act in two ways, either alone or simultaneously: *de re* (concerning content) or *de dicto* (concerning the communication).<sup>99</sup> An example of a content relation is “I did this *because* my master ordered me to”: the “because” clause introduces a state of affairs that plays a role in the realization of the main clause. Here is an instance of this kind of γάρ in Aeschylus:

(t12)

<p>Χο. γύναϊ, κατ' ἄνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι· χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἴργασται πόνων.</p>	<p>Ch. Lady, you have spoken wisely, like a sensible man; and having heard trustworthy evidence from you, I am preparing to address the gods in an appropriate manner, for a reward, which ought not to go unhonoured, has been given in return for our sufferings.</p>
--	---

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 351-354

<sup>97</sup> The frequencies of γάρ in my corpus range from 0.84 to 1.85% of all words. Its distribution is statistically significant in Sophocles (dialogues 1.85%, monologues 1.33%, choral songs 1.14% γάρ) and Aristophanes (dialogues 1.84%, monologues 0.95%, choral songs 1.11% γάρ).

See De Kreij 2016c:II.1 for γάρ's distribution in Homer: there it is on average more than twice as frequent in direct speech as in narrator text.

<sup>98</sup> See e.g. Hartung 1832:457-459; Bäumllein 1861:82; Denniston 1950 [1934]:58-62. This use is much less frequent in epic and lyric: see De Kreij 2016c:II.3 and II.4 on γάρ in Homer and Pindar.

<sup>99</sup> For the difference between *de re* and *de dicto*, see also chapter 1 §14.

Now that Troy has been captured, the chorus has decided to address the gods appropriately. The γάρ clause explains why the speakers are getting ready (παρασκευάζομαι) to sing the upcoming song.<sup>100</sup>

§52 As represented in the above example, γάρ typically expresses a *de re* relation (signaling a cause on the level of content) when a speaker has just referred to her own actions or feelings, a natural consequence of the fact that one normally knows the reason(s) for one’s own actions or feelings.<sup>101</sup> When the text concerns agents other than the speaker herself, it is more likely that γάρ signals a *de dicto* relation. For example: “what time is it?—*because* you have a watch.” Here the “because” clause explains why the speaker felt she could direct her question to this specific addressee. The following excerpt contains an instance of γάρ in this use:<sup>102</sup>

(t13)

(Eu.) οὔτος δὲ δὴ τίς ἐσθ’ ὁ μετ’ ὀρνίθων βίος; (155)	Pe. <sup>103</sup> But what about this life with the birds? Tell
σὺ γὰρ οἶσθ’ ἀκριβῶς.	me about it; you know every detail.
Επ. οὐκ ἄχαρις εἰς τὴν τριβήν· (156bis)	Te. It wears quite nicely.

Aristophanes’ *Birds* 155-156

<sup>100</sup> See Aristophanes’ *Wealth* 828 for a γάρ instance in a similar context: the speaker is coming to thank the god “because (γάρ) he is responsible for my great blessings.”

<sup>101</sup> Other examples of γάρ marking a *de re* reason in a first-person context are found in e.g. Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 10 (see Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.*: “[t]he sentence gives the reason why the Watchman has fulfilled night after night for a whole long year a task which is to him a waeriness of the flesh.”), 32, 105, 259, 461, 584, 601; Sophocles’ *Ajax* 21, 106 (“he is inside” refers indirectly to the speaker’s own action), 125, 205; Euripides’ *Medea* 38, 44, 215, 228, 267, 278, 303, 309; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 255; *Wealth* 822, 828. Some of these instances mark a *de dicto* relation at the same time.

<sup>102</sup> Other examples of γάρ marking a *de dicto* relation include Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 134, 154, 214, 326, 343, 350, 381, 522, 524, 534, 555; Sophocles’ *Ajax* 23, 182, 257, 279, 328, 393, 397; *Antigone* 20, 96; *Oedipus King* 147, 231, 291, 724, 981; *Philoctetes* 1450; Euripides’ *Medea* 6, 66, 80, 83, 89, 92, 125, 183, 263, 314; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 21, 32, 97, 132, 199, 253, 349, 376, 432, 452, 458; *Peace* 321, 337.

<sup>103</sup> In the Greek text, edited by Wilson 2007, Euelpides speaks this line; in Henderson’s 2000 Loeb edition, from which the translation is taken, it is given to Peisetaerus. For my interpretation of the relation between the clauses the specific speaker is irrelevant.

In this case the particle does not refer to a causal relation in the reported world, but marks its host act as clarifying why the preceding question was uttered. The speaker can ask this question, he assumes, because the Hoopoe knows the answer.

§53 A γάρ act may also signal a *de re* and a *de dicto* relation at the same time. This dual signification regularly occurs when a speaker explains why she has just used a certain evaluative expression. On the *de re* level, the γάρ act explains why the evaluated object of thought really fits the given characterization; simultaneously, the γάρ act clarifies, *de dicto*, the speaker's use of that evaluative expression in the preceding text segment. Here is an example from Euripides:<sup>104</sup>

(t14)

(Μη.)	κάν τῶιδ' ἄγων μέγιστος, ἢ κακὸν λαβεῖν	(Me.)	The outcome of our life's striving hangs on
(235)	ἢ χρηστόν· οὐ γὰρ εὐκλεεῖς ἀπαλλαγᾶι		this, whether we take a bad or a good husband. For
	γυναιξίν οὐδ' οἷόν τ' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν.		divorce is discreditable for women and it is not
			possible to refuse wedlock.

Euripides' *Medea* 235-237

The γάρ act in 236 explains, *de re*, why it is the ἄγων μέγιστος (“the greatest issue”) for women whether their husband is good or bad: that is, women have no choice but to get married and stay with their husbands. At the same time, Medea explains why she has just uttered that qualification (“I said that because...”).<sup>105</sup> This reason may well contain another evaluative expression, such as here οὐ εὐκλεεῖς (“not reputable”), which may subsequently trigger more γάρ acts clarifying the use of that assessment.

<sup>104</sup> Other examples of γάρ marking simultaneously a *de re* and a *de dicto* relation after an evaluation are found in e.g. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 14, 267, 423, 433, 469, 506, 532, 559; Sophocles' *Ajax* 9, 20, 150, 185, 215, 216, 264, 327, 432; *Antigone* 389; *Oedipus King* 137, 288, 1268; Euripides' *Medea* 17, 140, 325; Aristophanes' *Birds* 202, 273, 317, 342.

<sup>105</sup> See Denniston 1950 [1934]:60-61 on this use: γάρ “gives the motive for saying that which has just been said: ‘I say this because...’”

§54 Just as in Homer, Pindar, and historiography, γάρ in drama is also regularly found in gnomic contexts.<sup>106</sup> Since *gnômai* concern general matters, they represent a stepping out of the surrounding content: they are “unframed.”<sup>107</sup> γάρ does not necessarily imply any causality when it introduces unframed text segments. A *gnôme* in drama may however imply a *de dicto* causal relation that can be paraphrased as “(I know that this is the case) because that is how things always go.” An example of γάρ introducing a *gnôme* occurs in this song by the Argive elders:

(t15)

<p>(Χο.) ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιᾷ      τῆς τὸτ' ἄρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες      μίμνομεν, ἰσχὺν ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ      σκῆπτροις. (75)      ὃ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων ἐντὸς ἀνάσσω      ἰσόπρεσβυς, ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἔνι χώρᾳ,</p>	<p>(Ch.) But we, who because of our ancient flesh      could not then contribute to the force in support,      and were left behind, remain here, guiding our      childlike strength upon staffs. For the immature      marrow that rules in a child's breast is like that of      an old man, and there is no Ares in that realm;</p>
--	---

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 72-78

The chorus members mention a general similarity between children and old men: their “marrow” (μυελός), that is, their vital life spirit (see Groeneboom 1966 [1944] *ad loc.*), is not fit for fighting. γάρ marks the *gnôme* as clarifying the description of the old men's strength as “childlike,” ἰσόπαιδα. It thus marks a *de dicto* relation between these clauses: “I said “childlike”

<sup>106</sup> See De Kreij 2016c:II.4 (on Homer and Pindar); Bonifazi 2016:IV.3 (on historiography).

<sup>107</sup> Especially in narrative, where the ongoing story provides a consistent frame, unframed content is conspicuous. Unframed text includes not only *gnômai*, but also e.g. embedded narratives; γάρ may mark the start of different kinds of such narrative expansions. For the concepts of unframed versus framed language, and the role of γάρ to mark a switch to an unframed part, see De Kreij 2016c:II.4 (on Homer and Pindar). See De Jong 1997 on γάρ introducing embedded narratives in several authors. My corpus presents only few examples of γάρ marking a switch to unframed text in narrative (e.g. Sophocles' *Ajax* 319), since drama contains little narrative overall.

because...”.<sup>108</sup> Most other gnomic statements with γάρ are preceded by a clause with a third person. The speaker in those cases has to infer why a certain situation is or was as she perceives it, as she cannot know it from her own experience.

§55 At the beginning of speaking turns in dialogues γάρ usually does not signal any cause or explanation, whether *de re* or *de dicto*. Rather, it signals explicitly that the speaker is expanding on the preceding utterance, and that she infers something from it. For example, after Euelpides in Aristophanes’ *Birds* 109bis-110 has clarified that he and his friend are no jurors, but jurophobes from Athens, the Hoopoe asks σπείρεται γάρ τοῦτ’ ἐκεῖ / τὸ σπέρμ’; (110bis-111), “(are you saying that) that seed sprouts there?” The Hoopoe, accepting the two men’s claim to be jurophobes, infers that jurophobes exist in Athens; the question with γάρ indicates his inference, and implies his surprise at the realization.

§56 The expansion or inference signaled by turn-initial γάρ often implies indignation or anger.<sup>109</sup> Examples are mainly found in Sophocles and Aristophanes, who use γάρ especially often in dialogues, such as in this altercation between Menelaus and Teucer:

(t16)

Με. ἡ γλῶσσά σου τὸν θυμὸν ὡς δεινὸν τρέφει. Me. What fierce anger your tongue supplies with  
 Τευ. ξὺν τῷ δικαίῳ γὰρ μέγ’ ἔξεστιν φρονεῖν. sustenance!

(1125) Te. Yes, one can feel pride when one has justice on

Με. δίκαια γὰρ τόνδ’ εὐτυχεῖν κτείναντά με; one’s side.

Me. Is it just that this man should be honoured when

<sup>108</sup> Headlam and Thomson 1966 [1938] *ad loc.* note that the remark is based on an “old saying.” Bollack 1981 *ad loc.* calls γάρ an explicative particle. Other examples of γάρ marking a *de dicto* relation in a gnomic context include Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 222, 254; *Seven against Thebes* 77, 338; *Suppliant Women* 802; Sophocles’ *Ajax* 154, 157, 160, 260, 330, 378; *Antigone* 127; *Oedipus King* 198; Euripides’ *Hippolytus* 530, 563, 1108; *Medea* 48.

<sup>109</sup> On this use of γάρ, see Vigerus 1627:492; Bäumllein 1861:74 (γάρ gives questions more “Ton und Lebhaftigkeit”); Denniston 1950 [1934]:77 (these γάρ questions are “surprised and incredulous, often ironical”); Van Erp Taalman Kip 1997. See also chapter 3 §§87-90 for the repeated use of turn-initial γάρ in tragic stichomythia with angry speakers.

Τευ. κτείναντα; δεινόν γ' εἶπας, εἰ καὶ ζῆς θανών.	he was my murderer? Te. Your murderer? You have said a strange thing, if you have died but are alive.
Με. θεὸς γὰρ ἐκσώζει με, τῷδε δ' οἴχομαι.	Me. Yes, a god has kept me safe, but for Ajax I am dead.
Τευ. μή νυν ἀτίμα θεοῦς, θεοῖς σεσωμένος.	Te. Then do not refuse honour to the gods, seeing that the gods preserved you.
Με. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν ψέξαιμι δαιμόνων νόμους; (1130)	Me. Why, would I find fault with the laws of the gods?

Sophocles' *Ajax* 1124-1130

In 1125 Teucer expands on what Menelaus has just said, angrily implying that this reproach about his own “terrible temper” (θυμὸν ὡς δεινόν, 1124) can in fact be turned into an argument for Teucer’s side: “yes, (it is right for me to have a terrible temper) for with justice it is allowed to be high-minded.”<sup>110</sup> The γὰρ instances in questions, in 1126 and 1130, suggest that Menelaus has made an inference from the preceding utterance: “are you really saying that...?”<sup>111</sup> The γὰρ in the answer in 1128 signals an expansion on the preceding question (“did you die and yet stay alive?”), as well as a *de dicto* explanation: “yes, I said that, because...”<sup>112</sup> The

<sup>110</sup> At the same time, Teucer frames his response as a gnomic thought; see §54 above. Note that the position of γὰρ in this utterance (1125) implies that the words ξὺν τῷ δικάίῳ were considered, and probably pronounced as, one unit.

<sup>111</sup> Other examples of turn-initial γὰρ in questions, marking an inference from the preceding utterance, are found in e.g. Sophocles' *Ajax* 282; *Oedipus King* 1000, 1029; Euripides' *Medea* 59; Aristophanes' *Birds* 74, 110bis (see §55 above), 289, 300, 355bis, 369; *Frogs* 25bis, 29 (both *Frogs* examples are cited in (t17) on γε and δῆτα below); *Lysistrata* 497bis.

<sup>112</sup> Other examples of turn-initial γὰρ in answers and other statements, marking an expansion on the preceding utterance, are found in e.g. Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 271, 551; Sophocles' *Ajax* 82; *Antigone* 511, 555, 569; *Oedipus King* 731, 1024; Euripides' *Medea* 327; Aristophanes' *Birds* 285; *Lysistrata* 55.



inferences that are communicated in all cases signal the speakers' strong indignation.<sup>113</sup> γάρ thus indirectly contributes to the expression of this emotion.

§57 The above examples show that γάρ's distribution may help to distinguish among several different uses of the particle. Sophocles and Aristophanes are fond of a use of γάρ in questions or answers, where the particle indicates that an inference has been drawn, which may arouse indignation in the speaker. This use is highly interactional and fits dialogues best. In contrast, the constructions in which γάρ marks a *de re* and/or *de dicto* cause or explanation occur in all three communicative settings. Finally, the use of γάρ to introduce *gnômai*, which occurs less frequently than the causal uses, seems to occur especially in choral songs, where one of the general communicative goals is to recall and reinforce communal values. For the understanding of γάρ's function in a certain tragic or comic passage, then, it is crucial to take into account the global pragmatic functions of the specific communicative situation.

### 2.2.5 γε and δῆτα

§58 γε and δῆτα have consistent and significant distributions. I discuss these two particles together, because their distributions are very similar: they are most frequent in dialogues in all authors.<sup>114</sup> The consistent distribution of these two particles suggests that their pragmatic

<sup>113</sup> See Jebb 1896, Kamerbeek 1953, and Stanford 1963. Vigerus 1834 [1627]:492 already notes the connection between γάρ in questions and indignation. See also Goldhill 2012:58-62 about the use of turn-initial γάρ in Sophocles.

<sup>114</sup> The distributions of γε and δῆτα in my corpus are as follows; in all authors the distributions are statistically significant.

Author	Dialogues	Monologues	Choral songs
Aeschylus	0.58	0.35	0.08
Sophocles	1.53	0.50	0.26
Euripides	1.51	0.40	0.13
Aristophanes	2.48	0.60	0.17

Table 7. Frequencies of γε in percentages of all words

functions are most suitable for the dialogue setting. Indeed, we will see below that they are connected to interactiveness. First I will discuss the distribution of several other features in order to strengthen my claim that linguistic choices reflect the degree of interactiveness of the different situations. Then I will focus on the particles themselves.

§59 We already saw in §§45-46 above that the distributions of nouns and finite verbs reflect that dialogues are less formal, but more interactive and explicitly involved, than the settings of monologues and choral songs. The distributions of first- and second-person references and of swearing expressions strengthen this impression as well. They all have their highest frequency in dialogues.<sup>115</sup> Scholars connect functionally similar features in modern languages to the

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	0.09	0	0
Sophocles	0.39	0.09	0
Euripides	0.33	0.05	0.06
Aristophanes	0.41	0.25	0

Table 8. Frequencies of δῆτα in percentages of all words

<sup>115</sup> The distributions of first- and second-person references in my corpus are as follows; the distributions are statistically significant in the three tragedians, but not in Aristophanes.

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	5.8	4.5	1.8
Sophocles	7.3	6.5	2.8
Euripides	8.4	6.7	2.5
Aristophanes	6.7	6.7	5.4

Table 9. Frequencies of first-person references in percentages of all words

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	9.9	2.1	2.1
Sophocles	11.4	6.0	4.9
Euripides	13.8	5.9	6.9
Aristophanes	7.7	6.6	6.0

Table 10. Frequencies of second-person references in percentages of all words

The—statistically significant—distribution of Aristophanic swearing expressions is as follows: in dialogues 1.1, in monologues 0.1, and in choral songs 0.06% of all words.

speaker's explicit involvement. First- and second-person references, in this count including personal and possessive pronouns as well as verb forms, make the speaker more present as a communicator. That is, explicitly mentioning an "I" or "you" emphasizes that an interaction involves not only a message, but also a speaker communicating it to an addressee. Biber, Conrad, and Reppen 1998:147 and Quaglio 2009:126 similarly find that English first- and second-person pronouns are related to interactiveness and involvement. Aristophanic swearing expressions, in the form of  $\nu\eta$  or  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$  followed by the name of one or more gods, display a similar distribution. Werres 1936:20-22 notes that swearing expressions often co-occur with first-person pronouns and the particle  $\gamma\epsilon$ . They can to a certain extent be functionally compared to English expletives and taboo words, which are associated with informality and emotionally-loaded language.<sup>116</sup> Werres (11) describes Greek swearing expressions as colloquial expressions serving to emphasize utterances, or parts of them. The term "colloquial" in scholarly literature tends to refer to interactional situations, mostly in drama (see §12 above). Regardless of whether the Aristophanic swearing expressions were actually common in fifth-century spoken Attic, then, they do seem to reflect the high interactiveness of a communicative situation.

§60 In short, several linguistic characteristics of tragic and comic dialogues suggest speakers who come to the foreground, and a strong focus on the ongoing interaction. Since  $\gamma\epsilon$  and  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  are highly preferred in dialogues, we may conclude that they are functionally related to this explicit presence of the speaker and this interactiveness. In general, the particle  $\gamma\epsilon$  can

---

Also future finite verbs have their highest frequency in dialogues in all authors, but their distribution is only significant in tragedy as a whole, not in any of the individual authors. The future tense is inherently subjective: it is the speaker's expectation that something will happen later, not an observable fact. See e.g. E.J. Bakker 2005:99-101, 144-145 for a performative reading of the future in Homeric Greek; and Rijksbaron 2002 [1984]:33 on the future in classical Greek: "Since 'fact' and 'future' are, strictly speaking, incompatible, the future indicative naturally does not have the same factual value as the past and present tenses."

<sup>116</sup> Quaglio 2009:101, 109-111.

be compared to prosodic emphasis: it highlights a specific part of an utterance, and it often contrasts this part implicitly to something else.<sup>117</sup> This highlighting reflects the speaker's view or attitudes, and implies that the γε utterance is reacting to certain previous speech.<sup>118</sup> If speakers using γε react to the view or the utterance of others, the subjectivity and the sense of contrast implied by γε acquire an interactional character. This connection to interactiveness is what makes γε especially compatible with a dialogic environment.<sup>119</sup> Consider the following passage from an Aristophanic dialogue containing both γε and δητα:<sup>120</sup>

(t17)

Ξα. οὐ γὰρ φέρω ἴγῳ; (25)	Xa. Well, aren't I bearing one [a load]?
Δι. πῶς φέρεις γάρ, ὅς γ' ὀχεῖ; (25bis)	Di. How can you be bearing anything when you're riding?
Ξα. φέρων γε ταυτί.	Xa. Well, I'm bearing this.
Δι. τίνα τρόπον; (26bis)	Di. How?
Ξα. βαρέως πάνυ. (26ter)	Xa. Quite unbearably!
Δι. οὐκ οὐκ τὸ βάρος τοῦθ', ὃ σὺ φέρεις, οὐνοῦ φέρει;	Di. But doesn't the donkey bear what you're bearing?
Ξα. οὐ <u>δητ'</u> ὅ γ' ἔχω ἴγῳ καὶ φέρω, μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐ.	Xa. Not what I've got here and bear myself, it

<sup>117</sup> On the highlighting function of γε, see Hartung 1832:348-349 and Bäumlein 1861:54. On the implicit contrast conveyed by γε, see Hartung 1832:371, Kühner 1835:398, and Stephens 1837:92. On γε in drama, see also chapters 3 §§68-71; 4 §§62-64; 5 §§45-47 and §§51-63.

<sup>118</sup> On the connection, in Aristophanes, between γε and communicatively old information, see Tsakmakis 2010. On the similar connection between old information and German modal particles, see Diewald 1999 (she argues that an utterance with a modal particle appears as a reaction to a preceding turn in a real or supposed dialogue). See also chapter 3 §§68-71 on γε in contexts of resonance. In Van Leeuwen's edition of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* we find some exclamation marks after γε acts, such as in line 252.

<sup>119</sup> Out of the thirteen Aristophanic dialogues I analyzed, there is none without γε. See also De Kreij 2016c:II.1 and II.3 on γε's distribution in Homer: there it is much more frequent in direct speech than in narrator text.

<sup>120</sup> Other examples of dialogues with both these particles are Sophocles' *Ajax* 1346-75; *Oedipus King* 1141-1185; Euripides' *Andromache* 435-444; *Bacchae* 922-972; Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 755-816; *Frogs* 1423-1481; *Lysistrata* 46-123. See also Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 732-741 in (t19) below.

certainly doesn't.

Δι. πῶς γὰρ φέρεται, ὅς γ' αὐτὸς ὑφ' ἑτέρου φέρεται;

Di. But how can you bear anything, when something else bears you?

Aristophanes' *Frogs* 25-29

The speakers, Xanthias and Dionysus, use several γε instances to single out certain elements of their short utterances. In 25bis γε qualifies the whole discourse act ὅς ὄχεϊ (“[you] who are riding”). By highlighting this piece of information, Dionysus implies that Xanthias’ claim to be bearing a load cannot hold because he is himself being carried. Xanthias in turn underlines his answer in 26 with γε—the luggage he is carrying (ταυτί) is obviously the most relevant part of the discussion to him. With the γε element in 28 he refers to his luggage again,<sup>121</sup> whereas Dionysus’ γε clause in 29 repeats his point about the donkey. The highlighting in each case implies a contrast between the speaker’s view and that of his interlocutor.

§61 For an example of γε from a completely different context, consider this passage from Aeschylus’ *Libation Bearers*:

(t18)

(Ηλ.) ἀλλ’ εἰδότας μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς καλούμεθα  
οἷοισιν ἐν χειμῶσι ναυτίλων δίκην  
στροβούμεθ’· εἰ δὲ χρὴ τυχεῖν σωτηρίας,  
σμικροῦ γένοιτ’ ἂν σπέρματος μέγας πυθμῆν.  
καὶ μὴν στίβοι γε, δεύτερον τεκμήριον, (205)  
ποδῶν δ’ ὁμοῖοι τοῖς τ’ ἐμοῖσιν ἐμφερεῖς.

(El.) We appeal to the gods, who know what kind of storm are whirling our ship around—though if we are destined to find safety, a great tree-trunk can spring from a tiny seed. And look, a second piece of evidence—footprints, resembling and similar to my own!

Aeschylus’ *Libation Bearers* 201-206

<sup>121</sup> Stanford 1958 *ad* 28 notes the great emphasis conveyed by this line through the particles used, the swearing expression, and the accented οὔ.

γε is infrequent in monologues, and generally in Aeschylus: he uses γε less than the other authors in all three settings. These distributional facts warn us that the particle's occurrence here is especially striking. γε appears in a highly involved, even agitated observation by Electra, a context that makes the speaker's own experience come to the foreground. Electra had inferred that Orestes had *sent*, not personally brought, his lock of hair, which is the first sign she had found on her father's tomb (lines 168-180). The sudden discovery of the footprints—καὶ μὴν marks this observation as an unexpected appearance<sup>122</sup>—is a highly emotional moment for her.<sup>123</sup> She stresses the word στίβοι with γε, marking the discovered footprints as bearing special importance. Again, we may compare γε to prosodic emphasis.<sup>124</sup> In this case, Electra does not react to someone else's utterance, but rather to her own earlier remarks on the first sign of Orestes.

§62 As for the less frequent particle δῆτα, it is almost completely restricted to dialogues.<sup>125</sup> In the quoted passage from Aristophanes' *Frogs* (line 28) δῆτα indicates Xanthias' strong personal involvement with the item to which it is attached, in this case the negation. He emphasizes that the donkey is “absolutely not” carrying his luggage; later in the line he does so again with the swearing expression μὰ τὸν Δία. This denial is of emotional importance to Xanthias, as he is (apparently) suffering from his heavy load.<sup>126</sup> δῆτα always conveys such an

---

<sup>122</sup> On καὶ μὴν in drama, see Van Erp Taalman Kip 2009.

<sup>123</sup> On the connection between γε and agitation in drama, see chapter 5 §§45-47.

<sup>124</sup> Indeed, in this play's performance in the original Greek that I attended (November 2011 in Oxford), this line was pronounced in a marked way: louder and with a higher pitch than the surrounding lines. Also note the exclamation mark in Sommerstein's translation.

<sup>125</sup> Denniston 1950<sup>2</sup>:269 notes: “δῆτα is a lively particle, far more at home in question and answer than elsewhere.”

<sup>126</sup> On the connection between δῆτα and emotional agitation in drama, see chapter 5 §§49-50.

emphatic signal of involvement when it occurs in answers or other reactions.<sup>127</sup> This function is linked to the alternation of speakers, as is δῆτα's use in questions.<sup>128</sup>

§63 To recap: the distributions of γε and δῆτα have led me to establish a connection between these particles and the communicative activities that characterize dialogue in general. My interpretations are strengthened by the distributions of nouns, finite verbs, first- and second-person references, and swearing expressions. These features do not only imply that the speaker explicitly comes to the foreground in dialogues, but also enhance, in different ways, the interactiveness of the communication. The particles γε and δῆτα achieve this by juxtaposing the views of different speakers (γε), and by marking the emotional charge of answers and questions (δῆτα).

### 2.2.6 ἀλλά

§64 Sophocles shows a significant preference for ἀλλά compared to the other two tragic poets throughout the three settings.<sup>129</sup> He and Aeschylus use the particle most often in dialogues; Euripides most often in monologues.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> On the function of δῆτα in assertions to emphasize a certain element with agreement, see especially Bäumlein 1861:108; Hartung 1832:305; Kühner 1835:389-390; Paley 1881:25.

<sup>128</sup> In questions δῆτα indicates that the speaker has made an inference from the preceding communication. Regarding δῆτα in assertions as well as in questions in drama, see chapter 3 §§76-80; both constructions can be linked to the picking up of elements from preceding utterances. When δῆτα does occur outside of dialogues, it helps create the impression that an imaginary dialogue is embedded within the longer utterance. See chapters 3 §80 and 5 §49 and §§70-71 for discussion of δῆτα examples in monologues.

<sup>129</sup> ἀλλά in turn-initial position is also more common in Sophocles than in the other tragedians; see Drummen 2009:143-144.

<sup>130</sup> The particle ἀλλά shows the following distributions in the passages analyzed (in Aristophanes not significant).

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	0.98	0.40	0.08
Sophocles	1.11	0.94	0.59
Euripides	0.43	0.72	0.09
Aristophanes	1.13	1.30	0.99

Table 11. Frequencies of ἀλλά in percentages of all words

§65 The general function of ἀλλά can be described as the substitution of one alternative with another, which can include the correction of an explicit element, an implicit element, and the switch to a different topic.<sup>131</sup> That is, the substitution can be *de re* or *de dicto*. Consider the following examples from Sophocles:

(t19)

Φι. ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ.	Ph. Ah, ah, ah, ah!
Νε. τί ἔστιν;	Ne. What's the matter?
Φι. οὐδὲν δεινόν. ἀλλ' ἴθ', ὦ τέκνον. (733bis)	Ph. Nothing grave. Come, my son!
Νε. μῶν ἄλγος ἴσχεις σῆς παρεστῶσης νόσου;	Ne. Are you in pain because your sickness is with you?
Φι. οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγ', ἀλλ' ἄρτι κουφίζειν δοκῶ. (735)	Ph. No, I think I am just getting better. O gods!
ὦ θεοί.	Ne. Why do you thus groan and call upon the gods?
Νε. τί τοὺς θεοὺς ὧδ' ἀναστένων καλεῖς; (737) <sup>132</sup>	Ne. Why do you thus groan and call upon the gods?
Φι. σωτῆρας αὐτοὺς ἠπίους θ' ἡμῖν μολεῖν.	Ph. I am calling on them to come as preservers and be kind to us. Ah, ah, ah, ah!
ἄ ἄ ἄ ἄ.	Ph. I am calling on them to come as preservers and be kind to us. Ah, ah, ah, ah!
Νε. τί ποτε πέπονθας; οὐκ ἐρεῖς, ἀλλ' ὧδ' ἔση (740)	Ne. What is the matter with you? Will you not tell me, but remain silent as you are? You seem to be in some trouble.
σιγηλός; ἐν κακῷ δέ τω φαίνη κυρῶν.	Ne. What is the matter with you? Will you not tell me, but remain silent as you are? You seem to be in some trouble.

Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 732-741

Philoctetes is suffering a painful attack from his sickness. He does not want Neoptolemus to notice, however, so tries to deny that anything serious is happening. In 733bis, after a short

<sup>131</sup> On the functions of ἀλλά in general, see e.g. Hoogeveen 1769:1-53; Kühner 1835:436-440; Krüger 1845:340-342; Dindorf 1873:19 (on Aeschylus); Bodin and Mazon 1919 [1902]:337-339 (on Aristophanes); Denniston 1950 [1934]:1-17; Ruijgh 1971:135-136; Sicking 1986:129. On this specific description, see Basset 1997 (on Aristophanes); Drummen 2009 (on drama).

<sup>132</sup> Lloyd-Jones and Wilson 1990 read *antilabe* here; other editors, such as Schein 2013, read ἰὼ (or ὦ) θεοί as 736, *extra metrum*.



answer to Neoptolemus' question, Philoctetes quickly shifts to a directive: ἀλλ' ἴθι'.<sup>133</sup> In this case, ἀλλά and the preceding negation οὐδέν are not part of the same construction; rather, the particle marks a switch to a different kind of communicative act. That is, ἀλλά here marks a *de dicto* rather than a *de re* substitution. In 735 and 740, conversely, one element is first negated, and then its substitution is explicitly mentioned. Sophoclean characters frequently bring up such substitutions, especially in dialogues.<sup>134</sup> The speaker first utters an act (often including a negation) that is to be substituted (either *de re* or *de dicto*); in the following act she verbally marks this substitution with ἀλλά. She thereby emphasize the ἀλλά act. That is, a formulation such as “will you not tell, but remain silent?” is more emphatic than just “will you remain silent?” In other words, I consider ἀλλά to contribute to emphasizing the subjective character of a speaker's substitutions in front of the interlocutor. In Greek drama such emphasis is most often needed in dialogues, and also more at home in monologues where there is an individual speaker, than in the choral song with its group of singers.<sup>135</sup>

§66 ἀλλά in drama is often combined with a negation, another sign of this subjective emphasis.<sup>136</sup> Sophocles, who is fond of ἀλλά, has the highest frequency of negations in all settings. In all authors negation is the most frequent in dialogues.<sup>137</sup> This can be explained

---

<sup>133</sup> The construction of ἀλλά followed by an imperative is especially frequent in Homer: see De Kreij 2016c:II.3.

<sup>134</sup> Other examples of ἀλλά marking a switch to a different communicative act include Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* 616,627; Euripides' *Medea* 688; Aristophanes' *Frogs* 507, 512, 517. Other examples of ἀλλά marking a substitution of an explicitly mentioned element include Sophocles' *Antigone* 446, 564, 577; *Philoctetes* 861; Aristophanes' *Frogs* 488bis, 527bis, 1066.

<sup>135</sup> On the chorus as a group, see e.g. Budelmann 2000, who argues that the Sophoclean chorus is particularly engaging because it communicates “to the spectators the group experience that is enacted on stage.” (268). The chorus is connected to “uncountable multitudes” which “resemble civic communities.” (269)

<sup>136</sup> R.J. Allan 2009 on narrative modes in Euripidean messenger speeches also finds both ἀλλά and negations to be frequent in the same contexts (175-176).

<sup>137</sup> The distributions of negations (both οὐ and μή forms) are as follows; in all authors the distributions are statistically significant.

because negation is both functionally and formally marked across languages.<sup>138</sup> One of the reasons is that negation is cognitively more demanding than affirmation: it requires more cognitive effort to process negated information than to process positive information. An utterance such as “I am not in pain at all” (see (t19) above) inevitably refers to a situation in which the speaker *is* in pain. As Miestamo 2009 puts it, negation “is a mental process added by language users” (211). A hearer needs to imagine both the situation with pain, in this case, and its negation. This markedness, in turn, helps the speaker to emphasize part of her utterance: she is not just describing a situation, for example, but also defining it in terms of what it is not.

§67 ἄλλά, then, verbally encodes and emphasizes the substitutions (*de re* or *de dicto*) that speakers perceive or construct in their speech. This function makes the particle suitable for argumentative situations as well: speakers in such contexts want to substitute certain views with certain others. I interpret the high frequency of ἄλλά in Euripidean monologues along this line. Whereas Aeschylus and Sophocles tend to use monologues for narrative or descriptive purposes, Euripidean speeches tend to serve an argumentative function, as they are often integrated within disputes between characters.<sup>139</sup> Euripidean monologues may thus be considered to be more interactive, more strongly oriented toward a specific interlocutor, and hence closer to both dialogue within drama and rhetoric speeches beyond drama, for

<i>Author</i>	<i>Dialogues</i>	<i>Monologues</i>	<i>Choral songs</i>
Aeschylus	3.2	2.4	2.2
Sophocles	4.9	4.0	2.7
Euripides	4.2	3.4	2.0
Aristophanes	3.7	2.5	1.5

Table 12. Frequencies of negations in percentages of all words

Similarly, Biber 1988:245 observes that in English negation occurs more often in speech than in writing. R.J. Allan 2009:176; 2011:41 also mentions frequencies of negations as characterizing different ancient Greek passages.

<sup>138</sup> See for example Miestamo 2009:210-211. See also e.g. Horn 1989:154-203 on the markedness of negation.

<sup>139</sup> See e.g. Scodel 2000 on the importance of rhetorical performance in Euripides; see e.g. Conacher 1998 and W. Allan 2000 on connections between Euripides and the sophists.

example in oratory, philosophy, and historiography.<sup>140</sup> An example of this kind of argumentative speech is Jason’s monologue in Euripides *Medea* 522-575, which contains as many as six instances of *ἀλλά* (in 339 words: a high frequency of 1.8%). Two of these instances are shown here:

(t20)

<p>(Ia.) σοὶ δ’ ἔστι μὲν νοῦς λεπτός· <u>ἀλλ’</u> ἐπίφθονος λόγος διελθεῖν ὡς Ἔρωσ σ’ ἠνάγκασεν (530) τόξοις ἀφύκτοις τοῦμὸν ἐκσῶσαι δέμας. <u>ἀλλ’</u> οὐκ ἀκριβῶς αὐτὸ θήσομαι λίσαν· ὄπηι γὰρ οὖν ὤνησας οὐ κακῶς ἔχει.</p>	<p>(Ja.) As for you, I grant you have a clever mind—but but to tell how Eros forces you with his ineluctable arrows to save me would expose me to ill will. No, I will not make too strict a reckoning on this point. So far as you <i>did</i> help me, you did well.</p>
--	---

Euripides’ *Medea* 529-533

In this monologue, Jason is arguing with Medea, carefully answering her reproaches against him. Jason’s style is reminiscent of the sophists.<sup>141</sup> The first *ἀλλά* in the passage (529) marks a correction of an implied element from the preceding clause. Medea may have a delicate or clever mind (νοῦς λεπτός),<sup>142</sup> but she is telling an invidious story about saving Jason; it was in fact Eros who had forced her to save him. The second instance (532) marks a larger shift or “switch” in the communication. Although the remark about Eros in 530-531 may have given

<sup>140</sup> In messenger’s stories, for example, the speaker tries to be more invisible, and let the story tell itself (see J. Barrett 2002 for an elaborate and insightful analysis of tragic messenger speeches); see §28 above. Note that the messenger speech in Euripides’ *Hippolytus* 1173-1254, mentioned in note 45 above for its remarkably high frequency of *δέ* (4.7%), does not contain any *ἀλλά* instance, despite its great length of 471 words. The other δέ-rich Euripidean messenger speech, in *Medea* 1136-1230, contains only two *ἀλλά*’s in 558 words; a low frequency of 0.4%.

<sup>141</sup> See Mossman 2011 in her commentary on the speech. The sophists’ influence on speeches in *Medea* is also discussed by Finley 1939:51-52. He notes, for example, that “antithesis strongly marks the debate of the *Medea*” (57).

<sup>142</sup> *μὲν* projects more to come, here creating the expectation that a hostile counterargument will follow this positive statement (“yes, but...”). See §§69-72 below on *μὲν*.

rise to an expectation that Jason would go on about this point, with ἀλλ' οὐκ he signals a different direction in the speech: other arguments against Medea's position are more important to him. The particle thus helps in shifting to different points, and so in marking out the steps in one's argument more precisely.<sup>143</sup> As Mossman 2011 *ad loc.* remarks, there is a “play of assertion and partial withdrawal” in these lines.

§68 As we have seen, in all of its constructions ἀλλά marks some kind of substitution or correction. The tendency of ἀλλά to appear most often in Aeschylean and Sophoclean dialogues, as well as its frequent co-occurrence with negations, support a connection to the speaker's subjectivity and to interactiveness. Euripides' preference for ἀλλά in monologues can be explained with reference to the rhetorical purposes of many of these speeches.

### 2.2.7 μέν

§69 μέν is generally described as setting up an expectation for some part to follow.<sup>144</sup> That is, in pragmatic terms, it projects another discourse act, in fifth-century Attic often a δέ act.<sup>145</sup> In drama μέν occurs most frequently in monologues.<sup>146</sup> Besides indicating that more narrative

<sup>143</sup> See Thyresson 1971:103 on ἀλλά in Epicurus: its eliminative use is “the most important weapon in the polemic arsenal. The construction of the clauses allows one first to attack that which is wrong, incorrect, untrue, etc. and then to introduce with ἀλλά one's own personal standpoint of what is correct and right as far as opinions and arguments are concerned.”

<sup>144</sup> See Hartung 1832:403; Stephens 1837:74; Bäumllein 1861:164; Denniston 1950 [1934]:359.

<sup>145</sup> See De Kreij 2016c:II.2 on μέν and projection. In Homer and Pindar, the expectation created by μέν is usually that of a new discourse act in general; in later Greek it tends to be more specifically that of a δέ act.

<sup>146</sup> μέν has the following distributions in my corpus. In Aristophanes the distribution is not statistically significant, because the differences and/or the passages are too small.

Author	Dialogues	Monologues	Choral songs
Aeschylus	0.45	0.99	0.59
Sophocles	0.45	0.97	0.59
Euripides	0.41	0.95	0.34
Aristophanes	0.63	1.05	0.64

Table 13. Frequencies of μέν in percentages of all words

steps will follow in story-telling monologues,<sup>147</sup> speakers can also use μέν, for example, to mark a juxtaposition of (parts of) conditions, arguments, or points of view.<sup>148</sup> μέν therefore does not seem to be especially associated with narratives, unlike δέ (see §§27-30 above).

§70 An example of a monologue with many μέν instances is the priest's speech in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 14-57. It contains six occurrences of the particle in 267 words in total (a high frequency of more than two percent). Here is the beginning of this monologue:

(t21)

<p>ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ἄλλ', ὧ κρατύνων Οἰδίπους χώρας ἐμῆς,      ὄρας <u>μέν</u> ἡμᾶς ἡλίκοι προσήμεθα (15)      βωμοῖσι τοῖς σοῖς, οἱ <u>μέν</u> οὐδέπω μακρὰν      πτέσθαι σθένοντες, οἱ δὲ σὺν γήρα βαρεῖς      ἱερεὺς ἐγὼ <u>μέν</u> Ζηνός, οἶδε τ' ἠθέων      λεκτοί: τὸ δ' ἄλλο φῶλον ἐξεστεμμένον      ἀγοραῖσι θακεῖ, (...)</p>	<p>Pr. Why, Oedipus, ruler of my land, you see      the ages of us who are seated at your altars,      some not yet able to fly far, others weighed      down with age. I am the priest of Zeus, and      these are chosen from the unmarried young;      the other crowd that carries chaplets is      seated in the market-place (...)</p>
---	--

Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 14-20

These μέν occurrences have different scopes. The first one, in line 15, helps to establish that the priest is starting a long, elaborate answer to Oedipus' questions.<sup>149</sup> The second one (16) falls within the scope of this first instance. As part of a οἱ μέν... οἱ δέ construction, μέν simultaneously marks one speech segment as preliminary, and projects another unit. The μέν in 18 signals an implicit contrast between the priest himself and other persons.<sup>150</sup> Though this

<sup>147</sup> Examples of this use include Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 781; Euripides' *Andromache* 1086; *Children of Heracles* 818, 834; *Hippolytus* 1173, 1190, 1219.

<sup>148</sup> As e.g. several times in Menelaus' monologue in Euripides' *Andromache*: 648, 663, 666, 675, and 689.

<sup>149</sup> See chapter 4 §55 on this use of μέν in drama.

<sup>150</sup> See Jebb 1893 and Kamerbeek 1967 *ad loc.* for this interpretation of μέν in 18; Kamerbeek cites Denniston 1950:380-381, who calls this a "μέν solitarium."

last use of the particle could work in short utterances just as well, the former two are especially appropriate to utterances with a certain length of speaking.

§71 When an Aristophanic character manages to utter a substantial monologue, μέν also appears regularly. In the following passage from *Birds* a herald has arrived in the bird city to inform Peisetaerus of the bird mania in Athens:

(t22)

<p>(Κη.) πρῶτον <u>μέν</u> εὐθὺς πάντες ἐξ εὐνῆς ἅμα ἐπέτονθ' ἔωθεν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ νομόν· κάκειθεν ἄν κατῆραν εἰς τὰ βιβλία· εἴτ' ἄν ἐνέμοντ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ ψηφίσματα. ὠρνιθομάνουν δ' οὕτω περιφανῶς ὥστε καὶ (1290) πολλοῖσιν ὀρνίθων ὀνόματ' ἦν κείμενα. Πέρδιξ <u>μέν</u> εἷς κάπηλος ὠνομάζετο χωλός, Μενίππω δ' ἦν Χελιδῶν τοῦνομα,</p>	<p>(He.) For starters, at the crack of dawn they all fly the coop together, just like us, to root for writs; then they flock to the archives and there sharpen their bills. They're so blatantly bird-crazy that many even had bird names added to their own. There's one lame barkeep called Partridge; Menippus took the name swallow; (...).</p>
---	---

Aristophanes' *Birds* 1286-1293

The herald's entire speech runs from 1277 to 1307 (180 words in total), an impressive length for a comic utterance. As Dunbar 1995 *ad* 1298 remarks, such "lengthy narrative speeches" are rare in Aristophanes. The speaker therefore needs linguistic signals in order to clarify that he still has more to say. In the quoted passage the two μέν instances are among these signals.<sup>151</sup> The one in 1286 creates the expectation, together with πρῶτον, that the first action described will not be the only one. μέν in 1292 projects more entries in a list of bird nicknames, after the announcement of this topic in 1291. The broader communicative context also helps the herald to hold the floor: his addressee, Peisetaerus, actually wants to hear the message, which makes

<sup>151</sup> See also chapter 4 §§28-30 for discussion of μέν as a floor-holding device.

interruptions less likely. The herald's speech, as Dunbar points out, is a parody of a tragic messenger speech, a dramatic subgenre that by definition involves some length.

§72 In general, then, μέν's projective function is more appropriate when the speaker goes on talking than in short utterances. Though the projected next act or entity may be left implicit, in my corpus usually the projection is indeed fulfilled in the lines following a μέν act. In this way I connect μέν's relatively high frequency in dramatic monologues to its basic pragmatic function, which is to project one or more new steps in the communication.

### 2.2.8 δή

§73 Aeschylus uses δή most in dialogues (0.54% of all words, against 0.19 in monologues and 0.15 in songs); Euripides prefers it in monologues (0.27%, against 0.23 in dialogues and 0.03 in songs). For Sophocles and Aristophanes the distribution of δή is not statistically significant. Interestingly, in Homer δή is more frequent in direct speech than in narrator text: the Aeschylean distribution of this particle may thus form another link to Homeric particle use.<sup>152</sup> δή's relatively low frequency in songs mirrors its rarity in lyric in general.<sup>153</sup> As for its various uses, often δή is connected to the speaker's expression of stance, and the interaction between speaker and hearer, mainly in dialogues or in somehow dialogic contexts. Sometimes it intensifies part of an utterance; in other contexts it marks the event referred to as perceivable, obvious, or expected, or it marks the communicative act as such. The use of δή to mark narrative steps, which is common in Homeric narrator text and in Herodotus, occurs as well, but is rare in drama; this use requires relatively long stretches of narrative.<sup>154</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> See De Kreijl 2016c:II.2 for δή's distribution in Homer. See §26 above on δέ and §38 above on καί for other links between Homeric and Aeschylean particle use.

<sup>153</sup> Its overall frequency in Pindar, for example, is only 0.07 per 100 words.

<sup>154</sup> See De Kreijl 2016c:II.3 for discussion of this use of δή in Homer; see Bonifazi 2016:IV.3 and IV.5 for discussion of this use of δή in Herodotus and Thucydides. Examples from drama are Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* 214 (Tucker 1908 and Hutchinson 1985 *ad loc.* note that the construction is epic); *Suppliant Women* 571 (Friis Johansen and

§74 Just as in Homer and historiography, δὴ in drama may occur in stancetaking expressions, where it is used in order to intensify these expressions. The co-text in such cases contains an adjective or an adverb that expresses an extreme of some kind, such as superlatives or words like “all” or “alone.”<sup>155</sup> Here is an example from a 6-line utterance from Aeschylus’ *Persians*:

(t23)

Ba. αἰᾶ, κακῶν ὕψιστα δὴ κλύω τάδε,                      Qu. Aiai, this is truly the most towering disaster I  
have ever heard of,

Aeschylus’ *Persians* 331

δὴ here emphasizes the subjective judgement κακῶν ὕψιστα.<sup>156</sup> This subjectivizing function can be connected to descriptions of δὴ as expressing affirmation or the speaker’s certainty.<sup>157</sup> The particle’s higher frequency in Aeschylean dialogues supports a connection to the speaker’s own view or attitude. However, the use of this particle does not in itself imply a contrast with different views, as γέ does.<sup>158</sup>

---

Whittle 1980 *ad loc.* note that the construction is epic); Sophocles’ *Women of Trachis* 772 (Jebb 1892 and Davies 1991 indent the text at this point); Euripides’ *Andromache* 1147 (Stevens 1971 *ad loc.* notes that “the particle marks the decisive point”); *Hippolytus* 38, 1181; Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 816, 826; *Lysistrata* 523.

<sup>155</sup> This is how e.g. Stephens 1837:63, Krüger 1846 [1842]:347-348, and Denniston 1950 [1934]:204-207 describe the use of δὴ with superlatives and other words that express an extreme. In a slightly different way, e.g. Hoogeveen 1769:290-294 and Monro 1882:256 argue that δὴ in this use indicates that the highest stage of something has been reached.

<sup>156</sup> Other examples of δὴ intensifying an extreme expression include Aeschylus’ *Persians* 236, 382, 490, 548, 583, 1013; *Libation Bearers* 897; Sophocles’ *Antigone* 173, 615, 821, 823, 895; *Electra* 202; Euripides’ *Hippolytus* 462, 834, 982, 1246; *Medea* 1067; Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 1254.

<sup>157</sup> An affirmative meaning is considered δὴ’s primary meaning by Thiersch 1826:193, 549 (on Homer); Stephens 1837:9; Navarre 1932; Denniston 1950 [1934]:203-204; Leumann 1949; Humbert 1960:403; Ruijgh 1971:646-647; Wakker 1994:351; 1997a:239 (on Herodotus and Thucydides); 1997b:216 (on tragedy); De Bakker, Van Emde Boas, Huitink, and Rijksbaron forthcoming 2017 (on classical Greek).

<sup>158</sup> See section 2.2.5 above on γέ, with references.



§75 When it has a large scope, such as over an entire clause, δὴ may have a number of functions that are related to each other. One is to mark the content of its act as visible or otherwise perceptible to speaker and addressee. Many scholars in fact argue for “clearly,” “obviously,” or referring to something known or visible as the basic meaning of δὴ.<sup>159</sup> While I do not claim that this nuance is present in every instance of the particle in drama, I do consider it part of its functions. The following Euripidean example stems from a 12-line utterance in which Hippolytus says goodbye to several addressees, among whom the goddess Artemis:

(t24)

<p>(Ιπ.) ὦ φιλότατη μοι δαιμόνων Λητοῦς κόρη,      σύνθακε, συγκύναγε, φευξόμεσθα δὴ      κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας. (...)</p>	<p>(Hi.) Dearest of gods to me, daughter of Leto, you      I have sat with, you I have hunted with, I shall      leave glorious Athens as an exile.</p>
---	---

Euripides' *Hippolytus* 1093-1094

Hippolytus addresses Artemis at the moment of his exile. He assumes that the goddess sees or hears what is happening to him (if she can hear this very utterance, she will also have heard Theseus' preceding order to Hippolytus to leave the country). Thus the particle δὴ accompanies the description of an action that is perceptible to speaker and addressee alike, and marks the description as such.<sup>160</sup> Though there is no quick dialogic exchange here, the δὴ clause does convey the speaker's attention to his addressee.

---

<sup>159</sup> An evidential meaning of δὴ is considered the primary one by Hartung 1828:4 (though in 1832 he changed his mind); Döderlein 1858:362-363 (on Homer); Rost 1859:2n3; Bäumllein 1861:98-99; Wähdel 1869:2 (on Aristophanes); Hoffmann 1884:9 (on Herodotus); Smyth 1984 [1920]:646-647; Sicking 1986:133; 1993:51-53 (on Lysias); Van Ophuijsen 1993:141-148 (on Plato); Bakker 1997:78-79 (on Homer); Cuypers 2005:38, 55-59 (on Homer and Apollonius).

<sup>160</sup> Other examples of δὴ (sometimes combined with καί; see §77 below) marking its act as referring to a perceptible event or feature include Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 565, 874, 1057; Sophocles' *Antigone* 155, 441, 939;

§76 A similar situation is when a speaker refers back to what the addressee has just said. An example is found in the magistrate's reaction (1.5 lines long, see 571-572) to Lysistrata's utterance in the following passage:

(t25)

<p>Λυ. ὥσπερ κλωστήρ', ὅταν ἡμῖν ἢ τεταραγμένος, ὧδε λαβοῦσαι, (567)</p> <p>ὑπενεγκοῦσαι τοῖσιν ἀτράκτοις, τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ, τὸ δ' ἐκεῖσε,</p> <p>οὔτως καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον διαλύσομεν, ἢν τις ἐάσῃ,</p> <p>διενεγκοῦσαι διὰ πρεσβειῶν, τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ, τὸ δ' ἐκεῖσε. (570)</p>	<p>Ly. It's rather like a ball of yarn when it gets tangled up. We hold it this way, and carefully wind out the strands on our spindles, now this way, now that way.</p> <p>That's how we'll wind up this war, if we're allowed: on snarling it by sending embassies, now this way, now that way.</p>
--	---

<p>Πρ. ἐξ ἐρίων δὴ καὶ κλωστήρων καὶ ἀτράκτων πράγματα δεινὰ παύσειν οἴεσθ'; ὡς ἀνόητοι.</p>	<p>Ma. You really think your way with wool and yarnballs and spindles can stop a terrible crisis? How brainless!</p>
--	--

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 567-572

δή in 571 co-occurs with a lexical echo from the preceding utterance (κλωστήρων καὶ ἀτράκτων, echoing κλωστήρ' (...) τοῖσιν ἀτράκτοις from 567-568). A heavy paraphrase of the particle in this context would be "as you say." The information referred to in such quoting contexts may not be directly perceptible, but will nevertheless be obvious to both of the interlocutors. This use of is δὴ close to the one found in historiography to resume a narrative

---

Euripides' *Hippolytus* 778, 1007, 1342, 1447; Aristophanes' *Frogs* 270bis, 1476; *Lysistrata* 65, 77, 83, 312, 327, 557, 601, 683, 909, 925.

I do not agree with the interpretation of W.S. Barrett 1964 and Halleran 1995 *ad loc.*, who claim that δὴ adds a pathetic emphasis. The pathos resides rather in the content of the passage; it is not contributed by the particle.

thread after an interruption or another topic (“as I was saying”).<sup>161</sup> The difference, however, is that in those cases δή refers back to the narrator’s own previous text, whereas in drama speakers refer to utterances by their addressees.<sup>162</sup>

§77 If certain information or a certain event is perceptible, or has just been mentioned, this means, more generally, that it is *evident* for speaker and addressee, or at least it can be presented as such. The content of δή clauses can also be evident, obvious, or expected for reasons other than being directly perceptible or quoted.<sup>163</sup> In this use the particle is sometimes combined with καί; together the two particles have become a cluster to mark the noticing of a new character on stage,<sup>164</sup> as well as the speaker’s obedience to a directive.<sup>165</sup> These uses, again, directly concern the interaction among the characters on stage.

§78 Related to this use is δή’s ability to mark not the content of its clause, but the very utterance of this content as expected or obvious.<sup>166</sup> This is the most natural interpretation of many δή instances in questions, such as in the *Lysistrata* dialogue directly after the lines cited in (t25):<sup>167</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> See Van Ophuijsen 1993:143 (“what may be called anaphoric δή”) on this use of δή in Plato, and Wakker 1997b:241-242 on this use (“so-called anaphoric” δή, 241) in Herodotus and Thucydides.

<sup>162</sup> Other examples of δή with references to the addressee’s utterance are found in e.g. Sophocles’ *Antigone* 91, 726; Euripides’ *Bacchae* 652, 822; *Hippolytus* 233, 948, 962, 1071; Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 146, 1102bis.

<sup>163</sup> Examples of δή marking the content of its act as obvious, evident, or expected are found in e.g. Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes* 655; *Libation Bearers* 532, 891; Sophocles’ *Antigone* 80, 923, 1202; Euripides’ *Alcestis* 5; *Bacchae* 291, 934; *Hippolytus* 7, 688, 1093; Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 1301.

<sup>164</sup> This use of καί δή is found in e.g. Euripides’ *Medea* 1118; Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 65, 77; *Wasps* 1324. See Van Erp Taalman Kip 2009 for discussion.

<sup>165</sup> καί δή marking an evident or perceptible obedience to a directive is found in e.g. Sophocles’ *Electra* 317, 892, 1436; *Philoctetes* 818; Euripides’ *Alcestis* 1118; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 175bis, 550; *Wealth* 227, 414; *Women at the Thesmophoria* 214bis. See chapter 4 §§51-52 for discussion.

<sup>166</sup> Bäumllein 1861:104 interprets δή with imperatives in a similar way: he argues that the particle marks the order as natural and justified under the current circumstances.

<sup>167</sup> Other examples of δή marking its host text segment as an obvious or expected one are e.g. Aeschylus’ *Libation Bearers* 569, 732; *Eumenides* 431; Sophocles’ *Electra* 376, 1400; *Oedipus King* 655ter; Euripides’ *Hippolytus* 722; Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 503bis, 503ter, 769bis, 941, 1100, 1108, 1295.

(t26)

<p>Πρ. ἐξ ἐρίων δὴ καὶ κλωστήρων καὶ ἀτράκτων      πράγματα δεινὰ      παύσειν οἴεσθ'; ὡς ἀνόητοι.</p>	<p>Ma. You really think your way with wool      and yarnballs and spindles can stop a      terrible crisis? How brainless!</p>
<p>Λυ. κἄν ὑμῖν γ' εἴ τις ἐνήν νοῦς, (572bis)      ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπολιτεύεσθ' ἂν      ἅπαντα.</p>	<p>Ly. I do think so, and if you had any brains      you'd handle all the polis' business the way      we handle our wool!</p>
<p>Πρ. πῶς δὴ; φέρ' ἴδω. (...)</p>	<p>Ma. How then? I'm all ears.</p>

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 571-574

I interpret the δὴ in 574 as marking its host question as an expected action in its context. After *Lysistrata*'s vague statement about applying wool strategies to politics, the magistrate considers it a logical communicative action to ask what she means exactly. That is, the particle does not concern logical relations between the content of different utterances (as δῆτα signals in questions), but indicates in this case that the action of asking is an obvious one. This signal is most appropriate in dialogues, the setting in which the focus on the ongoing interaction is the highest.

§79 To sum up: δὴ in drama is most frequent in situations with high interactivens: that is, in relatively short turns of speaking, or those that otherwise betray attention to the interaction, for example by using vocatives (see (t24)). In choral songs, a setting where a face-to-face interaction on the stage is hardly present, δὴ has a relatively low frequency. Based on this distributional input as well as co-textual patterns and the behavior of δὴ in other genres, I interpret its functions as follows. When δὴ has small scope, over an adjective or adverb that describes a quality in the extreme, it intensifies an expression of the speaker's stance, a function that is also common in Homer and historiography. With larger scope δὴ either marks the *content* of its clause or the *uttering* of that content as perceptible, evident, or expected.

These functions reflect the speaker’s attention to her addressee: she presents the content or the action as evident to both herself and a “you.” They do not, however, require an immediate verbal reaction from this addressee, as is likely in the case of γε and δήτα (see §§58-63 above), particles that favor dialogues in an even stronger way. Finally, monologues display some uses of δή to mark narrative progression (frequent in Homer and Herodotus), but because of the relatively small proportion of narrative in drama, this concerns only a minority of instances.

### 2.2.9 οὖν

§80 This particle is the most frequent in dialogues, in Sophocles and Euripides significantly so (Sophocles: in dialogues 0.47, in monologues 0.12, in songs 0.07% of words; Euripides 0.39, 0.25, and 0.03%, respectively). As for its low frequency in choral songs, it is relevant that the particle is rare in epic and Pindar.<sup>168</sup> As I have argued in my discussion of δέ and τε above (§25 and §43), we can see once more that choral songs tend to be linguistically closer to epic and lyric than monologues and dialogues. In general, the playwrights’ preference to use οὖν in dialogues can be explained from the greater explicit presence of the speaker in this situation, and the high level of interactiveness among the characters.<sup>169</sup>

§81 With οὖν a speaker may present an utterance as an inference or conclusion, as in this excerpt from a monologue by Hippolytus:

(t27)

<p>(Π.) ὡς καὶ σύ γ’ ἡμῖν πατρός, ὦ κακὸν κάρα, λέκτρων ἀθίκτων ἦλθες ἐς συναλλαγὰς ἀγῶ ῥυτοῖς νασμοῖσιν ἐξομόρξομαι</p>	<p>(Hi.) It is in this fashion, despicable creature, that you have come to traffic with me in the sacred bed of my father. I shall pour running water into</p>
--	--

<sup>168</sup> The overall frequency of οὖν in Homer is only 0.04% of all words; In Hesiod, there are only 2 instances, which means a frequency of less than 0.01%. Pindar has one of 0.05%. The later epic authors Apollonius Rhodius, Oppian of Anazarbus, and Oppian of Apamea, all use οὖν in a low frequency of 0.04%, just like Homer.

<sup>169</sup> For an οὖν construction that is not discussed here, i.e. the one in pre-expansions, see chapter 4 §§43-45.



connects different speech segments to each other in a specific way. Consider this example from a 20-line utterance by Ismene to Antigone:

(t28)

<p>(Is.) ἔπειτα δ' οὐνεκ' ἀρχόμεσθ' ἐκ κρεισσόνων καὶ ταῦτ' ἀκούειν κάτι τῶνδ' ἀλγίονα. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν αἰτοῦσα τοὺς ὑπὸ χθονὸς (65) ξύγγοιαν ἴσχειν, ὡς βιάζομαι τάδε, τοῖς ἐν τέλει βεβῶσι πείσομαι. (...)</p>	<p>(Is.) and then [we must remember] that we are ruled by those whose power is greater, so that we must consent to this and to other things even more painful! So I shall beg those beneath the earth to be understanding, since I act under constraint, but I shall obey those in authority;</p>
--	---

Sophocles' *Antigone* 63-67

In this case, as commentators point out, the two particles work separately.<sup>171</sup> μὲν, on the one hand, has a projecting function. It therefore places emphasis on ἐγὼ in a way that sets it in contrast against something implied. Here the speaker Ismene, in outlining her intention to obey Creon's injunction against burying her brother, suggests that her plan of action may diverge from Antigone's, her addressee. οὖν, on the other hand, marks the upcoming acts as a conclusion from the preceding text. Ismene should bury her brother, but has to consent to the king; *therefore* she will ask the deceased for understanding, and obey. That is, μὲν helps to indicate potential disagreement; οὖν underlines how the speaker interprets a certain situation—in Ismene's view one has to conclude that obedience is inevitable. Both particles thus relate to both the textual organization (connections among different speech segments) and the interaction between the speaker and addressee (disagreement, and Ismene's responsibility for her conclusion).

---

<sup>171</sup> See Jebb 1888, Kamerbeek 1978, and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.* Other examples of μὲν οὖν not working as a cluster include Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* 133; Sophocles' *Antigone* 925; *Electra* 459, 549; *Women of Trachis* 1270; Euripides' *Andromache* 554; *Children of Heracles* 818; *Hecuba* 16, 51; *Hippolytus* 393, 451, 1249, 1318.

§83 When the two particles work together as a cluster, μὲν οὖν may mark a correction of a preceding element. The corrected element is often from an utterance spoken by the addressee, which clearly connects this function to the ongoing interaction. An example is found in the following Aristophanic scene. Hermes and Trygaeus are talking about the Spartans:

(t29)

<p>(Er.) καῖτα τὰ κείνων γε κέρδη τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἦν κακά· (625) αἱ γὰρ ἐνθένδ' αὖ τριήρεις ἀντιτιμωρούμεναι οὐδὲν αἰτίων ἄν ἀνδρῶν τὰς κράδας κατήσθιον.</p> <p>Tr. ἐν δίκη <u>μὲν οὖν</u>, ἐπεὶ τοι τὴν κορώνεών γε μου ἐξέκοψαν, ἦν ἐγὼ 'φύτευσα κάζεθρε ψάμην.</p>	<p>(He.) And their [i.e. the Spartans'] gain became the farmers' loss, for the warships despatched from here to retaliate would consume the figs on trees belonging to wholly blameless men.</p> <p>Tr. No, they deserved it! You see, they cut down that black fig tree of mine, which I'd planted and nurtured.</p>
--	---

Aristophanes' *Peace* 625-629

As Platnauer 1964 and Olson 1998 *ad loc.* note, μὲν οὖν indicates that Trygaeus does not agree with the previous utterance, but corrects part of it: in his view the Spartan farmers were not innocent in the war. Since the Spartans were responsible for Trygaeus' loss of his fig tree, in his view they deserved to lose some figs themselves. Olson interprets the combination as “no, to the contrary.”<sup>172</sup> Since this corrective use cannot be inferred from the normal pragmatic contributions of each of the two particles, I speak of a cluster in this case.<sup>173</sup> It occurs especially in turn-initial position, which makes it more frequent in the dialogues.<sup>174</sup> The cluster's

<sup>172</sup> The cluster καὶ μὴν has a similar use at the beginning of turns, indicating a correction or objection, especially in Aristophanes: see Devarius 1588:114-115; Bodin and Mazon 1902:354-355; Smyth 1984 [1920]:658-659; Wakker 1997a:217-218; Van Erp Taalman Kip 2009:125. Examples include Aristophanes' *Clouds* 1185, 1441; *Frogs* 612bis, 1036; *Lysistrata* 588bis; *Wealth* 1073, 1139.

<sup>173</sup> On the difference between combination and cluster, see chapter 1 §12.

<sup>174</sup> Rost 1859:7 and Bäumllein 1861:174 note that combinations such as μὲν οὖν are frequent in answers. Other examples of the cluster μὲν οὖν marking a correction include Aeschylus' *Persians* 1032; *Agamemnon* 1396; *Libation*



predominance in this communicative setting is understandable in view of its interactional value.

§84 Just as several other particles that tend to be most frequent in dialogues, then, οὐ̃ν fits situations with high interactiveness. More specifically, with οὐ̃ν a speaker may mark an assertion as her own conclusion or inference from the preceding. Such a relation is not inherent in the semantic content of an utterance, but, crucially, betrays the speaker's interpretation of that content, and the way she wants to present it to the addressee. The cluster μὲν οὐ̃ν is even more strongly subjective: the speaker presents her speech as a correction, usually of something uttered by the addressee.

### 2.2.10 ἦ̃

§85 In tragedy, ἦ̃ is used the most in dialogues (0.29 to 0.50% of all words), less often in songs (0.09 to 0.13%), and hardly ever in monologues (0.05 to 0.09%); in Aristophanes its distribution is not statistically significant, because it is hardly used at all (0 to 0.11%). In general, ἦ̃ is considered to have two functions, an interrogative and an affirmative one.<sup>175</sup> In fact, the particle's two different functions are divided across the two dramatic communicative settings in which it is mainly used: we tend to find ἦ̃ in questions in dialogues, and in assertions in choral songs.<sup>176</sup> However, we shall see that its uses in these two contexts are related.

---

*Bearers* 999; *Eumenides* 38; Sophocles' *Ajax* 1363; *Electra* 1503bis; *Oedipus at Colonus* 31; Euripides' *Alcestis* 821, 1113; *Hippolytus* 821, 1012; Aristophanes' *Frogs* 612, 626; *Wasps* 898; *Wealth* 270, 287, 347, 390, 914, 1009.

<sup>175</sup> On the particle ἦ̃ and these two uses, see e.g. Stephanus 1572: 1415-1422; Devarius 1835 [1588]:92-102; Vigerus 1822 [1627]:409-413; Ellendt 1872 [1835]:299-300 (on Sophocles); Stephens 1837:42-49; Ebeling 1885:528-531 (on Homer); Denniston 1950 [1934]:279; Humbert 1960 [1954]:406-409; Berrettoni 1969:53-56 (on Homer); Scodel 2012 (on Homer).

<sup>176</sup> ἦ̃ is found in questions in dialogues in e.g. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 269, 276, 942; *Libation Bearers* 220, 526, 774; *Eumenides* 424, 434, 717; Sophocles' *Ajax* 38, 44, 48, 97, 103 (see chapter 5 §47 for discussion), 1133; *Antigone* 44, 574, 752; *Electra* 385, 663, 1177, 1503; *Oedipus King* 368, 429, 622, 757, 943, 1000, 1012, 1039, 1041, 1043, 1045 (see (t50) with discussion below for the instances in 1039, 1041, 1043, and 1045), 1120, 1130, 1173; *Philoctetes* 121, 322, 565, 654; Euripides' *Andromache* 249, 437, 441, 581, 1062; *Bacchae* 828, 834, 1032; *Hecuba* 1047, 1124; *Hippolytus* 97, 1448.

§86 For a few examples in questions, consider the following passage from Sophocles' *Oedipus King*. It is part of the dialogue with the highest number of ἦ instances in my corpus (six instances in 517 words in total).

(t30)

Oi. ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, πρὸς μητρός, ἦ πατρός; Oe. By heaven, did my father or my mother name  
φράσον. me? Tell me that!

Αγ. οὐκ οἶδ'. ὁ δοὺς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ λῶον φρονεῖ. Me. I do not know; the man who gave you to me  
knows it all better than I did.

Oi. ἦ γὰρ παρ' ἄλλου μ' ἔλαβες οὐδ' αὐτὸς Oe. Then did you not find me, but received me  
τυχῶν; from another man?

Αγ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ποιμὴν ἄλλος ἐκδίδωσί μοι. Me. Yes, another shepherd gave you to me.

(1040) Oe. Who was he? Do you know how to tell this  
truly?

Oi. τίς οὗτος; ἦ κάττισθα δηλῶσαι λόγῳ; Me. I think he was said to be one of Laius' men.

Oi. ἦ τοῦ τυράννου τῆσδε γῆς πάλαι ποτέ; Oe. The man who long ago was ruler of this land?

Αγ. μάλιστα· τούτου τάνδρὸς οὗτος ἦν βοτήρ. Me. Yes; that was the man whose shepherd he  
was.

Oi. ἦ κάστ' ἔτι ζῶν οὗτος, ὥστ' ἰδεῖν ἐμέ; (1045) Oe. Is he still alive, so that I could see him?

Αγ. ὑμεῖς γ' ἄριστ' εἰδεῖτ' ἂν οὐπιχώριοι. Me. You who are the people of the country would  
know that best.

Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1038-1046

In each case ἦ starts a question. Since none of these questions contains a question word, I interpret ἦ as one of the signals that the upcoming utterance is a question. Several indications

---

It is found in assertions in choral songs in e.g. Aeschylus' *Persians* 648 (see (t31) with discussion below), 852; *Eumenides* 144; Sophocles' *Ajax* 621; *Women of Trachis* 846, 847; Euripides' *Andromache* 274; *Hippolytus* 758, 1102.

Some ἦ instances in questions in choral songs are found in Sophocles' *Ajax* 172, 176. This song is exceptional—that is, dialogue-like—in several other respects as well: see the discussion in §42 above.

lead to this interpretation. First and most important, there are no elements that would point to ἦ's other use, which is connected to stancetaking (see on (t31) below). Second, the replies to the turns in 1039, 1043, and 1045 start with οὐκ (1040), μάλιστα (1044) and a turn-initial γε (1046): since these words are typical for answers to questions, they retrospectively suggest that the earlier turns were questions. Third, the ἦ in 1041 occurs after τίς οὗτος, a clear question; therefore it is logical to take the ἦ act as an appendix to that question.

§87 The question in 1039 is marked with turn-initial γάρ as an inference from the preceding utterance (see §§55-56 above), and asks for confirmation of this inference. ἦ γάρ together can be translated as, “are you really (ἦ) saying that...?” Oedipus' other three questions in this passage likewise ask for confirmation of their suggested statements. However, unlike ἦ questions or ἦ statements in Homer, which always seem to concern an evaluation of a character, these suggestions here concern facts.<sup>177</sup> In general, asking for confirmation is close to the affirmative force that the particle has in assertions.<sup>178</sup> At the same time, the ἦ instances imply that Oedipus is highly emotionally involved in this interrogation.<sup>179</sup> The facts he is asking about are not just plain facts; they have emotional significance to him. This involvement is indeed apparent from his insistence, throughout this scene, to find out everything about his own origin.<sup>180</sup>

§88 The emotional charge of ἦ questions is present in ἦ assertions as well, which are mainly found in choral songs. Such utterances generally do not concern facts, but the

---

<sup>177</sup> See Scodel 2012 on the use of ἦ in Homer, e.g. 321: “The particle only rarely affirms the truth of what could actually be known, but insists on the rightness of inferences, predictions, and evaluations.” 331: “(...) interrogative ἦ is very close to the affirmative, since the speaker seeks agreement not about what has taken place, but about his interpretation of it (...).”

<sup>178</sup> See e.g. Schwyzer and Debrunner 1950:564-565, who claim that ἦ in questions keeps its affirmative value.

<sup>179</sup> On ἦ and emotional involvement, see also chapter 4 §47 on tragedy, and De Kreij 2016c:II.3 on Homer.

<sup>180</sup> See e.g. ὦ πρὸς θεῶν in 1037, and his strong refusals to listen to Iocaste in e.g. 1058-1059 and 1065.

speaker's stance. Consider the following excerpt from a song by the Persian elders, who ask Earth and the underworld gods to send up their dead king Darius:

(t31)

(Χο.) πέμπετε δ' ἄνω,	(Ch.) and send him up here,
οἷον οὔπω (645)	one like no other whom
Περσὶς αἶ' ἐκάλυψεν.	Persian soil has ever covered.
ἦ φίλος ἀνὴρ, φίλος ὄχθος·	Truly we love the man, we love the mound;
φίλα γὰρ κέκευθεν ἦθη.	for it conceals a man of lovable character.

Aeschylus' *Persians* 644-649

The elders underscore the attitude they are expressing toward Darius with ἦ: it is φίλος, the word of emotion, which receives the emphasis.<sup>181</sup> Some manuscripts even read a second ἦ in 647 before the second φίλος;<sup>182</sup> in any case the particle's function here is clearly connected to the emotional evaluation. The contribution of ἦ to emotional evaluation is close to that of an interjection—a connection strengthened by ἦ's capacity to form a discourse act on its own (as e.g. in 1045 in (t30) above).<sup>183</sup> Several interjections are typically at home in choral songs. Their pragmatic function, like that of ἦ, primarily concerns the expressive level of communication; it is less focused on eliciting a certain reaction from the addressee. I interpret the distribution of ἦ's use in assertions in light of this connection: choral songs involve less individuality than the other settings, but emotional involvement may still be high.

§89 In short, in both of its uses in drama the particle ἦ conveys the speaker's involvement. ἦ questions ask for confirmation of the suggested assertion. Unlike in Homer, such questions

<sup>181</sup> On the emotional charge of φίλος and φιλία in tragedy, see e.g. Stanford 1983:39-40, 45.

<sup>182</sup> Page 1972 reads two ἦ instances. Groeneboom 1930, Murray 1955 [1937], Broadhead 1960, Roussel 1960, De Romilly 1974, West 1998 [1990] (cited here), and Sommerstein 2008 all read only the first ἦ. Denniston 1950 [1934]:281 considers the second ἦ unmetrical.

<sup>183</sup> See De Kreij 2016c:II.3 on the closeness of Homeric ἦ to an interjection, and on interpreting it, accordingly, as a potentially independent prosodic unit, and as a sign of a character's involvement.

may concern facts as well as opinions. Since questions are inherently dialogic, this use is most frequent in dialogues. In assertions the particle affirms an assessment, usually an emotionally-laden one. In this use, found mainly in choral songs, ἤ's function is similar to that of an interjection, by expressing the speaker's involvement without necessarily asking for a reaction.

## 2.3 Conclusions

§90 In this chapter I have argued that paying attention to the distribution of particles over different communicative situations and their co-occurrence patterns with other features improves our understanding of these particles' functions. My explorations of the linguistic features belonging to dialogues, monologues, and choral songs may serve as a starting point for further research along these lines. One could, within drama, delve into hybrid communicative situations such as lyric dialogues,<sup>184</sup> or into the distributions of linguistic elements other than the ones analyzed here, such as adjectives or certain subordinating conjunctions. In other genres, it would be interesting to compare similar distributional patterns across, for example, narrative and direct speech, as well as across authors of the same genres.

§91 The general linguistic pictures of the three settings are the following. Dialogues usually have a relatively high frequency of γε and δῆτα in all authors; ἤ in tragedy; γάρ in Sophocles and Aristophanes; οὖν in Sophocles and Euripides; and καί and δή in Aeschylus. Other features that tend to be relatively frequent in this environment are finite verbs, first- and second-person references, negations, and (in Aristophanes) swearing expressions. Nouns, in contrast, tend to be relatively infrequent in dialogues. These features reflect a high degree of on-stage

---

<sup>184</sup> These other communicative situations, however, would need to form a large enough corpus to yield statistically significant data concerning frequencies of linguistic features.

interactiveness and individual involvement, and a low degree of formality. In monologues relatively common particles are μέν in tragedy; καί in Sophocles and Euripides; δέ, δή, and ἀλλά in Euripides; and τε in Aeschylus. In this environment we find the highest relative number of imperfects: a sign of the setting's affinity to narratives. Aeschylus also uses the most nouns in his monologues. The linguistic shape of monologues as I have analyzed it reflects less involvement and interactiveness than that of dialogues, but more than that of choral songs. It can also be connected to floor-holding: the features reflect that speakers have more time to formulate their utterance than in the short turns of dialogues. Choral songs, finally, have the greatest density of the particle τε (except in Aeschylus) and of nouns. Aeschylus tends to use many δέ in these lyric parts, and Aristophanes many καί. The distributions of the selected features reflect that choral songs have a low degree of interactiveness among characters and of individual involvement, a high degree of formality, and a particular connection to tradition and ritual. Certain features also help to regularly allude to the style of epic.

§92 In general, this information about relative frequencies of particles and other features may be used as a blueprint, so to speak, for the three main parts of the plays. It will for example help us to tell, when reading tragedy and comedy, if a certain particle is marked in its current context (see e.g. (t18)), or if in fact the absence of a particle is striking (see e.g. (t9)). The distributional tendencies also clarify which particles are expected to co-occur more or less often: at least for drama, we do not need to share Denniston's surprise at the rarity of τε and γε occurring together.<sup>185</sup> On the contrary: the functions of these two particles fit different communicative settings.

§93 The observations also throw light upon differences in particle use across the four authors and two genres. Aeschylus is the king of δέ among these playwrights: especially in his

---

<sup>185</sup> Denniston wonders why τε and γε are rarely found together, "since the combination is a perfectly natural one" (1950 [1934]:161).

choral songs, the particle is extremely frequent. Sophoclean and Aristophanic dialogues often resemble each other in their particle use: they share a high frequency of γάρ, ἀλλά, οὖν, and δῆτα. Aristophanic dialogues, however, surpass all other contexts in their frequency of γε.<sup>186</sup> Aristophanes further shows an extreme fondness for καί and τε in choral songs, although the latter particle is about as common in Euripidean songs.

§94 By using the distributions of the particles and co-occurring features as input for interpretation, I have connected the particles' local functions to several global associations invited by each communicative setting. That is, the local co-text is not enough to interpret a particle's pragmatic contribution: knowledge about its distribution enhances our understanding of why a certain particle fits a certain context. For example, the distribution of δέ can be connected to its relatively neutral local function, and, more globally, to allusions to epic in specific contexts such as messenger speeches. καί is particularly multifunctional: some of its uses fit the high interactiveness of dialogues, others the longer floor-holding of monologues. τε does not only mark coordination between two items: its higher frequency in certain contexts demonstrates its overarching connection to shared knowledge and several related associations. This interpretation of τε's large-scale pragmatics echoes its associations in other genres. Along the same lines, I interpret the contrastive function of γε as related to the interaction between characters, more specifically to their engagement with each other's varying opinions. For δῆ, the local co-text is required to distinguish between its several functions; most of these signpost personal and/or interpersonal attitudes that have a bearing on the global communicative situation. All in all, my results serve as a strong warning not to

---

<sup>186</sup> And even all other Greek literature: a *TLG* survey of γε's frequency in 51 authors from Homer to the third century CE demonstrates that the author with the second highest average γε frequency, i.e. Plato, still uses it only 0.92 times per 100 words. In Aristophanes the frequency is 1.07%, if all speaker names and indications of line numbers are taken into account as well—the real frequency of γε is therefore even higher. For more correct γε frequencies in drama, but concerning only parts of the plays, see Table 7 in note 114 above. See chapter 5 §52 on probable reasons for the high γε frequency in Aristophanes.

treat all these particles together as one linguistic feature. Their distributions, local functions, and global associations vary greatly, even within the dramatic corpus.

§95 In other words, then, the small-scale functions of particles can be connected to their large-scale implications. This illustrates the necessity of a pragmatic perspective on particle use that looks beyond the sentence level: since particles are used differently in different communicative situations, and since they carry additional implications beyond their local function, the sentence in which they occur is not sufficient for their interpretation. Large-scale patterns of distribution are crucial for understanding the particles' functions, uses, and implications.



## Relevant repetitions

### 3.1 Introduction

§1 Whenever we speak or write, we inevitably use words and constructions that others have already used, or that we ourselves have used on previous occasions. Repetition of elements from previous utterances is therefore common in language use, both spoken and written.<sup>1</sup> Types of repetition include reusing certain words, echoing sounds, reproducing syntactic constructions, and recycling pragmatic functions such as questioning or evaluating. Sometimes we use such repetition across utterances consciously to achieve specific communicative goals. We might, for example, echo an interlocutor as a way to join her in her action. In a different context, we might use an opponent's own words, concepts, or constructions to defeat him rhetorically. In yet another situation, we may mimic someone else's intonation pattern to amuse our listeners. And authors of literature will consciously repeat certain words in order to highlight a specific theme, or to establish links to different texts.

§2 The process of exploiting linguistic repetition for pragmatic reasons is called resonance in the theory of dialogic syntax developed by John Du Bois. This chapter will discuss the use of resonance in Greek tragedy and comedy, and the roles that particles play in this process. The aim of applying this modern linguistic approach to an ancient corpus is not to advance our knowledge about (dialogic) communication in general; spoken conversations form better

---

<sup>1</sup> I use the term "utterance" in a neutral way, for linguistic segments continuously "uttered" in any medium. If a change of speaker occurs, I consider this the end of an utterance.

material for investigating those aspects. Rather, as holds for my other theory applications—that of distributional patterns in chapter 2 and that of Conversation Analysis in chapter 4—the goal is a better understanding of language use in my corpus of Greek drama, and of particle use in particular.

### 3.1.1 What is dialogic resonance?

§3 The concept of resonance has been developed by Du Bois, in the framework of dialogic syntax.<sup>2</sup> This theory stresses the dialogic nature of all communication: that is, every utterance is shaped by a context, and in its turn shapes the new context. The approaches to language use upon which Du Bois' theory builds consider spoken or written text to be a dynamic and joint construction by all participants, rather than a static product by one speaker or writer, as some other linguistic theories assume. Among these dialogic approaches we can find the joint-action theory of language use (Clark 1996), Conversation Analysis (see chapter 4 for discussion and references), and dialogism (Linell 1998, 2009). They all share the view that every communicative act is context-shaped and context-renewing; that is, communicative acts respond to some prior context and at the same time serve as context for subsequent contributions.

§4 Although these frameworks are based on spoken language use, they are also useful for understanding written language. These theories as well as others have demonstrated that spoken language should be considered the primary and most basic form of language use, from which all others are derived. Hopper and Thompson 2008 convincingly argue that the simpler forms of certain constructions used in spoken language should not be viewed as degenerate

---

<sup>2</sup> Du Bois' seminal work on dialogic syntax has been in circulation for several years before publication in 2014. The scholar has presented these ideas on various conferences since 1998, and the paper has been distributed since 2001.

versions of the written norm. Rather, written constructions are better considered “normativized and extended versions” (119) of the spoken ones.

§5 Starting from such general dialogic ideas, Du Bois studies the relations among separate utterances in American English conversations. He observes that speakers often pick up certain elements from previous utterances in order to achieve some pragmatic goal(s). A speaker, for example, might reuse her interlocutor’s words, constructions, intonation patterns, etc. to express disagreement:

(t1)

Joanne: It’s kind of like *you* Ken.

Ken: That’s not at *all* like me Joanne.

Fragment of spoken dialogue, from Du Bois 2014:362

In this exchange, Du Bois points out, the second speaker Ken picks up lexical items, syntactic structures, and the intonation pattern of the first speaker Joanne’s utterance. He thereby highlights his disagreement. Similarly, picking up a specific part of another’s utterance may serve to signal doubt or objection, by drawing attention to unconvincing parts of an earlier utterance.

§6 Du Bois calls this process of “activating affinities across utterances” dialogic resonance. Note that resonance is not merely repetition. Only when the repetition in question draws attention to itself, and when it accomplishes specific ends, resonance is triggered. It is therefore a more dynamic process than repetition: the speaker or writer actively does something by picking up some previous element. On top of that, resonance is broader than lexical repetition: building upon a syntactic construction or mirroring a certain word-order can also trigger resonance. The difference between these two processes, however, is not clear-

cut. For example, Du Bois is dubious as to whether lexical repetition should be considered a trigger of resonance, if the speaker or writer probably does not have an appropriate synonym available to her.

§7 My corpus of tragedy and comedy displays borderline cases as well. My position is that if we can plausibly infer conscious pragmatic goals for certain repetitions that occur across utterances, we may interpret these repetitions as resonance triggers.<sup>3</sup> For a fictional drama corpus, the added dimension of the author is crucial: on top of the characters' pragmatic goals, those of the playwright are involved in resonance.

### 3.1.2 Studies on resonance in modern languages

§8 Several applications of Du Bois' theory, using corpora from different languages, show that resonance takes place in a variety of linguistic forms and with several functions.<sup>4</sup> This research illustrates that resonance is a productive concept. It is relevant to many languages and types of communication, and it has points of contact to several other concepts.

§9 Giora and Balaban 2001 use resonance to explain the use of metaphors in Hebrew newspapers. The metaphors' literal meaning is processed alongside their figurative, metaphoric one, which often leads to later recurrence of the literal meaning. Haddington 2004 finds that interviewees in American English news interviews frequently pick up linguistic features from their interviewers' utterances to express their own stance. Concerning Finnish interactions, Laury 2005 shows that "speakers use the recycling of linguistic elements as a resource in maintaining topical continuity in conversational interaction" (165). Extending the theory of dialogic syntax, Sakita 2006 unites it with ideas from cognitive linguistics: this

---

<sup>3</sup> Pickering 1999:34, discussing lexical repetitions in tragedy, adds a similar warning. He points out that not all repetitions can or should be considered intentional and meaningful; yet at the same time, he argues strongly against the view that all are unconscious and "careless."

<sup>4</sup> See also Du Bois 2014:365 for an overview of resonance studies.

scholar points out that many instances of resonance depend on the speakers' capacity for schematization. That is, speakers need to "instantly abstract a schema from a priming utterance" (494) before they can use this schema to build their own utterance upon. As a further theoretical refinement, Giora 2007 distinguishes between "backward" and "forward" resonance in written English and Hebrew. Forward resonance, though, is a concept that is relevant only in restricted cases, when we are dealing with separate utterances by the same speaker or writer. Furthermore, resonance can only be triggered once the second utterance has been heard or read. It is therefore better to keep to one clear definition of resonance, and to treat only those utterances which repeat earlier elements as resonance triggers.

§10 Zima, Brône, Feyaerts, and Sambre 2008 show that speakers frequently employ resonance in contexts of disagreement during French and Austrian political debates. In their words, "[f]ormal mapping relations are intentionally used to convey interpersonal pragmatic differential" (144). Speakers especially tend to pick up the syntax from an earlier speaker. Zima *et al.* conclude that resonance is thus useful for conveying differences, for example to express disagreement or sarcasm, to ridicule, or to claim intellectual superiority. Nuolijärvi and Tiittula 2011 extend the work of Zima *et al.* in their discussion of Finnish political debates. These authors focus on the use of irony, which always seems to involve some kind of intentional "echoing" of a previous speaker (they build on Wilson and Sperber's 1992 view on irony). Another study is that of Oropeza-Escobar 2011, who demonstrates that resonance in Mexican Spanish interactions is used in joking contexts. Speakers also often use resonance to signal agreement or disagreement, she finds, or, more generally, to indicate their stance. Finally, Takanashi 2011 on resonance in playful Japanese conversations shows that speakers may perform a specific switch in speech style in response to a similar shift by a previous speaker, a form of "pragmatic resonance."

### 3.1.3 Studies on resonance in ancient Greek

§11 Scholars have long observed that speakers in Greek tragedy and comedy exploit linguistic similarities across utterances to achieve a variety of effects. Thus, I find that the existing work is compatible with this framework, even though none of the authors so far explicitly applies Du Bois' concept of resonance.

§12 Hancock's 1917 dissertation on tragic stichomythia is a particularly good example of this convergence of thought. He observes that it is characteristic in stichomythia for one speaker to pick up and emphasize another speaker's words or constructions (6, 35-36), often in an angry or mocking way (33). Hancock analyzes this process in detail and outlines its forms and functions. He also notes the different ways in which the tragedians—and, incidentally, Plato—employ this type of repetition. Most relevant for my work, his study includes observations on the use of particles in such processes.

§13 Ireland 1974 on Aeschylus similarly focuses on the way speakers during stichomythia pick up elements from each other's utterances. In this author's view, stichomythia does not just present an "arbitrary juxtaposition of independent statements," but an "interaction of intellectual and emotional responses" connected to the dramatic situation (513). He gives many examples of "the syntactic completion of one line by the other" (511), and discusses the role of particles in them.

§14 Pfeiffer-Petersen 1996 on Sophocles looks specifically at repetition in conflict stichomythia. This scholar analyzes several linguistic strategies employed in agonistic dialogues, which range from the repetition of words and morphemes across utterances ("Wortaufnahmen") to syntactic, phonological, and semantic similarities. Her conclusions closely align with the work on dialogic syntax, as she finds that repetitions frequently occur to emphasize a speaker's main ideas or emotions, or to "fight back" an opponent with his own

words. Such repetitions are especially prominent in Sophoclean scenes of vehement disagreement.

§15 Pickering is a particularly prolific scholar of repetition in tragedy, with several rich publications and presentations to his name from 1999 to 2003.<sup>5</sup> His main focus is verbal or literal repetition: that is, lexical echoes across different lines. He confines his analyses to “lexical words.” That is, particles, conjunctions, prepositions, the definite article, forms of “to be” etc. have been excluded. Repetitions of “non-lexical words” are considered by Pickering to be usually irrelevant. The author stresses that since repetition is “natural in human communication” it lends an air of realism to tragic dialogues (1999:152-154, 231; 2000a:135). He writes: “there is nothing in the least odd about the repetition of words in the tragedians. Not only are the authors behaving in the common human way, but they are also accurately representing their characters as behaving in the common human way.” (1999:154) Developing this work, Pickering and Pickering 2002 analyze lexical repetition from one line to the next in twenty-one Greek tragedies (seven by each poet). They find that such repetition appears in stichomythia about twice as often as it does in spoken parts of tragedy overall. Characters in tragedy, Pickering and Pickering conclude, repeat each other’s words much more often when their speaking turns are short.

§16 Collins 2004 investigates the use of competitive “capping” in tragic and comic stichomythia. Capping is a conversational practice of verbal one-upmanship, central to symposia, whereby one speaker sets a theme and another responds by modifying that theme in some way. Parodies and riddles result, or in case of a lament, the emotional effect is

---

<sup>5</sup> Pickering 1999 is Peter E. Pickering’s dissertation on repetition in tragedy. In an article labeled 2000a, he discusses repetitions and their removal by the copyists of tragedy. The publication called 2000b focuses on repetition in *Prometheus*. Pickering and Pickering 2002 is a conference paper of Peter Pickering and his son Martin Pickering, who is a cognitive linguist. Furthermore, in an article published in 2003, Peter Pickering discusses so-called “careless” repetition in Greek.

heightened. Extending Collins' work, Hesk 2007 describes some specific cases of competitive capping in Aristophanes, which involve (141-142) "lexical repetition, structural mirroring and quasi-improvised responsion." Hesk argues that capping in comedies is a parody of the real poetic competitions that occurred for example in sympotic games.

§17 Willi 2003 and 2012 also look at comedy. The author observes linguistic features which create a parody of tragic language. He finds that one of the ways in which Aristophanes parodies tragedy is by mirroring, and thus mocking, tragedy's "stylistic grandeur" (138). A notable example is the liberal use of abstract nouns ending in  $-\mu\alpha$ , a signal feature of tragic language.<sup>6</sup>

§18 An unpublished paper on Sophocles by Lucci 2011 points out that Sophocles sometimes uses lexical repetition in stichomythia in order to create humorous wordplay. This wordplay can function as a comic foil to subsequent horrifying tragic events, Lucci argues.

§19 Similarly, Rutherford, in his book on tragic language and style, notes that repetition of one speaker's words by another is a frequent feature of tragic stichomythia (2012:173). Rutherford mentions several functions of lexical repetition, both in stichomythia and other parts of a play. First, it may underline not only disagreement between speakers, but also their unity, as between Orestes and Electra in Sophocles' *Electra* (173). Second, terms used in a prologue may reappear throughout a play, which highlights their thematic importance (Sophocles is especially fond of this technique (181)). Third, a speaker might sarcastically reuse a previous speaker's words, as Antigone does when echoing Ismene's οἴμοι in Sophocles' *Antigone* 86 (185). Finally, a playwright may put certain words or constructions repeatedly in a speaker's mouth to characterize him or her in a certain way (185).

---

<sup>6</sup> On the use of  $-\mu\alpha$  nouns in tragedy, see Barrett 2007.



§20 The above studies provide an abundance of data on the use of similarities across utterances in Greek drama. All the analyses fit well with the concept of resonance observed in the modern-language corpora. However, the studies on Greek tend to focus on lexical repetition and syntactic continuation only. Resonance is broader, as it can also be triggered by semantic, pragmatic, metrical, and other similarities across utterances. On top of that, analyzing resonance entails taking into account the speaker's pragmatic goals in echoing a previous utterance.

### **3.1.4 This chapter**

§21 In this chapter I will demonstrate that resonance is an important communicative strategy of tragic and comic characters and playwrights. We can detect various forms, beyond lexical repetition and syntactic parallelism, as well as a wide range of functions. The study of resonance throws light on many aspects of communication in the corpus, including particle use.

§22 In the next section, I distinguish two groups of functions of resonance in Greek drama: resonance may serve the speaking character's goals, or the playwright's goals. Examples and analyses will show for which functions the linguistic echoes are employed, as well as which forms are involved. Subsequently, I discuss the roles that particles play in the process of resonance. There are two ways in which they do so. Most important, particles indicate how a speaker uses resonance between her utterance and a previous utterance. Second, they may trigger resonance themselves when repeated across utterances.

## **3.2 Resonance in tragedy and comedy**

### **3.2.1 Functions of resonance**

§23 As I described above, conscious repetition (lexical or otherwise) across utterances may have several pragmatic functions. Repetition may, for example, stress the unity of two speakers: in using similar words and constructions, the speakers stress that they belong

together and that they have similar communicative goals. In tragedy, such resonance may be due to the ritual context. If two speakers are performing a ritual together, such as invoking a dead relative (see (t2)), they tend to use highly similar language. A second, antithetical, function of resonance is to express semantic or pragmatic difference from a previous utterance, such as to disagree with one's interlocutor. In tragedy and comedy, we see this function especially in quick stichomythic exchanges. Scholars often note the high degree of lexical repetition in such situations. As the practice in Greek drama and modern languages attests, it is a rhetorically effective strategy to contradict an opponent with his own words.

§24 In addition to the pragmatic purposes of the speakers, we must also consider those of the playwright. In such cases, repetitions across utterances may serve ends that transcend the immediate concerns of the communicating characters. The reappearance of a certain semantic concept may, for instance, underline its importance as a theme in the play. Phonological or metrical resonance may also have the same effect.

§25 Similarly, when a speaker habitually uses certain words or constructions over the course of a play, this repetition becomes a way of characterizing her. For example, if a character repeatedly uses directive or interrogative utterances and does so much more often than her interlocutors, this repetition may trigger a resonance of illocutionary force.<sup>7</sup> The habitual use of directives may characterize the speaker as, for instance, more powerful than her addressees, while the habit of asking questions is particularly fitting for one who is ignorant of everything she should have known.

§26 In comedy, resonance that functions at the metadramatic level includes the following forms. First, there is the type of resonance that is triggered through repetition of unusual

---

<sup>7</sup> "Illocutionary force" refers to the intended function of an utterance in communication, such as assertive, interrogative, or directive. It is a term from speech-act theory, originally developed by Austin 1962 and Searle 1969.

words or of whole situations within the scope of a play. Such resonance may work to create a humorous effect. Second, there is the type of resonance that is triggered by repetition of forms across plays, especially between comedy and tragedy. The comedian's purpose here is to create paratragedy or to parody a different genre. So, for example, the extensive lexical quotation that Aristophanes makes use of in *Frogs* highlights the play's reference to tragedy. Less conspicuous repetitions may achieve the same effect as well.

§27 We should also consider resonance in comedy that serves dual functions, both the character's purposes and the playwright's. When one speaker is sarcastic with another, the character's pragmatic goal is to disagree with her interlocutor. At the same time, sarcasm works at the metadramatic level, to amuse the audience.

### 3.2.2 Resonance used by speaking characters

#### 3.2.2.1 Resonance stressing unity of speakers and actions

§28 It must be noted that the typically agonistic nature of Greek drama does not leave much room for the type of resonance that stresses the unity of speakers and their actions. Nonetheless, there are two contexts that are highly compatible with this type of resonance, ritual (see (t2) with discussion) and, more specifically, lament (see (t4) with discussion). Consider this first example, from Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*. Orestes and Electra are together invoking the ghost of their dead father Agamemnon, as well as the chthonic powers, to summon their help in the vengeance they plan to take against Clytemnestra. The two siblings' utterances display much lexical and syntactic repetition:

(t2)

Ορ. ὦ Γαῖ', ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι μάχην.	Or. Earth, send me up my father to watch over my fight.
Ηλ. ὦ Περσέφασσα, δὸς δέ γ' εὖμορφον κράτος. (490)	El. Persephassa, give him to us in his beauty and power.
Ορ. μέμνησο λουτρῶν οἷς ἐνοσφίσθης πάτερ.	Or. Remember the bath in which you were done to death,

	father!
Ηλ. μέμνησο δ' ἀμφίβληστρον ὡς ἐκαίνισας.	El. Remember how they devised a new kind of net!
Ορ. πέδαις δ' ἀχαλκεύτοις ἐθηρεύθης, πάτερ.	Or. And you were caught in fetters that were not made of metal, father.
Ηλ. αἰσχυρῶς τε βουλευτοῖσιν ἐν καλύμμασιν.	El. And in the shroud that was part of their shaming plot.
Ορ. ἄρ' ἐξεγείρηι τοῖσδ' ὀνειδέσιν, πάτερ; (495)	Or. Are you awakened by the thought of that disgrace, father?
Ηλ. ἄρ' ὀρθὸν αἴρεις φίλτατον τὸ σὸν κάρα;	El. Are you raising your beloved head erect?

Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 489-496 (translation slightly modified)

There are repetitions of words at the beginning of lines 489-490, 491-492, and 495-496. Groeneboom 1949 *ad loc.* explains these similarities as references to cult formulas. Both he and Garvie 1986 observe that this prayer continues or repeats the theme of the directly preceding lyric section, the *kommos* (lines 306-478), sung by the chorus, Electra, and Orestes in alternation. According to Garvie, the lexical repetitions and other similarities across turns by the different speakers in 489-496 recall the strophic correspondences of the *kommos*.

§29 We can make these similarities more visible in so-called diagraph visualizations. The diagraph is “a higher-order, supra-sentential syntactic structure that emerges from the structural coupling of two or more utterances (or utterance portions), through the mapping of a structured array of resonance relations between them” (Du Bois 2014:376). Illustrating this structure in a schematic form clarifies the resonance relations in a certain passage. Elements which I view as resonating with elements from another utterance are boldfaced and placed in the same column. The method helps make clear how exactly the elements resemble and differ from each other. Below are diagraph illustrations for the passage cited above.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The symbols { } mark that the position of an element has been changed, in order to make the resonance clearer.

(t3)

489 OR.	ὦ Γαῖ'	ἄνες μοι	ἐποπτεῦσαι μάχην	{πατέρ'}
	oh Earth	send up for me	to watch over the fight	[my] father
490 EL.	ὦ Περσέφασσα	δός δέ γ'	εὖμορφον κράτος	
	oh Persephassa	give and	[his] beautiful strength	
491 OR.	μέμνησο	λουτρῶν	οἷς ἐνοσφίσθης	πάτερ
	remember	[the] bath	in which you were killed	father
492 EL.	μέμνησο δ'	ἀμφίβληστρον	ὡς ἐκαίνισας	
	and remember	[the] net	how you put it to a new use	
493 OR.	πέδαις δ' ἀχαλκεύτοισι		ἐθηρεύθης	πάτερ
	and with non-metal fetters		you were caught	father
494 EL.	αἰσχροῦς τε βουλευτοῖσιν ἐν καλύμμασιν			
	and with a shamefully plotted net			
495 OR.	ἄρ'	ἐξεγείρη	τοῖσδ' ὀνειδέσιν	πάτερ
	[question]	you are awakened	by this disgrace	father
496 EL.	ἄρ'	ὀρθὸν αἴρεις	φίλτατον τὸ σὸν κάρα	
	[question]	you raise erect	your beloved head	

Diagraphs of Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 489-496

In this passage, resonance takes place simultaneously on several levels. First, there are several lexical echoes: some words are taken over literally (μέμνησο, πάτερ/πατέρ', ἄρ'). Second, the utterances show similar syntactic structures: 489-490 both start with a vocative and contain an imperative singular; 491-492 contain an imperative singular and a subordinate clause dependent on an argument of the main verb; 493-494 contain a dative plural argument of

ἐθηρεύθης; and 495-496 feature interrogative main clauses with a second person singular verb. Third, there are semantic links: between the meanings of “Earth” and “Persephassa”; between “send up” and “give”; “watching over a fight” and “being strong and beautiful” (helpful characteristics of Agamemnon); “bath” and “net” (deadly tools used by Agamemnon’s killers); “fetters” and “net”; “awaking” and “raising your head.” Fourth, there are pragmatic similarities, where the second of each pair of utterances takes over the first utterance’s pragmatic goal. Taking the line numbers in order, these goals are (1) to entreat the Underworld powers to send up a strong Agamemnon, (2) to entreat Agamemnon to remember the murder, (3) to detail the murder weapons, and (4) to ask Agamemnon whether the prayer has successfully roused him.

§30 The diagraphs also highlight that the essential word “father” (once as the object of a verb, three times as vocative) is uttered only by Orestes in this excerpt. This stresses his dominance over his sister. In addition, the fact that Electra is always the one taking over elements from Orestes’ utterances, rather than the other way around, further stresses her dependent position.<sup>9</sup>

§31 All these resonances work together to convey the unity of the speakers and their action. Electra does not change the pragmatic goals of Orestes’ utterances when she takes over elements from them, but simply mirrors those goals. In the words of Hancock 1917:9, the passage displays “balance but no opposition.” Du Bois 2007 calls this kind of unity “alignment” (see also Pickering and Garrod 2006). Speakers often assess objects in relation to previous assessments by others, and then “align” or “disalign” with them. That Electra so closely mimics Orestes’ speech patterns suggests her strong accordance with Orestes’ sense of loyalty

---

<sup>9</sup> Rutherford 2012:170 in fact notes that Electra’s role is subordinate to that of Orestes throughout the play.

to Agamemnon. Moreover, it fits the ritual nature of the scene: the two speakers are together invoking their dead father.

§32 The exodus at the end of Aeschylus' *Persians* (908-1077, containing first anapaests, then lyrics) uses resonance to emphasize the unity of the speakers and their actions as well. The chorus and the Persian king Xerxes are together lamenting the Persian defeat.<sup>10</sup> Again, resonance is triggered on several linguistic levels at the same time. There is, for instance, a syntactic similarity in the many doublings of words, by both the chorus and the king: e.g. αἰνῶς αἰνῶς (930) and ἔλιπες ἔλιπες (985) by the chorus, and βοᾶι βοᾶι (991) and νέαι νέαι δύαι δύαι (1010) by Xerxes. Repeating words fits the ritual purpose of their song, to perform a lament. That both speakers are doing this at the same time highlights their unity in performing this ritual.<sup>11</sup> Besides words that are uttered twice directly after each other, there are some “refrains” in the song that are verbally repeated across different utterances by the same speaker. For example, Xerxes sings βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι three times (1040, 1048, 1066). Other words are literally repeated across utterances by different speakers: the chorus picks up πεπλήγμεθ' in 1009 from Xerxes' utterance in 1008. These lexical repetitions highlight the joint action of ritual lament.

§33 In some parts of this passage, we can also see—or, rather, hear—repetition of the sound αἰ. The frequency of this sound throughout the exodus as a whole is not striking: it occurs 93 times in the 170 lines, which means about 55 times per 100 lines on average. This frequency does not differ much from that found in the first 100 lines of *Persians* and *Agamemnon*, which respectively yield 41 and 50 occurrences. Nevertheless, wherever the sound αἰ appears at a higher rate than usual in the close affinity of the interjection αἰᾶ, there the sound αἰ and its

<sup>10</sup> On this scene and the joint lamenting, see also Willms 2014:254-255. He notes that Xerxes is “paradigmatisch bestimmend” as he usually orders the chorus to reply.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the *kommos* at Sophocles' *Ajax* 330-427, where we also find several doublings of words.

wailing function receive greater emphasis.<sup>12</sup> In other words, if the phonological repetition is striking enough, it may achieve certain pragmatic goals. Here the resonance of *αι* underlines the chorus and the king's purpose to lament as well as the fact that they are making a common effort to do so.

(t4)

Χο. παπ[αι] παπ[αι].

Ch. Papai, papai!

Ξε. κα[ι] πλέον ἢ παπ[αι] μὲν οὖν.

Xe. No, "papai" is too mild!

Χο. δίδυμα γάρ ἐστι κα[ι] τριπλᾶ

Ch. Yes, the disaster was twice and thrice as great.

Ξε. λυπρά· χάρματα δ' ἐχθροῖς.

Xe. Painful, and a delight to our enemies!

Χο. κα[ι] σθένος γ' ἐκολούθη. (1035)

Ch. Cut short, too, was the strength--

Ξε. γυμνός εἶμι προπομπῶν.

Xe. I am denuded of escorts!

Χο. φίλων ἄτα[ι]σι ποντία[ι]σιν.

Ch. --of our friends, by calamities at sea.

Ξε. δια[ι]νε δια[ι]νε πῆμα, πρὸς δόμους  
δ' ἴθι.

Xe. Wet, wet your cheeks in grief, and go with me  
to the palace.

Χο. αἰ[αῖ] αἰ[αῖ] δῦα δῦα.

Ch. Aiai, aiai! Sorrow, sorrow!

Aeschylus' *Persians* 1031-1039 (translation slightly modified)

In this passage, we find 14 instances of *αι* in 9 lines. This high frequency was probably striking for the audience. Note that the particle *καί*, with its similar sound, also forms parts of the resonating elements.

### 3.2.2.2 Resonance stressing differences

§34 Sometimes a speaker picks up a word or construction from a previous utterance, usually by a different speaker, and uses this element in a new semantic context, and/or for a different pragmatic goal. The result is that the very similarity in form highlights the divergence

<sup>12</sup> On the meaning and function of *αἰαῖ*, see Nordgren 2012:136-139, 220; 2015.



between the two utterances. Such resonance stressing semantic or pragmatic differences may involve disagreement. Two speakers who are fighting over something may pick up parts of each other's utterances in order to defeat their opponent with his very own words. We have seen above that such use of resonance is frequent in modern languages as well.

§35 Collins 2004:30 points out that speakers in tragedy and comedy may express disagreement by picking up each other's words during stichomythia. As an example, Collins cites Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 371-374, a dialogue with many similarities across utterances, in which the female chorus leader picks up words from the men's leader. These repetitions, he argues, produce "subtle but powerful shifts of meaning." (30) Resonance can also stress semantic or pragmatic differences without outright disagreement between speakers. For example, as mentioned by Hancock 1917:36, two characters may construe a certain word differently, and thus use the same word to mean different things. In such cases, the poet usually wants to convey something more in addition to what the character herself is saying, for example the character's ignorance about a certain topic.

§36 The following passage from Euripides' *Medea* is described by Hancock 1917:18 as "very effective in form and spirit." Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.* notes that these lines "present a good example of violently argumentative stichomythia (...) with a characteristic echoing and contrasting of specific words in successive lines."

(t5)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Ια. ὦ τέκνα, μητρὸς ὡς κακῆς ἐκύρσατε.      | Ja. Children, what an evil mother you got!                  |
| Μη. ὦ παῖδες, ὡς ὤλεσθε πατρῴϊαι νόσωι.     | Me. Children, how you have perished by your father's fault! |
| Ια. οὗτοι νιν ἡμῇ δεξιᾷ γ' ἀπώλεσεν. (1365) | Ja. It was not my hand, you know, that killed them.         |
| Μη. ἀλλ' ὕβρις οἷ τε σοὶ νεοδμητες γάμοι.   | Me. No: it was the outrage of your new marriage.            |
| Ια. λέχους σφε κήξίωσας οὐνεκα κτανεῖν;     | Ja. Did you really think it right to kill them because of a |

			marriage?
Μη. σμικρὸν γυναικὶ πῆμα τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖς;	Me.	Do you imagine that loss of this is a trivial grief for a woman?	
Ια. ἤτις γε σώφρων· σοὶ δὲ πάντ' ἔστιν κακά.	Ja.	For a woman of sense, yes. But you find everything a disaster.	
Μη. οἶδ' οὐκέτ' εἰσί· τοῦτο γάρ σε δήξεται.	Me.	But the children are dead: official wound you to the quick.	
Ια. οἶδ' εἰσὶν, οἴμοι, σῶι κάραι μιάστορες.	Ja.	They live, alas, as spirits to take vengeance on your crimes!	
Μη. ἴσασιν ὅστις ἤρξε πημονῆς θεοί. (1372)	Me.	The gods know who struck the first blow.	
Ια. ἴσασι δῆτα σὴν γ' ἀπόπτυστον φρένα.	Ja.	Yes, they know indeed your loathsome heart.	

Euripides' *Medea* 1363-1373

Two pairs of utterances, at 1363-1364 and 1370-1371, are especially notable here.<sup>13</sup> Observe that in the repeated elements, not only the meaning, but also the form of each of the second utterances (lines 1364 and 1371), is dependent on the first ones (1363 and 1370). Again, we may use diagraph representations to visualize the affinities.

(t6)

1363	JA.	ὦ	τέκνα	μητρός	ὥς	κακῆς	ἐκύρσατε
		oh	children	mother	how	bad	you have
1364	ME.	ὦ	παῖδες	{πατρῴαι}	ὥς	{νόσῳ}	ᾤλεσθε
		oh	sons	fatherly	how	by sickness	you perished

<sup>13</sup> For the use of γε in lines 1369 and 1373, and the use of δῆτα in 1373, see below, §71 and §§76-77; for ἀλλά in line 1366, see Drummen 2009:148.

1370	ME.	οἶδ'	οὐκέτ' εἰσί	τοῦτο γάρ	σε δήξεται
		these	are no more	for that	will hurt you
1371	JA.	οἶδ'	εἰσίην		σῶι κάραι μιάστορες
		these	are	ah me!	avengers for your head

Diagrams of Euripides' *Medea* 1363-1364 and 1370-1371

In both pairs of utterances, resonance again occurs on several levels. There are lexical similarities, the straight repetition of words (ὦ, ὡς, οἶδ', εἰσί(ν)).<sup>14</sup> Syntactic repetitions are the following: 1363 and 1364 both have the form “vocative + ὡς-exclamative with second person plural verb”; 1370 and 1371 are short declarative sentences with the same verb and the same subject. On a semantic level, the following words have related meanings: τέκνα and παῖδες, μητρός and πατρῶιαι, κακῆς and νόσωι (both referring to something bad), and σε δήξεται and οἶμοι (both referring to Jason's pain).

§37 The speakers in this passage change the pragmatic goals of the words and constructions they choose to echo. In 1363, Jason addresses the children in order to blame Medea. She picks up this construction in her utterance, also addressing the children, but in order to blame Jason. In 1370, Medea rubs it in that Jason has lost his children; in his reaction he turns part of the same linguistic material into a threat against her. The passage demonstrates, then, the way resonance occurs in ancient Greek drama to express disagreement.<sup>15</sup> The phenomenon seen here bears resemblances to the resonance observed in

<sup>14</sup> As Page 1938 *ad loc.* puts it, εἰσίην in 1371 “replies to” οὐκ εἰσί in 1370.

<sup>15</sup> Further examples of resonance stressing differences include Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 547-552 (Oedipus accuses his brother-in-law Creon of a conspiracy, picking up words and constructions from the latter's utterances); 1018-1019 (ἴσος has different implications in the two utterances); Euripides' *Hippolytus* 1456-1457 (Theseus uses the same word to ask Hippolytus to stay alive as Hippolytus uses to describe his death). See also Sophocles' *Ajax* 485-524 for a more general instance of resonance stressing differences, with the discussion by Hesk 2003:66. This scholar draws attention to the allusions to Ajax's preceding speech in Tecmessa's monologue. Tecmessa underlines, Hesk writes, “the appropriate nature of her rebuttal by imitating the *form* of Ajax's discourse (maxims,

modern political debates (see §10 above). Zima *et al.* 2008 point out that resonance may involve irony, sarcasm, ridiculing, or expressing intellectual superiority; in short, it may “convey dissociative pragmatic purposes” (144).

§38 Aristophanes’ *Frogs* provides an example of resonance stressing differences in comedy. In the following passages we find lexical, phonological, semantic, syntactic, and morphological similarities, all working to sarcastic effect. For the audience, this resonance will have been humorous. The context is as follows. The god Dionysus is wearing a Heracles costume, but discovers that it has made him unpopular with some people. As a result he orders his slave Xanthias to wear the costume. But it turns out that “being Heracles” also comes with advantages, and Dionysus wants the costume back (lines 528-531). As soon as Dionysus is wearing the costume again, however, some enemies of Heracles enter. So the frightened god wants to return the dangerous outfit to Xanthias.

(t7)

(Dionysus wants the Heracles costume back)

Δι. (...) κατάθου τὸ δέρμα.

Di. Off with that lionskin.

Ξα. ταῦτ’ ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι (528bis)  
καὶ τοῖς θεοῖσιν ἐπιτρέπω.

Xa. Witnesses take note! I'm putting this in the gods' hands.

Δι. ποίοις θεοῖς; (529bis)  
τὸ δὲ προσδοκῆσαί σ’ οὐκ ἀνόητον καὶ κενὸν  
(530)

Di. Gods indeed! And how brainless and vain of you, a mortal slave, to think that you could be Alcmene's son!

ὡς δοῦλος ὢν καὶ θνητὸς Ἀλκμήνης ἔσει;

(...)

(...)

Ξα. οἶδ’ οἶδα τὸν νοῦν· παῦε παῦε τοῦ λόγου. (Dionysus wants Xanthias to wear the costume again)

---

*polyptota*) at the same time as she alters the content” (italics in original). He argues that Sophocles often uses such repetitions “to emphasise meaning and/or lend emotional force to their words.”

(580)	οὐκ ἂν γενοίμην Ἡρακλῆς ἄν.	Xa. I know what you're thinking, I know. Stop talking, stop it. I'm not going to be Heracles.
Δι.	μηδαμῶς, (581bis)	Di. Don't be that way, Xanthikins.
	ὦ Ξανθίδιον.	
Ξα.	καὶ πῶς ἂν Ἀλκμήνης ἐγὼ (582bis)	Xa. And how could I, a mere mortal slave, become Alcmene's son?
	υἱὸς γενοίμην, δοῦλος ἅμα καὶ θνητὸς ὦν;	
Δι.	οἶδ' οἶδ' ὅτι θυμοῖ, καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸ δρᾶς	Di. I know you're angry, I know, and you've every
	κἂν εἴ με τύπτοις, οὐκ ἂν ἀντείποιμί σοι.	right to be. You could even take a punch at me and I
(585)		wouldn't complain.

Aristophanes' *Frogs* 528-531 and 580-585 (translation slightly modified)

Xanthias picks up several words from Dionysus' utterances and thereby draws attention to Dionysus' pragmatic goals. Van Leeuwen 1896 clarifies the similarity with *Dionysi verba imitatus* as a stage direction in his text.<sup>16</sup> The following diagraph visualization illustrates the instances of resonance triggered here:

(t8)

531 Δι. ὡς	Ἀλκμήνης	ἔσει	{δοῦλος ὦν καὶ θνητὸς}
that	Alcmene's [son]	you'll be	being a slave and mortal
582-3 ΧΑ. καὶ πῶς ἂν	Ἀλκμήνης {υἱὸς}	{ἐγὼ} γενοίμην	δοῦλος ἅμα καὶ θνητὸς ὦν
and how [would]	Alcmene's son	I become	being both a slave and mortal

Diagraph of Aristophanes' *Frogs* 531 and 582-583

Dionysus finds his own words thrown back at him now that he has changed his mind (again). The sarcastic resonance has a humorous effect: not only is Dionysus in this scene extremely

<sup>16</sup> Tucker 1906 and Stanford 1958 also note the similarity between Dionysus' and Xanthias' utterances. Stanford comments on the sarcastic nature of Xanthias' references.

inconsistent and opportunistic, Xanthias even manages to point his behavior out to him by reusing the god's own words.

§39 I have altered the word order in the diagraph to show the similarities between the two utterances more clearly (see note 8 above), but note that in the original passages the repetition is done chiasmatically, albeit with Ἀλκμήνης in the same metrical position twice: δοῦλος ὦν καὶ θνητὸς Ἀλκμήνης ἔσει (531) vs. Ἀλκμήνης ἐγὼ / υἱὸς γενοίμην, δοῦλος ἅμα καὶ θνητὸς ὦν (582-583). In fact the chiasmatic ordering strengthens the sarcastic effect. Dionysus had first mentioned Xanthias' characteristics as a mortal slave, and then the idea of him becoming Alcmene's son. Xanthias in his retort first mentions the idea of him becoming Alcmene's son—in itself not yet enough to trigger the resonance, because the current scene is about the costume as well—and only then utters the most important words: isn't he just a slave and a mortal, as Dionysus has said himself?

§40 A question starting with καὶ πῶς often indicates the speaker's indignation about the addressee's words, as the construction implies that what the addressee said is impossible.<sup>17</sup> This implication is even stronger with a potential optative. All linguistic ingredients of this construction work together to convey the sense of indignation, in the following way. First, the particle καί links the new utterance closely to the previous one (see §§81-86 below). The speaker picks up an element from the preceding utterance, such as its main point or topic, and goes on to say something new which involves this element. Second, with the interrogative πῶς the speaker asks "how" a certain event could take place or be carried out. The combination καὶ πῶς therefore often implies that the speaker has his doubts about how something from the previous utterance could be realized. Third, a potential optative concerns the possibility of an

---

<sup>17</sup> See Hancock 1917:29, who notes that καὶ πῶς often introduces an incredulous question in tragic dialogues, and Garvie 1986 *ad* the καὶ πῶς-question in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 179: "It is equivalent to a statement of impossibility."

event in some circumstances.<sup>18</sup> When the potential optative is employed in combination with καὶ πῶς, the suggestion of impossibility becomes even stronger. Asking about how (πῶς) something would be possible in some circumstances (potential optative), rather than just how it could take place in a concrete situation, usually implies that the event in question is impossible in all circumstances. Since this event tends to be something the other speaker has just spoken of (καί), the current speaker conveys that he is surprised, incredulous, indignant, or even angry, about his addressee's ridiculous suggestion.<sup>19</sup>

§41 In this case, Xanthias is echoing Dionysus' earlier indignation in order to express sarcasm. Dionysus was the one who suggested earlier (in 531) that it would be impossible for a mortal slave to "become" Heracles. Now he hears his own suggestion thrown back at him, after he has begged Xanthias to put the costume on again.

§42 Besides these striking similarities, lines 580-585 trigger another instance of resonance. The words οἶδ' οἶδα (α) ("I know I know") from Xanthias' utterance in 580 are repeated by Dionysus in 584. As Dover 1993 *ad* 584 remarks, the second instance has "an entirely different tone" from the first. The first "I know I know" conveys Xanthias' intransigent attitude toward Dionysus: "I know what you want, and I won't grant it, so don't even ask."<sup>20</sup> The second conveys understanding on Dionysus' part, his effort to placate Xanthias by assuming an

<sup>18</sup> See Drummen 2013, with further literature.

<sup>19</sup> Such questions occur seven times in Aristophanes, excluding fragments: *Birds* 829, 1437; *Clouds* 1333; *Frogs* 582; *Knights* 773; *Lysistrata* 912; *Peace* 1076a. Of these, *Knights* 773 is exceptional, because it is *not* addressed to the previous speaker, but to a third person present. Therefore, this question still implies impossibility of the event suggested, but there is no sense of indignation. The other cases do convey an indignant or rejecting tone. See Van Leeuwen 1898 *ad Clouds* 1333 and Dunbar 1995 *ad Birds* 829.

Note, furthermore, that a πῶς question with a potential optative functioning as an indirect wish (see Drummen 2013) is never preceded by καί. A wish typically stands on its own and is addressed to a deity or the world in general, rather than to an interlocutor in the dialogue at hand.

<sup>20</sup> The repetition of οἶδα itself in 580 is explained by Stanford 1958 *ad loc.* as emphatic. In this case, this explanation works well, as Xanthias can be understood as angry or indignant. In Dionysus' utterance at 584, however, the repetition seems rather to serve the triggering of resonance with 580; extra emphasis would be less appropriate to Dionysus' flattering pragmatic goal.

attitude of mildness and humility: “I know you’re angry, I understand how you feel, you are right.” Dionysus tries to propitiate Xanthias by reusing Xanthias’ words, in the hope that the slave will grant his request.

§43 Finally, the passage twice features a double ἄν with an optative (in both cases the two ἄν instances syntactically belong to the main-clause verb), namely in 581 and 585, resulting in the following resonance:

(t9)

581 XA. οὐκ ἄν	γενοίμην	Ἡρακλῆς	ἄν	
not would	I become	Heracles	[would]	
585 DI. οὐκ ἄν	ἀντεῖποιμί	σοι	{κἄν	εἴ με τύπτεις}
not would	I contradict	you	and [would]	if you would hit me

Diagraph of Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 581 and 585

Dionysus echoes Xanthias’ entire construction: he repeats the οὐκ ἄν... ἄν, and uses a formally similar verb (first person aorist optative). In both utterances the potential optative is used to express a strong refusal.<sup>21</sup> Such negative contexts are suitable for the repetition of ἄν.<sup>22</sup> Tucker 1906 *ad loc.* writes that the repeated ἄν in 581 helps amplify the negative tone. His translation “I wouldn’t—no!—I wouldn’t” also reflects the speaker’s intent to refuse, rather than just negate. The second ἄν in 581 has been emended to αὖ by Hermann, but this discussion makes it clear that the repeated ἄν, such as read by Wilson 2007, works very well in this context.

<sup>21</sup> A potential optative can express a strong refusal when combined with a first person aorist verb denoting a controllable action. In this case, γίγνομαι refers to a controllable action, because it implies “putting on a costume,” rather than simply “become” (which is usually uncontrollable). See Drummen 2013 for the different uses of the potential optative, including discussion of the instance in 581.

<sup>22</sup> See Drummen 2013:99-102. On the pragmatic meaning of ἄν repetitions, see Goldstein 2012.



§44 The pragmatic function of the potential optative must be counted as one of the sources of resonance here. In this case Dionysus is using the same verbal construction to ingratiate himself with Xanthias. We can imagine that it would have been amusing for the audience to recognize the similarities across these utterances, and the very different uses to which the same words or constructions are put.

### 3.2.3 Resonance used by playwrights

#### 3.2.3.1 Resonance stressing a theme

§45 So far I have discussed the pragmatic goals of speaking characters in using resonance. I examined two uses of resonance, one where a character repeats elements in order to emphasize unity with the other speaker and his actions, and the other where a character tries to emphasize semantic or pragmatic differences. Yet the characters are not the only ones communicating in a tragedy or comedy. On a metadramatic level, the playwright communicates something to the audience through his characters' voices. One of the objectives that a poet may achieve on this level, by conspicuously repeating certain linguistic forms, is to stress the play's central themes.

§46 Let us return to our first Greek example, from Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers*. We have seen in (t2) how Orestes and Electra together invoked their dead father Agamemnon in a prayer. One of the words triggering resonance was Orestes' repetition of the word *πάτερ*. This word was already prominently used in the *kommos* (306-478) preceding the prayer (479-510).<sup>23</sup> This resonance strengthens the prominence of the "father" theme. In addition, both the lyric

---

<sup>23</sup> In lines 306-510, eight of the occurrences of *πάτερ* are uttered by Orestes, and four by Electra. The chorus can of course not address Agamemnon as "father." Sier 1988:84 observes that they even do not address him at all: they refer to him only in the third person. That Orestes uses this vocative more often than his sister might contribute to his authoritative status during the prayer, alongside Electra picking up his words and constructions. This effect of characterizing the relationship between speakers is actually another function of resonance, which is discussed below, §§52-56.

*kommos* and the iambic prayer that follows contain many other words and forms that bring the vocative πάτερ to mind. The following table gives an overview of all the forms which resonate with πάτερ in these two parts. The vocative πάτερ itself is found twelve times in this passage, a remarkably high number. In all of extant Aeschylus (including fragments), this form is found twenty-nine times; it is by far the most frequent in *Libation Bearers*, which contains fifteen instances.

<i>Line</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Types of similarity triggering resonance with πάτερ</i>
315	πάτερ αἰνόπατερ	Orestes	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
329	πάτερων	chorus	lexical, phonological, semantic
329	τεκόντων	chorus	semantic
332	πάτερ	Electra	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
338	(δ') ἄτερ	Electra	phonological
346	πάτερ	Orestes	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
364	πάτερ	Electra	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
381	ἄπερ τε	Orestes	phonological
385	τοκεῦσι	Orestes	semantic
404	ἐπ' ἄτηι	chorus	phonological
418-419	τάπερ πάθομεν	Electra	phonological
419	τεκομένων	Electra	semantic
422	ματρός	Electra	semantic
430	μᾶτερ	Electra	semantic
435	πατρός	Orestes	lexical, phonological, semantic
440	ἄπερ	chorus	phonological

443	πατρώιους	chorus	lexical, phonological, semantic
444	πατρώον	Electra	lexical, phonological, semantic
456	πάτερ	Orestes	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
479	πάτερ	Orestes	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
481	πάτερ	Electra	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
487	πατρώιων	Electra	lexical, phonological, semantic
489	πατέρ'(α)	Orestes	lexical, phonological, semantic
491	πάτερ	Orestes	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
493	πάτερ	Orestes	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
495	πάτερ	Orestes	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic
500	πάτερ	Electra	lexical, phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic

Table 1. Resonance with πάτερ in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 306-510

The most obvious type of resonance is lexical, triggered by all words with the root πατρ-. Such words produce semantic and phonological resonance as well; vocative forms also share morphology and the pragmatic function of direct address. Furthermore, the words τεκόντων (329), τοκεῦσι (385), τεκομένων (419), ματρός (422), and μάτερ (430) trigger semantic resonance, as they all belong to the same semantic sphere as “father.”

§47 The other forms listed in the table, ἄτερ (338), ἄπερ τε (381), ἐπ' ἄτη (404),<sup>24</sup> τάπερ πάθομεν (418-419), and ἄπερ (440), do not resemble πάτερ in meaning or function, but they do reflect its sound. The form τάπερ in 418 especially stands out: this is its only occurrence in all of extant tragedy. Similarly, the combination ἐπ' ἄτη occurs only in one other place in tragedy.<sup>25</sup> The other words occur more often, but in the context of *Libation Bearers* it is in my

<sup>24</sup> Lines 403-404 display even more phonological similarities: παρὰ τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην /έτέραν έπάγουσαν έπ' ἄτηι.

<sup>25</sup> Sophocles' *Electra* 1298: ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἄτη τῇ μάτην λελεγμένη.

view striking that they are all concentrated in this song: ἄτερ (338) and the two instances of ἄπερ (381 and 440) occur nowhere else in *Libation Bearers*. These forms should therefore be read as triggering phonological resonance with πάτερ: they ensure that the sound of the πάτερ-address rings in the audience’s ears throughout the scene. Phonological resonance works to emphasize the prominence of the target word, here πάτερ, and thus of its function (appealing to Agamemnon).<sup>26</sup>

§48 At this global level, then, resonance is an important communicative strategy at the poets’ disposal to stress the themes of a play. Let us consider some more examples of this function. For instance, in the dialogue between Oedipus and Teiresias in Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 350-368, the concept of “saying” is repeated many times. Pfeiffer-Petersen 1996:79 notes this repetition and interprets it as emphasizing a main theme (96).

---

<sup>26</sup> Similar phonological similarities functioning as a trigger for resonance may be that of the name Ξέρξης in Aeschylus’ *Persians*. The recurrence of a similar sound subtly underlines Xerxes’ decisive role in the terrible events, or help to evoke the disastrous situation connected to this character in the audience’s minds.

Besides seventeen occurrences (with different endings) of the name itself, there are in the edition by West 1998 [1990] at least eight other words that clearly resemble Ξέρξης in sound. They are, however, distributed over the whole play more widely than the resonating elements in the *kommos*-prayer scene in *Libation Bearers*.

Words starting with ἦρξ- or ἐρξ- are infrequent in Aeschylus: there are seventeen instances in total, when fragments and *Prometheus bound* are included. Of these, six occur in *Persians*, the highest number for a single play: 236 ἔρξας by the chorus, 353 ἦρξεν by the messenger, 409 ἦρξε by the messenger, 774 ἦρξεν by the ghost of Darius, 786 ἔρξαντες by the ghost of Darius, and 1058 ἔρξω by the chorus. A similar form is 351 κατήρξαν by queen Atossa. Furthermore, the participle ῥήξας in 468 by the messenger, with Xerxes as subject, is one out of two words starting with ῥήξ- in all of Aeschylus (the other is ῥήξι in the very short fragment 313a). This ῥήξας in 468 at the same time activates a lexical and semantic resonance with ῥήγυσιν in line 199 by the queen, where it is accompanied by an explicit mentioning of the name Ξέρξης. (Words with ξε- do not seem relevant for this resonance, because they are much more frequent: these mainly involve forms or derivations of ξένος.) Note that none of these possibly resonating words is uttered by Xerxes himself.

The similarity between 199 and 468 is noted by Broadhead 1960, Hall 1996, and Roussel 1960 *ad loc.* Roussel also refers to the parallel occurrences of ἔρξας, ἦρξεν, and ῥήξας within the play, but does not discuss a possible sound similarity among these forms, or between them and Ξέρξης. Groeneboom 1930 remarks, *ad* 1058 ἔρξω, that this is a future form because the chorus has not yet started the action; no acoustic explanation is suggested.

Another resonance in *Persians* might be triggered by πᾶς κατέφθαρται στρατός (“the entire army has been destroyed”) and lexically or semantically similar expressions. These occur several times throughout the play (e.g. 244, 251, 278-279, 345, 716, 728, 729). Note that none of them is uttered by Xerxes.

§49 I present the relevant passage in (t10) below. Table 2 gives an overview of the resonance in question and includes the (implied) subject of each “saying” word.

(t10)

Τε. ἄληθες; ἐννέπω σὲ τῷ κηρύγματι (350)	Te. So? I call on you to abide by the proclamation you
ᾧπερ προεῖπας ἐμμένειν, κάφ' ἡμέρας	made earlier, and from this day on address neither these
τῆς νῦν προσαυδᾶν μήτε τούσδε μήτ' ἐμέ,	men nor me, since you are the unholy polluter of this
ὡς ὄντι γῆς τῆσδ' ἀνοσίω μιάστορι.	land!
Οι. οὕτως ἀναιδῶς ἐξεκίνησας τόδε	Oe. Have you so shamelessly started up this story? How
τὸ ῥῆμα; καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο φεύξεσθαι δοκεῖς; (355)	do you think you will escape its consequences?
Τε. πέφευγα· τάληθές γὰρ ἰσχυὸν τρέφω.	Te. I have escaped; the truth I nurture has strength.
Οι. πρὸς τοῦ διδαχθεῖς; οὐ γὰρ ἔκ γε τῆς τέχνης.	Oe. From whom have you learned it? Not, I think, from
	your prophetic art.
Τε. πρὸς σοῦ· σὺ γάρ μ' ἄκοντα προὔτρέψω λέγειν.	Te. From you; it was you who forced me to speak against
	my will.
Οι. ποῖον λόγον; λέγ' αὐθις, ὡς μᾶλλον μάθω.	Oe. To say what? Tell me again, so that I can understand
	it better!
Τε. οὐχὶ ξυνηκας πρόσθεν; ἢ ἔκπειρᾷ λέγειν; (360)	Te. Did you not understand before? Are you trying to
Οι. οὐχ ὥστε γ' εἰπεῖν γνωστόν· ἀλλ' αὐθις	test me?
φράσον.	Oe. Not so that I can say I know it; come, say it again!
Τε. φονέα σέ φημι τάνδρὸς οὗ ζητεῖς δίκας.	Te. I say that you are the murderer of the man whose
	murderer you are searching for!
Οι. ἀλλ' οὗ τι χαίρων δὶς γε πημονὰς ἐρεῖς.	Oe. You shall not get away with speaking disaster twice!
Τε. εἶπω τι δῆτα κάλλ', ἵν' ὀργίζῃ πλέον;	Te. Shall I tell you another thing, to make you even
	angrier?
Οι. ὅσον γε χρῆζεις· ὡς μάτην εἰρήσεται. (365)	Oe. Tell me as much as you please, since your words will
	be wasted!

Τε. λεληθέναι σέ φημι σὺν τοῖς φιλτάτοις  
αἴσχισθ' ὀμιλοῦντ', οὐδ' ὄραν ἴν' εἶ κακοῦ.

Te. I say that you are living unawares in a shameful  
relationship with those closest to you, and cannot see  
the plight in which you are.

Οι. ἦ καὶ γεγηθῶς ταῦτ' ἀεὶ λέξεν δοκεῖς;

Oe. Do you believe that you will continue to repeat such  
things and go scot-free?

Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 350-368

Line	Speaker	Greek	Translation	(Implied) subject
350	Teiresias	ἐννέπω (σε)	"I tell (you)"	Teiresias
351	Teiresias	προεῖπας	"you have proclaimed"	Oedipus
352	Teiresias	προσαυδᾶν (μήτε)	"(not) to address"	Oedipus
354-5	Oedipus	(ἐξεκίνησας) τόδε /τὸ ρῆμα	"(you have started) this story"	Teiresias
358	Teiresias	(πρὸυτρέψω) λέγειν	"(you urged me) to speak"	Teiresias
359	Oedipus	(ποῖον) λόγον	"(which) word"	Teiresias
359	Oedipus	λέγ' (αὔθις)	"say it (again)"	Teiresias
360	Teiresias	λέγειν	"to say"	Teiresias
361	Oedipus	(οὐχ ὥστε γ') εἰπεῖν	"(not in order) to say"	Oedipus
361	Oedipus	(αὔθις) φράσον	"tell it (again)"	Teiresias
362	Teiresias	(σέ) φημι	"I say (that you)"	Teiresias
363	Oedipus	ἐρεῖς	"you will say"	Teiresias
364	Teiresias	εἶπω (τι)	"shall I say (something)"	Teiresias
365	Oedipus	(μάτην) εἰρήσεται	"(in vain) it will be said"	Teiresias
366	Teiresias	(σέ) φημι	"I say (that you)"	Teiresias
368	Oedipus	λέξεν (δοκεῖς)	"(you think) that you will say"	Teiresias

Table 2. Constructions referring to "saying" in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 350-368

These sixteen resonating elements in nineteen lines emphasize the importance of the “saying” theme at this point in the play. Thirteen of these constructions have or imply Teiresias as subject, a fact that highlights the special nature and power of his utterances. As Bollack 1990 *ad* lines 356-358 points out, Oedipus himself is the “author” of Teiresias’ words.<sup>27</sup> That is, though Oedipus does not know it, he is actually responsible for Teiresias’ “story.”<sup>28</sup>

§50 In *Oedipus King* we also find a resonance of the theme “parents,” for instance in the following passage. Oedipus has just revealed the prophecy concerning his parents in the course of explaining why he never returned to Corinth. The Corinthian messenger now tells Oedipus that he was wrong to stay away for this reason.

(t11)

Αγ. ἢ μὴ μίᾱσμα τῶν φυτευσάντων λάβῃς;	Me. Is it so that you shall not acquire pollution through your parents?
Οι. τοῦτ’ αὐτό, πρέσβυ, τοῦτό μ’ εἰσαεὶ φοβεῖ.	Oe. Exactly that, old man, that is what always frightens me.
Αγ. ἄρ’ οἴσθα δῆτα πρὸς δίκης οὐδὲν τρέμων;	Me. Do you not know that you have no reason to be
Οι. πῶς δ’ οὐχί, παῖς γ’ εἰ τῶνδε γεννητῶν	afraid?
ἔφυν; (1015)	Oe. But I must, if indeed these are my parents!
Αγ. ὀθούνεκ’ ἦν σοι Πόλυβος οὐδὲν ἐν γένει.	Me. Because Polybus was no relation to you!
Οι. πῶς εἶπας; οὐ γὰρ Πόλυβος ἐξέφυσέ με;	Oe. What are you saying? Was not Polybus my father?

<sup>27</sup> “Oedipe est lui-même, sans le savoir, l’auteur du discours que Tirésias lui tient, sans le vouloir.” Bollack does not comment, though, on this possible resonance throughout the passage; neither do Dawe 2006 [1982], Van Herwerden 1866, Jebb 1887 [1883], Kamerbeek 1967, Markantonatos 1986, and Ritter 1870.

<sup>28</sup> Pfeiffer-Petersen 1996:68 draws attention to a similar repetition of the theme of “saying” in another Sophoclean tragedy: *Antigone* 1048-1063. Teiresias is involved (speaking to Creon, the king of Thebes) in that dialogue as well. The seer’s involvement in dialogues emphasizing the theme of “saying” in two different plays highlights the sense that his words have special value.

Within *Oedipus King*, Willms 2014:316 notes that the dialogue between Oedipus and Iocaste in 977-983 is “mit Ausdrücken von Furcht (φοβ-) und Sorge (ὀκνέω) leitmotivisch gespickt” (“thematically sprinkled with expressions of fear and worry”).

Αγ. οὐ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν τοῦδε τάνδρός, ἀλλ' ἴσον.	Me. No more than I was, but just as much!
Οι. καὶ πῶς ὁ φύσας ἐξ ἴσου τῷ μηδενί;	Oe. And how can my father be as much my father as one who is nothing to me?
Αγ. ἀλλ' οὐ σ' ἐγένεατ' οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος οὔτ' ἐγώ.	Me. Well, neither he nor I begot you.
Οι. ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ δὴ παῖδά μ' ὠνομάζετο; (1021)	Oe. But why did he call me his son?

Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1012-1021

Note that the concept of “parent” recurs in seven out of the ten speaking turns in this passage. A diagraph visualization clarifies the similarities and differences among the resonating elements:

(t12)

1012 ME.	ἦ μὴ μίασμα really? so that not a pollution	<b>τῶν φυτευσάντων</b> of the begetters	λάβης you would get
(...)			
1015 OE.	πῶς δ' οὐχί {εἶ}	<b>{παῖς γ'}</b> τῶνδε γεννητῶν	ἔφυν I am (born)
	but how not if	a child of these parents	
1016 ME.	ὁθούνεκ' ἦν σοι Πόλυβος οὐδὲν since Polybus was nothing to you	<b>ἐν γένει</b> in kinship	
1017 OE.	πῶς εἶπας οὐ γὰρ Πόλυβος how did you say, for not Polybus	<b>ἐξέφυσέ με</b> begot me	
(...)			
1019 OE.	καὶ πῶς and how	<b>ὁ φύσας</b> the father	ἐξ ἴσου τῷ μηδενί equally to the nothing
1020 ME.	ἀλλ' οὐ but not	<b>σ' ἐγένεατ'</b> he begot you	οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος οὔτ' ἐγώ nor that man nor I
1021 OE.	ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ δὴ	<b>παῖδά μ' ὠνομάζετο</b>	



but why then	he called me his son
--------------	----------------------

Diagraph of Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1012-1021: parental terms

The passage displays a high frequency as well as a high variety of parental terms. This underlines the paramount importance of (the identity of) Oedipus' parents. The word πατήρ itself is conspicuously absent here, but it was used shortly before in the same dialogue (line 1001).<sup>29</sup> The idea of “father” or “parents” ominously hovers over the words of the two speakers, and, as the audience knows, over Oedipus' head.

§51 Note also the repetition of Πόλυβος in lines 1016-1017. Mentioning this name is a semantically heavy choice, as it is not needed for retrieving the right referent. Especially in 1017, a demonstrative pronoun would certainly have been sufficient for that. The repetition of the name thus places an ominous emphasis on Polybus and the crucial issue of his true relationship to Oedipus.<sup>30</sup> Comparison with the other instances of the word confirms the reading of Πόλυβος in 1016 and 1017 as a strikingly heavy reference, because not all other cases are semantically optional. For example, in 774 we find ἐμοὶ πατήρ μὲν Πόλυβος ἦν Κορίνθιος, “my father was Polybus the Corinthian...”.

### 3.2.3.2 Resonance characterizing a speaker and an interaction

§52 A playwright can also use resonance to characterize a speaker, or an interaction and the interlocutors' relationship to each other, in a certain way.<sup>31</sup> For example, a speaker's repeated use of a certain word may signal her special preoccupations and concerns. If she uses certain

<sup>29</sup> Similarly, as Kamerbeek 1967 *ad* 1012 points out, φυτευσάντων refers back to φυτεύσασιν in line 1007.

<sup>30</sup> Metrical resonance may in this case strengthen the lexical and referential resonance: Πόλυβος is in the same metrical position in both lines, with five syllables preceding and five following. This may however be irrelevant, as seven instances of the name (in any inflected form) are in this position, out of its nine occurrences (or ten, depending on the edition) in the iambic trimeters of the play. This is not surprising, since the second metron is the most usual place for the resolution which Πόλυβος requires.

<sup>31</sup> On linguistic and stylistic characterization in tragedy, see e.g. Katsures 1975.

grammatical constructions or literary figures of speech very often, this may mark her habits of interaction.

§53 Griffith 1999:36 observes that the differences between Antigone and Creon in Sophocles' *Antigone* are reflected in “their respective diction and speech patterns.” For instance, the king often uses generalizations and *gnômai*.<sup>32</sup> Similarities across Creon's utterances, then, trigger resonance in ways that reveal aspects of his character.

§54 Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* provides an example of resonance characterizing an interaction, namely the one between Electra and Orestes (see §§28-31 above). Since Electra is always echoing Orestes, her communicative style reflects her assumption of the subordinate position. As noted by Groeneboom and Garvie, Orestes is taking the lead in this prayer. Garvie points out that it is natural for Orestes to be leading: he has just made the decision to perform the murder, so he is now taking the initiative.<sup>33</sup>

§55 In Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1015-1019, cited in (t11), we find Oedipus beginning three questions with  $\pi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ ; the lexical repetition highlights the illocutionary function (asking for information) shared by the utterances. Kamerbeek 1967 *ad loc.* notes the repetition and adduces a comparable sequence of questions in lines 99-131, where Oedipus is addressing Creon. That earlier dialogue presents a sequence of eight interrogatives by the king (one with  $\pi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ ). The repetition of an interrogative illocutionary force can trigger resonance, just as lexical, semantic, or syntactic similarities do. In this case this “illocutionary resonance” is strengthened by phonological similarities. Seven out of the eight questions in 99-131 start with the sound  $\pi(o)$ :-:  $\pi\acute{o}\iota\omega$  (99),  $\pi\acute{o}\iota\upsilon$  (102),  $\pi\acute{o}\tilde{\upsilon}$  (108),  $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$  (112),  $\pi\acute{o}\iota\omicron\nu$  (120),  $\pi\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$  (124), and

---

<sup>32</sup> In Drummen 2013, I draw attention to Creon's frequent use of “mitigating” potential optatives, which can be seen as part of this rhetorical strategy.

<sup>33</sup> However, Garvie also notes that in line 493, Orestes does develop what Electra has just said.

ποῖον (128).<sup>34</sup> Such resonance across utterances by the same speaker helps characterize him.<sup>35</sup> Oedipus is presented as a fanatic investigator who asks many questions—which stresses that he nevertheless does not know anything about his own identity.

§56 We can also see resonance characterizing an interaction in Sophocles' *Ajax* 527-545, an exchange between Ajax and Tecmessa:

(t13)

Αι. κόμιζέ νύν μοι παῖδα τὸν ἐμόν, ὡς ἴδω. (530)	Aj. Then bring me my son, so that I can see him!
(...)	(...)
Τε. τί δῆτ' ἄν ὡς ἐκ τῶνδ' ἄν ὠφελοῖμί σε;	Te. What can I do to help you as things stand now?
Αι. δός μοι προσειπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐμφανῆ τ' ἰδεῖν.	Aj. Let me speak to him and see him face to face!
Τε. καὶ μὴν πέλας γε προσπόλοις φυλάσσεται.	Te. Indeed, the servants are guarding him near by.
Αι. τί δῆτα μέλλει μὴ οὐ παρουσίαν ἔχειν; (540)	Aj. Why am I kept waiting for his presence?
Τεκ. ὦ παῖ, πατήρ καλεῖ σε. δεῦρο προσπόλων ἄγ' αὐτὸν ὅσπερ χερσὶν εὐθύνων κυρεῖς.	Te. My son, your father is calling you! Come, whichever of you attendants is guiding him, bring him here!
(...)	(...)
Αι. αἶρ' αὐτόν, αἶρε δεῦρο. (...) (545)	Aj. Lift him up, lift him up here!

Part of Sophocles' *Ajax* 530-545

The dialogue from lines 527 to 545 contains seventeen utterances: nine by Ajax, eight by Tecmessa. Of these, Ajax utters four directive utterances (530, 538, 540,<sup>36</sup> 545), three addressed

<sup>34</sup> The other one, Oedipus' question in 116-117, is a yes/no-interrogative.

<sup>35</sup> The repetition of πῶς alone already triggers this kind of resonance, because Oedipus utters eleven of the twenty instances of this word in *Oedipus King*. In Sophocles' plays *Ajax*, *Antigone*, and *Women of Trachis*, πῶς is less frequent (ten, five, and thirteen occurrences, respectively), and less typical of one specific character. However, also in *Electra* (22 cases), *Oedipus at Colonus* (21 cases), and *Philoctetes* (30 cases), we find a higher frequency of πῶς, and one character uttering most of the instances (*Electra*, *Oedipus*, and *Philoctetes*). Analysis of the other questions or question words uttered by these characters may clarify how such resonance contributes to the depiction of their personalities.

to Tecmessa, one to a different servant. Tecmessa utters only one directive (542), addressed to another slave. That Ajax's speech has directive illocutionary force so much more often than Tecmessa's underlines the power differential between the two interlocutors.<sup>37</sup>

### 3.2.3.3 Resonance used for humor

§57 A use of resonance typical in comedy is making jokes. Lucci 2011 discusses wordplay in tragedy (which includes repetition and antithesis) in a similar vein: he considers wordplay to be “inherently comic” because it yields “situations of surprise, coincidence, and incongruity.” In contrast to wordplay, the broader process of resonance is not humorous in principle. The examples I discussed in the previous subsections show that highlighting affinities across utterances may have very different functions from joking, such as stressing disagreement or a play's themes. However, I do see humor as one of the possible functions of resonance, at least in Aristophanes.

§58 In addition to repetition of words or constructions, repetition of particular actions can increase a scene's humorous effect, as in the following passage, from a dialogue involving the Athenian magistrate and several women (Lysistrata and three others) on the Acropolis.

(t14)

---

<sup>36</sup> The utterance in 540 does not contain an imperative form, but I think we can reasonably interpret it as having directive illocutionary force. By uttering τί δῆτα μέλλει μὴ οὐ παρουσίαν ἔχειν;, Ajax mainly wants to get Tecmessa to fix this problem, not to answer his question.

<sup>37</sup> Note further that Ajax uses more verbs in the second person in this dialogue, and Tecmessa more first-person verbs. Out of Ajax's thirteen finite verbs, two are first person, seven are second person, and three are third person. Of Tecmessa's ten finite verbs, she utters four first-person forms, two second-person ones, and four third-person ones. This perhaps strengthens the characterization of Ajax as the dominant figure, and Tecmessa as the social inferior, in this dialogue. Pennebaker 2011 points out for the English language that insecure people tend to use more first-person singular pronouns than self-confident speakers and writers. As Greek is a pro-drop language (i.e. finite verbs do not require an explicit subject), personal pronouns are much less frequent than in English. It would nevertheless be interesting to see if we could find similar patterns in other ancient Greek literary dialogues.

Πρ. ἄληθες, ὦ μιαρὰ σύ; ποῦ ἔστι τοξότης;  
 ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτὴν κώπισω τὼ χεῖρε δεῖ.

Λυ. εἰ τάρᾳ νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν χεῖρά μοι (435)  
 ἄκραν προσοίσει, δημόσιος ὢν κλαύσεται.

Πρ. ἔδεισας, οὔτος; οὐ ξυναρπάσει μέσην  
 καὶ σὺ μετὰ τούτου χάνύσαντε δήσετον;

ΓΡΑΥΣ Α΄. εἰ τάρᾳ νῆ τὴν Πάνδροσον ταύτη μόνον  
 τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβαλεῖς, ἐπιχεσεῖ πατούμενος. (440)

Πρ. ἰδοῦ γ' ἐπιχεσεῖ. ποῦ ἔστιν ἕτερος τοξότης;  
 ταύτην προτέραν ξύνδησον, ὅτι καὶ λαλεῖ.

ΓΡ. Β΄ εἰ τάρᾳ νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον τὴν χεῖρ' ἄκραν  
 ταύτη προσοίσεις, κύαθον αἰτήσεις τάχα.

Πρ. τουτὶ τί ἦν; ποῦ τοξότης; ταύτης ἔχου. (445)  
 παύσω τιν' ὑμῶν τῆσδ' ἐγὼ τῆς ἐξόδου.

ΓΡΑΥΣ Γ΄ εἰ τάρᾳ νῆ τὴν Ταυροπόλον ταύτη πρόσει,  
 ἐγὼ ἔκποκιῶ σου τὰς στενοκωκύτους τρίχας.

Πρ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων· ἐπιλέλοιφ' ὁ τοξότης.

Ma. Really, you witch! Where's a policeman?

Grab her and tie both hands behind her back.

Ly. If he so much as touches me with his fingertip,  
 mere public servant that he is, so help me Artemis  
 he'll go home crying!

Ma. What, are you scared? You there, help him out;  
 grab her around the waist and tie her up, on the  
 double!

Woman 1. If you so much as lay a hand on her, so  
 help me Pandrosos, I'll beat the shit out of you!

Ma. Beat the shit out of me? Where's another  
 policeman? Tie her up first, the one with the dirty  
 mouth!

Wo.2. If you raise your fingertip to her, so help me  
 our Lady of Light, you'll be begging for an eye cup!

Ma. What's going on? Where is a policeman? Arrest  
 her. I'll foil at least one of these sallies of yours!

Wo.3. If you come near her, so help me Tauropolus,  
 I'll rip out your hair till you scream!

Ma. Damn my luck, I'm out of policemen.

#### Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 433-449

In this scene, four actions are repeated: the magistrate calls out for a policeman, the magistrate orders this policeman to grab and/or tie up one of the women, a woman threatens to do him some violence, and the policeman runs away. The last repeated action is not expressed in words, and can therefore not be shown in a diagraph, but it can be inferred from the fact that the magistrate has to call out for a new policeman. We can imagine the humorous

effect of the policemen running away one by one. The repetition of all these actions naturally leads to many similarities in the language of the successive utterances, as shown in diagraph representations:

(t15)

433 MA.	<b>ἄληθες ὦ μιὰρὰ σὺ</b> really you ugly one	<b>ποῦ 'στι τοξότης</b> where is a policeman	
437-8 MA.	<b>ἔδεισας οὗτος (...)</b> / are you afraid, you	<b>καὶ σὺ μετὰ τούτου</b> you too, with this one	(...)
441 MA.	<b>ἰδοὺ γ' ἐπιχεσεῖ</b> well well, he shit	<b>ποῦ 'στιν ἕτερος τοξότης</b> where is another policeman	
445 MA.	<b>τουτὶ τί ἦν</b> what was this	<b>ποῦ τοξότης</b> where [is] a policeman	ταύτης ἔχου get her
449 MA.	<b>οἴμοι κακοδαίμων</b> ah me, my bad luck	<b>ἐπιέλοιφ' ὁ τοξότης</b> the policeman has left	
434 MA.	<b>ξυλλάμβαν' αὐτὴν κώπίσω τῶ χειρε δεῖ</b> grab her and bind her hands behind her back		
437-8 MA.	(...) <b>οὐ ξυναρπάσει μέσην /χάνύσαντε δήσετον</b> won't you seize her waist /and both of you quickly tie [her] up	{καὶ σὺ μετὰ τούτου}	you too, with him
442 MA.	<b>ταύτην προτέραν ξύνδησον</b> tie this one up first	(...)	
445 MA.	(...) <b>ταύτης ἔχου</b> get her		
435-6 LY.	<b>εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν</b> if hey by Artemis	<b>τὴν χεῖρά μοι /ἄκραν προσοίσει (...)</b> he'll stretch the tip of his hand to me	<b>κλαύσεται</b> he'll cry
439-40 WO1;	<b>εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Πάνδροσον</b>	<b>ταύτη μόνον /τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβαλεῖς</b>	<b>ἐπιχεσεῖ</b> πατούμενος

	if hey by Pandrosos	you'll just touch her with your hand	you'll be beaten and shit
443-4 WO2;	<b>εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Φωσφόρον</b>	<b>τὴν χεῖρ' ἄκραν /ταύτη προσοίσεις</b>	<b>κύαθον</b> <b>αἰτήσεις τάχα</b>
	if hey by Phosphoros	you'll stretch the tip of his hand to her	you'll soon ask an eye cup
447-8 WO3;	<b>εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τὴν Ταυροπόλον</b>	<b>ταύτη πρόσει</b>	<b>/ἐγὼ</b> <b>ἔκποκιῶ σου τὰς στενοκωκύτους τρίχας</b>
	if hey by Tauropolos	you'll go near her	I'll pull out your hair till you scream

Diagrams of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 433-449

The first diagram shows how the beginnings of the magistrate's utterances resemble each other: he utters first a reaction to the unfortunate situation he finds himself in, and then a call for a policeman. The second of these calls (καὶ σὺ μετὰ τούτου) is very different in form from the others, but it still has the same pragmatic function as those, to signal a switch to a new policeman. The last instance of τοξότης "policeman" in 449 is part of the scene's climax, which the audience expects: the magistrate has no more policemen left.<sup>38</sup>

§59 In the second diagram, we can see the magistrate's orders. Though each order is different in form (different verbal roots, both singular and dual forms, interrogative as well as imperative sentence types, aorist next to present imperatives), they all share the same function, to order someone to grab one of the women and tie her up. Regardless of how the magistrate formulates his command, he is equally unsuccessful.

<sup>38</sup> After this defeat, the magistrate tries again: he sends against the women a group of Scythians, who are similarly defeated. This is however a new attack, not part of the policemen sequence anymore. For other kinds of pragmatic jokes in Aristophanes, see Kloss 2001. These forms of humor, Kloss points out (32), are on the borderline between the verbal and situational.

§60 The third diagraph concerns the women's threats. These utterances have a similar function as well as strongly resemble each other in form. They all have the structure "oath + protasis (condition) + apodosis (consequence)." All the oaths invoke some female goddess (appropriate in a fight between women and men). All the protases involve a policeman starting or trying to do some harm.<sup>39</sup> All the apodoses predict violence or someone's reaction to violence. The utterances also trigger a lexical resonance of εἰ τᾶρα νῆ τῆν. As Henderson 1987 *ad loc.* points out, the ᾶρα marks the threat's connection to the previous utterance by the magistrate: "if that's the way you want it..."<sup>40</sup> The τοι, paraphrased by Henderson as "be sure," underlines what the women say and addresses the threatened man even more directly.<sup>41</sup>

§61 All in all, the women's threats, though spoken by four different speakers, are more similar to each other than the magistrate's orders, spoken by one person. The women thus prove themselves loyal and cooperating, whereas the men are presented as chaotic and disobedient, with the magistrate standing alone. However, Henderson 1987 *ad loc.* also notes a difference among the women's threats: unlike the other women, Lysistrata does not address the policeman directly (Henderson explains this as "beneath her dignity").

§62 What makes the scene amusing is the very repetition of this sequence of four actions. It would have been hardly remarkable if Lysistrata had frightened away just one policeman: the scene would have told us something about this character's power, but it would not have made the audience laugh, to see cowardly men being repeatedly defeated. The second, third, and fourth occurrences of the actions draw attention to the first ones through their form and/or function: they resonate. This resonance becomes a source of humor in itself: it is not only

---

<sup>39</sup> Van Leeuwen 1903 *ad* 435-448 calls attention to a similar threat by one of the women in line 365 (with the condition and the consequence expressed in separate utterances). However, there the man is not frightened at all by the woman's threat.

<sup>40</sup> On ᾶρα in drama, see e.g. Hermann 1825:xv-xxviii; Ellendt 1872 [1835]:85-87; Klotz 1842:160-195; Heller 1858; Fritsch 1859; Bäumlein 1861:21-39.

<sup>41</sup> On τοι in drama, see chapter 4 §§58-61, with references.



humorous that the magistrate and his armed policemen are defeated easily by verbally aggressive women: it is also humorous that the defeat happens again and again.

§63 A similar joke involving repetition occurs in *Frogs* 1198-1247, where the character Aeschylus verbally “attacks” the character Euripides with a little oil flask: Aeschylus repeatedly attaches the oil flask as a tag to the prologues recited by Euripides. In a detailed discussion of this passage, Collins 2004:32-43 points out that the action revolves around a game of capping. Participial enjambment, Collins argues, makes it possible for Aeschylus to repeatedly substitute the end of the lines with *ληκύθιον ἀπώλεσεν* “lost his little oil flask.”<sup>42</sup> Hence in this scene it is not only the literal repetition of Aeschylus’ utterances that triggers resonance to comic effect, but also the repetitive grammatical construction of Euripides’ recited prologues, which all contain participles. Collins adduces a number of other examples for comparison, the most notable being a scene in *Birds* 974-990 in which Peisetaerus is harassed by a deceitful oracle monger. Here the words *λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον* “take the book” are uttered three times by the same speaker, the oracle monger. Peisetaerus subsequently echoes these words in a hostile fashion. The addressee is thus “defeated” by having his own words hurled back at him.

### 3.2.3.4 Resonance creating parody

§64 Another Aristophanic use of resonance involves referring to tragedy or other genres through direct quotation or allusion to themes or linguistic characteristics. Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 1119-1410, with its literal citations of tragedy, constitutes an obvious example. This comedy is also full of subtler references to the style of the tragedians. For example, as Collins 2004:36,42, Stanford 1958:173-187, and Tucker 1906:232-233, 238 observe, it parodies tragic metre.

---

<sup>42</sup> On such connections across stichomythic utterances with participles, see also already Ritter 1870 *ad* Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 1015, where he notes “die durch Participien aus einem Verse in den nächsten übergeleitete Structur.”

§64 An utterance by the Athenian magistrate in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 450, ἀτὰρ οὐ γυναικῶν οὐδέποτ' ἔσθ' ἠττητέα ("but we must never be defeated by women"), provides us with a more specific instance of such cross-genre resonance. As Van Leeuwen 1903 and Griffith 1999 note, this line refers to Sophocles' *Antigone* 678, in which Creon says, κοῦτοι γυναικὸς οὐδαμῶς ἠσσητέα ("and not, you know, should we in any way be defeated by a woman"). The linguistic similarities are striking: both utterances contain a double negation, the word γυνή in the genitive, and ἠττητέα/ἠσσητέα in their only occurrences in extant Greek literature. Since the first performances of *Antigone* and *Lysistrata* were about thirty years apart, it is unclear whether the audience of *Lysistrata* would have noticed the allusion to Sophocles.<sup>43</sup> The spectators may have been familiar with *Antigone* through reperformance or quotations. Perhaps they only noted a general similarity in tone between the two utterances. In the tragedy, Creon's attitude has fatal consequences, first for Antigone, and later for Creon and his family as well. The echo in Aristophanes, on the other hand, signals that the magistrate would like to emulate Creon's authoritarianism, but he ends up being defeated by women after all. The audience of *Lysistrata* could have been amused by this mentality resonance between the magistrate and Sophocles' Creon.

§65 Another feature of Aristophanic parody involves his use of abstract nouns ending in -μα, discussed by Willi 2003:136-139 and 2012 (see further Barrett 2007). Willi points out that this morphological echo occurs in combination with other typically tragic features, signaling paratragedy. The "tragic" character Euripides in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 393-434 uses many of such features, whereas his "comic" interlocutor Dicaeopolis does not.

---

<sup>43</sup> Sophocles' *Antigone* was probably first performed around 441, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in 411. See Griffith 1999:1-2 and Henderson 1987:xv.

### 3.3 The role of particles in the process of resonance

#### 3.3.1 Particles indicating how resonance is used

§66 When a speaker is deliberately echoing a certain element from a previous utterance and wishes to call attention to this repetition, she may stress and clarify this resonance with a particle. That is, some particles are suitable for indicating what a speaker does in picking up a certain element from a previous utterance.

§67 Such resonance-clarifying particles tend to be found at the beginnings of utterances: a natural position to echo an element from the previous utterance. Exceptions do occur, for example when a speaker in a long monologue appears to conduct a “dialogue with herself,” as we shall see. I will focus on five particles or particle combinations that can be linked, in some of their functions, to the process of resonance: γε, δέ γε/δέ... γε, δητα, και, and γάρ.

##### 3.3.1.1 γε

§68 The particle γε is ideally suited to signaling that a speaker picks up and singles out one specific element from the last utterance; it has a “zooming-in” effect. In addition, γε indicates that the speaker is giving a new twist to the element that was singled out. In such contexts γε not only indicates how resonance is used but also emphasizes the resonance itself, by drawing particular attention to the repeated element’s use in the original utterance.

§69 I describe the general function of γε in drama as singling out one element, in implicit contrast to something else.<sup>44</sup> This function is subjective, that is, it refers to attitudes of the speaker towards what she says, as well as intersubjective, which means that this function is connected to the speaker’s interaction with her addressee.<sup>45</sup> This description of γε mainly

---

<sup>44</sup> On γε in drama, see also chapters 2 §§58-61, 4 §§62-64, and 5 §§45-47 and §§51-63.

<sup>45</sup> On subjectivity and intersubjectivity, see e.g. Traugott and Dasher 2002:19-23.

follows those of Hartung 1832, Kühner 1835, Stephens 1837, and Bäumlein 1861.<sup>46</sup> Hancock 1917 in his study on tragic stichomythia also remarks on γε. He notes that the particle is frequently used at the beginning of utterances (27) “to pick up a whole phrase or sentence in assent which is at once qualified by a further clause.”<sup>47</sup> That is, in Du Boisian terms, γε can be used at the start of utterances that trigger resonance with a preceding utterance; the particle then signals that the speaker puts a new spin on the echoed material.

§70 With these considerations in mind, let us look at the uses of γε in resonating contexts. The element highlighted by γε does not have to be uttered explicitly in the original utterance: it is usually an implicit element that can be inferred from this earlier utterance. The speaker of the γε utterance presents this element as highly relevant. Here is an example:

(t16)

Λυ. συνεπόμνυθ' ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πᾶσαι;

Ly. So swear you one and all?

ΠΑΣΑΙ νῆ Δία.

All. So swear we all!

Λυ. φέρ' ἐγὼ καθαγίσω τήνδε— (238bis) Ly. All right, then, I'll consecrate the cup.

Κα. τὸ μέρος γ', ὦ φίλη. (239)

Ca. Only your share, my friend!

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 237-239 (translation slightly modified)

Calonice builds upon the meaning and structure of the preceding utterance, yet adds a crucial qualification: Lysistrata should drink only part of the wine. As Henderson 1987 *ad loc.* remarks, Calonice “fears that Lysistrata might drink all the wine herself.” It is this—for Calonice frightening—alternative that is implicitly invoked by τὸ μέρος γ'. The scope of γε does not

<sup>46</sup> According to Hartung 1832:348-349, γε implies that one element is more important or relevant than the rest. By singling out this one element, γε puts emphasis on it (Bäumlein 1861:54). Additionally, Hartung 1832:371, Kühner 1835:398, and Stephens 1837:92 point out that the element set in contrast to the one accompanied by γε is often left implicit.

<sup>47</sup> Werres 1936:36 on γε in combination with swearing expressions such as νῆ Δία also notes that γε often occurs in utterances that grammatically depend on a previous utterance.

extend beyond τὸ μέρος, but because it builds upon the preceding utterance, the particle's contribution—highlighting this element and hinting at implicit alternatives—clarifies how the speaker intends to use the resonance here.<sup>48</sup>

§71 A speaker using γε in a resonating utterance, then, singles out a specific element to steer the communication in a new direction. Therefore this use of γε is quite compatible with contexts of disagreement. Consider the example below, part of the dialogue between Jason and Medea already cited in (t5) above.<sup>49</sup>

(t17)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Iα. λέχους σφε κήξιωσας οὔνεκα κτανεῖν;      | Ja. Did you really think it right to kill them because of a marriage? |
| Μη. σμικρὸν γυναικὶ πῆμα τοῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖς; | Me. Do you imagine that loss of this is a trivial grief for a woman?  |
| Iα. ἥτις γε σώφρων σοὶ δὲ πάντ' ἐστὶν κακά.  | Ja. For a woman of sense, yes. But you find everything a disaster.    |

Euripides' *Medea* 1367-1369

In line 1369, Jason's construction ἥτις γε, which stands elliptically for [ταύτη] γ' ἥτις (Flacelière 1970 *ad loc.*), refers to Medea's γυναικί from 1368. γε signals and highlights that he is putting a

<sup>48</sup> See also Van Leeuwen 1903 ("pro rata certe parte!" exclamat") and Wilamowitz 1927 ("Kleonike protestiert") *ad loc.*

<sup>49</sup> Other examples of γε marking this kind of resonance include Sophocles' *Ajax* 78, 1132; *Oedipus King* 365 (cited in (t10) above), 570; Euripides' *Bacchae* 499, 970; *Helen* 1633; *Medea* 1397bis, 1398bis; Aristophanes' *Birds* 1680; *Frogs* 1045bis; *Knights* 1100, 1151bis; *Lysistrata* 238bis, 441 (cited in (t14) above), 530; *Wealth* 155. See Lucci 2011 for discussion of γε in Sophocles' *Ajax* 78 (ἐχθρός γε τῷδε τάνδρι καὶ τανῦν ἔτι). Odysseus here picks up the word ἀνήρ from the preceding utterance by Athena. As Lucci points out, Odysseus alters the meaning of the word: "ἀνήρ now refers to Odysseus himself, not Ajax, and so Athena's emphasis on mortality is lost. Instead Odysseus introduces a new word, ἐχθρός, which is both stressed and placed in implicit opposition to Athena's statement by the particle γε. Odysseus is unconcerned with Ajax's status as a human being per se; the problem is that Ajax is a human being who has been and still is hostile to Odysseus." Incidentally, Pickering 1999:180 notes that ἀνήρ is the word most frequently repeated in Sophocles' *Ajax* (47 times).

new spin on this word: the particle emphasizes the phrase “woman with sense” (ἥτις σώφρων), implying a contrast to a woman without sense, the kind of woman Jason suggests Medea is. In the rest of his utterance he makes explicit this contrast between Medea and a sensible woman, through the pronoun σοί and the boundary-marking particle δέ.

### 3.3.1.2 δέ γε/δέ... γε

§72 More often than turn-initial γε on its own, we find the turn-initial combination δέ γε/δέ... γε in resonating utterances. For the particular interpretation that I will describe, the two particles do not need to be contiguous.<sup>50</sup> Neither do they need to both have scope over their entire clause or discourse act; they only need to occur within the same clause or discourse act.<sup>51</sup> The construction is the most frequent in the aggressive dialogues of Aristophanes, especially in *Knights*, where combative capping plays an important role (see Hesk 2007). Hartung 1832:382 describes δέ in this combination as introducing an adversative element, while γε indicates “Entgegensetzung” (“opposition,” “contrast,” “confrontation”). In milder terms, Paley 1888:17 writes that δέ γε expresses “assent” with “some demur or reservation.” Neil 1901:191 and Denniston 1950 [1934]:153 observe that the combination is often used in drama and Plato in “retorts.”<sup>52</sup> In such contexts, Neil writes, the second speaker “wishes to cap [the statement of the first] or to bring in a consideration on the other side.”

<sup>50</sup> That is, I agree with Denniston 1950 [1934]:152 that the meaning of the combination does not depend on δέ and γε being directly next to each other.

<sup>51</sup> A discourse act is a short communicative step with a certain pragmatic goal; it may but does not need to coincide with a syntactic clause. See e.g. Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; 1992; Hannay and Kroon 2005 on discourse acts in general. See De Kreij 2016c:II.2 on the use of this concept in the study of particles.

In e.g. Euripides’ *Iphigeneia at Aulis* 1134 (σὺ δ’, ἦν γ’ ἐρωτᾶις εἰκότ’, εἰκότ’ ἄν κλύοις), we find δέ and γε close to each other at the start of an utterance, but the presence of ἦν before γε makes it clear that there is an act boundary directly after δέ. The two particles are therefore not in the same discourse act in this case.

<sup>52</sup> Denniston notes that δέ γε/δέ... γε may also be used to pick up the thread of the speaker’s own previous words (154). This latter interpretation is appropriate, I find, when the host utterance does not resonate with *the directly*

§73 The following passage from Sophocles' *Ajax* presents an example of turn-initial *δέ γε* in a resonating context. In this scene Menelaus wants to forbid Teucer to bury his half-brother Ajax.

(t18)

<p>Με. ἤδη ποτ' εἶδον ἄνδρ' ἐγὼ γλώσση θρασὺν ναύτας ἐφορμήσαντα χειμῶνος τὸ πλεῖν, ᾧ φθέγμ' ἄν οὐκ ἐνηῦρες, ἠνίκ' ἐν κακῷ (1144) χειμῶνος εἴχετ', (...)</p> <p>Τευ. ἐγὼ <u>δέ γ'</u> ἄνδρ' ὄπωπα μωρίας πλέων, (1150) ὃς ἐν κακοῖς ὕβριζε τοῖσι τῶν πέλας.</p>	<p>Me. In the past I have seen a man of reckless speech urging sailors to sail during a storm. But one heard no word from him when he was in the grip of the storm's attack; (...)</p> <p>Te. And I have seen a man full of stupidity, who harried others in their time of troubles.</p>
---	--

Part of Sophocles' *Ajax* 1142-1151

Teucer takes over Menelaus' construction "I have seen a man" as well as the pragmatic goal of the utterance: to compare the interlocutor to a negative image.<sup>53</sup> Both speakers mention "a man" in general, and then make it clear that they are in fact insulting their addressee. With the particle *δέ*, Teucer marks his new turn as a separate and possibly contrasting new step in the communication.<sup>54</sup> At the same time, *γε* indicates that he builds upon the previous utterance, putting a new spin on the echoed material and highlighting his own subjective view. The construction, consisting of (1) *δέ*, (2) *γε* (both in the turn's first discourse act), and (3) resonance with the preceding utterance, has a very specific function: it marks the juxtaposition of a particular new step—a step that conveys hostility—to the preceding utterance. The particle combination clarifies how the speaker intends to use his echo; paying

---

*preceding utterance*, but the speaker instead adds a new step to *her own previous utterance*. Examples include Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 279ter; *Birds* 514; *Clouds* 169, 175, 681; *Frogs* 914bis; *Wasps* 605, 776bis.

<sup>53</sup> The tense change (εἶδον, 1142 vs. ὄπωπα, 1150) further highlights Teucer's new spin on the echo.

<sup>54</sup> See chapter 4 §§34-38 for discussion of turn-initial *δέ* in drama.

attention to the use of resonance therefore helps to understand why we find δέ γε/δέ... γε here and in other resonating and hostile contexts.

§74 The hostile new step in this and several other cases contains a reference to the first person. In this way the speaker juxtaposes her own (current or future) action, view, or experience to that of her addressee, for instance to threaten him. Another example is Pentheus' order to tie up Dionysus (ἐγὼ δὲ δεῖν γε, "and I [say]: 'do bind him!,'" Euripides' *Bacchae* 505) in reaction to Dionysus' "I say: 'do not bind me'" αὐδῶ με μὴ δεῖν, 504).<sup>55</sup> In other resonating utterances with δέ γε/δέ... γε we find a second-person reference:

(t19)

(Πε.) οἶσθ' ᾧ μάλιστα' ἕοικας ἐπτερωμένος;  
εἰς εὐτέλειαν χηνὶ συγγεγραμμένῳ. (805)

(Pe.) Know what you look just like in those wings? A  
painted goose, done cheaply!

Ευ. σὺ δὲ κοψίχῳ γε σκάφιον ἀποτετιλμένῳ.

Eu. And you look like a blackbird with a bowl cut!

Aristophanes' *Birds* 804-806

Peisetaerus describes his friend's new bird costume in 804-805 in a rather unfriendly way. In response, Euelpides utters a hostile, scornful description of Peisetaerus' own appearance.<sup>56</sup> Together with σύ and the resonance triggered by utterance's similarity to the previous utterance, the turn-initial particle combination δέ γε/δέ... γε marks the juxtaposition of an insult or reproach in reaction to a previous insult or reproach.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Other δέ γε/δέ... γε utterances with this function are e.g. Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* 1026; Sophocles' *Ajax* 1150; *Philoctetes* 1293; Euripides' *Cyclops* 708; *Iphigenia in Tauris* 749; Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 623, 1216; *Assemblywomen* 261, 1010; *Birds* 1042, 1053; *Frogs* 236, 253, 570, 575a, 1395; *Knights* 356, 363, 364, 365, 432, 744, 906, 967, 1105, 1154, 1156, 1171, 1178, 1191; *Lysistrata* 104, 105, 115, 374, 1158; *Wasps* 1230bis; *Wealth* 296, 770, 1090, 1091.

<sup>56</sup> See Kock 1876 ("gegenseitige Sticheleien"); Zanetto 1987 in Zanetto and Del Corno (as at symposia, the victim of a joke responds with his own fantastic and ridiculous comparison); Dunbar 1995 ("sequence of fantastic comparison and counter-comparison") *ad loc.*

<sup>57</sup> Other δέ γε/δέ... γε utterances with this function include Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* 1056; Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 372; *Fragment* 187.2; Aristophanes' *Birds* 845bis, 1044, 1053; *Clouds* 915bis, 920bis, 1277; *Knights* 444.



§75 Other resonating utterances with  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma\epsilon/\delta\acute{\epsilon}...$   $\gamma\epsilon$  put a counter-argument next to a previously uttered argument. An example occurs in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 921: Clytemnestra has just argued that it is painful for women to be kept apart from their husband ( $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ), but Orestes counters  $\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\iota$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma'$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{o}\chi\theta\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ , "it's the man's labour that feeds the women sitting at home."<sup>58</sup> Also in this case the particle combination clarifies the use of conscious repetition across utterances. For the analysis of these particles it is therefore essential to take into account more co-text than just their host utterance.

### 3.3.1.3 δῆτα

§76 The *Medea* dialogue cited in (t5) and partly in (t17) also contains an occurrence of the particle  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$ .

(t20)

Μη. ἴσασιν ὅστις ἤρξε πημονῆς θεοί.

Me. The gods know who struck the first blow.

Ια. ἴσασι δῆτα σὴν γ' ἀπόπτυστον φρένα.

Ja. Yes, they know indeed your loathesome heart.

Euripides' *Medea* 1372-1373

The role of this particle, which is confined almost entirely to dialogues,<sup>59</sup> depends on the illocutionary force of the utterance, that is whether the utterance is an assertion or a question (or, more rarely, a directive). Let us first consider  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  in assertions, such as in the *Medea* dialogue. According to Hartung 1832:305 and Kühner 1835:389-390,  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  in answers emphatically expresses total agreement. Similarly, Bäumllein 1861:108 and Paley 1881:25 note that  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  may affirm a word repeated from another speaker. This affirming function is what

<sup>58</sup> Other  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma\epsilon/\delta\acute{\epsilon}...$   $\gamma\epsilon$  utterances with this function include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 939, 941; Euripides' *Andromache* 584; *Bacchae* 490; *Children of Heracles* 109; *Ion* 368, 1256, 1330; *Iphigeneia in Aulis* 21, 334; Aristophanes' *Clouds* 914; *Frogs* 1395. The three sub-functions of the construction can overlap, as in the *Ajax* passage cited in (t18), where the resonating utterance refers to both the first and, indirectly, the second person.

<sup>59</sup> See chapter 2 §58n114 for the distribution of  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  over the different parts of the plays, with discussion in §§62-63.

we have in our example: Jason echoes ἴσασι from the previous utterance, apparently to concur with the claim that “the gods know.” However, the rest of his utterance shows that the initial “agreement” was ironic, and turns it into a hostile sentiment. Again γε is used to zoom in on a specific element that was not explicitly mentioned by the previous speaker. This element, σὴν ἀπόπτυστον φρένα, “your detested mind,” changes the utterance’s pragmatic goal.<sup>60</sup> Thus in this case a speaker employs resonance to highlight his disagreement with another speaker.

§77 This use of δῆτα, marking complete and often vehement agreement with a word taken over from a previous utterance, is relatively frequent in tragedy and comedy.<sup>61</sup> The echoed element is often a negation, which consequently receives strong emphasis. Paley 1881:25 speaks of “strong and indignant denial” expressed by οὐ δῆτα in drama, translating it as “no indeed!” with an exclamation mark.<sup>62</sup> In several cases, δῆτα with a negation (whether repeated or not) is followed by γε: thus δῆτα emphasizes the negation, and γε then marks which specific element involved in this negation is singled out as the most relevant by the speaker.<sup>63</sup> δῆτα is also found, especially in comedy, after lexical echoes in directive utterances, such as orders or requests, where it has a similar emotional strengthening effect. For example, Pfeiffer-Petersen 1996:84 draws attention to δῆτα in Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 445. Here the angry Oedipus picks

---

<sup>60</sup> Page 1938 *ad loc.* remarks that γε and δῆτα are often used when a speaker echoes a word from another speaker, but does not discuss their functions.

<sup>61</sup> Examples of δῆτα in resonating assertions include Aeschylus’ *Persians* 1072; *Prometheus Bound* 770; *Seven against Thebes* 879, 888, 932, 982; *Suppliant Women* 207, 216, 359; Sophocles’ *Electra* 845, 1198, 1455; *Philoctetes* 419; *Women of Trachis* 1127; *Oedipus at Colonus* 536; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 269, 275, 1548; *Frogs* 28, 914, 1089; *Lysistrata* 524, 836, 848, 882, 930, 972.

<sup>62</sup> See also Hartung 1832:306, who translates οὐ δῆτα as “ganz und gar nicht.”

<sup>63</sup> An example from tragedy is found in Sophocles’ *Antigone* 762: Κρ. (...) /ἄγετε τὸ μῖσος ὡς κατ’ ὄμματ’ αὐτίκα /παρόντι θνήσκῃ πλησία τῷ νυμφίῳ /Αἰ. οὐ δῆτ’ ἔμοιγε τοῦτο μὴ δόξης ποτέ. “Cr. Bring the hateful creature, so that she may die at once close at hand, in the sight of her bridegroom. Ha. She shall not die close to me, never imagine it (...)!” An example from Aristophanes is found in *Birds* 1670: Πε. (...) ἤδη σ’ ὁ πατήρ εισήγαγ’ εἰς τοὺς φράτερας /Ηρ. οὐ δῆτ’ ἐμέ γε καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐθαύμαζον πάλαι. “Pe. Tell me, has your father inducted you into his phratry yet? He. Not me he hasn’t, and that’s always made me wonder.”

up κόμιζε from Teiresias' utterance in 444 with the stronger κομιζέτω δῆθ'. In such cases impatience is often implied.<sup>64</sup>

§78 δῆτα appears most frequently in questions. The function of such questions—the function, that is, of δῆτα in combination with the interrogative illocutionary force of the utterance—is to pass over to something new, which is nonetheless linked to the preceding utterance. More specifically, the particle indicates that the question springs from what was just said.<sup>65</sup> Even when there are no explicit repetitions from a previous utterance, δῆτα points to the dialogic relation between the speaker's and her interlocutor's speech. Thus, a δῆτα question highlights a conscious topical similarity with a previous utterance. At the same time, by asking about something which would otherwise not be discussed, it opens a new direction in the communication.<sup>66</sup> Since the speaker usually expects an immediate answer, δῆτα questions tend to carry an air of impatience or urgency.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> So Hartung 1832:308, Kühner 1835:390, and Stanford 1958 *ad* Aristophanes' *Frogs* 11. Other examples of δῆτα in resonating directives include Euripides' *Electra* 673, 676; *Hercules* 900; *Trojan Women* 1231; Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 96, 1245. On δῆτα being linked to emotional agitation, see chapter 5 §§49-50.

<sup>65</sup> See Denniston 1950 [1934]:269-70: δῆτα in questions has “a logical connective force.” The particle indicates “that the question springs out of something which another person (or, more rarely, the speaker himself) has just said.” Wiesner 1999:356 similarly notes that δῆτα carries a logical function, as δῆτα questions arise from the preceding context. Also Goldhill 2012 on Sophocles notes that δῆτα “normally has a consequential force with questions” (43).

<sup>66</sup> Examples of such δῆτα questions include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1211, 1286 (see (t22) below); *Libation Bearers* 218, 916; *Eumenides* 206; *Suppliant Women* 302; Sophocles' *Ajax* 42, 109, 518, 537, 1360; *Antigone* 449, 1099; *Electra* 1037; *Oedipus King* 364, 558, 577, 622, 651, 765, 1014; *Oedipus at Colonus* 52, 258, 643, 1018, 1308 (see note 71 below); *Philoctetes* 54, 757, 1352, 1393; *Women of Trachis* 73, 76, 342, 400, 410, 1219, 1245; Euripides' *Alcestis* 39, 380, 530, 689, 822, 960; *Bacchae* 1277 (see (t21) below), 1351; *Medea* 1056; Aristophanes' *Birds* 201, 817, 911, 969, 1025, 1147, 1152, 1217, 1585, 1671, 1689; *Frogs* 12, 194, 200, 296, 635, 654, 768, 784; *Lysistrata* 54, 181, 399, 753, 912, 914, 1103, 1159.

This description of δῆτα in questions resembles that of German modal particles by Diewald 1999: she points out that particles such as “denn” produce a backward connection to the pragmatic context (194), whereas questions are always initiating conversational steps (192).

<sup>67</sup> See Hartung 1832:306-307 (δῆτα in questions either indicates a strong increase, or the impatience of the speaker, who immediately wants an answer); Bäumllein 1861:108 (δῆτα may give emphasis to a question word); Hancock 1917:30 (δῆτα questions are “questions of surprise, logical doubt, impatience, or anger”). See note 64 above.

§79 The new topic raised by the speaker through δῆτα questions sometimes seem completely unrelated to the preceding conversation, but in these cases the relevance of the new topic becomes clear a few speaking turns later.<sup>68</sup> A striking instance of this use of δῆτα comes from Euripides' *Bacchae*, where the δῆτα question produces an ironic effect. The dialogue excerpted below takes places between Cadmus and his daughter Agaue, after she has unknowingly killed her son Pentheus. Cadmus already knows about this disaster—and so does the audience.

(t21)

Κα. ἐς ποῖον ἤλθεσ οἶκον ὑμεναίων μέτα; (1273)	Ca. To what household did you come at your marriage?
Αγ. Σπαρτῶι μ' ἔδωκας, ὡς λέγουσ', Ἐχίονι.	Ag. You married me to Echion, one of the Sown Men, they say.
Κα. τίς οὖν ἐν οἴκοις παῖς ἐγένετο σῶι πόσει;	Ca. Well, what son was born in that house to your husband?
Αγ. Πενθεύς, ἐμῆι τε καὶ πατρὸς κοινωνίαι.	Ag. Pentheus, his father's son and mine.
Κα. τίνος πρόσωπον δῆτ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἔχεις;	Ca. Whose head do you have in your hands then?
Αγ. λέοντος, ὃ γ' ἔφασκον αἰ θηρώμεναί. (1278)	Ag. The hunters told me it is a lion's.

Euripides' *Bacchae* 1273-1278

With his first two questions about Agaue's husband and son, Cadmus tries to bring her to her senses after her Bacchic frenzy. If she does remember these persons, she might realize that she is holding the head of this very son. As in other interrogative instances, δῆτα in 1277 marks the question's inferential link to a preceding utterance and draws attention to semantic or

---

<sup>68</sup> Examples of this use of δῆτα questions, referring to something new, the relevance of which becomes clear only later, are: Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* 52; *Oedipus King* 364, 1002, 1014; *Philoctetes* 895; *Women of Trachis* 76, 400, 410, 1219.

pragmatic similarities across these utterances.<sup>69</sup> Here Cadmus' question builds on Agaue's reference to Pentheus (a semantic similarity) as well as on his own previous questions (an illocutionary similarity). Agaue cannot realize that τίνοϲ in 1277 in fact refers to the same referent as τίϲ in 1275, but for the audience the repetition of the question word may highlight this irony. Since Agaue cannot understand that Cadmus' question is related to her own preceding utterance, as the audience can, δῆτα emphasizes the dramatic irony of the passage.

§80 Though it is rare, δῆτα questions may also be used in monologues. Because δῆτα in dialogues signals a reaction to a previous utterance, in monologues the presence of the particle gives the impression that the speaker is conducting a “dialogue with herself.” The following example from *Agamemnon* is taken from a long speech by Cassandra. She knows that there is no escape, and that she will die very soon.<sup>70</sup>

(t22)

(an avenger will come)

<p>Κα. (...) φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος  κάτεισιν ἄτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις.  ὁμώμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας,  ἄξιεν νιν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός. (1285)  τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ κάτοικτος ὦδ' ἀναστένω;  ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἴλίου πόλιν  πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, οἱ δ' εἶλον πόλιν  οὔτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει,</p>	<p>An exile, a wanderer, banished from this land, he  will return to put the coping-stone on these  disasters for his family; that the gods have sworn a  great oath that his father's corpse lying helpless will  draw him back. So why do I lament and groan aloud  like this? Now that I have seen the city of Ilium  suffer as it suffered, now that those who captured  the city are getting this kind of verdict before the</p>
---	---

<sup>69</sup> I do not agree with Dodds 1960 *ad loc.*, who claims that δῆτα indicates that “Cadmus has reached what he was leading up to.” In my view this is not what the particle indicates, although it is true in this case that Cadmus has reached his most important question. I do agree with Dodds' paraphrase “well, then” of δῆτα, since it reflects the inferential link that the particle indicates. See also Fraenkel 1950 *ad Aeschylus' Agamemnon* 1286-1290, quoted below in (t22).

<sup>70</sup> There is a similar instance of a δῆτα question shortly before in the same monologue: line 1264.

ἰοῦσ' ἀπάρξω, τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν.      tribunal of the gods, I too shall go and have the  
courage to face death.

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1282-1290

Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.* remarks: “a sentence beginning with τί δῆτα draws the conclusion from a preceding statement (this need not be by a different person (...)).” The reason for the δῆτα question, he adds, is always to be found in the preceding words, never in what follows. In this case, the rhetorical δῆτα question in line 1286 presents a new association prompted by the speaker’s own words. Fraenkel paraphrases Cassandra’s argumentation as, “it is quite certain that my death will be avenged; why then do I lament?” Thus, also in this monologue a δῆτα question looks backward (marking an inference from preceding speech) and forward (opening up a new topic) at the same time.<sup>71</sup> Understandably, however, this construction is more at home in dialogues.

### 3.3.1.4 καί

§81 When a character’s utterance starts with καί, the particle usually marks a close connection to a preceding utterance. The new speaking turn may, for example, continue the previous speaker’s communicative action. καί helps to trigger resonance in such cases: the particle makes it explicit that the speaker is picking up something from the preceding utterance in order to do something with it herself. This interpretation fits with the descriptions of καί in the scholarly literature. Hartung 1832:153 describes the particle as marking a union (“Vereinigung”) between two elements. Similarly, Bäumlein 1861:145 holds that καί introduces

---

<sup>71</sup> Another clear example of such a δῆτα question in a monologue is Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus* 1308, where the speaker Polyneices also uses the question to switch to something new, while at the same time marking an inferential link to the preceding. His question is prefaced by the interjection εἶέν, which seems to signal a “jump” to something new (albeit connected) in the speaker’s thoughts.

In the Loeb edition by Lloyd-Jones 1994, the switch is visually emphasized by a paragraph break from this point in both the Greek text and the translation.

a new thought or concept that belongs in the same line of thinking (“unter den gleichen Gesichtspunkt”) as what came before. He adds (146) that *καί* may mark the second element in a combination as a more specific qualification of the first element (“nähere Bestimmung”). The Homerist E.J. Bakker follows these scholars in calling *καί* a particle of “inclusion” (1997a:71) and “integration” (72). When linking two different clauses, Homeric *καί* marks that the focus on a given idea continues, but that a different aspect of it is highlighted (72).

§82 Consider the following example from Euripides’ *Hippolytus*. Phaedra has decided to commit suicide and informs the chorus of this decision.

(t23)

Χο. μέλλεις δὲ δὴ τί δρᾶν ἀνήκεστον κακόν; Ch. What harm past cure do you mean to do?

Φα. θανεῖν ὅπως δέ, τοῦτ’ ἐγὼ βουλευσομαι. Ph. To die. But the manner of it—that shall be *my* devising.

Χο. εὐφημος ἴσθι. (724) Ch. Say no more shocking words!

Φα. καὶ σὺ γ’ εὖ με νουθέτει. (724bis) Ph. And you, give advice that is good!

Euripides’ *Hippolytus* 722-724

The chorus’ request εὐφημος ἴσθι, “say good-omened words,” in fact means “please change your mind and don’t commit suicide.” Phaedra in her response mirrors the utterance’s directive illocutionary force, her *νουθέτει* picks up on the imperative singular morphology of ἴσθι, and her εὖ echoes the chorus’ εὐφημος.<sup>72</sup> *καί* at the beginning of Phaedra’s turn highlights the resonance, by explicitly linking the two utterances.<sup>73</sup> However, Phaedra also employs the particle *γε*, which highlights *σὺ* and thereby points to the new spin she is putting

<sup>72</sup> Barrett 1964 and Halleran 1995 *ad loc.* note the echo of the chorus’ εὐφημος in Phaedra’s εὖ.

<sup>73</sup> Other examples of turn-initial *καί* highlighting resonance between utterances by different speakers are found in e.g. Aeschylus’ *Persians* 236, 723 (see chapter 4 §36 for discussion); *Libation Bearers* 183, 223, 500, 503; Sophocles’ *Ajax* 45, 527; *Antigone* 322, 577, 749; *Oedipus King* 630, 963, 1019, 1023, 1170; Euripides’ *Bacchae* 1372bis; *Hippolytus* 326; *Medea* 608, 906; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 325bis, 976, 1349, 1437bis; *Frogs* 67bis, 582bis (see §§38-43 above), 1393ter; *Lysistrata* 6bis, 88bis, 603, 604, 752bis, 1221.

on the echoed material: she implies that the chorus' utterance was in fact not good advice at all.

§83 Turn-initial *καί* may also link utterances by signaling a speaker's intention to deal in more detail with an existing point. In these cases, it is not a communicative goal that is being echoed, but a topic or claim from the preceding utterance. A speaker may for instance zoom in on something to ask a detailed question about it, as in (t24), where the chorus asks Clytemnestra how she knows about the recent fall of Troy. Perhaps she had received signs in a dream?

(t24)

Κλ. οὐ δόξαν ἄν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός.

Cl. I wouldn't accept the mere fancy of a slumbering mind.

Χο. ἀλλ' ἦ σ' ἐπιάνέν τις ἄπτερος φάτις; (276)

Ch. Then has some unfledged rumour swelled your head?

Κλ. παιδὸς νέας ὡς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.

Cl. You really disparage my intelligence, as if I were a young child!

Χο. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;

Ch. Within what time has the city actually been sacked?

Κλ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τόδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.

Cl. Within the night, I say, that has just given birth to the present day's light.

Χο. καὶ τίς τόδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν ἀγγέλων τάχος; (280)

Ch. And what messenger could come here with such speed?

Κλ. Ἥφαιστος, Ἴδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας

Cl. Hephaestus, sending a bright blaze on its way from Mount Ida.

*Aeschylus' Agamemnon 275-281*



The turn-initial *καί* in 280 indicates that the chorus is taking up the substance of Clytemnestra's utterance (i.e. resonance is triggered) and is delving into it in further detail: if the capture of Troy only took place the night before, the chorus would like to know, then how can the queen already know about it?<sup>74</sup>

§84 In the next passage from Aristophanes' *Frogs*, we see an utterance starting with *καί* that triggers resonance not with the immediately preceding utterance, but with an earlier turn by the same speaker. The similarities between these utterances would have been striking even without the particle, but *καί* draws attention to the resemblance more explicitly, by marking the new utterance as linked. Two furious innkeepers are complaining about Heracles' gluttony. The slave Xanthias throws some oil on the fire, because he would like to see the innkeepers punish his master Dionysus, who is wearing the Heracles costume.<sup>75</sup>

(t25)

Πα. κάπειτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰργύριον ἐπραττόμην, ἔβλεψεν εἷς με δριμυὸν κάμυκᾶτό γε—	In. And when I presented the bill, he gave me a nasty look and started bellowing.
Ξα. τούτου πάνυ τοῦργον· οὗτος ὁ τρόπος πανταχοῦ.	Xa. That's his style exactly; he acts that way everywhere.
Πα. καὶ τὸ ξίφος γ' ἐσπᾶτο, μαίνεσθαι δοκῶν.	In. And he drew his sword like a lunatic.
Πλ. νῆ Δία, τάλαινα. (565)	Pl. Amen, my poor dear.
Πα. νῶ δὲ δεισάσα γέ πως (565bis) ἐπὶ τὴν κατήλιφ' εὐθὺς ἀνεπηδήσαμεν· (566) ὁ δ' ὄχετ' ἐξάξας γε τὰς ψιάθους λαβῶν.	In. And we were so scared I guess we jumped right up to the loft, while he dashed out and got away, taking our mattresses with him.
Ξα. <u>καὶ</u> τοῦτο τούτου τοῦργον. (...)	Xa. That's his style, too.

Aristophanes' *Frogs* 561-568

<sup>74</sup> See also the discussion of turn-initial *καὶ* πῶς in the example from Aristophanes' *Frogs* above, §§38-41.

<sup>75</sup> See chapter 5 §§57-58 for discussion of different aspects of this same scene.

Xanthias' remark in 568 repeats the one in 563, as noted by Van Leeuwen 1896 *ad loc.* By marking the second utterance with turn-initial *καί*, Xanthias makes it explicit that his comment is an addition to or a continuation of the comment he is echoing. That Xanthias can make this comment *again* humorously increases the women's anger, which makes the situation all the more dangerous for his terrified master.<sup>76</sup>

§85 Because of its general linking function, *καί* is well-suited to starting off resonating utterances. The particle does not itself trigger resonance, but helps to draw attention to meaningful similarities across utterances. Lexical, phonological, syntactic, and other types of resonance stand out more clearly when the second utterance is marked with *καί*. Because resonance can be triggered by similarities on different levels, this highlighting may occur both when *καί* has small scope (“that too,” “even that”) and when it has large scope, linking entire clauses (“and who could come?”). That is, the use of resonance does not depend on the particle's scope.

§86 The linking nature of *καί* and its affinity with resonance-triggering contexts make it clear that *καί* functions very differently from *δέ*, even though both of them are often translated “and.” Turn-initial *δέ* marks its utterance as a new, separate step, rather than as a pursuing of or “zooming in” on the preceding utterance.

### 3.3.1.5 γάρ

§87 When a speaker uses *γάρ* at the beginning of a resonating utterance, she indicates that her use of resonance involves an inference on her part. Hancock 1917:27 translates this use of *γάρ* as “yes, for...,” or “no, for...”. He notes (31) that *γάρ* marking an ellipsis of a whole phrase is

---

<sup>76</sup> The passage also contains instances of turn-initial *καί* in 561 and 564, where the women use them to underline the connectedness and the extent of their complaints. Stanford 1958 *ad loc.* paraphrases *καί* in 564 as “Yes, and what's more...”. The particles *δέ* and *γε* in 565bis are not connected to resonance, as the construction discussed in §§72-75 above, because they do not occur within the same discourse act; the position of *πως* suggest an act boundary before *δεισάσα*. Turn-initial *δέ* here marks the utterance as a new step (see chapter 4 §§34-38).

very common in tragic stichomythia. When it comes to the use of γάρ in questions, Denniston 1950 [1934]:77 notes that it is frequent at the beginning of “surprised and incredulous questions, where the speaker throws doubt on the grounds of the previous speaker’s words. (...) Frequently the second speaker echoes, with contempt, indignation, or surprise, a word or words used by the first.” Vigerus 1834 [1680]:492 also notes that γάρ in questions may signal indignation.

§88 γάρ’s role in resonance contexts, then, is to indicate that a speaker refers to a preceding utterance because she infers a certain (in her view) outrageous implication from that utterance. That is, the logical link between the two utterances signaled by the particle conveys that the speaker is indignant about what was said. The causal use of γάρ also plays a role in its resonance-marking function: it introduces, at the beginning of an utterance, why a speaker does or does not agree with a previous suggestion.

§89 In the following passage from Sophocles’ *Antigone*, we can see as many as eight instances of the particle marking a relation across different speakers’ utterances.<sup>77</sup> It is an angry dialogue between Creon and his son Haemon, who is trying to convince his father not to kill Antigone.<sup>78</sup>

(t26)

(Cr.: Should young men teach sense to the old?)

ΑΙ. μηδέν γ’ ὁ μὴ δίκαιον· εἰ δ’ ἐγὼ νέος, (728)

Ha. Nothing but what is right! If I am young, one

οὐ τὸν χρόνον χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ τάργα σκοπεῖν.

must not consider my age rather than my merits.

Κρ. ἔργον γάρ ἐστι τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας σέβειν;

Cr. Is it a merit to show regard for those who cause disorder?

<sup>77</sup> In the lines left out, there is another γάρ (741), but this one marks an utterance-internal relation.

<sup>78</sup> A similar angry dialogue full of γάρ instances and repetitions of words and concepts is the one by Menelaus and Teucer in Sophocles’ *Ajax* 1120-1141, about (not) burying Ajax. Another example of turn-initial γάρ clarifying resonance is found in Sophocles’ *Philoctetes* 250.

Αι. οὐδ' ἄν κελεύσαιμ' εὐσεβεῖν ἐς τοὺς κακοὺς.	Ha. It is not that I would ask you to show regard for evildoers.
Κρ. οὐχ ἦδε γὰρ τοιαῦδ' ἐπέλιπται νόσῳ; (732)	Cr. Is not she afflicted with this malady?
Αι. οὐ φησι Θήβης τῆσδ' ὁμόπολις λεώς.	Ha. This people of Thebes that shares our city does not say so.
Κρ. πόλις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀμὲ χρὴ τάσσειν ἐρεῖ;	Cr. Is the city to tell me what orders I shall give?
Αι. ὀρᾶς τόδ' ὡς εἴρηκας ὡς ἄγαν νέος; (735)	Ha. Do you notice that what you have said is spoken like a very young man?
Κρ. ἄλλω γὰρ ἢ 'μοὶ χρὴ με τῆσδ' ἄρχειν χθονός;	Cr. Must I rule this land for another and not for myself?
Αι. πόλις γὰρ οὐκ ἔσθ' ἦτις ἀνδρός ἐσθ' ἑνός.	Ha. Yes, there is no city that belongs to a single man!
(...)	(...)
Κρ. ὦ παγκάκιστε, διὰ δίκης ἰὼν πατρί; (742)	Cr. You villain, by disputing against your father?
Αι. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιά σ' ἐξαμαρτάνονθ' ὀρῶ.	Ha. Because I see that you are offending against justice!
Κρ. ἀμαρτάνω γὰρ τὰς ἐμὰς ἀρχὰς σέβων;	Cr. Am I offending when I show regard for my own office?
Αι. οὐ γὰρ σέβεις, τιμάς γε τὰς θεῶν πατῶν. (745)	Ha. You show no regard when you trample on the honours due to the gods!

Sophocles' *Antigone* 728-737 and 742-745

We see γάρ co-occurring with a chain of semantic (and sometimes lexical) echoes, all of which produce resonance. The following overview shows that each resonating element that contains γάρ refers back to a previous utterance by the other speaker.

<i>Resonating element</i>	<i>Resonating with</i>
730 Creon: ἔργον γάρ	729 Haemon: ἔργα
732 Creon: (...) γάρ τοιᾶδ' (...) νόσῳ	730 Haemon: τοὺς κακοὺς
734 Creon: πόλις γάρ	733 Haemon: Θήβης τῆσδ' ὀμόπτολις λεώς
736 Creon: (...) γάρ (...) τῆσδ' ἄρχειν χθονός	733 Haemon: Θήβης τῆσδ' <sup>79</sup>
737 Haemon: πόλις γάρ	736 Creon: τῆσδ' (...) χθονός
743 Haemon: οὐ γάρ δίκαιά	742 Creon: διὰ δίκης ἰών
744 Creon: ἀμαρτάνω γάρ	743 Haemon: σ' ἐξαμαρτάνονθ' ὄρῳ
745 Haemon: οὐ γάρ σέβεις	744 Creon: σέβων

Table 3. Resonating elements marked with γάρ in lines 728-745

γάρ in this series of resonance signals that the speaker is making an inference in regards to the element he picks up from the earlier utterance. The use of γάρ, in other words, suggests that the speaker has a specific reason to echo his addressee. The preceding utterance is thus marked as a logical starting point for the current utterance. In English we can render this specific resonance signal with phrases such as “so are you saying that...?” in questions and as “yes, for...” or “no, for...” in answers.

§90 Kamerbeek 1978 and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.* note that γάρ in this context implies indignation.<sup>80</sup> Indeed the lexical echoes in this passage create an emotional impression of the

<sup>79</sup> Creon's utterance in 736 also refers back to Haemon's line of argumentation as a whole, besides the specific element of the city.

<sup>80</sup> See also Goldhill's discussion of this stichomythia, including ample attention to the many γάρ instances (2012:58-63), as well as the elaborate discussion of this dialogue and the lexical repetitions in it by Pfeiffer-Petersen 1996. The latter scholar writes (62) that at 730, Creon tries to make his opponent insecure with a rhetorical question echoing Haemon's ἔργα. Creon's echo in 734 has a similar function: he repeats πόλις with “apparent amazement” (“mit offensichtlichem, rhetorischem Erstaunen,” 62). Pfeiffer-Petersen then notes (63) that the formal resemblance between 742 (διὰ δίκης ἰών by Creon) and 743 (οὐ γάρ δίκαιά by Haemon) emphasizes the contrast in the content of the two utterances. Finally, she points out (63-64) that line 744 also receives emphasis by repeating the concept of ἀμαρτάνω from 743. Pfeiffer-Petersen concludes (65) that the

speakers. This expression of emotions is not, however, a function of the particle by itself.<sup>81</sup> Rather, indignation follows pragmatically from what a speaker is doing with a γάρ echo. One speaker may say something with an implication that infuriates the other one. This second speaker can express her indignation by repeating the relevant element and indicating her inference based on that. In questions, such use of resonance leads to an indignant implication along the lines of, for example: “...merits.”—“What?! Merits?! Are you saying that it’s a merit to...”. In responses, an angry speaker may suggest her superiority by implying that this inference is the only right response to the question just asked.<sup>82</sup>

### 3.3.2 Particles triggering resonance themselves

§91 In (t26), there are so many instances of resonance-marking γάρ that we can say that the particle in itself triggers resonance. The audience will have noticed the exceptional frequency of γάρ in this dialogue (as does e.g. Hancock 1917:28). That is, attention is drawn to the particle’s own repetition across utterances. Pickering does not take repetitions of particles into account in his studies on repetition in tragedy (see §15 above). As these words are frequent throughout the texts, he generally does not consider their repetition meaningful. However, it

---

numerous lexical repetitions across utterances in this dialogue show the intensity (“Heftigkeit”) of the conflict. She also notes that most of these echoes are Haemon’s (seven out of eleven repetitions in lines in 726-765), which indicates his interest in influencing Creon’s views as well as his willingness to respond to Creon’s arguments. Budelmann 1998:6 adds, in his review of Pfeiffer-Petersen’s book, that “many of the words Haemon repeats are prominent elsewhere in the play.” The resonance triggered by these words may thus not only serve communicative purposes of the speaking characters, but also those of the playwright, on a different level.

<sup>81</sup> See also chapter 5 §19 and §88 on this general point concerning particles and emotion expression.

<sup>82</sup> In the angry dialogue between Oedipus and Teiresias in Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 316-462, we also find many instances of γάρ, nine times uttered by Teiresias, and four times by Oedipus. During the workshop *Word Play: Ancient Greek Drama and the Role of Particles* in November 2012 in Heidelberg, it was suggested by Andreas Willi and Evert van Emde Boas that Teiresias perhaps uses these γάρ-instances in an “arrogant” way, claiming to have more knowledge than his interlocutor. Note, however, that only four of Teiresias’ γάρ’s in this passage are turn-initial (one by Oedipus), marking a relation across utterances; the others mark a turn-internal relation.

is reasonable to take so many occurrences of the same particle within so few lines as a trigger of resonance. We find this especially in Aristophanes.

§92 The resonance of γάρ in the *Antigone* passage may underline the speakers' angry mood, since this construction usually implies indignation. A similarly high density of an individual particle is found in the following passage from Euripides' *Andromache*:<sup>83</sup>

(t27)

Ορ. μῶν ἐς γυναῖκ' ἔρραψας οἷα δὴ γυνή;	Or. Did you perchance plot against her like a woman?
Ερ. φόνον ὕ' ἐκείνηι καὶ τέκνωι νοθαγενεῖ.	He. Yes, death for her and for her bastard son.
Ορ. κᾶκτεινας, ἢ τις συμφορά σ' ἀφείλετο;	Or. Did you kill them, or did some mischance
Ερ. γέρων ὕε Πηλεύς, τοὺς κακίονας σέβων.	prevent you?
Ορ. σοὶ δ' ἦν τις ὅστις τοῦδ' ἐκοινώνει	He. Old Peleus stopped me, favoring the lowly.
φόνου; (915)	Or. But was there one who shared this murder with
Ερ. πατήρ ὕ' ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἀπὸ Σπάρτης	you?
μολών.	He. My father, come from Sparta for this purpose.
Ορ. κᾶπειτα τοῦ γέροντος ἡσσήθη χερσί;	Or. Yet he was bested by an old man's hand?
Ερ. αἰδοῖ ὕε: καὶ μ' ἔρημον οἴχεται λιπών.	He. Yes, by his sense of shame--and then he left me!

Euripides' *Andromache* 911-918

Hermione underlines all of her four answers in this dialogue with γε at the start. In this way she presents all the highlighted elements as extremely relevant to her in her current state of

<sup>83</sup> Other examples include Sophocles' *Ajax* 1121-1135 (seven instances of turn-initial γάρ); *Oedipus King* 549-551 (two instances of turn-initial τοι in resonating utterances); Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 407-409 (five instances of turn-initial ἀλλά); *Assemblywomen* 773bis-776bis (four instances of turn-initial γάρ in resonating utterances, all by the same speaker), 799bis-804bis (six instances of turn-initial δέ, all by the same speaker); *Clouds* 914-920bis (three instances of turn-initial δέ γε/δέ... γε); *Knights* 363-365 (three instances of turn-initial δέ γε/δέ... γε), 1154-1156 (two instances of turn-initial δέ γε/δέ... γε); *Wealth* 164-168 (seven instances of δέ γε/δέ... γε, here not marking resonance themselves, but adding new steps); 1090-1091 (two instances of turn-initial δέ γε/δέ... γε), 1155-1159 (five instances of turn-initial ἀλλά).

anxiety and despair. The resonance triggered by the γε repetition across her utterances helps to characterize her as being agitated.<sup>84</sup> The individual instances of γε in this excerpt are not related to resonance-marking, however, but rather demonstrate the particle's affinity for answers (see chapter 4 §62).

§93 In the following example from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the relevant particle (τοιγάρ) appears only twice, but because it is used very infrequently in comedy, this single repetition is unusual enough to trigger resonance. In the scene in question, the Athenian Cinesias tries to convince his wife Myrrhine, who is participating in Lysistrata's sex strike, to come home.

(t28)

Κι. (...) οὐ βαδιεῖ πάλιν;	Ci. (...) Won't you come home?
Μυ. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἦν μὴ διαλλαχθῆτέ γε (900) καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παύσησθε.	My. I certainly will not, not until you men agree to a settlement and stop the war.
Κι. <u>τοιγάρ</u> , ἦν δοκῆ, (901bis) ποιήσομεν καὶ ταῦτα.	Ci. All right, if that's what's decided, then that's what we'll do.
Μυ. <u>τοιγάρ</u> , ἦν δοκῆ, (902bis) κᾶγωγ' ἄπειμι' ἐκεῖσε· νῦν δ' ἀπομώμοκα.	My. All right, if that's what's decided, then I'll be coming home. But meanwhile I've sworn to stay here.

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 899-903

τοιγάρ,<sup>85</sup> uttered in 901 by Cinesias and in 902 by Myrrhine, occurs only three times in Aristophanes, all in this play. Therefore, as Denniston 1950 [1934]:565 notes, we may consider its use by Cinesias “pompous,” which is then “mockingly” picked up by Myrrhine in her reply. Of course, in this case the whole clause *τοιγάρ ἦν δοκῆ* is repeated, not just the particle *τοιγάρ*; yet it is clear that the particle is not excluded from such mocking repetition.

<sup>84</sup> See chapter 5 §§45-47 on γε in contexts of agitation in drama.

<sup>85</sup> As for the function of *τοιγάρ*, Hartung 1833:354 and Bäumlein 1861:253-254 describe it as marking a decisive or natural conclusion from the preceding.



§94 Besides being part of a larger repeated expression, particles may also participate in resonance by sounding like other words. We have seen an example of that in (t4) from Aeschylus' *Persians*, where *καί* resonates with the *αι*-sound in the lament by Xerxes and the chorus. Similarly, *τε* in *Libation Bearers* 381 can be seen as part of the large number of words resonating with *πάτερ*, listed in Table 1.

### 3.4 Summary and conclusions

§95 In this chapter I have argued that resonance is an important communicative strategy in Greek drama, and that the study of resonance is useful for our understanding of particles. With regard to the functions of resonance, we can distinguish between goals of the speaking character, and goals of the playwright. The fact that both of these levels are continually present is an important difference between the types of communication found in literary drama and daily conversation. Speaking characters may pick up elements from previous utterances in order to emphasize their solidarity with the other speaker and his actions. Or, in other contexts, they highlight similarities across utterances precisely to stress differences between what they want to say and what was said before. Playwrights may highlight similarities across utterances in order to stress a play's theme, to depict characters' personalities or characterize their interactions, or to make jokes or parody.

§96 As for different forms, resonance is triggered by similarities on several linguistic levels. I have given examples of lexical, phonological, syntactic, morphological, semantic, pragmatic, and illocutionary resonance triggers. Usually we find similarities working on several levels at the same time, regardless of the function of the resonance. The variety in functions and forms of resonance reflects its communicative importance, for characters as well as playwrights.

§97 I expect that it will be useful to employ the concept of resonance as a research tool for investigating other genres. It is in the first place illuminating for texts that represent

utterances by several speakers; in non-dialogic texts, criteria will be needed to determine when a new segment is sufficiently different from the preceding discourse to be compared to what would be a new utterance in a dialogic text.

§98 Focusing on the use of resonance has thrown light on the use of particles and particle combinations. We have seen that they play a role in this process in two different ways. First, they indicate the way in which a speaker is using resonance. I focused on γε, δέ γε/δέ... γε, δῆτα, καί, and γάρ; other particles have similar uses as well. It is, however, important to keep in mind that marking a certain use of resonance is in no way the only function of a particle, not even in its turn-initial position. Not every utterance triggers resonance, and resonance is certainly not a prerequisite for the use of particles. Second, particles sometimes trigger resonance themselves, when they are repeated often enough to draw attention to their own repetition. Whether or not a particle (combination) is triggering resonance depends on its usual frequency.

§99 We do not need to postulate new general functions for particles in order to describe what they do in resonance contexts; rather, resonance deepens what we already know about the functions that different particles serve. For example, we may learn from the particle handbooks that γε indicates that a specific element from a previous statement is being singled out, or that γάρ signals a causal relation. If we combine this general knowledge about a particle's function with the observation that a speaker consciously picks something up from a previous utterance, we see the two strategies interacting: we then understand *why* the speaker singles a certain element out, or *why* she indicates a causal relation in a certain context. These functions can only work in a dialogic context of speakers interacting with each other. Similarly, the particle handbooks tell us that δῆτα in assertions signals agreement; the very word implies dialogicality, since a speaker can only agree *with* someone or something else. As

for the particle combination  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\gamma\epsilon$ / $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ ...  $\gamma\epsilon$ , its interpretation is different in resonating utterances (juxtaposing a hostile new step) than in ones that do not resonate with the directly preceding utterance (adding a new step to the speaker's own previous words).

§100 Thus, the Du Boisian concept of resonance enables us to understand better why a certain function for a given particle works well in a certain context, and how this function interacts with the highlighting of similarities across utterances. The dialogic interaction becomes clearer. In this way we can better understand that particle use should be considered a communicative strategy: one that interacts with the communicative strategy of resonance.



## Conventions of composed conversation

### 4.1 Introduction

#### 4.1.1 Tragic and comic conversation

§1 Characters in tragedy and comedy are represented as talking in turns. Aeschylus' Persian queen and the ghost of Darius converse about the army's defeat through a series of questions and answers. Sophocles' Oedipus gets angrier at Teiresias with every line he utters. Euripides makes Medea and Jason express their feelings both in long argumentative speeches and in more rapid dialogues. In Aristophanes, characters regularly interrupt each other with short comments. Playwrights advance the plot by having characters, in spoken interactions, ask questions, give orders, express opinions, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

§2 This turn-taking is one of tragedies' and comedies' formal aspects that distinguishes the genres from most other Greek texts: dramatic texts directly reflect the voices of different (fictional) speakers who were physically co-present in a theatre, communicating with each other in real time. The dialogic nature of plays influences the use of particles, as I shall argue in this chapter. It is fruitful, therefore, to approach particle use in these texts through a framework that deals with the functioning of dialogic interaction: Conversation Analysis (CA).

§3 Naturally the dialogues of Greek drama are stylized and formalized versions of real spoken conversation, but since they are ultimately based on spoken language, we may reasonably assume that these texts contain remnants of the rules of real conversation. CA can

---

<sup>1</sup> The importance of dialogue is not the same in every play, however. The plot of Aeschylus' *Persians*, notably, is carried less by dialogue, and more by song, narration, and lamentation.

teach us something about these rules. The difference between our material and that of most CA research—written texts rather than recorded spontaneous conversation—means that our goals are accordingly different: we do not aim to understand conversation in general by looking at ancient drama texts. Rather, insights from CA, based on real conversation, can clarify the written language used in these plays.

§4 Recent scholarship has begun to apply CA methods to the study of ancient Greek literature: Minchin 2007, Van Emde Boas 2010, and Schuren 2015, in their respective studies of Homer and Euripides, make use of the framework.<sup>2</sup> Minchin mainly focuses on how linguistic forms are linked to certain social actions, such as rebuking, declining an invitation, and asking a (specific kind of) question. She also discusses aspects of turn-taking in Homer. Van Emde Boas uses CA alongside several other modern linguistic approaches in his analysis of Euripides' *Electra*. He argues that the characters' linguistic patterns play an important role in their characterization, and discusses how approaches such as CA can help in the case of doubtful speaker-line attribution. Schuren makes use of a similar combination of frameworks to analyze storytelling within Euripidean stichomythia. By adopting a CA perspective, these three scholars observe phenomena that would otherwise go unnoticed or remain unexplained. At the same time, they strengthen our awareness of the general similarities between our own everyday conversation and the language use in ancient literature: the same communicative principles are often at work. As Van Emde Boas (p. 8) rightly points out, “for dramatic dialogue

---

<sup>2</sup> Van Emde Boas' work has now been published in updated form as Van Emde Boas 2017. Beck 2005 in *Homeric Conversation* also mentions the approach of CA (only briefly; mainly 20-21). She is mainly concerned with aesthetic and poetic effects of Homeric conversation types: these are different issues from those normally discussed in CA.

to be comprehensible to an audience, it still must use the same linguistic resources that are familiar to them from their own daily conversations.”<sup>3</sup>

§5 Earlier remarks on the structure of conversations in ancient Greek drama can be found in Hancock 1917 on stichomythia in different genres, Gelzer 1960 on the Aristophanic agon, Ireland 1974 on Aeschylean stichomythia, Bain 1977 on asides, Mastronarde 1979 on tragic dialogue, and Dover 1987 on language and character in Aristophanes, among others. However, CA raises, and provides answers for, a number of important questions which these scholars have not addressed, and which still require systematic analysis. Indeed Mastronarde 1979 assumes that real conversation is simply a “chaos” without any regularity.<sup>4</sup> Yet CA has shown that conversation in fact exhibits a great deal of systematic organization, a view supported in the Greek by the recurrence of certain forms in certain turn positions and sequential positions. The framework thus has the potential to offer important explanations about these recurrences.

§6 In this chapter I will use the CA approach to show that conversational structures and practices influence language production in tragic and comic dialogues, and thus also the selection and use of particles. I begin by introducing CA, its terminology and its various

---

<sup>3</sup> See also Schuren 2015:5 for a similar view, and compare Willms 2014:297: if the communication in ancient drama would be too far away from the daily experience of the audience, it would “damit die Mimesis untergraben” (“thereby undermine the mimesis”).

On the usefulness of analyzing fictional texts from a CA perspective, see e.g. McHoul 1987 and, more generally linguistic, Dynel 2011. Dynel argues (p. 56) that “[f]ictional discourse is not strange and should not be treated as if it were.”

<sup>4</sup> Mastronarde 1979:1 writes of “the naturalistic disorder of spontaneous conversation, with its repetitions, dead-ends, misunderstandings, and unheralded transitions”; at page 5: “the disordered brokenness of real conversation.” 52: “It is characteristic of real, informal conversation that more than one person may speak at once, that a speaker may fall silent in mid-sentence, and that speaker B may begin to speak in the middle of A’s utterance. Theater-dialogue, in most traditions, dispenses with much of the chaos of real conversation in the interests of clarity.” 73: “the chaotic informality of real conversation”.

aspects. I then move on to textual analysis, focusing mainly on the dialogic parts of the plays,<sup>5</sup> the communicative environment that CA has the most to say about.

#### 4.1.2 Conversation Analysis (CA)

§7 CA focuses on talk-in-interaction, that is, on language used for performing social actions.<sup>6</sup> The approach originated in sociology, with Sacks' lectures on conversation (1964-1968, posthumously published as Sacks 1995), Schegloff's work on conversational openings (1967; 1968), and, most well-known, the seminal article by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974 on the systematics of turn-taking in conversation. Further explorations along these lines followed.<sup>7</sup> Conversation analysts aim to describe and understand the system, rules, and practices of talk-in-interaction. They emphasize that we can better understand utterances if we pay attention to what they are *doing* rather than to what they are about.<sup>8</sup> Here CA builds on Austin's 1962 claim that words do things: utterances do not merely describe the world, but perform actions.<sup>9</sup>

§8 The basic unit of conversation is the "turn," also called "turn of speaking," or "turn-at-talk." Conversation, like other forms of coordinated, joint activities, requires some kind of turn-taking to manage the contributions of the different participants.<sup>10</sup> Examples of such joint activities, noted by Sidnell 2010:36, are ballroom dancing, road work, and surgery. Clark 1996:59 also gives analogous examples of other non-verbal joint actions, such as playing music

---

<sup>5</sup> Long monologues and especially choral songs form a very different communicative situation from rapid dialogues: see chapter 2 for linguistic differences across these three situations in tragedy and comedy.

<sup>6</sup> On CA in general, with discussion of examples, see also chapter 1 §§38-45.

<sup>7</sup> CA has grown into a widely practiced research field; helpful recent introductions can be found in Schegloff 2007 and Sidnell 2010, and in shorter form in Gardner 2005 and Heritage 2010.

<sup>8</sup> See e.g. Schegloff 2007:1; Sidnell 2010:60-61.

<sup>9</sup> The joint-action approach to language by Clark 1996 is similar to CA, although this scholar does not directly work within a CA framework. On 341-342 he underlines the importance of action over topic. Interactional Linguistics also resembles CA (see e.g. Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001): this is a research field combining linguistics, Conversation Analysis, and anthropology.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g. Schegloff 2007:1.



or paddling a canoe; as well as of different activities involving talk as part of them, such as a business transaction. In the case of conversation, participants take turns-at-talk. These turns are themselves composed of one or more turn-constructive units (TCUs), the smallest units that may constitute a turn.<sup>11</sup>

§9 The word “turn,” as I use it here, refers to the linguistic realization of actions, that is, to a string of words uttered by one speaker, rather than to the action(s) performed by these words.<sup>12</sup> In my use “turn” is equivalent to “utterance”; these two terms only differ in the perspective they offer.<sup>13</sup> “Utterance” neutrally refers to everything that is said by one speaker; “turn” refers to the positioning of a stretch of talk by one speaker with respect to other stretches of talk by other speakers.<sup>14</sup> Consider the following example:

(t1)

Θεράπων. Δικαιόπολι.

Slave. Dicaeopolis!

Δι. τίς ἐστι; τί με βωστρεῖς; (959bis)<sup>15</sup>

Di. Who’s that? Why are you yelling for me?

Θε. ὄ τι; (959ter)

Sl. Why? Lamachus orders you, for this drachma

<sup>11</sup> On TCUs, see e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974:702; Schegloff 1987:77; 2006:79; 2007:3-7; Sidnell 2010:41-42, 113.

<sup>12</sup> The possible confusion concerning “turn” as referring to actions, or as referring to the linguistic realizations of actions, arises mainly from the different use of “turn” and “turn beginning.” A “turn beginning” is not just the beginning of any “turn,” but a specific action. See e.g. Schegloff 1987:74 and 1996:74-75 for formulations indicating that “turn beginning” refers to an action. See e.g. Levinson 2013:126; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974:702-703; Schegloff 1987:77; 2007:4 for uses of the term “turn” as referring to the linguistic realization of an action. In order to avoid confusion, I will not use the term “turn beginning” at all, but speak instead of “turn-initial position,” or “utterance starts,” both referring to the linguistic realization of actions. I thank Geoffrey Raymond for clarifying this point with me (personal communication).

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. the terminology of Kent 2012:719: she writes that a certain “utterance performs a number of actions.” Like a “turn,” an “utterance” is not an action, it *performs* actions.

<sup>14</sup> A choral song, then, is technically one utterance and one turn, unless it is interrupted by speech of another character; however, the conversational regularities of turn-taking, sequence organization, and preference organization are less relevant in this communicative environment than in the iambic parts of the plays. Therefore I do not discuss choral songs in this chapter. See especially chapter 2 for several discussions of particle use in choral songs.

<sup>15</sup> On the designations “bis” and “ter,” see chapter 1 note 61.

ἐκέλευε Λάμαχος σε ταυτησὶ δραχμῆς (960)      here, to give him some of your thrushes for the  
 εἰς τοὺς Χοᾶς αὐτῷ μεταδοῦναι τῶν κιχλῶν,      Pitcher feast, and he orders a Copaic eel for three  
 τριῶν δραχμῶν δ' ἐκέλευε Κωπᾶδ' ἔγχελυν.      drachmas.

Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 959-962

The first turn (or, more neutrally, utterance) by the slave is only one word long: its function is to address Dicaeopolis and catch his attention.<sup>16</sup> Dicaeopolis reacts immediately, starting a turn in the middle of the verse.<sup>17</sup> This turn performs two related requests for information: who the speaker is, and why he addressed Dicaeopolis. To respond to these requests, the slave needs a longer turn (slightly more than three lines), built out of several parts or turn-constructive units. With the first TCU, ὄ τι; “(you ask me) why?”, he projects a relatively long answer.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, he reports Lamachus' two orders, in this way indirectly ordering Dicaeopolis to provide the requested items. We can interpret the projection and the two reports as three separate actions. Regardless of the number of actions performed by a turn, however, I speak of one turn when it is continuously uttered by one speaker.<sup>19</sup>

§10 An important part of a turn is its start: the start frequently gives indications as to how a turn fits into a sequence or a series of sequences.<sup>20</sup> Turn-initial items also often project what kind of turn the speaker has just started: they foreshadow a certain syntactic structure and/or a certain action. As Sidnell 2010:143 puts it, “the initial components of a turn can strongly

<sup>16</sup> Similar one-word vocative turns with similar reactions in Aristophanes may be found in *Acharnians* 410, 1048, 1085; *Frogs* 40, 464, 1220; *Women at the Thesmophoria* 193. See also below, §41, on οὔτος as a vocative construction.

<sup>17</sup> This short sequence of two turns may be described as a summons-answer pair. See below, §15, on adjacency pairs, and §41 for another example of a summons-answer pair from Aristophanes.

<sup>18</sup> See §30 below for more discussion of the function of such echo questions at the beginning of answers. See note 21 below for the notion of (pragmatic) projection.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 607bis-617: the addressees of Dicaeopolis (members of the Acharnian chorus) reportedly shake their heads during the course of uttering these lines; yet since the Acharnians do not give a verbal reaction, the lines still count together as one turn.

<sup>20</sup> On (the importance of) the start of turns in spoken interaction, see e.g. Schegloff 1987; 1996; Sidnell 2010:140-152.

project the type of turn underway.”<sup>21</sup> The role of Greek particles in a composed conversational structure is therefore most visible when they occur in turn-initial position. For this reason I will focus my discussion mainly on turn-initial particles in this chapter.

§11 I define turn-initial particles as the first particle occurring in its earliest possible position in the first discourse act of a turn.<sup>22</sup> For second-position particles, I will still speak of turn-initial position when they are found directly after the first constituent of a turn. Thus, for instance, the “postponed” *δέ* in Aeschylus’ *Persians* 719 (see (t8) with note 53) is considered turn-initial, but particles occurring after the discourse act constituted by a vocative, for example, are not.<sup>23</sup> If a turn starts with a swearing expression in Aristophanes, a particle following that is not considered turn-initial, because swearing expressions can constitute separate discourse acts, just as vocatives and interjections do; for example, *καὶ μὴν* after *νῆ τὸν Δία* in Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 285 is therefore not considered turn-initial. However, since establishing the start and end of discourse acts involves interpretation, the determination of a particle’s turn-initial position can be subjective. I focus in this chapter on the clearest instances of turn-initial particles.<sup>24</sup>

§12 Most turns without turn-initial particles are explicitly connected to their co-text and context by other turn-initial expressions. I call these expressions “contextualization cues,” a term coined by Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz, in order to use a neutral term, and I include the

---

<sup>21</sup> On projection, see Auer 2002:*passim*; Schegloff 2007:e.g. 30, 44-47, 127-128; Sidnell 2007:235 (projectability “allows participants to anticipate the probable course, extent, and nature of the talk in progress”); 2010:e.g. 143; 232-233.

<sup>22</sup> On discourse acts, see §20 below, chapter 2 §24n36 (with references), and De Kreij 2016c:II.2.

<sup>23</sup> An exception is Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 300, where the vocative is used in a “quotative” way: the speaker comments on his own use of this vocative with the following particle *τοίνυν*; it is therefore part of the first discourse act of this turn, it could not have occurred earlier in the turn, and it is considered turn-initial.

<sup>24</sup> E.g. *γε* in *μὴ σοί γέ* in Sophocles’ *Ajax* 533 is not counted as turn-initial, because its theoretical first possible position would be directly after *μή*.

following forms apart from particles.<sup>25</sup> First, a turn is immediately situated if it starts with a reference to the speaker or addressee(s), which can be realized by first or second person verb forms, vocatives, and pronouns. Second, subordinating conjunctions and demonstrative pronouns and adverbs also make it clear at the outset how a new turn is responding to the preceding one. Third, lexical repetitions of an element from the preceding turn clarify the response's focus. Fourth, primary interjections and (only in comedy) swearing expressions indicate a reaction to a previous turn or nonverbal action.<sup>26</sup> Fifth, turn-initial question words and negations usually project part of the nature of the new turn. We will see below (§42, §48, §66, and §68) that turns without turn-initial particles or any of these other turn-initial contextualization cues tend to be found in particular contexts, and that the conversational structure is crucial for situating these turns.

§13 One area of research in CA is how turn-taking is organized, that is, when exactly speakers start and end their turns. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974 show that usually one party talks at a time; pauses and overlaps in talk tend to be brief. Participants in an interaction monitor when there is a “transition relevance place” in a turn of speaking, and pay attention to these TRPs in their conversational behavior (see also Clayman 2013). Speakers make sure, for example, to leave no pause at a TRP if they want to hold the floor. Listeners tend to start a new turn exactly at the moment of a TRP, such as when a syntactic unit is complete. In English this means, for example, that tag questions are relatively frequently overlapped by the first part of a new turn. In the formalized, composed speech of Greek drama, the end of a verse line is typically a TRP.

---

<sup>25</sup> See Cook-Gumperz and Gumperz 1976, and the discussion by Auer 1992. Auer defines (p. 24) contextualization cues as “all the form-related means by which participants contextualize language.” His discussion includes non-verbal and paralinguistic cues. I use the term here only for linguistic expressions.

<sup>26</sup> On the difference between primary and secondary interjections, see e.g. Norrick 2009a. Aristophanic swearing expressions can be considered secondary interjections. On the use of primary interjections in Greek drama, see Nordgren 2012 and 2015.

§14 CA has also developed the study of what it calls “sequence organization.” Sequences are “courses of action implemented through talk” (Schegloff 2007:3). For example, a sequence may consist of one speaker asking a question or requesting a certain action, and another speaker’s response. The organization of sequences involves “the ways in which turns-at-talk are ordered and combined to make actions take place in conversation” (Schegloff 2007:i). Research on sequence organization looks at how speakers make their turns coherent with prior turns.<sup>27</sup> This research thus focuses on the specific actions performed by turns, and the structuring of those actions, rather than the moments at which turns may start or end.

§15 Crucially, sequences are built around “adjacency pairs.” An adjacency pair is a unit of two turns by different speakers that are placed next to each other, are relatively ordered, and are of the same pair type.<sup>28</sup> That is, the order of the two turns matters, and the actions they perform belong together. The first turn, called the “first pair part,” makes only certain responses relevant; this second turn is termed “second pair part.” Some examples of adjacency pairs are greeting-greeting, question-answer, assessment-(dis)agreement, offer-acceptance/rejection. If the expected second pair part is absent, this is an “official absence” for the participants. Speakers often indicate in their response that they notice this absence, as do the fictional speakers in this example from Aristophanes:

(t2)

(first slave reads oracles, second slave pours wine)

Δη. (...) ὦ λόγια. δός μοι, δός τὸ ποτήριον ταχύ. Fi. What prophecies! Give me the cup, give it here quickly!

(120)

Νι. ἰδοῦ. τί φησ’ ὁ χρησμός;

Se. Here. What’s the oracle say?

<sup>27</sup> See e.g. Schegloff 2007:xiv.

<sup>28</sup> On adjacency pairs, see e.g. Schegloff 2007:13-14; Sidnell 2010:63-66. The concept is also explained by Van Emde Boas 2010:13-14.

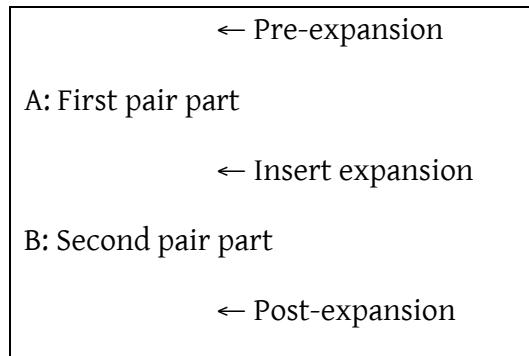
Δη. ἐτέραν ἔγχεον.                    Fi. Pour me a refill!  
 Νι. ἐν τοῖς λογίοις ἔνεστιν “ἐτέραν ἔγχεον;”                    Se. The prophecies say “pour me a refill”?

Aristophanes’ *Knights* 120–122

The second slave’s question in 121 is the first part of an adjacency pair; an answer to it is the expected second pair part. The first slave does not answer the question, however, but instead orders his friend to pour him another glass of wine. However, in general, answers are normatively expected after questions.<sup>29</sup> Therefore the second slave takes the order as an answer—the oracle says, “pour me a refill”—or he pretends to do so for the sake of the joke.

§16 Although a sequence in principle consists of a single adjacency pair, the pair can also be expanded by other pairs placed before, after, or in between it. These other pairs are called pre-, insert, and post-expansions:

(t3)



An adjacency pair with possible expansions, from Schegloff 2007:26

Which turns are considered the base pair and whether other turns are seen as expansions on it depends on one’s interpretation of the whole sequence. In the case of our ancient plays, we can rely only on indications in the texts, as we do not have access to nonverbal cues such as pauses, intonation, or gestures. In addition, the expansions themselves may be subject to further expansions, which can lead to highly complex sequences.

<sup>29</sup> On normative constraints in CA, at least for English, see e.g. Schegloff 2007:67n5, 203; Hayashi 2013:*passim*.

§17 Pre-expansions, as Sidnell 2010:103 puts it, “are recognizably preliminary to some other action whose production they project.” For example, a question about availability typically precedes an invitation sequence. An insertion sequence delays the second pair part to deal with issues that need to be resolved before the second pair part can be produced. Such insert expansion may occur, for example, because a participant has misunderstood the first pair part.<sup>30</sup> Finally, a post-sequence expands on the base sequence after the second pair part. Post-expansions can be “sequence-closing thirds,” with which the speaker intends to close a sequence.<sup>31</sup> Common forms of sequence-closing thirds in English are *oh*, *okay*, and assessments. After uttering such post-expansion, the same speaker may launch a new sequence.

§18 Adjacency pairs are also structured according to what is known as a “preference organization.” Usually a certain type of second pair part is interactionally preferred over some other type, namely the kind of response that “promotes the accomplishment of the activity underway.”<sup>32</sup> For example, an acceptance is a “preferred response” to an invitation, a rejection a “dispreferred” one. Note that this is a structural, interactional preference that speakers orient to and that deals with normative expectations; it is independent from the speaker’s actual, psychological preference (a speaker may, after all, be relieved if her invitation is rejected). As part of preference organization, dispreferred responses are marked, both in form and in delivery. They often contain explanations about why they are produced, for example why an offer is declined or a request refused. As Levinson 2006:48 writes, “[r]esponses that are in the expected direction are immediate and brief, responses that are in the opposite direction

---

<sup>30</sup> On insert expansions, see e.g. Schegloff 2007:97-114.

<sup>31</sup> On sequence-closing thirds, see e.g. Schegloff 2007:118-142.

<sup>32</sup> On preference organization, see e.g. Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff 2007:58-81; Sidnell 2010:77 (from which the quote is taken).

are typically delayed, marked with hesitations and particles like *well*,<sup>33</sup> and accompanied by explanations.”

§19 Finally, CA scholars stress that turns perform actions. The term “action,” used in CA, is different from the term “(discourse) act” used in Discourse Analysis. The two concepts are not mutually exclusive; rather, the terms reflect different perspectives on the same idea: that language is used for doing things.

§20 A discourse “act,” on the one hand, is viewed in relation to the surrounding whole: an act is a small step within a larger discourse. Each act has a certain function contributing to the main goal of the communication. Acts are often described as prosodic or orthographic units, e.g. by Hannay and Kroon 2005. Much research on such acts looks at which linguistic segments can be said to form a small step, and where these segments start and end. In written language, act boundaries manifest themselves through certain linguistic indications; particles constitute one set of important signs in Greek. The concept in CA which is closest to the “discourse act” is the turn-constructive unit (see §8 above).

§21 “Action” in CA, on the other hand, focuses on what the speaker wants to accomplish in a social situation: actions are “things that people do in their talking in interaction.”<sup>34</sup> Sidnell and Enfield 2012:328 list “requesting, inviting, offering, complaining, excusing, agreeing, and disagreeing” as examples of what they consider actions. As Levinson 2013:104 points out, the assignment of a certain action to a turn tends to be revealed by the response of a next speaker. Accordingly, Levinson considers the primary action performed by a turn to be “what the response must deal with in order to count as an adequate next turn” (107). To put it in more general terms, an action needs to be something recognizable to the participants, an

---

<sup>33</sup> This is not meant to imply that marking a dispreferred response is the only function of English *well*. See §55 below for a use of turn-initial *μὲν* comparable to that of turn-initial *well*.

<sup>34</sup> Schegloff 2006:73. On actions in CA, see also e.g. Schegloff 2007:xiv; Sidnell 2010:61.



identifiable communicative doing, for which they hold the speaker accountable.<sup>35</sup> Note that “action” does not refer to the words and nonverbal signs used to accomplish communicative goals, but rather to the thing accomplished itself—the invitation, the summoning, the questioning, and so on. Thus CA scholars are more interested in understanding what a turn or part of a turn is doing in a social situation than they are in identifying the boundaries of an action’s realization in words.

§22 We can combine the two concepts to say that (discourse) acts perform (social) actions—short spoken or written segments, alone or in groups, perform questions, invitations, summonings, and so on. Actions can be realized in single acts—such as a vocative, which performs the action of addressing someone—as well as in a series of acts, for example performing an invitation. In what follows I will use both terms in the way described above: “act” will refer to short stretches of text, which have an arguable start and end, and “action” to the social doings performed by spoken or written words.

§23 To sum up: this section has sketched the main concepts that CA scholars use to describe how people interact by means of turns-at-talk. We can now move on to the application of those concepts to the study of particle use in Greek drama.

### **4.1.3 Applying CA to particles in tragedy and comedy**

§24 Greek particles often signal something on a conversational-structural level, in the process of performing other functions, such as signaling contrast between entities or marking textual boundaries. CA therefore enriches our understanding of particles. Examining the role that particles play in the organization of turns, sequences, preference, and action helps us understand why and how particles are used in the contexts in which they are used.

---

<sup>35</sup> Accountability of actions means that they are observable and reportable by other people, who can put responsibility on the speaker for her actions. See Garfinkel 1967:1, 33-34; and more recently Auer 2002:4; Firth 2009:68.

§25 This chapter applies four concepts of CA: turn-taking organization (§§26-31), sequence organization (§§32-48), preference organization (§§49-56), and the actions performed by turns (§§57-71). My main focus is on question-answer pairs, because they appear frequently in the corpus and are clearly recognizable as pairs. That is to say, a question as a first pair part sets up strong expectations about the relevant second pair part: the norm is that this second part is an answer (see (t2) above). These sections are followed by concluding remarks on what we can learn from CA about ancient Greek particle use (§§72-73).

## 4.2 Turn-taking

§26 In this section I look at the interaction between turn-taking organization and particle use. Particles play a role in the turn-taking process by indicating the speaker's lack of acknowledgement of a previous turn (τε), or by helping her hold the floor for a turn of multiple lines (μέν).

§27 The following passage from Euripides' *Hippolytus* illustrates the use of turn-initial τε. In this scene Phaedra is suffering heavily from being in love with her stepson; her nurse, unaware that Phaedra is lovesick, tries to find out the cause of Phaedra's illness. Finally Phaedra consents to the questioning, and starts to give hints about her trouble.

(t4)

Τρ. σιγῶμι' ἄν ἤδη· σὸς γὰρ οὐντεῦθεν λόγος.

Nu. I'm silent now. The word henceforth is yours.

Φα. ὦ τλήμον, οἶον, μήτερ, ἠράσθης ἔρον.

Ph. Unhappy mother, what a love you felt!

Τρ. ὄν ἔσχε ταύρου, τέκνον; ἢ τί φῆις τόδε;

Nu. For the Cretan bull? Or what is this you mean?

Φα. σύ τ', ὦ τάλαιν' ὄμαιμε, Διονύσου δάμαρ.

Ph. And you, poor sister, Dionysus' bride.

Τρ. τέκνον, τί πάσχεις; συγγόνους κακορροθεῖς;

Nu. What's wrong with you, daughter? Why defame your kin?

(340)

Φα. τρίτη δ<sup>36</sup> ἐγὼ δύστηνος ὡς ἀπόλλυμαι.

Ph. And I the third, how wretchedly I perish!

Τρ. ἔκ τοι πέπληγμαί· ποῖ προβήσεται λόγος;

Nu. I am astonished. Where will these words lead?

Euripides' *Hippolytus* 336-342

In 339, we find τε in the first possible position in Phaedra's turn. The particle marks that she continues her own previous turn, in this case by adding another vocative. She thus does not answer the nurse's question of 338. Indeed, Phaedra's σύ does not refer to the nurse, her interlocutor present on stage, but to someone who is absent. τε is infrequent in this turn-initial position.<sup>37</sup> When it does occur there, it has a specific function: it marks that the speaker is ignoring (or pretending to ignore) the turn just uttered by the interlocutor—in other words, the speaker is continuing her own previous turn.

§28 In multi-line turns, we can often identify certain expressions that help these speakers hold the floor beyond the TRPs (see §13 above) constituted by line-ends. The particle μέν is one of these floor-holding devices. Because this particle's function is to project upcoming speech, it can effectively signal that the speaker wants to hold the floor for some time.<sup>38</sup> At the

<sup>36</sup> For discussion of turn-initial δέ, see §§34-38 below.

<sup>37</sup> There are only thirteen instances out of 4,402 turns in the corpus. The low frequency of τε in turn-initial position is also noted by Hancock 1917:26. Apart from the turn-initial τε quoted in (t4), there are eight relevant parallels of turn-initial τε in the function described here: Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 494; *Persians* 1020; Euripides' *Bacchae* 497; Aristophanes' *Birds* 599, 1591; *Frogs* 809, 956; *Lysistrata* 35. Similar instances outside my core corpus are found in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* 221; Euripides' *Hecuba* 428.

Three other cases involve a construction with several particles starting with τε; these constructions have a turn-internal function, and thus are irrelevant for turn-taking organization: τε δὴ καί in Aeschylus' *Persians* 735, τε... καί in Euripides' *Bacchae* 935, and τε... τε in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 1036ter. Similar examples from outside my core corpus are τε... καί in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 119; τε... τε in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* 1514. The last instance, in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1402, is in a quotation from tragedy. It is unknown whether this line was at the start of a turn in the original play (Euripides' *Meleager*), since we only have fragments of it. The presence of τε as well as the narrative content of the line suggest that it is very unlikely to have been turn-initial.

<sup>38</sup> When the expectation of floor-holding is not fulfilled, the presence of μέν suggests that there is something more that remains unsaid. Examples are found in e.g. Aeschylus' *Eumenides* 418, *Suppliant Women* 338; Sophocles' *Ajax* 80; Euripides' *Medea* 703. See also De Kreij 2016c:II.2 on this function of μέν.

same time, μέν carries out its general projecting function, marking for example an upcoming change in addressee<sup>39</sup> or a juxtaposition of several items (with δέ following).<sup>40</sup>

§29 The following passage from Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* features this floor-holding use of μέν: the particle suggests that Electra's turn will not be over after one line.<sup>41</sup>

(t5)

<p>Χο. (...) ἰὼ τίς δορυσθενῆς εἶς' ἀνὴρ (160) ἀναλυτὴρ δόμων, Σκυθιτὰ τ' ἐν χεροῖν ἐν ἔργῳ βέλη πιπάλλων ἼΑρεως σχέδιά τ' αὐτόκωπα νωμῶν βέλη;</p>	<p>Ch. (...) Oh, which man will come, mighty with the spear, to set the house free again, brandishing in his hands Scythian weapons in the work of war and wielding a sword, of one piece with its hilt, for close fighting?</p>
<p>Ηλ. ἔχει μὲν ἤδη γαπότους χοὰς πατήρ· (164)<sup>42</sup> νέου δὲ μύθου τοῦδε κοινωνήσατε. (166)</p>	<p>El. Now my father has the drink-offerings—the earth has swallowed them; but here is something new about which I want to share a word with you.</p>
<p>Χο. λέγοις ἄν ὀρχεῖται δὲ καρδία φόβῳ.</p>	<p>Ch. Speak on; my heart is leaping with fear.</p>
<p>Ηλ. ὀρῶ τομαῖον τόνδε βόστρυχον τάφῳ.</p>	<p>El. I see this cut lock of hair on the tomb.</p>

Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 160-168 (translation slightly modified)

During the preceding choral song (152-163), Electra has poured libations on Agamemnon's grave. She makes it explicit (164) that this ritual has been performed, and that her father has received the libations. However, μέν implies that this was not all she wanted to say. Within the same turn, she switches to a new action (with the act νέου δὲ μύθου τοῦδε in 166): announcing

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Sophocles' *Antigone* 444 (σὺ μέν; σὺ δ' follows).

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Sophocles' *Antigone* 561 (τὴν μέν; τὴν δ' follows), 1100 (μέν with imperative; δέ with imperative follows); *Philoctetes* 123 (σὺ μέν; ἐγὼ δέ follows).

<sup>41</sup> Other examples of μέν (not necessarily turn-initial) as a floor-holding device include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 264; Sophocles' *Ajax* 121, *Antigone* 223, 444, 561, 1100; *Oedipus King* 927; *Philoctetes* 123, 453, 981bis; Euripides' *Bacchae* 775, 787; *Hippolytus* 695, 1257; Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 608; *Birds* 76; *Wasps* 650.

<sup>42</sup> Blass 1906, Garvie 1986, Groeneboom 1949, Murray 1955, Page 1972, and West 1998 [1990] all follow Hermann in moving line 165 (an invocation of Hermes) to after 123.

an upcoming piece of news to the chorus.<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, a stichomythic exchange ensues until line 180.

§30 μέν is often found together with other floor-holding markers. In this example from Aristophanes, Peisetaerus manages to speak for more than six lines in a row (164bis-170)—remarkably long in this rapid conversation, and in comedy in general.<sup>44</sup> μέν alone is therefore not enough as a floor-holding device in this case, but is used together with syntactic and semantic incompleteness at the ends of lines:

(t6)

<p>(Πε.) ἦ μέγ' ἐνορῶ βούλευμ' ἐν ὄρνιθων γένει, καὶ δύναμιν ἢ γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πίθοισθέ μοι.</p> <p>Επ. τί σοι πιθώμεσθ';</p> <p>Πε. ὅ τι πίθησθε; πρῶτα <u>μέν</u> (164bis) μὴ περιπέτεσθε πανταχῆ κεχηνότες (165) ὡς τοῦτ' ἄτιμον τοῦργον ἐστίν. αὐτίκα ἐκεῖ παρ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πετομένους ἦν ἔρη, “τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος;” ὁ Τελέας ἐρεῖ ταδί· “ἄνθρωπος ὄρνις ἀστάθμητος πετόμενος, (169) ἀτέκμαρτος, οὐδὲν οὐδέποτ' ἐν ταύτῳ μένων.”</p> <p>Επ. νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον εὖ γε μωμᾶ ταυταγί.</p>	<p>(Pe.) Oh what a grand scheme I see in the race of birds, and power that could be yours, if you take my advice!</p> <p>Ho. What advice would you have us take?</p> <p>Pe. What advice should you take? For a start, don't fly around with in all directions with your beaks agape; that's discreditable behavior. For example, back where we come from, if among the flighty crowd you ask, “Who's that guy?” Teleas will reply, “The man's a bird, unstable, flighty, unverifiable, never ever staying in the same spot.”</p> <p>Ho. By Dionysus, that's a fair criticism.</p>
---	---

Aristophanes' *Birds* 162-171

<sup>43</sup> The two particles in this case do not signal a propositional juxtaposition, but a succession of two different pieces of communication (discourse acts). Garvie 1986 ad loc. calls μέν... δέ a “transitional formula.” This implies that μέν announces the transition.

<sup>44</sup> The average turn lengths are 6.7 lines per turn in Aeschylus; 4.3 lines per turn in Sophocles; 5.2 lines per turn in Euripides; and only 2.3 lines per turn in Aristophanes. Comic speakers more often “interrupt” each other: a conversational style leading to Slings' remark (2002:101) that most Aristophanic speakers are characterized by “aggressiveness.”

How does Peisetaerus make sure in 164bis-170 that his interlocutor, the Hoopoe, does not interrupt whenever he reaches line-ends, typical TRPs in drama? First, he repeats the Hoopoe's question in indirect form (ὅ τι), producing the expectation that he intends to answer it elaborately.<sup>45</sup> At the start of this answer, and notably at the very end of the line, we find *πρῶτα μὲν*: a strong sign that (much) more will definitely follow.<sup>46</sup> Then, in 166, Peisetaerus again starts a new sentence just before line-end.<sup>47</sup> The next line similarly ends with an incomplete subordinate clause: *ἔρη* lacks its object, and the *ἦν*-clause as a whole lacks a main clause.<sup>48</sup> At the end of 168, it is semantics rather than syntax that is incomplete: the verse-final demonstrative *ταδί* cannot refer to anything preceding it, so it must refer to something that follows.

§31 In this section, then, I have argued that paying attention to turn-taking organization improves our understanding of linguistic forms found in tragic and comic dialogues. In particular, the use of turn-initial *τε* and *μὲν* has been illuminated. In the next section, we will look at the structuring of several turns in a row.

### 4.3 Sequence organization

§32 Sequence organization explains how each turn responds to the previous one and points forward to further talk. Particles help indicate how a speaker intends her current turn to fit in

---

<sup>45</sup> Other turn-initial indirect repeats of a preceding question are found in e.g. Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 595, 959ter (cited in (t1) above); *Wealth* 462ter, 465bis; *Women at the Thesmophoria* 203ter. All of these except *Acharnians* 595 occur at the end of a line, an especially strategic position for a floor-holding device, since this tends to be a TRP.

<sup>46</sup> See Dunbar 1995 *ad loc.*: this part of Peisetaerus' proposal "is marked as preliminary." Note *πρῶτον μὲν* in *Lysistrata* 574bis for a similar start to a long answer.

<sup>47</sup> All editors read the full stop before *αὐτίκα* in line 166.

<sup>48</sup> See Auer 2002 and 2009 on how syntax projects more to come in modern spoken languages. Other instances of incomplete syntax at line-end that help the speaker hold the floor include Sophocles' *Antigone* 45 (noun lacking after adjectives); *Oedipus at Colonus* 396 (complement of verb lacking); *Women of Trachis* 739 (noun lacking after adjective); Euripides' *Andromache* 885 (complement of genitive lacking); *Bacchae* 788 (main verb lacking); *Hippolytus* 1257 (main verb lacking; *μὲν* also helps here), 1258 (main verb lacking), 1259 (main verb lacking); Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 894 (main verb lacking); *Women at the Thesmophoria* 64 (main verb lacking).

the ongoing sequence and series of sequences. This section discusses how the concepts of (series of) adjacency pairs and pair expansions help to understand particle use. In the first subsection I will discuss the role of particles in series of adjacency pairs, in first pair parts, and in second pair parts. The second subsection will present observations on particle use in pre-, insert, and post-expansions.

### 4.3.1 Adjacency pairs and adjacency-pair series

§33 Several adjacency pairs may follow each other in a series.<sup>49</sup> In such series, the particle μέν may signal that the speaker intends to perform several actions that are similar to the one marked by μέν. The particle may, in other words, not only project more within a single turn (§§28-30), but also on a larger scale. A question containing a turn-initial μέν, for example, can set up the expectation of more questions:<sup>50</sup>

(t7)

Τρ. ὀράϊς; φρονεῖς μὲν εὖ, φρονοῦσα δ' οὐ θέλεις  
παῖδάς τ' ὀνῆσαι καὶ σὸν ἐκσῶσαι βίον.

Φα. φιλῶ τέκν'. ἄλληι δ' ἐν τύχηι χειμάζομαι. (315)

Τρ. ἀγνάς μὲν, ὦ παῖ, χειῖρας αἵματος φορεῖς;

Φα. χειῖρες μὲν ἀγναί, φρήν δ' ἔχει μίασμά τι.

Τρ. μῶν ἐξ ἑπακτοῦ πημονῆς ἐχθρῶν τινος;

Nu. You see? You are in your right mind, but though you are sane, you are not willing to benefit your sons and to save your own life.

Ph. I love my children. It is another fate that buffets me.

Nu. Your hands, may I presume, are clean of blood?

Ph. My hands are clean. It is my heart that's stained.

Nu. Not spells, I hope, launched by some enemy?

Euripides' *Hippolytus* 313-318

<sup>49</sup> See e.g. Schegloff 2007:207-213 on sequence series in general, and Heritage and Sorjonen 1994 for an application of the concept.

<sup>50</sup> See also Page 1938, citing Verrall 1881, on μέν (not turn-initial) in Euripides' *Medea* 1129 marking the messenger's question as preliminary.

μέν in 316 does not function as a floor-holding device: the nurse first needs an answer to her question. It is more likely signaling that the nurse is just asking the first of a series of questions, as indeed she proceeds to do.<sup>51</sup> The particle also hints at other possible troubles, left implicit for now, from which Phaedra might be suffering. This suggestion of implicit alternatives in fact helps to create the sequential expectation, that is, the expectation that the nurse may go on with asking about those other possibilities. In contrast, the expectations raised by the two other instances of μέν in this passage (313 and 317) are fulfilled within the same turn, through the addition of a complementary δέ-clause.

§34 In a series of questions and answers, turn-initial δέ is often employed to signal a new question, that is, a new first pair part within the series. Several examples are found in (t8) from a dialogue between the ghost of the Persian king Darius and queen Atossa.<sup>52</sup> The queen has just told her dead husband, in a turn of six lines, that the Persian kingdom has been ruined. The dialogue then goes on as follows:

(t8)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Δα. τίνι τρόπωι; λοιμοῦ τις ἤλθε σκηπτὸς ἢ στάσις πόλῃι; (715) | Da. How has it happened? Has our state been stricken by a virulent plague, or by civil strife?        |
| Βα. οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἀμφ' Ἀθήνας πᾶς κατέφθαρται στρατός.         | Qu. Not at all; what has happened is that our entire army has been destroyed in the region of Athens. |
| Δα. τίς δ' ἐμῶν ἐκεῖσε παίδων ἐστρατηλάτει; φράσον.            | Da. And tell me, which of my sons led the army there?   |
| Βα. θούριος Ξέρξης, κενώσας πᾶσαν ἠπείρου πλάκα.               | Qu. The bold Xerxes; he emptied the whole expanse of the continent.                                   |

<sup>51</sup> Other μέν instances in tragedy indicating that the turn is preliminary to another pragmatically similar turn include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1203; *Eumenides* 589, *Libation Bearers* 111; *Suppliant Women* 917; Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1234; Euripides' *Bacchae* 493, 831, 1264.

<sup>52</sup> On the scene with Darius' ghost in general, see e.g. Willms 2014:229-233.



- Δα. πεζὸς ἢ ναύτης δέ πεῖραν τήνδ' ἐμώρανεν τάλας; Da. And did the wretched boy make this foolish attempt by land or by sea?
- Βα. ἀμφοτέρα διπλοῦν μέτωπον ἦν δυοῖν στρατευμάτοιιν. (720) Qu. Both; it was a double front composed of two forces.
- Δα. πῶς δέ καὶ στρατὸς τοσόσδε πεζὸς ἤνυσεν περᾶν; Da. And how did a land army of that size manage to get across the water?
- Βα. μηχαναῖς ἔζευξεν Ἑλλης πορθμὸν, ὥστ' ἔχειν πόρον. Qu. He contrived means to yoke the strait of Helle, so as to create a pathway.
- Δα. καὶ τόδ' ἐξέπραξεν, ὥστε Βόσπορον κληῖσαι μέγαν; Da. He actually carried that out, so as to close up the mighty Bosphorus?
- Βα. ᾧδ' ἔχει γνῶμης δέ πού τις δαιμόνων ξυνήψατο. Qu. It is true. Some divinity must have touched his wits.

Aeschylus' *Persians* 715-724

Prompted by the general news of a disaster, Darius asks in 715 in which way Persia has been ruined. The queen's answer in 716 starts without a turn-initial particle: we will see below that this is no coincidence. Since an answer forms the expected second pair part of a question-answer pair, it does not need an explicit signal clarifying how the turn is linked to the previous one. The queen's other answers in this passage (718, 720, 722, 724) similarly lack any turn-initial particle.

§35 Darius' second, third, and fourth questions (717, 719, 721) contain a turn-initial δέ.<sup>53</sup> In each case the particle marks the turn as the next first pair part, here a new question, in the

---

<sup>53</sup> Broadhead 1960 and Italic 1953 *ad loc.* refer to Denniston 1950:187-188 on the "postponement" of δέ in 719. Since it is sensible here to take the words preceding δέ as one unit (all commentators read them this way) we can still consider δέ turn-initial, that is, as occurring in the first discourse act of the turn. See §11 above.

same series of sequences.<sup>54</sup> Within this series of questions, each δέ question is somehow “new,” that is, there is a change of topic. Turn-initial δέ thus helps to locate a turn within the series of pairs—a frequent use of the particle in my corpus.<sup>55</sup>

§36 Notice that the question in 723 starts with καί: an indication that this question fits differently in the series from those marked with δέ. Here Darius does not simply accept the answer from the previous turn and go on to the next question, but lingers on the current topic, the news he has just received. That is, whereas δέ marks communicative discontinuity (such as a change of topic), καί indicates continuity. The fact that the καί turn is a question suggests that the speaker is surprised or indignant about the previous statement, or has doubts about it.<sup>56</sup> Darius here asks for confirmation of the answer given in 722: did Xerxes *really* yoke the Hellespont?<sup>57</sup> Because the queen has just provided this information, Darius’ request for repetition indicates his surprise. Hancock 1917:29 describes καί questions similarly: they “[leap] spontaneously from the lips as the significance of the other speaker’s words reaches

---

<sup>54</sup> On δέ’s general function of marking new steps in the communication, see chapter 2 §§24-27. Note that Sommerstein translates the three questions with turn-initial δέ in this passage as beginning with “and.” See Heritage and Sorjonen 1994 on English questions starting with “and” in medical institutional settings. They show that “and”-prefaced questions are typically new questions within a list: they are part of a larger agenda-based activity. Those without turn-initial “and,” by contrast, tend to be prompted by new information just provided.

<sup>55</sup> Other examples of turn-initial δέ in following questions are found in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 274, 278 (see chapter 3 (t24)), 935; *Eumenides* 593; Sophocles’ *Electra* 392; *Oedipus King* 89, 108, 112, 128, 528, 579, 938, 954, 991, 1025, 1027, 1031; *Oedipus at Colonus* 68, 302, 391, 401, 412, 471; *Philoctetes* 102, 112; Euripides’ *Andromache* 439, 915; *Bacchae* 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 481, 485, 832, 1290 (see (t9) below), 1292, 1294, 1298; *Hecuba* 767, 773, 777, 1015, 1017; *Hippolytus* 95, 280, 282; *Medea* 668; Aristophanes’ *Assemblywomen* 254; *Birds* 67, 1203; *Knights* 204, 206; *Lysistrata* 835, 997; *Peace* 186, 187. In the “interrogation” scene in Euripides’ *Bacchae* 460-491, Pentheus also uses δέ-turns to return to his list of questions after some other action, such as an assessment of a previous reply.

<sup>56</sup> Note “actually” in Sommerstein’s translation. See Broadhead 1960, Groeneboom 1930, Italie 1953, and Roussel 1960 *ad loc.*, and the translation of Hall 1996. They all explicitly or implicitly interpret the question in this way.

<sup>57</sup> Because of its act-initial position, καί in 723 can have either small scope over τόδ’ only, or larger scope over τόδ’ ἐξέπραξεν. The “zooming-in” effect of the question fits both scope interpretations, as τόδ’ by itself refers to the action described in the previous utterance. In 721, by contrast, the position of καί later in its clause suggests a small scope over στρατός τοσούδε only, while turn-initial δέ presents the entire question as a next step in a series. See chapter 1 §13 on the relevance of position and scope to particle interpretation.

the mind. Sometimes they merely serve to repeat the amazing fact just stated, sometimes they raise a fresh point arising from the other.” With a *καί* question, in other words, a speaker “zooms in” on a previous utterance, implying surprise, doubt, or even indignation about that utterance.<sup>58</sup> The particle *δέ*, by contrast, cannot give the signal that the speaker is further pursuing some element of the previous turn.

§37 Sometimes the playwrights exploit the sequential signal conveyed by turn-initial *δέ* to indicate something more than just a next question in a series. For example, a *δέ* turn after receiving dreadful news implies the speaker’s absence of (emotional) reaction to the news. An example from Euripides’ *Bacchae* is Agaue’s response upon hearing that she and her sisters have killed her son Pentheus:

(t9)

Αγ. τίς ἔκτανέν νιν; πῶς ἐμὰς ἦλθ’ ἐς χέρας;

Ag. Who killed him? How did he come into my hands?

Κα. δύστην’ ἀλήθει’, ὡς ἐν οὐ καιρῶι πάρει.

Ca. Unhappy truth, how untimely you have come!

Αγ. λέγ’, ὡς τὸ μέλλον καρδία πῆδημ’ ἔχει.

Ag. Speak: my heart leaps at what is to come!

Κα. σύ νιν κατέκτας καὶ κασίγνηται σέθεν. (1289)

Ca. You killed him, you and your sisters.

Αγ. ποῦ δ’ ὤλετ’; ἢ κατ’ οἶκον, ἢ ποίοις τόποις;

Ag. Where did he perish? At home, or where?

Euripides’ *Bacchae* 1286-1290

The particle *δέ* in 1290 marks the turn as a new step in Agaue’s series of questions, rather than a reaction to the terrible news. Asking “where did he die” after “you killed your own son” is an unexpected and striking response. It shows that the speaker has not (yet) fully understood the disastrous message, or somehow wants to refrain from giving a reaction to it, such as an

<sup>58</sup> Other examples of surprised, doubtful, or indignant questions with turn-initial *καί* include Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 280; *Libation Bearers* 179, 776; *Eumenides* 898; *Persians* 438; *Suppliant Women* 509; Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 976, 1019, 1023; *Oedipus at Colonus* 73, 414; Euripides’ *Andromache* 917; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 829, 963bis, 1437bis. On connections between particles and emotional states of mind, see chapter 5.

emotional assessment.<sup>59</sup> This use of δέ is a specific exploitation of its more general function to mark new or different steps in the communication.<sup>60</sup>

§38 Similarly, turn-initial δέ may signal that a turn following a question is not an answer to that question; the speaker starts a new action in her δέ-turn instead.<sup>61</sup> Consider Chremylus' turn after Blesidemus' question in the following dialogue from Aristophanes' *Wealth*:<sup>62</sup>

(t10)

Βλ. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ βλέμμ' αὐτὸ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἐπιδηλοῦν τι πεπανουργηκότος.	Bl. Why, even the look in his eye is shifty; yes, he's obviously done something bad.
Χρ. σὺ μὲν οἶδ' ὃ κρώζεις; ὡς ἐμοῦ τι κεκλοφότος ζητεῖς μεταλαβεῖν. (370)	Ch. I know what <i>you're</i> clucking about; you think I've stolen something and want a cut.
Βλ. μεταλαβεῖν ζητῶ; τίνος; (370bis)	Bl. Me want a cut? Of what?
Χρ. τὸ δ' ἐστὶν οὐ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἑτέρως ἔχον.	Ch. It's not like that; it's something else entirely.

Aristophanes' *Wealth* 367-371

<sup>59</sup> Darius' δέ question in Aeschylus' *Persians* 717, cited in (t8) above, is also a response that does not emotionally react to news brought in the preceding turn. Another example is Creon's δέ question in Sophocles' *Antigone* 401, after the guard has told him that Antigone is the criminal he is looking for. Contrast these turns to the ones starting with an interjection, conveying the speaker's emotional reaction: see §65 below for discussion.

<sup>60</sup> On this general function of δέ, see e.g. Bäumlein 1861:89; Bakker 1993; 1997:62-68. See also chapter 2 §§24-32 on δέ in drama.

<sup>61</sup> This description does not contrast with Denniston's remark that Sophocles "not infrequently uses δέ in answers, to introduce a protest or objection" (1950 [1934]:166): as his examples show, he does not mean "answers" in a strict sense (i.e. after questions), and his point is exactly that the δέ-turn always introduces some new point.

<sup>62</sup> Similar turns starting with δέ after a question that do not function as an answer include Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 123; Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 379 (Brunck proposes a conjecture γε instead of δέ here; see Bollack 1990 *ad loc.* for discussion), 1030, 1056, 1144; *Oedipus at Colonus* 1488; *Women of Trachis* 403; Euripides' *Bacchae* 830; *Heracles* 1253; *Hippolytus* 341 (see (t4) above); Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 520bis, 636bis; *Birds* 1205; *Frogs* 275, 936, 1424; *Knights* 1198bis. The turn-initial discourse acts πῶς δ' οὐ in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 123 and σὺ δ' οὐ in *Frogs* 275 do function as an answer, but only indirectly, i.e. by requiring inference; in form they are new questions. Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1030 is translated with "Yes, and..." by Lloyd-Jones 1997, but the turn-initial δέ rather suggests that the preceding question is ignored or treated as irrelevant (see the turn in *Oedipus King* 379).

Instead of answering the question, Chremylus adds more acts to his own previous turn, which was marked with μέν as projecting something more. The two turns roughly amount to: “you (σὺ μέν), I know what you think. But (δέ) the situation is not like that.” Because Chremylus treats Blepsidemus’ question as an irrelevant interruption, the position of δέ was not intended to be turn-initial. Therefore δέ does not mark the start of a new adjacency pair within a series here, but only the start of a new clause, in this case one that semantically contrasts with Chremylus’ previous speech.<sup>63</sup> In discourse-analytic terms, we can say that δέ always marks an act boundary, while intentionally turn-initial δέ even marks the boundary of a “move,” a larger unit that probably corresponds to at least an adjacency pair in dialogue.

§39 Another particle that may signal the start of a new adjacency pair is ἀτάρ. It differs, however, from δέ in that it is almost never found in turn-initial position. Out of the total number of 86 instances of ἀτάρ, 83 occur later in a turn.<sup>64</sup> In this mid-turn position, the particle signals that the speaker moves on to a new sequence after she ended the previous one herself. ἀτάρ may for instance occur after an answer to a question,<sup>65</sup> or after an assessment of the previous turn.<sup>66</sup> An example from Euripides’ *Hecuba* is shown in (t11). In this scene a servant

---

<sup>63</sup> In Euripides’ *Hippolytus* 341, cited in (t4) above, we find a similar turn-initial δέ after an interrupting question. Also here, the speaker (Phaedra) does not reply to the question, but adds a new act to her own previous turn. This turn-initial δέ differs from the turn-initial τε in line 339, however, in that τε marks the new vocative as closely linked to the vocative in 337, whereas δέ marks a new step: Phaedra now turns to her own fate. See Wecklein 1885 *ad* line 341, who remarks that δέ is more appropriate than τε here because of the switch to a new thought, whereas 339 continued the thought of 337.

<sup>64</sup> There are 39 cases of this particle in extant tragedy (excluding fragments) and 47 cases in Aristophanes. The three instances occurring immediately after a speaker change are Euripides’ *Medea* 80; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 69, 648. There are however variant readings: see §40 below for discussion.

<sup>65</sup> Examples of ἀτάρ preceded by answers to questions include Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 1052; Euripides’ *Andromache* 883; *Trojan Women* 63; Aristophanes’ *Assemblywomen* 376, 551; *Clouds* 187, 801; *Wealth* 1111.

<sup>66</sup> Examples of ἀτάρ preceded by assessments include Aeschylus’ *Persians* 333; *Bacchae* 516; Euripides’ *Hecuba* 671 (see (t11) below); *Hippolytus* 1398; Aristophanes’ *Acharnians* 448; *Assemblywomen* 248, 358, 394; *Birds* 144, 916; *Clouds* 382, 677, 693; *Wasps* 28, 652, 815; *Wealth* 749; *Women at the Thesmophoria* 87.

comes to Hecuba, bringing her the corpse of her son Polydorus. Hecuba does not know that he is dead, however, and thinks she sees the body of her daughter Polyxena.

(t11)

Θε. ὦ παντάλαινα κάτι μᾶλλον ἢ λέγω,  
δέσποιν', ὄλωλας κούκέτ' εἶ, βλέπουσα φῶς,  
ἄπαις ἄνανδρος ἄπολις ἐξεφθαρμένη.

Se. Mistress, woman utterly undone beyond my power to describe, you are lost; though you see the light of day you are dead, without child, without husband, without city, utterly destroyed!

Εκ. οὐ καινὸν εἶπας, εἰδόσιν δ' ὠνείδισας. (670)  
ἀτάρ τί νεκρὸν τόνδε μοι Πολυξένης  
ἦκεις κομίζουσ', ἧς ἀπηγγέλθη τάφος  
πάντων Ἀχαιῶν διὰ χερὸς σπουδὴν ἔχειν;

He. This is no news you bring: you say these hard words to one who knows them well. But why have you come bringing the body of Polyxena when it has been reported that her burial was being eagerly carried out by all the Achaeans?

Euripides' *Hecuba* 667-673

Hecuba gives an assessment of the servant's words, and then goes on to ask her a question—a first pair part that opens a new sequence. *ἀτάρ* signals that the upcoming words will not be part of the assessment anymore, but the start of a new action. With this *ἀτάρ* question Hecuba turns her attention towards the tableau she sees in front of her. This quick switch from her brief and dismissive assessment to her naive question underlines her ignorance about Polydorus' fate.

§40 My analysis of *ἀτάρ* as marking a switch to a new sequence *within* a turn suggests that a widely accepted reading in Aristophanes' *Birds* should be revised:

(t12)

Θε. ὄδι δὲ δὴ τίς ἐστὶν ὄρνις; οὐκ ἐρεῖς;

Sl. And this other one, what kind of bird is he? Speak up.

Ευ. Ἐπικεχοδῶς ἔγωγε Φασιανικός.

Eu. I'm a brownbottom, from the Phaesance.

Πε. ἀτάρ σὸ τί θηρίον ποτ' εἶ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν; Pe. Say, what kind of creature might you be,  
in heaven's name?

Θε. ὄρνις ἔγωγε δοῦλος. (70) Sl. Me, I'm a slavebird.

Aristophanes' *Birds* 67-70

Almost all editions read ἀτάρ in 69 in turn-initial position,<sup>67</sup> but this is an unlikely choice in view of the fact that ἀτάρ hardly ever occurs in this position, as we have seen. Moreover, manuscript R, the only one which transmits the form ἀτάρ instead of ἀλλά<sup>68</sup>—all editors rightly adopt the former as *lectio difficilior*—is also the only one which has no speaker change here.<sup>69</sup> It is therefore better to keep the speaker in 69 who also uttered 68 (whether this is Peisetaerus or Euelpides).<sup>70</sup> ἀτάρ then marks, as it normally does, a turn-internal switch from a second pair part, in this case an answer, to a new first pair part, in this case a question.

<sup>67</sup> Bothe 1829 and Schröder 1927 give 68 to Peisetaerus, and 69 (with ἀτάρ) to Euelpides; Dunbar 1995, Kakridis 1974, Kock 1894<sup>3</sup>, Mastromarco and Totaro 2006, Sommerstein 1987, Wilson 2007, and Zanetto (in Zanetto and Del Corno 1987) give 68 to Euelpides and 69 (with ἀτάρ) to Peisetaerus. Only Van Leeuwen 1902 has no speaker change at this point, yet he changes the text in other aspects: he gives 68 to Peisetaerus, moves 66, spoken by the slavebird, to after 68, with 66bis spoken by Euelpides, and lets Euelpides continue his turn in 69 with ἀτάρ.

<sup>68</sup> ἀλλά does regularly mark a switch to a new adjacency pair in turn-initial position, e.g. Aristophanes' *Birds* 54; *Frogs* 123, 646; *Wasps* 173bis, 428.

<sup>69</sup> This is noted only by Dunbar 1995 and Zanetto 1987 in their apparatus.

<sup>70</sup> Also for the seemingly turn-initial ἀτάρ in a different instance, *Birds* 648, Dunbar 1995 and Zanetto 1987 report that the same manuscript R has no speaker change here. But if we follow that reading, who else would then speak this line as well as the previous word? Schröder 1927 seems to hint at a compromise interpretation: his paraphrase “Doch, was ich sagen wollte” implies that Peisetaerus wants to give the impression of continuing with his own turn, even though there has actually been a short interrupting turn.

The ἀτάρ in Euripides' *Medea* 80 has a variant reading αὐτάρ in some manuscripts; however, that particle does not occur elsewhere in tragedy. Perhaps the ἀτάρ-instance in line 80 has been influenced by the one in 83, which is (as usual) not the start of a new turn.

§41 Going on to a different adjacency pair, that of the summons and answer, we find a construction in its first pair part that is never accompanied by a particle. This is οὔτος in its use as a summoning expression:<sup>71</sup>

(t13)

Πε. οὔτος. (225)

Pe. Hey there.

Ευ. τί ἐστίν; (225bis)

Eu. Yes?

Πε. οὐ σιωπήσει; (225ter)

Pe. Be quiet!

Aristophanes' *Birds* 225

With οὔτος Peisetaerus demands the attention of Euelpides, who gives a reaction to indicate that he is listening. While οὔτος in its summoning function does not always constitute a turn all by itself, and is sometimes followed by σύ in the same discourse act,<sup>72</sup> vocative οὔτος is never accompanied by a second-position particle.<sup>73</sup> It thus differs from the vocative pronoun σύ, which regularly precedes a δέ.<sup>74</sup> If a particle such as γε or δέ does follow οὔτος, then οὔτος is always used in its more common function as a nominative third-person demonstrative pronoun, rather than as a vocative expression.<sup>75</sup>

§42 Let us move on to a particular *second* pair part: the answer to a question. Numerous answers in the corpus share a distinctive trait: they lack any turn-initial particles or other

<sup>71</sup> See Dickey 1996:esp. 154-155 on οὔτος in Aristophanes as “an attention-getting vocative”; she notes that it is rare in tragedy and prose.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 532, 1121; Euripides' *Hecuba* 1280; Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 564.

<sup>73</sup> Other cases of οὔτος as a summoning expression (without particles) include Sophocles' *Ajax* 1047; *Women of Trachis* 402; Aristophanes' *Birds* 49; *Clouds* 732; *Frogs* 198; *Lysistrata* 878; *Peace* 268; *Wasps* 1, 854. An explicit second pair part does not always follow.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 617, 1061; *Eumenides* 89; *Persians* 478; Sophocles' *Ajax* 684, 845; *Antigone* 446, 1087; *Electra* 891, 1472; *Oedipus King* 980; *Women of Trachis* 1157; Euripides' *Alcestis* 1112; *Children of Heracles* 565; *Hippolytus* 1431; Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 191, 262, 1033, 1119; *Birds* 457, 926; *Knights* 118, 891, 1065; *Wasps* 6, 1154bis.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. οὔτος δέ in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 954, and οὔτος γ' in Aristophanes' *Birds* 75.



turn-initial contextualization cues.<sup>76</sup> One of the countless instances is the messenger's answer in this scene from Sophocles' *Antigone*:

(t14)

ΕΞΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ὦ δέσποθ', ὡς ἔχων τε καὶ κεκτημένος, (1278)	Me. My lord, you carry this sorrow in your arms with full rights of ownership, and it seems that soon
τὰ μὲν πρὸ χειρῶν τάδε φέρεις, τὰ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔοικας ἤκειν καὶ τάχ' ὄψεσθαι κακά. (1280)	you will enter and see other sorrows in the house. Cr. What is there that is yet more evil, coming after
Κρ. τί δ' ἔστιν αὖ κάκιον ἐκ κακῶν ἔτι;	evils?
Εξ. γυνὴ τέθνηκε, τοῦδε παμμήτωρ νεκροῦ δύστηνος, ἄρτι νεοτόμοισι πλήγμασιν.	Me. Your wife is dead, own mother of this dead man, unhappy one, through wounds newly inflicted!

Sophocles' *Antigone* 1278-1282

After the messenger's announcement of bad news, Creon asks for clarification of the disaster, to which the messenger gives a straightforward answer (1282).<sup>77</sup> Even without a turn-initial contextualization cue such as a particle, the connection between the two turns of the adjacency pair is clear because of the function of the second one as answer to the first. In other words, the build-up of a dialogue in adjacency pairs has an influence on the linguistic form of this second pair part, i.e. without turn-initial contextualization cues.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup> See Ireland 1974:517n10, on stichomythia in Aeschylus: "in many cases the natural answer to a question does not require the introduction of a connecting particle (...)." On contextualization cues, see §12 above. The particle γε is, however, regularly used in turn-initial position in answers; see §62 below for discussion.

<sup>77</sup> This second pair part is a preferred response: see §18 above for the term and §§50-52 below for discussion of particle use in preferred responses.

<sup>78</sup> Other answers without turn-initial particles or other turn-initial contextualizing cues include Aeschylus' *Persians* 794; *Agamemnon* 269, 279, 544, 936, 1208; *Libation Bearers* 119, 121, 180, 215, 769, 886; *Eumenides* 210, 432, 602, 892; Sophocles' *Ajax* 801, 874, 1134; *Antigone* 513, 575, 1100; *Electra* 927, 929, 943; *Oedipus King* 87, 100, 103, 114, 122, 130, 292, 362, 561, 578, 623, 656, 703, 729, 742, 752, 756, 766, 934, 936, 939, 955, 961, 990, 992, 1022, 1032, 1044, 1125, 1173bis, 1176bis; *Oedipus at Colonus* 39, 42, 67, 69, 1508; *Philoctetes* 54bis, 113, 162; Euripides' *Alcestis* 513, 519, 521, 531, 533, 535, 712; *Andromache* 884; *Bacchae* 466, 470, 472, 478, 482, 486, 833, 1267, 1274, 1276, 1278; *Children of Heracles* 664, 669, 695, 713; *Hecuba* 768, 770, 772, 776, 778, 780, 1016; *Heracles* 1129, 1139; *Hippolytus* 93, 348, 723, 800,

### 4.3.2 Pair expansions

§43 As described in §§16-17 above, adjacency pairs may be expanded with pre-, insert, and/or post-expansions to form a complex sequence. Pre-expansions, which project specific adjacency pairs, regularly feature the particle οὖν:

(t15)

Od. τί γάρ σ' ἔδρασεν, ὥστε καὶ βλάβην ἔχειν;	Od. What did he do to you so as to injure you?
(1325)	Ag. He says he will not leave this corpse unburied,
Ag. οὐ φησ' ἑάσειν τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν ταφῆς	but will bury it against my will.
ἄμοιρον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς βίαν θάψειν ἐμοῦ.	Od. Then may a friend tell the truth to a friend
Od. ἔξεστιν οὖν εἰπόντι τάληθῆ φίλω	and assist you no less than I have done till now?
σοὶ μηδὲν ἦσσον ἢ πάρος ξυνηρετεῖν;	Ag. Speak! Indeed I should be foolish not to let
Ag. εἶπ' ἧ γὰρ εἶην οὐκ ἂν εὖ φρονῶν, ἐπεὶ (1330)	you, since I regard you as my greatest friend
φίλον σ' ἐγὼ μέγιστον Ἀργείων νέμω.	among the Argives.
Od. ἄκουέ <u>νυν</u> . τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε πρὸς θεῶν	Od. Listen, then! I beg you not to venture to cast
μὴ τλῆς ἄθαπτον ὧδ' ἀναλήγῃτως βαλεῖν·	this man out ruthlessly, unburied.

Sophocles' *Ajax* 1325-1333

Agamemnon has been arguing with Teucer about the possible burial of Ajax, and Odysseus has just arrived to help settle the argument. After the sequence consisting of Odysseus' question and Agamemnon's answer in 1325-1327, Odysseus intends to give his friend advice. He does not give his suggestion directly, however, but first inquires about his right to speak (1328-1329). Since the conversation's further development depends on Agamemnon's answer to this

---

802; *Medea* 667, 669, 671, 675, 677, 702, 706, 1125; *Suppliant Women* 132, 138, 759; Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 376bis, 383bis, 468, 1135bis; *Birds* 90ter, 99, 104, 226, 409, 411bis, 416, 965bis, 1030bis, 1537bis, 1583bis; *Clouds* 483bis (see (t17) below); *Frogs* 131, 133ter, 139, 142bis, 169bis, 207, 286bis, 618bis, 919, 1021, 1129bis, 1220ter, 1405, 1415bis; *Lysistrata* 162bis, 496ter, 744bis, 748bis; *Wealth* 392ter, 393bis, 402.

inquiry, this question and its answer can be called a pre-expansion.<sup>79</sup> The particle  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in general marks an inferential link to the preceding text segment,<sup>80</sup> as well as the start of a new multi-clause unit.<sup>81</sup> In this case, the interrogative nature of the turn is already enough to signal the start of a new adjacency pair, as questions are always first pair parts. The presence of  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  therefore projects an even bigger unit than just a new sequence, that is, a new *expanded* sequence.  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  implies that the speaker's current action requires more words than the current turn, which can consequently be interpreted as a pre-expansion (or sometimes an insert expansion).<sup>82</sup>

§44 The first pair part of Odysseus' base adjacency pair—i.e. his advice—contains enclitic  $\nu\nu\nu$  in turn-initial position (1332). This particle does not mark the start of a new substantial unit, as  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$ , but has a backward-oriented force only.  $\nu\nu\nu$  marks a logical connection between its host segment and the preceding co-text: the previous utterances, in this case the pre-

---

<sup>79</sup> Note the following remarks *ad loc.* by several commentators. Stanford 1963: “Odysseus, before he tries to persuade Agamemnon to permit the burial of Ajax, makes sure that Agamemnon is in a friendly mood towards him.” Garvie 1998: “Odysseus cleverly begins by establishing that Agamemnon is prepared to treat him as a friend and to observe the traditional code of friendship. By agreeing to do so Agamemnon dooms himself to lose the ensuing argument.” Finglass 2011: “(...) Odysseus, rather than immediately attacking Agamemnon's case, politely requests permission to speak (...)”

<sup>80</sup> On  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  marking an inferential link, see Stephens 1837:11-12, 101-102; Dindorf 1873:260 on  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in Aeschylus; Navarre 1908:299 and Denniston 1950<sup>2</sup>:416 on  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in questions in fifth-century Greek. See Bäumlein 1861:182; Wähdel 1869:6 on  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in questions in Aristophanes; Hoffmann 1884:6 on  $\breve{\omega}\nu$  in Herodotus; these three authors all argue that the particle indicates a general “Zusammenhang” (coherence) with the preceding.

<sup>81</sup> On  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  marking the start of a new substantial unit, see e.g. Des Places 1929:56-65 on  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in Plato; Sicking 1986:134 on  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in classical Greek; Van Ophuijsen 1993:84 on  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in Plato; Slings 1997:101; Wiesner 1999:316; Revuelta Puigdollers 2009b:95-96; Wakker 2009:67, 80 on  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in Lysias.

<sup>82</sup> Other examples of  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in pre-expansions include Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 766; Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 562, 564, 568, 655, 1517; *Women of Trachis* 1191; Euripides' *Bacchae* 819, 1271, 1275; *Cyclops* 131; *Hecuba* 998, 1008 (in this case the addressee Polymestor immediately infers what Hecuba's base first pair part was intended to be; cf. the English example of “sequence truncation” in Levinson 2013:111); *Helen* 315, 1233; *Hippolytus* 91; *Ion* 1029; *Iphigeneia at Aulis* 725; Aristophanes' *Birds* 80; *Frogs* 1010bis; *Knights* 1158 (see (t16) with discussion in §45 below). Of these pre-expansions, those in Euripides' *Helen* 315, 1233, *Ion* 1029, and Aristophanes' *Birds* 80 lack a verbal response to the pre-expansion's first pair part: the speaker immediately goes on with the base first pair part. Examples of  $\omicron\breve{\nu}$  in insert expansions include Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* 1247; Aristophanes' *Frogs* 642, 1141; *Lysistrata* 122ter, 861bis. In Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1139 we find  $\omicron\breve{\nu}\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu$  in an insert expansion.

expansion, form the necessary background for uttering the current turn.<sup>83</sup> As Finglass 2011 *ad loc.* remarks, with *vuv* “Odysseus emphasises that he will hold Agamemnon to his word.” This “word” is what Agamemnon has just given in his response to Odysseus’ preliminary question. Pre-expansions and insert expansions by definition deal with matters on which the decision to utter or continue the base sequence depends; *vuv* is therefore particularly at home at the start of such subsequent base sequences.<sup>84</sup>

§45 A common way to start a pre-expansion is to ask the addressee about certain knowledge (compare the English “you know what just happened?” and similar pre-expansions). If he turns out already to know, the speaker will not start the base adjacency pair in the way she had planned it.<sup>85</sup> The associations of both “do you know” questions and the particle *oĩv* with pre-expansions lead to the regular occurrence of *oĩθ’ oĩv* in such environments.<sup>86</sup> In the following passage from Aristophanes’ *Knights*, the playwright makes fun of the conventional sequential structure:

(t16)

(Demos is annoyed by the competition between  
the sausage seller and Paphlagon)

<sup>83</sup> On the function of the enclitic particle *vuv*, see e.g. Hoogeveen 1769:II.804-806. See Swift 2010:362 on *vuv* in Euripides’ *Alcestis* 1097: the particle indicates, she writes, that the speaker “does not regard what he is saying to be in conflict with Admetus’ statement [i.e. the preceding turn].”

<sup>84</sup> Other examples of turn-initial *vuv* after a pre-expansion include Aeschylus’ *Libation Bearers* 770 (with *oĩv* in the pre-expansion); Euripides’ *Bacchae* 821 (with *oĩv* in the pre-expansion); *Cyclops* 440; *Iphigeneia at Aulis* 872; *Phoenician Women* 907, 911; Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 129; *Knights* 1011. Several of these instances are cited by Lobeck 1866 *ad* Sophocles’ *Ajax* 1332. An example of turn-initial *vuv* after an insert expansion is found in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* 864 (with *oĩv* in the insert expansion). Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 1013 (with *oĩv* in the pre-expansion) and *Lysistrata* 124 (with *oĩv* in the insert expansion) contain the similar particle *toĩvuv* in turn-initial position.

<sup>85</sup> See Mastrorarde 1979:43: many stichomythic question-answer scenes in tragedy unfold gradually, often with “a formulaic *oĩθa*-question or equivalent expression.”

<sup>86</sup> Pre-expansions with *oĩθ’ (...)* *oĩv* include Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 655, 1517; *Women of Trachis* 1191; Euripides’ *Cyclops* 131; *Hecuba* 998, 1008 (see note 82 above); *Helen* 315, 1233; *Hippolytus* 91; *Ion* 1029; *Iphigeneia at Aulis* 725; Aristophanes’ *Birds* 80. Several of these instances are cited by Van Leeuwen 1900 *ad* Aristophanes’ *Knights* 1158.

Αλ. οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον;

Sa. Do you know what you should do?

Δημ. εἰ δὲ μή, φράσεις γε σύ. (1158bis)

De. If I don't, you'll tell me.

Αλ. ἄφες ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἐμέ τε καὶ τουτονί,

Sa. Start me and this guy from the same gate, so

ἵνα σ' εὖ ποιῶμεν ἐξ ἴσου. (1160)

we have an equal shot at serving you.

Δημ. δρᾶν ταῦτα χρή. (1160bis)

De. That's what we should do.

Aristophanes' *Knights* 1158-1160

The character Demos immediately understands that the sausage seller's "question" in 1158 is actually an announcement of a directive.<sup>87</sup> "Do you know what you should do?" is a rather petrified form of pre-expansion, since the speaker does not really expect the addressee to already know the upcoming advice.<sup>88</sup> Demos' reaction humorously makes this discrepancy between the pre-expansion's form and function explicit: he does not answer the question (note the turn-initial δέ), but dryly remarks that the sausage seller will tell him the advice anyway.

§46 Insert expansions are most easily discerned when a question or order (a first pair part) is followed by another question instead of the expected response (a second pair part).<sup>89</sup> The insert question does not necessarily contain a turn-initial particle, since its nature as a question already makes it clear that it forms a new first pair part.<sup>90</sup> However, turn-initial δέ helps clarify the signal that an insert expansion has started, especially in the construction τί

<sup>87</sup> Van Leeuwen 1900 *ad loc.* notes that similar sequences are found in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1517 (with οὖν); Aristophanes' *Peace* 1061 (with ἀλλά instead of οὖν; also noted by Ribbeck 1867 *ad* the *Knights* passage).

<sup>88</sup> In terms of Searle 1975, we would call this an "indirect speech act": though the turn has the form of a question, pragmatically the turn functions as an announcement of the upcoming main action. Describing the same phenomenon, Schegloff 2007:73-78, 151 and Levinson 2013:112 speak of certain actions, such as questions, being a "vehicle" for many other actions.

<sup>89</sup> Concerning tragedy, Mastrorarde 1979:37 in such cases speaks of a "counter-question" that causes an answer to be delayed, for example by seeking clarification.

<sup>90</sup> We can infer this interrogative nature from the presence of question words, from general semantic cues, or sometimes from the question's response; originally it must have been signaled prosodically as well.

Examples of questions without a turn-initial particle starting an insert expansion may be found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 268; *Libation Bearers* 120, 767; Sophocles' *Ajax* 532, 1322; *Antigone* 316, 317; *Oedipus King* 360, 1129; Euripides' *Hippolytus* 100; *Medea* 1368; Aristophanes' *Birds* 180, 1212bis, 1213bis; *Frogs* 40quat.

δέ. We have already seen (§38) that a turn-initial δέ after a question makes it clear that the turn is not a straightforward answer to that question. With τί δέ in such a context, a speaker indicates that she cannot yet answer because some preliminary issue first needs to be clarified.<sup>91</sup> Here is an example.<sup>92</sup>

(t17)

Σω. ἄγε δὴ, κάτειπέ μοι σὺ τὸν σαυτοῦ τρόπον, ἴν' αὐτὸν εἰδῶς ὅστις ἐστὶ μηχανὰς ἤδη 'πὶ τούτοις πρὸς σε καινὰς προσφέρω. (480)	So. Now then, describe for me your own characteristics; when I know what they are, on that basis I can apply to you the latest plans of attack.
Στ. τί δέ; τειχομαχεῖν μοι διανοεῖ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν;	St. How's that? Are you thinking of besieging me? Good heavens!
Σω. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ βραχέα σου πυθέσθαι βούλομαι, εἰ μνημονικὸς εἶ.	So. No, I just want to ask you a few questions. For instance, do you have a good memory?
Στ. δύο τρόπω, νῆ τὸν Δία. (483bis)	St. Yes and no, by Zeus (...)

Aristophanes' *Clouds* 478-483

At 478-480, Socrates produces a request for information: a first pair part making relevant the provision of that information by Strepsiades. Instead of giving the expected answer, Strepsiades responds by asking a question of his own, thereby beginning an insert sequence. The particle δέ in 481 marks the turn as a new step and not the expected response. The construction τί δέ as a whole suggests that it is a request for certain additional information, the lack of which motivates the refusal to answer the question.

<sup>91</sup> Rijksbaron 2007:244-257 discusses τί δέ in Plato. He focuses on its function as a marker of topic shift and on issues of punctuation, rather than on the organization of the conversational sequences. Nevertheless, he does remark that τί δέ “signals that during a conversation the speaker is making a new move” (256).

<sup>92</sup> Other insert expansions with turn-initial τί δέ include Sophocles' *Antigone* 318; *Oedipus King* 1056, 1144; Euripides' *Ion* 284; *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* 496; Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 525; *Birds* 358 (after a request instead of a question), 1205; *Lysistrata* 514 (not actually turn-initial, but at the start of a quoted turn by another speaker). Compare also the similar question with turn-initial δέ in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1424, where the question word τίνα occurs later in the verse.

§47 Since an insert expansion often starts with a question, also a question particle such as ἦ may begin insert expansions, as in (t18).

(t18)

<p>Aθ. εἶέν· τί γὰρ δὴ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Λαερτίου; ποῦ σοι τύχης ἔστηκεν; ἦ πέφευγέ σε;</p>	<p>At. So! But what of the son of Laertes, what is his situation? Did he escape you?</p>
<p>Aι. ἦ τοῦπίτριπτον κίναδος ἐξήρου μ' ὅπου;</p>	<p>Aj. Did you ask me where the cunning fox was?</p>
<p>Aθ. ἔγωγ'· Ὀδυσσεά τὸν σὸν ἐνστάτην λέγω.</p>	<p>At. I did; I mean your rival, Odysseus.</p>
<p>Aι. ἦδιστος, ὦ δέσποινα, δεσμώτης ἔσω (105) θακεῖ· θανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ τί πω θέλω.</p>	<p>Aj. Mistress, he sits inside, the most welcome of prisoners! I do not want him to die yet.</p>

Sophocles' *Ajax* 101-106

Ajax does not answer Athena's question in 103, but instead asks for clarification. According to Garvie 1998 *ad loc.*, this is a "predictable" reaction the hero would have "to the name of his enemy." Finglass 2011 *ad loc.* similarly remarks that "Ajax's counter-question indicates his contempt for Odysseus." Ajax has clearly understood to whom Athena is referring, but does not agree on her manner of referring to him: because of his hatred for Odysseus, Ajax avoids direct mentioning of Odysseus' name or father.<sup>93</sup> The particle ἦ marks the turn as a request for clarification, and simultaneously reflects Ajax' emotional involvement.<sup>94</sup> If such a question is

<sup>93</sup> Later in the play (line 380), however, Ajax does utter τέκνον Λαρτίου once (the commentators do not remark on his use of this referring expression). See Stivers, Enfield, and Levinson 2007 on the social importance of different forms of person reference. They note e.g. that "reference is not just, indeed not primarily, about giving and receiving information but about navigating social relationships." (19) See Haviland 2007:250-251 in the same volume for discussion of an actual example of hostile person reference.

<sup>94</sup> On ἦ in questions marking a request for clarification, see e.g. Bäumllein 1861:122; Humbert 1960:407; De Bakker, Van Emde Boas, Huitink, and Rijksbaron forthcoming 2017. On ἦ and emotional involvement, see chapter 2 §87, with references.

found after another question, where an *answer* is expected, the  $\tilde{\eta}$ -turn can be interpreted as starting an insert expansion.<sup>95</sup>

§48 Post-expansions, finally, seem generally to lack a turn-initial particle. Such turns are often sequence-closing thirds, in the form of assessments of the second pair part just received, such as an answer to a question.<sup>96</sup> As I argue in section 4.5 below, there is a connection between such evaluating turns and their starts without a particle or other linguistic contextualization cue. Post-sequences can also be opened with a question that is prompted by a preceding answer.<sup>97</sup>

#### 4.4 Preference organization

§49 Earlier I noted that most first pair parts have a preferred and a dispreferred response. The latter is usually marked in some way, whereas preferred responses tend to be more straightforward in form.<sup>98</sup> In tragic and comic dialogue, certain turn-initial particles and particle combinations fit the context of preferred responses, others that of dispreferred ones.

---

<sup>95</sup> In fact, however, asking for clarification with  $\tilde{\eta}$  is more common after answers or otherwise news-bringing turns than after questions. The only other  $\tilde{\eta}$  questions in my corpus that can be interpreted as starting an insert expansion are found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 942 ( $\tilde{\eta}$  καί: also zooming in on the preceding turn) and Sophocles' *Antigone* 44 ( $\tilde{\eta}$  γάρ).

<sup>96</sup> Examples of post-expansions without a turn-initial particle that function as assessments after a question-answer pair include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 270; *Eumenides* 900; Euripides' *Hippolytus* 278; Aristophanes' *Birds* 79bis.

<sup>97</sup> Examples of post-expansions without a turn-initial particle that function as new questions after a complete adjacency pair are e.g. Sophocles' *Ajax* 532; *Oedipus King* 1047, 1124, 1126; *Oedipus at Colonus* 388; Euripides' *Hippolytus* 803; Aristophanes' *Birds* 70bis. Of these, the instance in *Ajax* is after a request-refusal pair, all others after a question-answer pair.

<sup>98</sup> For an exception see Medea's rejection of Jason's offer of money in Euripides' *Medea* 616-617. As Buffing 2011 notes, her response is very strong and straightforward. The response's unusual character strengthens the characterization of Medea as angry, and behaving impolitely as a result. On this passage see also Goldstein 2012:10-11, who points out that Medea's answer is strengthened, "in response to the strength of Jason's directive" (sc. to accept the money).





καὶ δὴ in the chorus' turn can be connected to their (immediate) obedience, which they explicitly describe with the first-person present form λείπω.<sup>101</sup> The particle καί indicates a link to the preceding co-text or context, and a zooming in on something specific, whereas δὴ in drama is regularly associated with referring to perceivable elements.<sup>102</sup> Together the particles work as a cluster, marking a specific event or place as clearly and immediately perceivable.<sup>103</sup> If a speaker starts to carry out a requested action, καὶ δὴ is thus a fitting signal to draw attention to this obedience. Wecklein 1902 *ad loc.* adds that καὶ δὴ is like ἰδοῦ. This latter expression, sometimes similar to English “okay,” is another explicit indication of a preferred response to a directive, besides explicitly describing that the request is being carried out.<sup>104</sup>

§52 The position of καὶ δὴ in the turn and sequence makes a difference in its function. In modern languages, too, certain words work differently depending on their placement in a conversation—English *oh*, for example, does one thing when uttered at the start of an answer (a second pair part), another in an expansion after an answer (a first pair part).<sup>105</sup> Likewise, the function of the multifunctional discourse marker “okay” depends partly on its position in a

---

<sup>101</sup> See Wecklein 1902 and Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980 *ad loc.*

<sup>102</sup> On these functions of καί in drama, see chapter 2 §§34–37. On δὴ referring to something perceivable, see chapter 2 §§75–78, and e.g. Döderlein 1858:362–363; Bäumllein 1861:98–99; Humbert 1960:404; Sicking 1986:133; Van Ophuijsen 1993:141; Bakker 1997:75. Possibly Stephens 1837:65, Paley 1881:21, and Thiemann 1881:530–532 hint at this force as well.

<sup>103</sup> On this function of καὶ δὴ, see Bäumllein 1861:98–102; Cooper 2002:2940; Denniston 1950 [1934]:250. These scholars also note the occurrence of (turn-initial) καὶ δὴ in responses to commands: Bäumllein at 102; Cooper at 2940; Denniston at 251. See also Van Erp Taalman Kip 2009 on καὶ δὴ in drama in utterances referring to expected character entrances. On the notion of cluster, see chapter 1 §12.

<sup>104</sup> Turn-initial ἰδοῦ in obedient turns after directives is found in Sophocles' *Ajax* 346; *Philoctetes* 776; Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 583; *Assemblywomen* 132; *Clouds* 82; *Frogs* 200bis, 201bis; *Lysistrata* 924; *Women at the Thesmophoria* 25, 255.

<sup>105</sup> See Heritage 1984, 1998, 2002; see chapter 2 §§29–32 for discussion.

turn.<sup>106</sup> The particular function of καὶ δὴ connected to expressing compliance thus applies only when the combination appears in turn-initial position in a second pair part.<sup>107</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Dispreferred responses

§53 If a speaker cannot or does not want to provide an answer to a question, grant a request, or otherwise utter a preferred response to a certain first pair part, the response tends to be formally marked. Dispreferred responses are less straightforward in form in English conversation, as I pointed out in §18 above. Speakers of dispreferred responses tend to start speaking after a pause, use turn-initial discourse markers, be indirect in their formulation, and give accounts for why they do not answer, grant, accept, or obey.

§54 In the stylized language of tragic and comic dialogues, we cannot identify pauses between turns, but we do find dispreferred responses with justifying accounts. An example is the servant's reply to Peisetaerus' request in (t20).

(t20)

(Πε.) οἷσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον, ὧ τροχίλει; τὸν δεσπότην ἡμῖν κάλεσον. (Pe.) So, roadrunner, you know what you should do? Call your master for us.

Θε. ἀλλ' ἀρτίως νῆ τὸν Δία (81bis) Σε. Oh no: he's just started his nap, after a lunch of myrtle berries and gnats.

Aristophanes' *Birds* 80-82

The hoopoe's servant feels compelled to explain why he does not want to comply with Peisetaerus' request: he does not want to wake up his master. The turn-initial ἀλλά signals a correction or switch concerning the explicit or implicit content of the previous turn.<sup>108</sup> In this

<sup>106</sup> For several uses of “okay” as a discourse marker, see Gaines 2011, with further literature.

<sup>107</sup> The use of καὶ μάλα to indicate an affirmative response to a yes-no question in Xenophon is similar: see Jiménez Delgado 2013.

<sup>108</sup> See Drummen 2009 on turn-initial ἀλλά in tragedy and comedy.

case, the imperative κάλεσον implies that the servant would carry out the calling, or that there would be no obstacles to do so. The turn starting with ἀλλά corrects such implications, thereby conveying that the servant does not obey.<sup>109</sup>

§55 μέν can signal a dispreferred response in answers to questions, by suggesting that the answer is not straightforward. Consider the start of Ismene's answer to Antigone's question:

(t21)

<p>Αν. ἔχεις τι κείσῃκουσας; ἢ σε λανθάνει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους στείχοντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακά;</p> <p>(10)</p>	<p>An. Have you any knowledge? Have you heard anything? Or have you failed to notice the evils from our enemies as they come against our friends?</p>
<p>Ισ. ἐμοὶ <u>μέν</u> οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων οὔθ' ἡδὺς οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸς ἴκετ' ἐξ ὄτου δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν δύο, μιᾶ θανόντοιιν ἡμέρα διπλῆ χερσί· ἐπεὶ δὲ φροῦδός ἐστιν Ἀργείων στρατὸς (15) ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν, οὐδὲν οἶδ' ὑπέρτερον,</p>	<p>Is. To me, Antigone, no word about our friends has come, either agreeable or painful, since we two were robbed of two brothers, who perished on one day each at the other's hand. Since the Argive army left during this night, I know nothing further (...)</p>

Sophocles' *Antigone* 9-18

Ismene could simply have answered “no, I don't know,” but instead she elaborates on what she does know. As Jebb 1888 and Griffith 1999 *ad loc.* point out, the emphatic position of ἐμοί and the presence of μέν imply a contrast between Ismene herself and unspecified others. While this implication may be present, μέν at the same time conveys that its own clause is not all

<sup>109</sup> Other instances of turn-initial ἀλλά in dispreferred responses are found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1248 (after a request); Sophocles' *Ajax* 1141 (after an order); *Oedipus King* 1020 (after a question); *Oedipus at Colonus* 1418 (after a request); Aristophanes' *Birds* 153bis (after a piece of advice), 1450bis (after a suggestion); *Frogs* 134 (after a suggestion and an insert expansion), 481bis (after a request); *Lysistrata* 504bis (after a request), 713 (after a request for information), 758 (after a request), 947bis (after a request).

that the speaker wants to say (see §§28-30 above). In this way the particle indicates that the answer, or at least its first clause, is insufficient, incomplete, or different from expected. We may compare this use of μέν to English turn-initial *well* in answers.<sup>110</sup>

§56 Different linguistic forms, then, tend to introduce preferred and dispreferred responses. Preferred responses to questions, directives, and offers often start without any contextualization cue. A directive may elicit a turn-initial καὶ δὴ or ἰδοῦ from its addressee, who thereby draws attention to his visible compliance. Dispreferred responses to various first pair parts may start with ἀλλά; those reacting to a question sometimes contain turn-initial μέν.

#### 4.5 The actions performed by turns

§57 According to CA, it is possible to identify linguistic constructions that regularly perform particular actions.<sup>111</sup> We can also correlate certain actions with the presence or absence of certain particles.

§58 The particle τοι, for example, works to further a speaker's persuasive ends. The particle's function is to signal an appeal to the addressee, who is strongly encouraged to take note of, and believe, the statement being uttered. For this function the particle's position in a turn does not make a difference. Bäumlein 1861:239 and Denniston 1950 [1934]:539 note that τοι is mainly used in assertions, and give as paraphrases German "sag' ich dir," "darfst du glauben," and English "you know," "I tell you."<sup>112</sup> The quite specific pragmatic meaning of τοι makes it a relatively marked, and therefore relatively infrequent form of expression.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> On English "well," see e.g. Jucker 1993; Aijmer 2013. Other examples of turn-initial μέν in non-straightforward answers are found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1203; *Persians* 337, 353; Sophocles' *Ajax* 80, 121; *Oedipus King* 527, 1051, 1234; Euripides' *Bacchae* 493, 831, 1264; Aristophanes' *Birds* 124, 358bis; *Frogs* 866, 1063; *Lysistrata* 142bis, 574bis.

<sup>111</sup> See e.g. Heritage 2010:passim; Sidnell 2010:61-62, 75; Enfield 2013:94-100.

<sup>112</sup> On the interpretation of τοι as an affirmative particle, i.e. as working to underscore the strength of an assertion to the addressee, see Stephens 1837:49-50; Bäumlein 1861:236-239; Denniston 1950 [1934]:537-542. On alternative

§59 Appealing an addressee is particularly appropriate to turns that are meant to persuade. In the following excerpt the slave Andromache tries to persuade Hermione, the wife of her master Neoptolemus, that Andromache herself is not the cause of Hermione's childlessness, as Hermione had angrily claimed. Rather, Andromache argues, Neoptolemus does not like Hermione because of her arrogance and temper.

(t22)

<p>(An.) σὺ δ' ἦν τι κνισθῆις, ἡ Λάκαινα μὲν πόλις μέγ' ἐστί, τὴν δὲ Σκυῖρον οὐδαμοῦ τίθης, (210) πλουτεῖς δ' ἐν οὐ πλουτοῦσι, Μενέλεως δέ σοι μείζων Ἀχιλλέως. ταῦτά <u>τοί</u> σ' ἔχθει πόσις.</p>	<p>(An.) But if you get angry, you argue that Sparta is a great city and Scyros is of no account, that you are a rich woman living in the midst of the poor, and that Menelaus is a greater man than Achilles. It is for this that your husband hates you.</p>
--	--

Euripides' *Andromache* 209-212

Although Andromache knows that she does not have much chance to persuade this angry woman, she nevertheless urges Hermione, with *τοι* in 212, to believe her statement.<sup>114</sup> “It is because of this that your husband hates you” is one of the most important points in Andromache's argument: if it is really Hermione's own fault that Neoptolemus dislikes her,

---

views, see Hoogeveen 1769:566, who interprets *τοι* as conclusive, and Hartung 1833:338-370, who interprets *τοι* as restrictive. As Denniston 1950 [1934]:542 notes, *τοι* may be used in gnomic contexts as well as in specific statements (as in (t22) below).

<sup>113</sup> *τοι* has a frequency of about 0.1% of all words in the four dramatists: less than, for example, *δή* or *οὐν* (roughly 0.2% on average), but more than for example *δῆτα* (roughly 0.05% on average).

<sup>114</sup> Other examples of *τοι* in tragic monologues that can be connected to the speaker's persuasive action include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 877, 903; Sophocles' *Ajax* 520; *Electra* 582, 916, 984; *Philoctetes* 480; *Oedipus at Colonus* 1187; Euripides' *Children of Heracles* 533; *Hippolytus* 467. Examples in shorter speeches include Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* 39 (1-line utterance); Sophocles' *Electra* 871 (4-line utterance); *Oedipus at Colonus* 1407 (15-line utterance). The instance in Euripides' *Bacchae* 1118 occurs in a messenger speech, which as a whole does not have a primarily persuasive goal, but it is part of a quotation from Pentheus, who is cited as trying to persuade his mother Agaue not to kill him.

then she has no reason to hate his concubine. The use of the particle, then, can be connected to the action that the turn is supposed to perform.<sup>115</sup>

§60 Aristophanes also uses *τοι* in this addressee-appealing way in assertions with persuasive purposes:

(t23)

Λυ. ἄρ' οὐ παρεῖναι τὰς γυναῖκας δῆτ' ἐχρῆν; Ly. So shouldn't the women have arrived by now?

Κα. οὐ γὰρ μὰ Δί', ἀλλὰ πετομένας ἤκειν πάλαι. Ca. By now? My god, they should have taken wing  
(55) and flown here ages ago!

Λυ. ἀλλ', ὦ μέλ', ὅψει τοι σφόδρ' αὐτὰς Ly. Well, my friend, you'll find they're typically  
Ἀττικάς, Athenian: everything they do, they do too late.

ἅπαντα δρώσας τοῦ δέοντος ὕστερον. There isn't even a single woman here from the

ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Παράλων οὐδεμία γυνὴ πάρα, Paralia, nor from Salamis.

οὐδ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος. (...)

#### Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 54-59

Lysistrata's utterance in 56-59 adds up to just three-and-a-half lines, and it lacks the life-or-death importance that is connected to most tragic monologues with a persuasive intention.<sup>116</sup>

The use of *τοι* is nevertheless similar to the tragic examples: the speaker encourages the addressee, her neighbor Calonice, to accept her statement.<sup>117</sup> In this case the speaker's persuasive purposes do not reach beyond the single statement.

<sup>115</sup> *τοι* does not contribute to the positive or negative tonality of an utterance: it implies neither hostility nor friendliness, and may be used in both kinds of contexts. The instance in (t22) is an example of a hostile context, just as Sophocles' *Electra* 582. Examples of *τοι* used in a friendly context include Sophocles' *Electra* 871; Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 16.

<sup>116</sup> See chapter 5 §25 on tragic monologues with a persuasive intention.

<sup>117</sup> Other examples of *τοι* in Aristophanes where the hearer is invited to accept the host statement include *Assemblywomen* 604; *Birds* 308, 600, 1225, 1437, 1438bis, 1642; *Clouds* 365, 878; *Frogs* 73bis, 509, 1039, 1046, 1047bis (Henderson aptly translates *νῆ τὸν Δία τοῦτό γέ τοι δὴ* as "That's the truth, all right!"); *Lysistrata* 16, 46, 626; *Peace* 628 (see chapter 2 (t29)); *Wasps* 934.

§61 In a few cases in tragedy and comedy *τοι* is used as as a general intensifier and attention-getting device, unrelated to making a statement credible. This other, less frequent use of *τοι* is also connected to the action performed by the host turn: the interpretation is appropriate when *τοι* is used outside of assertions, or when the speaker describes her own action of calling someone. An example from Aristophanes' *Wealth* may clarify the difference.<sup>118</sup> The god Hermes has just secretly knocked on the door; Cario opens it and does not immediately see him. Then Hermes makes himself visible:

(t24)

Κα. τίς ἔσθ' ὁ κόπτων τὴν θύραν; τουτὶ τί ἦν;	Ca. Who's that banging on the door? What's
οὐδεὶς, ἔοικεν· ἀλλὰ δῆτα τὸ θύριον	going on? No one around, apparently. This door
φθεγγόμενον ἄλλως κλαυσιᾶ;	will have plenty to cry about if it's making noise
Ἐρ. σέ <u>τοι</u> λέγω, (1099bis)	for nothing.
ᾧ Καρίων, ἀνάμεινον. (1100)	He. You there, Cario, hold on!
Κα. οὗτος, εἰπέ μοι, (1100bis)	Ca. Hey, was that you banging on the door so
σὺ τὴν θύραν ἔκοπτες οὕτωςι σφόδρα; (1101)	loud?

Aristophanes' *Wealth* 1097-1101

Hermes' utterance at 1099bis-1100 aims to attract Cario's attention. That is, the utterance, including the segment *σέ τοι λέγω*, does not state anything that the addressee is encouraged to "believe." *σέ τοι λέγω* approximates the attention-getting use of *οὗτος*, found in 1100bis (see §41 above). In a context such as this turn by Hermes, the force of *τοι* needs to be interpreted as

<sup>118</sup> Other examples of *τοι* in this use are Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 456 (*σέ τοι λέγω*); Sophocles' *Ajax* 1228 (*σέ τοι*); *Electra* 1445 (*σέ τοι*); *Oedipus at Colonus* 1578 (*σέ τοι κικλήσκω*); Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis* 855 (*σέ τοι λέγω*); Aristophanes' *Birds* 274 (*σέ τοι*), 356ter (*ἐγὼ τοί σοι λέγω*), 406 (*σέ τοι καλῶ*); *Peace* 934 (*εὔ τοι λέγεις*); *Wealth* 1099 (*σέ τοι λέγω*). As the immediate co-text makes clear, *τοι* cannot be interpreted as a second-person pronoun in these cases either, as it often is in Homer and in Herodotus, because the second person is either already referred to by another pronoun, or is the subject of the verb. I have not found any instances of this use of *τοι* in drama.



weaker than in assertions. It does still appeal to the addressee: not to believe anything, but simply to pay attention.

§62 Another particle that is connected to the actions performed by its host turn is γε. It is often found at the beginning of answers to questions. The questioner has implied, by the very action of asking, that he is not yet fully aware of the answer; therefore the answerer may feel the need to highlight the most important part of her answer with γε. Consider the following example from Euripides' *Medea*:

(t25)

Μη. γυναῖκ' ἔφ' ἡμῖν δεσπότην δόμων ἔχει.	Me. He has put another woman over me as mistress of the house.
Αι. οὐ που τετόλμηκ' ἔργον αἴσχιστον τόδε; (695)	Ae. Surely he has not dared to do such a shameful deed?
Μη. σάφ' ἴσθ' ἄτιμοι δ' ἔσμεν οἱ πρὸ τοῦ φίλοι.	Me. He has indeed. Once he loved me, but now I am cast off.
Αι. πότερον ἐρασθεῖς ἢ σὸν ἐχθαίρων λέχος;	Ae. Was it some passion, or did he grow tired of your bed?
Μη. μέγαν γ' ἔρωτα· πιστὸς οὐκ ἔφυ φίλοις.	Me. A great passion. He has been unfaithful to his family.

Euripides' *Medea* 694-698

The first part of Medea's answer in 698, μέγαν γ' ἔρωτα, picks up the construction with ἐρασθεῖς from the previous turn.<sup>119</sup> As Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.* notes, γε is common in such resonating answers (see chapter 3 §§68-71). With the particle, Medea emphasizes μέγαν ἔρωτα, thereby inviting the addressee Aegeus to infer a contrast between this element and others she

<sup>119</sup> Elliott 1969, Flacelière 1970, and Mastronarde 2002 *ad loc.* all make note of this echo.

does not explicitly state (such as a better reason her husband might have had to leave her).<sup>120</sup> In this case, the emphasis thus created leads to a sarcastic nuance: later in the dialogue Medea shows her conviction that Jason's great "passion" did not concern the other woman, but the royal power he would receive through his new marriage.<sup>121</sup> The function of  $\gamma\epsilon$  to emphasize one element by invoking implied others makes it suitable for the start of answering turns.

§63 Turn-initial  $\gamma\epsilon$  is also regularly found in turns performing a stancetaking. This common action in verbal communication involves a speaker evaluating something, and thereby positioning herself and (dis)aligning with others.<sup>122</sup> Stancetaking is pragmatically close to answering: after all, when asked a question, a speaker gets the opportunity to express her own view on something.<sup>123</sup> In the following Aristophanic passage, Dionysus assesses Heracles' suggestion of a route to the Underworld:

---

<sup>120</sup> On this function of  $\gamma\epsilon$ , see e.g. Hartung 1832:371, Kühner 1835:398, Stephens 1837:92, and Bäumlein 1861:54. Other examples of turn-initial  $\gamma\epsilon$  in answers are found in Aeschylus' *Persians* 800; Sophocles' *Ajax* 104, 876, 1347, 1365; *Antigone* 404, 728, 1103; *Electra* 319; *Oedipus King* 365, 563, 628bis, 994, 1001, 1011, 1046, 1171, 1175bis; *Oedipus at Colonus* 387; *Women of Trachis* 1214; Euripides' *Andromache* 254, 912, 914, 916, 918; *Bacchae* 835, 966bis; *Hecuba* 766; *Hippolytus* 96, 98, 1053; *Medea* 698, 1369, 1398bis; Aristophanes' *Birds* 56bis, 75, 178bis, 1360; *Frogs* 5bis, 26, 125 (see (t26) below), 313bis; *Lysistrata* 29, 148bis, 862, 882, 897bis, 1162, 1167. Sometimes resonance is involved in the answer (see chapter 3), or an agitated emotion (see chapter 5).

<sup>121</sup> Elliott 1969 and Mossman 2011 *ad loc.* argue for such an interpretation. The sarcastic reading is strengthened by our knowledge that Medea is very angry with Jason about this; see chapter 5 §§56-58 for  $\gamma\epsilon$  in contexts of anger.

<sup>122</sup> See also chapter 5 §§59-63 on  $\gamma\epsilon$  in contexts of stancetaking in Aristophanes. I adopt the model on stancetaking by Du Bois 2007; see also Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012. Often only one of the three dimensions evaluating, positioning, and alignment is made explicit; however, as Du Bois 2007:164 argues, the other two are always implied. Strictly speaking, every utterance is a subjective judgment by the speaker: she considers the current utterance the most relevant thing to say at the current moment, whether it is a question, an answer, an assessment, or something else. In the words of Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012:438, "every utterance in interaction contributes to the enactment of stance, even if this stance is only evoked and not explicitly spelled out." However, I here speak of "stancetaking" only when an evaluation, positioning, or alignment is made explicit. On assessments (generally the evaluation part of stancetaking) in a CA perspective, see e.g. Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff 2007:59-60, 71, 73-74, 123-126.

<sup>123</sup> In fact, most turns containing a turn-initial  $\gamma\epsilon$  can arguably be classified as either answers to questions (or less frequently to requests) or stancetakings. It seems somewhat suspicious to me that some of the turn-initial  $\gamma\epsilon$  instances that cannot clearly be so categorized are actually conjectures. Examples are Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 493; Euripides' *Bacchae* 1297; *Hippolytus* 1404.

(t26)

Ηρ. ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἀτραπὸς ζύντομος τετριμμένη,  
 ἢ διὰ θυείας.

He. Well, there's a shortcut that's well-beaten—in  
 a mortar.

Δι. ἄρα κώνειον λέγεις; (124bis)

Di. You mean hemlock?

Ηρ. μάλιστά γε. (125)

He. Exactly.

Δι. ψυχράν γε καὶ δυσχείμερον· (125bis)  
 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀποπήγνυσι τάντικνήμια. (126)

Di. That's a chill and wintry way! It quickly freezes  
 your shins solid.

Aristophanes' *Frogs* 123-126

By using γε, Dionysus commits himself emphatically to the assessment ψυχράν, “cold” (note the exclamation mark in Henderson’s translation). This stancetaking turn functions as a second pair part, indirectly rejecting Heracles’ suggestion in 123-124 after the insert expansion in 124bis-125. γε at the same time implies a contrast between its host act and an implicit alternative, such as, in this case, a positive adjective that would convey acceptance of the suggested route.<sup>124</sup> The function of γε, then, is not only appropriate to answers, but also to assessments.

§64 It is not surprising that we often find γε in the context of stancetaking: this communicative action makes explicit a subjective—and sometimes emotional—view of the speaker.<sup>125</sup> γε is comparable to the prosodic prominence rendered by an exclamation mark: a

<sup>124</sup> On γε implying a contrast to an implicit alternative, see e.g. Bäumlein 1861:54; Hartung 1832:371; Kühner 1835:398; Stephens 1837:92; and, within my work, chapters 2 §60; 3 §69; and 5 §47, §60, and §63.

<sup>125</sup> On the connection between stancetaking and emotion, see Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012. On the connection between γε and anger, and between γε and stancetaking—sometimes combined—, see chapter 5 §§51-63. Other examples of turn-initial γε in turns performing stancetaking are found in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 938, 1213; *Persians* 286, 1023; Sophocles’ *Ajax* 78, 534, 589, 983; *Antigone* 241, 573; *Oedipus King* 1035, 1159; *Philoctetes* 755; Euripides’ *Andromache* 909; *Bacchae* 800, 824; *Hippolytus* 1080; *Medea* 588; Aristophanes’ *Assemblywomen* 213; *Birds* 158, 1208, 1268, 1692; *Frogs* 125bis, 228, 491, 1149, 1261, 1430, 1451; *Knights* 470; *Lysistrata* 81bis, 148bis, 205, 498quat, 499bis, 521, 777, 988bis, 992, 1228.

verbal equivalent, we can say, of banging one’s fist on the table, or of stamping one’s feet.<sup>126</sup> It is noteworthy in this respect that turn-initial γε is very rare in questions.<sup>127</sup> Such “stamping” of one’s words is appropriate when expressing an opinion or giving an answer that is deemed highly relevant, but less so when asking a question, where the speaker tends to primarily ask the addressee for a certain response.

§65 Turn-initial interjections are also related to stancetaking: they indicate an emotional reaction to the previous turn.<sup>128</sup> Interjections usually form a separate discourse act or intonation unit on their own, without any accompanying particles.<sup>129</sup> An example is οἴμοι τάλας by Oedipus:

(t27)

ΟΙ. (...) τὸν δὲ Λάϊον φύσιν (740)	Oe. (...) but tell me about Laius, what he looked like
τὴν εἶρπε φράζε, τίνα δ’ ἀκμὴν ἥβης ἔχων.	and what stage in manhood he had reached.
Ιο. μέλας, χνοάζων ἄρτι λευκανθὲς κάρα.	Io. He was dark, but just beginning to have grizzled
μορφῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς οὐκ ἀπεστάτει πολύ.	hair, and his appearance was not far from yours.

<sup>126</sup> Of course the addition of γε may also have a metrical advantage, as in Sophocles’ *Oedipus King* 1035 (a stancetaking) and Euripides’ *Medea* 698 (an answer), where γ’ provides the necessary lengthening of the previous syllable. Nevertheless, its pragmatic function must be contextually appropriate at the same time; otherwise the poet could have used another way of lengthening. In the two instances cited, for example, δ’ or τ’ in the same position would have produced the same metrical advantage, but would have been pragmatically impossible, or at least extremely odd. (See §27 on turn-initial τε, and §§34-38 on turn-initial δέ.)

<sup>127</sup> Possible examples of turn-initial γε in questions are found in Aristophanes’ *Birds* 1446 (γ’ ἄρα), 1542 (γ’ ἄρ’); *Frogs* 138bis (in a later position, εἶτα πῶς γε περαιωθήσομαι); 515 (πῶς γε λέγεις). All of these have textual variants, however, and are disputed by editors. I therefore do not agree with Lowe 1973:50 that γε at the beginning of a question is generally unproblematic. Dover 1993 *ad Frogs* 138bis and 515 argues that these γε instances were probably added to the manuscripts in later transmission. Denniston 1950 [1934] mentions that the examples he cites (124-125) are “for the most part textually doubtful” as well.

<sup>128</sup> Though the category of interjections is ill-defined, just as that of particles, and the functions of these two categories occasionally overlap, an important difference is that interjections can form an utterance on their own, whereas particles generally do not. See Nordgren 2012:11, 16-17; 2015. On interjections in drama, see also chapter 5 §15.

<sup>129</sup> As with vocatives (see note 23 above), there are exceptions, in which the interjection is used as a quote, rather than directly expressing an emotion: Aeschylus’ *Persians* 1032, 1071, 1072.

Oι. οἴμοι τάλαις ἔοικ' ἑμαυτὸν εἰς ἀράς  
 δεινὰς προβάλλων ἀρτίως οὐκ εἰδέναι. (745)

Oe. Ah me! It seems that all unknowing I have  
 exposed myself to a dread curse.

Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 740-745

The turn starting in 744 is a post-expansion after a question-answer pair: a natural position for expressing a stance about the received answer. With the interjection, Oedipus directly expresses his emotional reaction to Iocaste's answer. As opposed to a stancetaking response containing an adjective or adverb assessing the evaluated object (possibly followed by γε), an interjection indicates more focus on its speaker.<sup>130</sup>

§66 Stancetaking turns can also start without any particles or other linguistic contextualization cues. In these cases the speaker expresses an opinion without highlighting one specific part of it (as with γε) and without making her emotions explicit (as with an interjection). An example is the last turn by Medea in the following passage:<sup>131</sup>

(t28)

Μη. ὄμνυ πέδον Γῆς πατέρα θ'<sup>132</sup> Ἥλιον πατρός  
 τοῦμοῦ θεῶν τε συντιθεῖς ἅπαν γένος.

Me. Swear by the plain of Earth, by Helios, my  
 grandfather, and by the whole race of gods all  
 together.

Αι. τί χρῆμα δράσειν ἢ τί μὴ δράσειν; λέγε. (748)

Ae. To do what or to refrain from what? You must  
 say.

(...)

(Medea answers)

<sup>130</sup> See Nordgren 2012:17 on Greek interjections being speaker-oriented. Other examples of turn-initial interjections are found in e.g. Aeschylus' *Persians* 725 (see (t8) above), 731; *Agamemnon* 1214; *Libation Bearers* 691, 875, 928, 1007; Sophocles' *Ajax* 332, 336, 737, 791, 800, 1266; *Antigone* 82, 1105, 1294, 1306, 1317; *Oedipus King* 316, 754, 1308; Euripides' *Bacchae* 805, 1259, 1350; *Hippolytus* 353, 806, 1064; *Medea* 277, 330, 1310, 1393, 1399; Aristophanes' *Birds* 62, 86, 272bis, 1501; *Frogs* 307, 653, 657, 1214; *Lysistrata* 198, 449, 462, 845, 1078.

<sup>131</sup> Other examples of stancetaking without turn-initial contextualization cues include Sophocles' *Ajax* 1120, 1137; *Antigone* 88, 576; *Oedipus King* 616; Euripides' *Alcestis* 706; *Bacchae* 193, 197, 838; *Medea* 364, 520, 684; Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 479; *Birds* 95bis; *Frogs* 606bis, 652, 1411.

<sup>132</sup> For the use of τε in this passage, see chapter 2 §43.

ΑΙ. ὄμνυμι Γαῖαν φῶς τε λαμπρὸν Ἥλιου (752) θεοὺς τε πάντας ἔμμενεῖν ἅ σου κλύω.	Ae. I swear by Earth, by the holy light of Helios, and by all the gods that I will do as I have heard from your lips.
ΜΗ. ἀρκεῖ τί δ' ὄρκωι τῶιδε μὴ ῥυμένων πάθοις;	Me. That is good. But what punishment do you call down on yourself if you do not abide by your oath?

Part of Euripides' *Medea* 746-754

Medea's request for the oath and Aegeus' compliance (after an insert expansion in which he asks for more details) are followed by Medea's assessment of Aegeus' oath in a sequence-closing third (see §17 above): ἀρκεῖ, "it is good." Because the assessment is sequentially dependent on what preceded it, its linguistic form does not need to tie the turn explicitly to its co-text and context right at the beginning.

§67 We also find several borderline cases of stancetaking turns that contain a contextualization cue as their second or third word, but still within the first discourse act. Since these cues often form a syntactic construction with the turn's very first word, their turns appear very similar to ones that are immediately contextualized. That is to say, whereas I employ a narrow definition of "turn-initial position" in this chapter (see §§11-12 above), I am aware that the linguistic reality is more flexible. Consider the following example:

(t29)

Χρ. τί δῆτά σοι τίμημ' ἐπιγράψω τῇ δίκῃ, (480) ἐὰν ἀλῶς;	Chr. And what penalty shall I impose if you lose your case?
Πε. ὄ τι σοι δοκεῖ. (481bis)	Poverty. Whatever you like.
Χρ. καλῶς λέγεις. (481ter)	Chr. Excellent.

Aristophanes' *Wealth* 480-481

Chremylus' assessment καλῶς λέγεις of Poverty's answer (a sequence-closing third) is contextualized by referring explicitly to the addressee. The verb phrase as a whole can probably be felt as a turn-initial contextualization cue, even though the second-person verb form is not the turn's very first word.<sup>133</sup>

§68 Turns without turn-initial contextualization cues may take on a particularly important or formal character. A turn's gnomic nature, content of special significance for the speaker, or uncommon words or constructions may help create this impression.<sup>134</sup> The five quotes from tragedy in Aristophanes' *Frogs* without turn-initial contextualization cues probably have a formal ring to them as well (lines 1152, 1182, 1211, 1225, and 1471). As an illustration of the general connection between this linguistic form and such communicative implication, consider the following example from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*:<sup>135</sup>

(t30)

<p>ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαί τάδε, εἴμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν. Κλ. ἔστιν θάλασσα – τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει; – τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας ἰσάργυρον</p>	<p>Ag. (...) Now, since I have been subjugated into obeying you in this, I will go, treading on purple, to the halls of my house. Cl. There is a sea—who will ever dry it up?—which</p>
---	---

<sup>133</sup> Other examples of stancetaking turns with a contextualization cue as their second or third word, but within the first discourse act, include Sophocles' *Ajax* 94; *Antigone* 561, 571, 1059; *Oedipus King* 545, 859, 1160; *Women of Trachis* 1238; Euripides' *Bacchae* 193; *Hippolytus* 278; *Medea* 522, 741, 1127; Aristophanes' *Birds* 79; *Frogs* 169ter.

<sup>134</sup> Perhaps the "independent" form of these utterances was sometimes chosen by the poets to make them more amenable to being taken out of their context for purposes of quotation. Wright 2013 argues that some lines in tragedy may well have been designed by the playwright to be easily quoted outside their original context. The absence of a particle or other contextualization cue at the start, I suggest, may be one feature contributing to such a movable character.

<sup>135</sup> Other examples of turns without turn-initial contextualization cues that sound gnomic, extra important, or formal include Sophocles' *Ajax* 383, 1163 (starting with ἔσται), 1352; *Antigone* 561, 576; *Oedipus King* 1069; Euripides' *Bacchae* 193, 1348; *Hecuba* 1000 (starting with ἔστ'); *Heracles* 93; *Medea* 520, 700, 1231, 1367; Aristophanes' *Birds* 903, 1213, 1581 (see Dunbar 1995 *ad loc.*), 1626; *Lysistrata* 501. Several such turns without a turn-initial contextualization cue are also found in lyric parts. These are not discussed here, because lyric songs generally have a different style than iambic dialogues.

κηκῖδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς (960) breeds an ever-renewed ooze of abundant purple,  
 ἄκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἄναξ, worth its weight in silver, to dye clothing with. So with  
 ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος. the gods' help, my lord, we can remedy this loss; our  
 house does not know what poverty is.

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 956-962

Clytaemnestra reacts to Agamemnon's worries about spoiling the purple fabrics (expressed in lines 948-949): the sea will never cease to abundantly supply purple, and the royal family is rich enough. It is not immediately clear, however, that this turn responds to Agamemnon's earlier words, since other remarks by him came in between, and the relation between the turns is not made explicit. Instead, Clytaemnestra "begins in a tone of magnificent emphasis," as Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.* notes. He does not specify which features of her utterance convey this tone; I argue that the start without contextualization cues plays a role. Besides conveying a sense of formality, ἔστιν here also alludes to the use of this word at beginnings of larger segments in Homer.<sup>136</sup>

§69 The pragmatic analysis of linguistically uncontextualized utterance starts can throw light on textual problems involving the addition or removal of a turn-initial particle. In the following passage from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, several editors add a turn-initial δέ, while others retain the reading of the manuscripts, which show that the turn starts without a contextualization cue.<sup>137</sup> The desperate Athenian Cinesias tries to convince his wife Myrrhine in this scene to end her sex strike, which was contrived by the women in order to force the men to make peace. Cinesias introduces his most important point in lines 898-899.

(t31)

<sup>136</sup> See De Kreijf 2016c:II.3 on such Homeric beginnings with ἔστι or ἦν.

<sup>137</sup> Van Leeuwen 1903, Sommerstein 1990 and Wilson 2007 add δέ to 898; Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1927, Coulon 1958 (in Coulon and Van Daele), and Henderson 1987 defend the reading without a particle.



Κι. ὀλίγον μέλει σοι τῆς κρόκης φορουμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλεκτρούνων;	Ci. It doesn't bother you that the hens are pulling your woolens apart?
Μυ. ἔμοιγε νῆ Δία.	My. Not a bit.
Κι. τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης <δ'> ἰέρ' ἀνοργιάστα σοι χρόνον τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν. οὐ βαδιεῖ πάλιν;	Ci. And what a long time it's been since you've celebrated Aphrodite's holy mysteries. Won't you come home?
Μυ. μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἦν μὴ διαλλαχθῆτέ γε (900) καὶ τοῦ πολέμου παύσησθε.	My. I certainly will not, not until you men agree to a settlement and stop the war.

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 896-901

While a turn-initial δέ would be appropriate here—it often introduces new questions in a series (see §§34-35 above), and it is very frequent in turn-initial position in Aristophanes—certain linguistic features better support the reading of the manuscripts. The turn contains the unusual word ἀνοργιάστα, “uncelebrated,” in its first occurrence in extant Greek literature.<sup>138</sup> The utterance would have a more humorous effect if a husband's complaint about “Aphrodite's holy rites” is presented as something formal, as the remark would exploit the incongruity of speaking in a “high” style in a “low” context. To add δέ to this line would spoil an opportunity for a joke.<sup>139</sup>

§70 In general, this section on connections between particle use and the actions performed by turns has shown that turns starting with γε are pragmatically similar to those without any turn-initial contextualization cue: both are mainly used for answering and stancetaking.

<sup>138</sup> One form of the verb ὀργιάζω is found in Euripides *Bacchae* 416, but this play was performed in 405 BCE, several years after Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (411 BCE).

<sup>139</sup> On other instances of humor in Aristophanes deriving from the pragmatic level of communication, see Kloss 2001. Other examples of textual problems involving turn-initial particles are found in e.g. Aeschylus' *Persians* 480 (δέ or γε), *Libation Bearers* 494 (γε or τε); Sophocles' *Ajax* 82 (γε or γάρ), 879 (δῆτα or δῆ); Euripides' *Bacchae* 1297 (γε or no particle); Aristophanes' *Birds* 273 (γε or no particle), 1693 (no particle or ἀλλά); *Frogs* 515 (no particle or γε; see note 127 above); *Lysistrata* 945 (γε or no particle). I intend to discuss these cases elsewhere.

Indeed, γε does not directly mark a relation between its turn and the previous text,<sup>140</sup> but highlights a specific element by implicitly contrasting it to a different element. The actions of answering and stancetaking both tend to be uttered later in a conversational sequence than at the start: the preceding words set up the relevance of an answer or (usually) a stancetaking; therefore their relationship to the previous turns does not need to be made explicit.

§71 General tendencies in the use of turn-initial expressions can be connected to communicative goals as well, on a more global level. For example, in Aeschylus we find a higher relative frequency of turn-initial interjections than in the other authors.<sup>141</sup> This is due to the extremely high number in *Persians*, where lamenting—with which many interjections tend to be associated—is one of the main communicative actions of the play. Furthermore, Sophocles' *Oedipus King*, with 441 turns, appears as the tragedy of dialogue and of stichomythia *par excellence*: it has many more turns of speaking than any of the other eight tragedies in my corpus. We can connect the high number of turns to the play's plot: Oedipus' quest for information is enacted in his many stichomythic exchanges with other characters.<sup>142</sup> Not

---

<sup>140</sup> Denniston 1952:111 on Greek prose style speaks of γε as a particle that may “soften” asyndeton: “though not strictly connective, [γε and some other particles] seem to have been regarded by the Greeks as to some extent mitigating the lack of connexion.”

<sup>141</sup> Of the 570 turns of *Persians*, *Agamemnon*, and *Libation Bearers* combined, 64 start with an interjection (11%). This is 7% for Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Oedipus King*; 8% for Euripides' *Bacchae*, *Hippolytus*, *Medea*; and 5% for Aristophanes' *Birds*, *Frogs*, *Lysistrata*.

<sup>142</sup> See also Willms 2014:295: “Bei Oidipus' ontologischer Identifikation werden individuelle Wissenshorizonte abgeglichen. (...) Diese Funktionsweise (...) erklärt (...) den Umstand, warum ein analytisches Drama, in dem verschiedene Figuren verbal interagieren, die beste Darbietungsform für diesen Inhalt ist.” (“In Oedipus' ontological identification, individual knowledge perspectives are aligned. This method clarifies why an analytical drama in which several characters interact verbally is the best presentation form for this content.”)

Compare also Hancock 1917:17 on Euripides' *Medea*: “we should expect from the nature of the plot and the character of the heroine a great deal of vigorous stichomythia. In fact, however, most of the bitterness is vented in longer speeches and there is comparatively little line-dialogue.”

surprisingly, this play also has a higher frequency of turn-initial question words than the other tragedies.<sup>143</sup>

## 4.6 Conclusions

§72 In this chapter I have shown how CA illuminates particle use in tragedy and comedy. The plays reflect many practices of everyday spoken conversation in their stylized language. Just as in conversation, in Greek drama speakers often use special signals to hold the floor (§§28-30). Furthermore, turns relate to each other either by initiating (first pair parts) or by reacting (second pair parts); the pairs of turns thus formed can be structured in a series, and expanded with preliminary, intervening, or appending material (§§32-48). Again, just as in conversation, responses that fit the goal of the preceding turn best (preferred responses) tend to start with different constructions than responses that were not called for (dispreferred responses; §§49-56). Finally, speakers habitually perform certain actions such as persuading, answering, and stancetaking by using certain linguistic constructions (§§57-71). Most important, I have shown that the use of particles is sensitive to the interactional aspects that are clarified by CA. That is to say, particles reveal how turns relate to each other and to the structure of an ongoing interaction.

§73 By taking into account the interactional context surrounding every turn, a CA approach helps us understand why different particles are appropriate in different communicative contexts. For example, one of the known functions of  $\tau\epsilon$  is to mark two elements as closely connected; paying attention to the structure of a conversation makes us understand why this particle is highly infrequent in turn-initial position, and why it does occur there in rare cases (§27). The particle  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  may project an upcoming segment of multiple

---

<sup>143</sup> The absolute numbers of turn-initial question words are: Aeschylus' *Persians*: 12; *Agamemnon*: 24; *Libation Bearers*: 17; Sophocles' *Ajax*: 32; *Antigone*: 24; *Oedipus King*: 51; Euripides' *Bacchae*: 34; *Hippolytus*: 25; *Medea*: 24; Aristophanes' *Birds*: 84; *Frogs*: 77, *Lysistrata*: 55.

discourse acts; speakers exploit this projecting function within turns (§§28-30) as well as within series of similar turns (§33). δέ generally indicates a new step in the communication; CA makes it clear why this kind of signal is relevant in a series of questions, in response to news, or when a speaker ignores a previous turn (§§34-38). Similarly, we understand better how καί's zooming-in force can interact with its turn-initial position (§36). ἀτάρ has a specialized function in drama, confined to non-initial position in turns (§§39-40). οὐν, ἦ, and καὶ δὴ all have their own pragmatic functions; CA allows us to clarify how these functions interact with certain positions within a sequence or within a turn (§43, §47, and §§51-52). τοι and turn-initial γε have been shown to be connected to the communicative actions that their turns perform (§§58-70).

## Calmness and agitation reflected in language

### 5.1 Introduction

§1 Drama texts incorporate a multitude of characters' voices, embodied by different actors. These multivocal performative aspects furnish ideal opportunities to explore various pragmatic phenomena in the plays' language, three of which were discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 4. The characters' verbal expressions of their emotional states of mind are an essential component of dramatic interactions, and thus deserve pragmatic analysis as well. Particles are among the linguistic features that may reflect emotional states of mind; it is the goal of the present chapter to illuminate how they do so.<sup>1</sup>

§2 The concept of emotions is notoriously difficult to define and describe consistently.<sup>2</sup> As Sanford and Emmott 2012:191-192 outline, theories of emotion tend to either “emphasize the role of an experiencer’s judgment (appraisal),” or “highlight the role of an experiencer’s body (...) in producing an emotion.” The

---

<sup>1</sup> It is not my goal here to examine how the audience’s emotions are aroused by a performance. Though these emotions are part of the communicative process of drama, they are less directly relevant to particle use. For emotional responses of the ancient audience, see e.g. Budelmann and Easterling 2010 (on tragedy); Grethlein 2010:88 (on Aeschylus’ *Persians*); Munteanu 2011 (on comedy) and 2012 (on tragedy). At Oxford University, the current project “Adults at play(s)” (started in 2014) investigates the psychology of dramatic audiences, using both Greek and Shakespearean tragedy as research corpus. For modern readers’ emotional responses to narrative, and their mental representations of characters’ emotions, see Sanford and Emmott 2012:191-232.

<sup>2</sup> In general, emotions are seen as “relatively brief and intense reactions” to changes in a person’s environment (Altenmüller, Schmidt, and Zimmermann 2013a:344). The transitory nature of emotions is also mentioned in the definitions by e.g. Caffi and Janney 1994:327; Mortillaro, Mehu, and Scherer 2013:4; Owren, Philipp, Vanman, Trivedi, Schulman, and Bachorowski 2013:175.

authors note that there are many variants of both theories.<sup>3</sup> Often the cognitive and somatic sides are combined: a person's appraisal of an event influences her bodily reaction, that is, her tendency to be drawn toward or away from an object.<sup>4</sup> On top of the definition problem, the term "emotion" and its conceptualization are highly culture-dependent, as many scholars point out.<sup>5</sup> I am aware that the ancient Athenians will have conceptualized emotions differently from modern English-speaking scholars. However, I will use the terms "emotion" and "emotional state of mind" nevertheless, as it is not my aim to investigate historical or philosophical elements that inform the cultural side of emotions.

§3 A caveat specific to the study of emotionality in drama is that the speakers are fictional characters. The emotions themselves and the ways of revealing them may very well be based on idealizations and stereotypes, rather than on actual human experience. However, any interaction of the characters on stage has to be at least recognizable and comprehensible to the audience—an assumption that underlies also chapters 2, 3, and 4.<sup>6</sup> Even if these interactions are stylized, they are grounded in reality. The actors' masks expressed only part of the characters' emotions; any nuance and alteration had to come from language, prosody, and gesture.

---

<sup>3</sup> On (problems in) defining and classifying emotions, see also e.g. Altenmüller, Schmidt, and Zimmermann 2013a; Juslin 2013; Reisenzein 1994; Wierzbicka 1999.

<sup>4</sup> See Sanford and Emmott 2012:192-193, with reference to Arnold 1961:177.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Stanford 1983:21-46; Wierzbicka 1999:esp. 3-4; Konstan 2006:*passim*; Cairns 2008; Theodoropoulou 2012:433; Sanders 2014:*passim*. Similarly, Sidnell and Enfield 2012:321 argue more generally: "the language you speak makes a difference in the social actions you can perform."

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. chapter 4 §§3-4 for discussion of the unrealistic nature of tragic and comic dialogues and why we can nevertheless use Conversation Analysis to analyze them. More generally, Hogan has convincingly shown in numerous publications (e.g. 2010; 2011) that literature is a crucial source for learning about emotions and how they are expressed. He illustrates (2010:188-194) the usefulness of literature for emotion research by analyzing the levels of (1) literature's existence, (2) universal genres such as romantic and heroic narratives, and (3) individual literary works.

§4 In this chapter I complement previous research on emotions in Greek literature by analyzing linguistic reflections of calmness and agitation, in particular by means of particle use. I explore possible connections between these emotional states and the way in which characters (in fact the playwrights) organize their language, in particular the use of particles, under those states of mind. In addition, I consider examples of particle use that reflect the more global temperament of certain tragic characters (see §§78-87 below).

§5 I mainly focus on broad states of mind, rather than on specific emotions such as sadness or fear. The reason is that calmness and agitation are often clearly indicated by the context, and reflected in textual organization and particle use, whereas specific emotions tend to require specific clues, such as the explicit mentioning of the feeling. My focus is not on such semantic expressions, but on the pragmatic and performative side of communication. However, I do discuss anger separately: the broad co-text and context usually indicate the presence of anger better than other specific emotions, if no explicit label is given.

§6 The expression of calmness and agitation is closely linked to the interaction on stage; while some emotions are more interactive than others (see §53 below on anger), it is always crucial to take into account the interactional context for the interpretation of linguistic patterns. A speaker's specific communicative goal in a certain situation may require the display of a higher or lower degree of arousal (see §25 below).

§7 Another important general point to keep in mind is that linguistic features associated with a certain emotional state, whether a particle, a syntactic construction, or a strategy like repetition, do not encode this emotion all by themselves, but only in combination with certain co-texts and contexts. That is, the same linguistic feature may carry a different function in another co-text and

context. The chapter illustrates this multifunctionality for several linguistic features: see §67 on appositions, §77 on repetition, §§34-42 on μέν, §§51-63 on γέ, and §§85-86 on δέ. In other words, I will also discuss some functions unrelated to emotionality, in order to clarify the role of the different co-texts and contexts.

§8 The chapter has the following build-up. I first give an overview of the scholarship, both on emotions in ancient Greek texts (§§9-21) and on calmness versus agitation in general (§§22-25), and discuss my use of its insights and methods. In 5.3 I analyze linguistic reflections of a calm state of mind (§§27-43), and of an agitated state of mind (§§44-50). 5.4 devotes attention to γέ in different comic contexts (§§51-63). This is followed by two tragic case studies that contrast calm speech to agitated speech (§§64-87), and by my conclusions (§§88-94).

## 5.2 Approaches to emotions

### 5.2.1 Emotions in ancient Greek texts

§9 The elaborate scholarship on emotions in ancient Greek literature in general, and in Classical drama in particular, can be divided into two groups. Most studies adopt a historical, literary, or philosophical approach, and focus on the macro-levels of cultural differences between Greek and English emotional terms, or the literary meaning of emotions. A smaller number of works delves into the micro-level of the linguistic expressions of emotions. I will discuss examples of both kind of research.

§10 Recent publications on the ancient Greeks' conceptualization of emotions include Konstan 2006, Cairns 2008, Fulkerson 2013, and Sanders 2013 and 2014.<sup>7</sup> Konstan explores the differences between those conceptualizations and our modern

---

<sup>7</sup> See §2 above. Stanford 1983 (see §18 below) also notes the difficulty in studying ancient Greek emotions, because terms and concepts cannot be translated one-to-one from the Greek language and culture to ours. See especially pp. 23-27 for problems surrounding "pity." However, it is not Stanford's main goal to examine the differences in emotion conceptualizations between us and the ancient Greeks; he focuses instead on the expressions and literary functions of emotions in tragedy.



ones.<sup>8</sup> Emotion terms such as ὀργή (~ “anger”), φιλία (~ “friendship”), and φθόνος (~ “envy”) can in fact not be translated directly into English emotional labels. Greek terms may be more widely applicable, and specific English terms may be absent from the Greek vocabulary. However, Cairns argues that in the cases of pity, jealousy, and pride, Konstan sees larger differences between the Greek and the English conceptualizations than are in fact justified, because Konstan focuses too much on English labels for specific emotions. For example, the fact that classical Greek has no term for “pride” does not mean that the phenomenon was absent from classical Greek society or literature, in Cairns’ view. Similarly, Sanders 2013 argues that sexual jealousy did exist in classical Greece, in contrast to Konstan’s claim.

§11 Fulkerson 2013 is a monograph on regret in antiquity, describing, like Konstan’s work, differences between the ancient and modern conceptions of this emotion. The author analyzes sources from Greek epic, tragedy, historiography, New Comedy, and several Latin genres. She argues, for example, that status was more important in the ancient conceptualization of remorse than in the modern one.

§12 Sanders 2014 argues for complementing the lexical approach to ancient emotions with a socio-psychological approach. This author offers an analysis of envy and jealousy in Classical Athens, describing the Athenians’ experience, the expression, and the literary representation of these emotions. Tragedy and comedy are among the sources in which he analyzes φθόνος. Sanders outlines “scripts,” that is, stylized cognitive scenarios, which correspond to certain emotion terms. He concludes that φθόνος for example corresponds to twelve different scenarios, which are similar to those covered by English *envy*, *jealousy*, and *rivalry*.

---

<sup>8</sup> See also Konstan 2001 on the differences between the modern concept of pity and those of the Greeks and Romans. On the emotions of the Romans, see also Kaster 2005.

§13 Visvardi 2015 adopts a literary approach to ancient Greek emotions, with a specific focus on the tragic chorus. The author analyzes choruses that enact fear and pity, and compares them to the depiction of emotions in Thucydides' *Histories*. Both the tragedians and Thucydides, she argues, display sensitivity to the motivational power of collective emotion in the Athenian institutions.

§14 Numerous scholars focus on the literary function of specific emotions in tragedy, analyzing individual plays, sometimes even in relation to individual characters.<sup>9</sup> For example, Thumiger 2013 analyzes the connections between *eros* and madness in several tragedies. She concludes that erotic emotion never brings comfort but only has negative consequences. This has to do with genre conventions, as well as with the strict individuality connected to *eros*. In the same volume, Sanders discusses several emotions of Euripidean Medea, and argues that sexual jealousy is part of her motivation. Other examples are Gerolemou 2011 on female madness in tragedy, and Provenza 2013 on the portrayal and the function of madness in Euripides' *Heracles*. All of these studies offer rich analyses of the specific emotion(s) in the play(s) they discuss; however, they do not examine the syntax, pragmatics, or textual organization connected to emotional expressions.

§15 As for the linguistic expression of emotion, scholars focus on different possibilities.<sup>10</sup> First, emotions can be expressed with interjections, which are the

---

<sup>9</sup> On the literary functions of emotions in Roman tragedy, see e.g. the book-length study of Seneca's revenge tragedies by Winter 2014. Instead of a literary perspective, Munteanu 2012 adopts a philosophical and historical one on pity and fear in several Greek tragedies. That is, her analyses aim to illuminate the ethical and social implications of these emotions. The papers in Chaniotis 2012 (ed.) and Chaniotis and Ducrey 2013 (eds.) similarly analyze emotions in various ancient sources as a historical phenomenon.

<sup>10</sup> On the importance of analyzing language when analyzing emotion in general, see e.g. Argaman 2010. On different linguistic and paralinguistic cues working together to convey emotions in any language, see e.g. Bazzanella 2004:62-63; Caffi and Janney 1994:348; Selting 1994; Van Lancker Sidtis 2008. See also Theodoropoulou 2012 on the various linguistic means to express emotions, especially metaphors, and how these are employed in ancient texts.

topic of Nordgren's work on Greek drama (2012 and 2015). The category called expressive interjections, such as αἰᾶ, οἶμοι, and φεῦ,<sup>11</sup> express surprise, pain and vexation, lamentation, or joy, each of them with several specific nuances.<sup>12</sup> These interjections can be considered an unmediated way of emotion expression.

§16 Second, one can spotlight semantics, that is, when characters explicitly name their feelings. This is, for instance, the main focus of Schnyder 1995 on fear in Aeschylus. The author describes the vocabulary of fear used in several plays, including metaphors, thereby identifying differences in the fear vocabulary between Aeschylus, on the one hand, and epic and lyric, on the other.<sup>13</sup>

§17 More important to my own investigation are the levels of syntactic constructions and of textual organization. The 2015 article by Luraghi and Sausa focuses on the linguistic constructions associated with different emotion verbs in Homer. The authors argue that verbs denoting anger, hate, and envy, which typically take a nominative-dative construction, "are construed as complex and potentially interactive, with experiencers that have agent properties" (249). The people or other agents that caused these feelings "are conceptualized as likely to react" (249). Verbs of longing, loving, and desiring, in contrast, often take a nominative-genitive construction: the subject is construed as having no control over the event, and no cause is mentioned. For this group of emotion verbs, then, no interaction is implied. Regarding other verbs, the nominative-dative construction involves social-interaction verbs, while the construction with a genitive is used with verbs of hitting, touching, reaching or trying to reach. Luraghi and Sausa's results show that Homeric Greek displays syntactic differences between the representation

---

<sup>11</sup> On "expressive interjections" as a subcategory of Greek interjections, and on their function of expressing the speaker's mental state, see Nordgren 2012:16-19 and 2015.

<sup>12</sup> See Nordgren 2012:103-158 and 2015.

<sup>13</sup> Stanford 1983 on tragedy also pays attention to the semantic level of emotion expression.

of anger and similar emotions, on the one hand, and less interactive emotions, on the other hand. Their case study thus illustrates that the expression of emotions influences grammatical choices in ancient Greek literature.

§18 The reflection of emotions on textual organization in tragedy is discussed by Mastronarde 1979 and Stanford 1983. Mastronarde's remarks are part of his argument about contact among tragic characters; for Stanford, conversely, emotions are his main focus. Both authors observe, for example, that *antilabe* may express agitation.<sup>14</sup> Mastronarde further discusses "suspension of syntax" beyond an utterance in stichomythia, that is, turns of speaking that are syntactically incomplete, and are potentially completed in a later turn; in Euripides this technique may emphasize a character's strong feelings, as it emphasizes the "self-absorbed continuation of her own thoughts" after an utterance by another speaker (62). In other words, Mastronarde shows that textual organization, such as the build-up of syntactic structures, may reflect characters' emotional states of mind. Stanford identifies several linguistic and stylistic markers of specific emotions, such as hyperbole, used to express anger, or single-word repetition, used to express excitement.<sup>15</sup> This scholar analyzes both the emotions experienced by characters or choruses and those aroused in audiences.

§19 As far as particles and emotion expression in ancient Greek are concerned, little has been written so far. Some remarks can be found in the ancient grammarians' writings. The treatise *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας* (*On style*) states that δὴ contributes πάθος to a certain passage in Homer.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Apollonius Dyscolus

---

<sup>14</sup> See Mastronarde 1979:59 and Stanford 1983:99.

<sup>15</sup> On hyperbole especially expressing anger in tragedy, see Stanford 1983:101; on single-word repetition indicating emotional excitement (especially connected to grief), see pp. 93-95.

<sup>16</sup> See De Kreij 2016a:§58 and De Jonge 2015 on this observation. As discussed by De Kreij, this work has been attributed to Demetrius of Phaleron, fourth to third century BCE, but was possibly written later.

(second century CE) claims that γε may intensify the emotion expressed by καλῶς γε. He does not clarify which emotion is expressed; he simply speaks of ἔκπληξις (“consternation,” “amazement,” “agitation”). In modern times commentators offer notes on particles’ emotional quality. They observe, for example, that καί in questions may indicate the speaker’s surprise, doubt, or indignation when used at the start of questions.<sup>17</sup> However, commentators usually do not clarify which contextual and contextual features are relevant to their interpretation of a certain particle instance. In fact these features are crucial: particles never express an emotion or emotional state of mind by themselves.

§20 All in all, several approaches are available to emotions and emotional states of mind in ancient Greek. My research fills a gap in previous investigations, in that it analyzes how certain emotional states of mind are reflected in particle use. That is, such states do not only influence linguistic choices in the direct description of emotions with verbs, discussed by Luraghi and Sausa, but also linguistic choices concerning textual organization, which can be considered indirect reflections of emotional states. Since particles only carry out their functions in combination with co- and contextual features, my investigation looks at the connection between characters’ emotional states and textual organization more generally, including the contribution of particles. It will turn out to be crucial to take into account text segments larger than sentences, as well as the interaction among characters.

§21 In this analysis one should keep in mind that most utterances tend to perform multiple communicative actions simultaneously. The expression of emotions may be an utterance’s main pragmatic goal, or may be a secondary goal accompanying a different main goal. The former is generally the case when a

---

<sup>17</sup> See §83 with note 116 below. See also Hancock 1917:29 on this use of καί. This use is discussed in chapters 3 §40, with note 17; 4 §36, with notes 56 and 58.

speaker utters no more than an interjection.<sup>18</sup> We encounter the latter situation when, for example, a threat or even the description of an outrageous past event conveys the speaker's anger.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, a carefully composed argumentative speech may reflect the speaker's calmness while her main goal is to try to persuade the addressee.<sup>20</sup> Any utterance may be influenced by the speaker's emotional state of mind to a higher or lower degree; there is no black-or-white distinction between utterances that express emotions and utterances that do not do so. I will therefore examine utterances that carry the reflection of some emotional state of mind while achieving various pragmatic goals.

### 5.2.2 Calmness versus agitation beyond ancient Greek

§22 Scholars of emotions often use a dimension of arousal for distinguishing among different emotions.<sup>21</sup> This dimension represents a continuum between calmness (or “deactivation”; see Reisenzein 1994) and agitation (or “activation” in Reisenzein's terms). The other dimension is that of valence (positive-negative). Juslin 2013 uses the following image, based on the work of Russell 1980, to show the possible distribution of emotions in a two-dimensional view.<sup>22</sup> The degree of arousal (calm-excited) forms the vertical axis, the degree of pleasure or displeasure the horizontal axis:<sup>23</sup>

(t1)

---

<sup>18</sup> Examples are Aeschylus' *Persians* 1043; Sophocles' *Ajax* 891; Euripides' *Hippolytus* 310bis; Aristophanes' *Frogs* 653. On interjections in Greek drama, see §15 above.

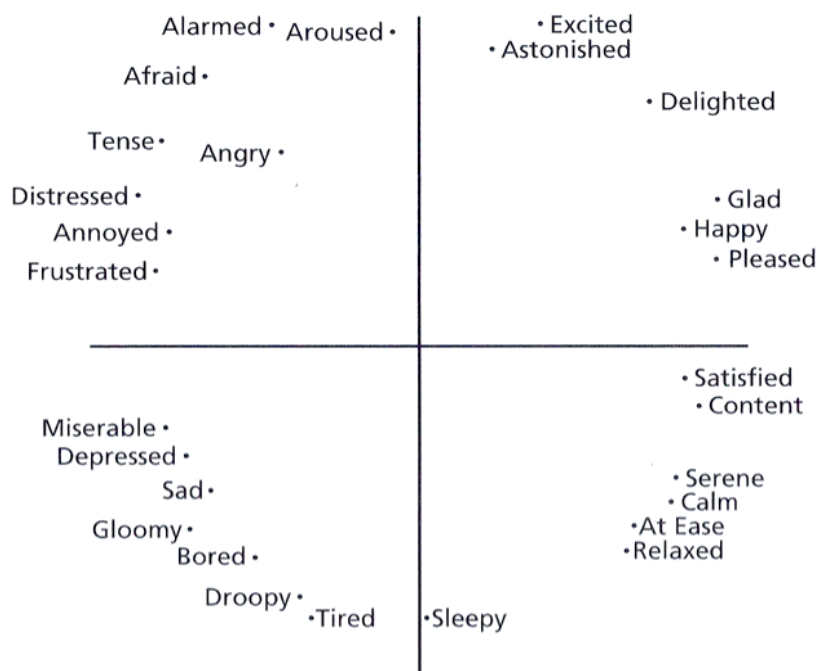
<sup>19</sup> As for example in (t13) below from Aristophanes' *Frogs*.

<sup>20</sup> For examples of long speeches that reflect the speaker's calmness, see note 41 below.

<sup>21</sup> Beside the dimensional approach to emotion classification, the other main approach is the categorical approach, in which one has to decide the number and naming of emotional categories—a debated issue. See Altenmüller, Schmidt, and Zimmermann 2013a:341-343 on both the categorical and the dimensional approaches.

<sup>22</sup> For an overview of several two-dimensional emotion models, see Barrett and Russell 2009.

<sup>23</sup> Sometimes a third dimension is added, such as tension, intensity, or control. See e.g. Caffi and Janney 1994:338 on a three-dimensional model of “affective experience.”



Two-dimensional emotions model, from Juslin 2013:256

In order to fully distinguish between emotions that occupy a similar location in this two-dimensional space, Reisenzein 1994 proposes to embed this theory within a cognitive theory that takes into account the appraisals themselves. He mentions the examples of disappointment, envy, and shame, which involve roughly the same proportions of displeasure and activation, but are caused by different (interpretations of) situations.<sup>24</sup>

§23 Though it is not my aim to classify the emotions reflected in tragedy in comedy, the dimension of arousal and the notion of appraisal causes are relevant to my analyses. The degree of calmness or agitation tends to be identifiable, even if it is less clear which particular emotion is expressed that corresponds to a lower or higher degree of arousal. A linguistic expression might not make it clear exactly, for instance, whether the speaker is desperate, frustrated, or annoyed, but it usually communicates whether or not she is agitated. The contexts also tend to make clear

<sup>24</sup> See also e.g. Sanford and Emmott 2012:191-193 on the relevance of appraisal in theories of emotion.

the appraisals on which emotional states of mind are based. These appraisals, such as the interpretation of a past action as an insult causing anger, are among the nonverbal indications of a certain state of mind.

§24 Whether or not a speaker seems calm, in other words, can be inferred from the broad co-text and context. Relatively long speaking turns give more indications of a speaker's calmness or agitation than short utterances.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, also in short turns contextual cues such as an utterance's main goal or a speaker's social status provide hints about calmness. For example, a high-status speaker who gives an order or piece of advice to an inferior usually does not show agitation, because she has no reason to do so. Another context that is connected to calmness is an official speech by a leader figure (see e.g. (t3) below). Different contexts, then, can provide cues about a character's degree of arousal.

§25 Note that the literary functions of calmness in tragedy and comedy are different. Tragic calmness may reflect characters' ignorance about advancing disaster (such as Oedipus in (t16) below),<sup>26</sup> demonstrate the secure power of gods,<sup>27</sup> or be needed for narrating a story, such as a messenger speech.<sup>28</sup> Comedy, conversely, does not contain "ironic" calmness before misfortune; the high social status that some comic characters adopt is not as absolute as that of tragic gods; and long narratives are rare. In both genres, nevertheless, calmness is associated with

---

<sup>25</sup> This is why most parallel examples that I give in the footnotes are from relatively long turns of speaking, both calm and agitated ones. This is not meant to imply any influence of the degree of the speaker's agitation on her utterance length. Short and long utterances can both express calmness as well as agitation. In the case of long utterances, there simply tend to be more linguistic indications available from which to infer the speaker's state of mind.

<sup>26</sup> Examples of tragic characters, who are unaware of upcoming doom and speak in a calm way, are Agamemnon in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 810-854; the Pythia in *Eumenides* 1-33; Oedipus in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1-13, cited in (t16); Andromache in Euripides' *Andromache* 183-231 and 269-273.

<sup>27</sup> Examples of gods speaking calmly in tragedy are Athena in Sophocles' *Ajax* 1-13; Dionysus in Euripides' *Bacchae* (throughout: see §§78-84 below), Aphrodite in *Hippolytus* 1-57.

<sup>28</sup> Tragic messenger speeches reflecting calmness include Sophocles' *Antigone* 1192-1243; Euripides' *Medea* 1136-1230.



relatively long speeches that have a persuasive goal.<sup>29</sup> However, whereas in tragedy it is often a matter of life or death if someone is persuaded,<sup>30</sup> in comedy such speeches may concern absurd or mocking topics, such as comparing the *pólis* to a woollen fleece, or presenting birds as gods.<sup>31</sup> Despite these differences in underlying reasons, in my tragic and comic corpus the speakers of such long speeches must generally suppress their excitement, if present, in order to be persuasive.

### 5.3 Reflections of calmness and agitation

§26 Calm communication has different linguistic characteristics from agitated communication, and particle use is among the evidence for this difference. The reflections of calmness and agitation can be perceived on several linguistic levels.

#### 5.3.1 Calmness

§27 One of the linguistic features of calmness is the syntactic build-up in which a subordinate clause precedes its main clause. This type of composite sentence, in other words, begins with a clause that cannot syntactically stand on its own, but creates the expectation that something will follow. In drama this order of clauses is particularly common in calm situations. A few examples are found in Socrates' calm

---

<sup>29</sup> Apart from Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 171-240 by Praxagora (see (t3) and notes 38 and 40 below), speeches meant to persuade that reflect calmness include Sophocles' *Antigone* 683-723 by Haemon; *Oedipus at Colonus* 1181-1203 by Antigone; *Philoctetes* 1314-1347 by Neoptolemus; Euripides' *Alcestis* 280-325 by Alcestis; *Bacchae* 266-327 by Teiresias; *Hecuba* 299-331 by Odysseus; *Hippolytus* 433-481 by the nurse, 983-1035 by Hippolytus; *Medea* 522-575 by Jason; Aristophanes' *Acharnians* 496-556 by Dicaeopolis, *Wasps* 548-559 by Lovecleon.

<sup>30</sup> For example, both Phaedra's nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus* 433-481 and Tecmessa in Sophocles' *Ajax* 485-524 want to convince their masters not to commit suicide. Haemon in Sophocles' *Antigone* 683-723 tries to persuade his father Creon not to kill Antigone. Andromache in *Andromache* 183-231 and Hippolytus in Euripides' *Hippolytus* 983-1035 need to save their own life by arguing their cases. Hecuba in Euripides' *Hecuba* 803-805 does not want to save anyone but tries to get help in taking violent revenge on her enemy Polymestor. See also McDonald 2007:475: "In Greek tragedy, many speeches justify murder."

<sup>31</sup> Comparing the *pólis* to a woollen fleece: *Lysistrata* 574bis-586 in Lysistrata's speech. Presenting birds as gods: *Birds* 481-538 in Peisetaerus' speech, with some interruptions.

utterances in the following passage. He explains the clouds' appearance to Strepsiades, after the latter has expressed his surprise about that:

(t2)

Σω. ἀπόκριναί νυν ἄττ' ἄν ἔρωμαι. (345)	So. Now answer some questions for me.
Στ. λέγε νυν ταχέως ὅτι βούλει. (345bis)	St. Ask away, whatever you like.
Σω. ἤδη ποτ' ἀναβλέψας εἶδες νεφέλην κενταύρω ὁμοίαν (346)	So. Have you ever looked up and seen a cloud resembling a centaur, or a leopard, or a wolf, or a bull?
ἢ παρδάλει ἢ λύκῳ ἢ ταύρῳ;	
Στ. νὴ Δί' ἔγωγ'. εἶτα τί τοῦτο; (347bis)	St. Certainly I have. So what?
Σω. γίνονται πάνθ' ὅτι βούλονται· κᾶτ' ἦν μὲν ἴδωσι κομήτην (348)	So. Clouds turn into anything they want. Thus, if they see a savage with long hair, one of these
ἄγριόν τινα τῶν λασίων τούτων, οἷόνπερ τὸν Ξενοφάντου,	furry types, like the son of Xenophantus, they mock his obsession by making themselves look
σκώπτουσαι τὴν μανίαν αὐτοῦ κενταύροις ἦκασαν αὐτάς. (350)	like centaurs.
Στ. τί γὰρ ἦν ἄρπαγα τῶν δημοσίων κατίδωσι Σίμωνα, τί δρῶσιν;	St. And what if they look down and see a predator of public funds like Simon, what do they do?
Σω. ἀποφαίνουσαι τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ λύκοι ἐξαίφνης ἐγένοντο.	So. To expose his nature they immediately turn into wolves.

Aristophanes' *Clouds* 345-352

The exchange of questions and answers is a parody of Socratic style, a way of speaking that generally does not require agitation. Especially Socrates is calm, since he possesses more knowledge than Strepsiades.<sup>32</sup> On multiple occasions in this scene Socrates utters subordinate clauses before their main clauses: an order that projects more to come through the syntactic incompleteness of the subordinate clauses. In

<sup>32</sup> Starkie 1911 and Dover 1968 perhaps imply this in their comments *ad* 345, by noting Socrates' pedagogic style.

Socrates' utterance in 348-350 two such clauses (ἦν μὲν ἴδωσι κομήτην / ἄγριόν τινα τῶν λασίων τούτων and οἷόνπερ τὸν Ξενοφάντου) and a participial clause (σκώπτουσαι τὴν μανίαν αὐτοῦ) interrupt their main clause (κᾶτ'... κενταύροις ἦκασαν αὐτάς). In 352 the participial clause ἀποφαίνουσαι τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ comes earlier than its main clause λύκοι ἐξαίφνης ἐγένοντο. In addition, the imperative ἀπόκριναι ("answer") in 345 semantically projects the utterance of an object such as "my question."

§28 Parallels from Aristophanes as well as tragedy suggest that this order of clauses is especially frequent in calm situations.<sup>33</sup> The phenomenon may reflect this state of mind, because the speaker lingers on one hypotactic construction for a relatively long time.<sup>34</sup> To be more precise, subordinate clauses preceding their main

---

<sup>33</sup> Examples of (elaborate) subordinate clauses preceding their main clauses, or intervening within it, and certain similar structures from calm tragic monologues (see §24 with note 25 above) include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 841-842 by Agamemnon; Sophocles' *Antigone* 701-702 by Haemon (a genitive participial phrase preceding the comparative on which it depends); *Philoctetes* 70-71 by Odysseus; Euripides' *Andromache* 29-30 by Andromache, 209-210 by Andromache; *Bacchae* 13-20 by Dionysus (a highly elaborate participial clause preceding its main clause); 288-290 by Teiresias (two subordinate clauses preceding their main clause); Euripides' *Children of Heracles* 158-160 by the herald; *Hecuba* 802-805 by Hecuba; *Heracles* 1326-1328 by Theseus; *Hippolytus* 451-456 by the nurse; *Medea* 526-528 by Jason.

Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* 1114-1115 by Hyllus also contains a subordinate clause preceding its main clause that may reflect calmness; it is however not part of a long speech, but of a 6-line utterance.

Other Aristophanic examples in calm contexts include *Acharnians* 520-522, 526 (a participial clause intervening between subject and finite verb), 541-543; *Assemblywomen* 517-518 (a second subordinate clause intervening within a first), 518-519 (several adverbial phrases preceding their main verb); *Birds* 1001-1004 (two participial clauses preceding their main clause, in this case even interrupted by a different speaker), 1007-1009 (a participial phrase preceding the subject and main verb), 1355-1357, 1360-1361, 1368-1369; *Clouds* 404-405; *Frogs* 31; *Wasps* 552-553 (an object preceding its finite verb and subject).

<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the association that I propose between subordinate clauses preceding their main clauses and calmness also has to do with speech planning. On speech planning in general, see e.g. Ferreira and Swets 2002; Konopka and Brown-Schmidt 2014. Ferreira and Swets 2002 point out, on the basis of psycholinguistic experiments, that it is partly under the speaker's control whether to plan an entire utterance in advance, or to speak incrementally. These authors write that "the extent to which planning occurs (...) depends on the intentions that motivate the speech" (80). Similarly, Konopka

clauses are not confined to calm contexts; but when this order occurs in agitated contexts, other features tend to be present to reflect the different state of mind (see e.g. Aristophanes' *Frogs* 561, cited in (t13) below). As with the analysis of particles or other linguistic features, it is necessary to take into account the co-text and context beyond one sentence (see §7 above).

§29 Note that when I speak of the projection that this order of clauses produces, or, conversely, of incremental style (see 5.3.2 below on agitation), I refer to hearers' online reception of utterances. This kind of reception is different from the map view of readers, who easily connect a main clause to a subordinate clause that occurred several lines earlier, for example. For hearers the meaning of an utterance is incrementally updated, with every small unit of language adding new information. It is for hearers, of course, that the ancient playwrights composed their poetry.

§30 Another feature reflecting calmness is pragmatic projection, mainly through vocatives and priming acts.<sup>35</sup> Vocatives near the beginning of a speaking turn are pragmatically not complete on their own, but produce the expectation that several more speech units, addressed to the particular addressee, will follow.<sup>36</sup> Priming acts

---

and Brown-Schmidt 2014 suggest (16) that complex messages probably require a more holistic planning before speaking than simple messages. The research on message planning so far, these authors note, "suggests considerable flexibility in the process of message planning and considerable sensitivity and perspective-taking on the part of the speaker when designing messages in different conditions and for different listeners" (17). It may be inferred, I suggest, that calmness and agitation may also play a role in the extent to which speakers engage in speech planning, and this may have an effect on their use of syntactic projection produced by the order of clauses.

<sup>35</sup> On the term and concept of pragmatic projection, see Auer 2002.

<sup>36</sup> Cataphoric demonstratives announce their referent, and thereby contribute to the creation of elaborate coherent units as well: see e.g. Aristophanes' *Clouds* 429, which contains both a turn-initial vocative (ὦ δέσποιναι) and a cataphoric demonstrative (τουτί). This utterance implies a certain degree of calmness because of its content's importance to the speaker. Shortly before, in 412, the elaborate turn-initial vocative uttered by the chorus of clouds also projects more speech to come; the speakers are here arguably calm because of their exaggeratedly divine status and appearance. See chapter 4 §30 for more examples of syntactic and pragmatic projection, including a cataphoric

are short discourse acts that start a multi-act structure; “priming” refers to the cognitive priming of the concept or referent that the act mentions.<sup>37</sup>

§31 The following excerpt from *Assemblywomen* contains an example. Here Praxagora begins a lengthy monologue after sending away an incompetent speaker from the assembly platform:<sup>38</sup>

(t3)

<p>(Πρ.) αὐτὴ γὰρ  <sup>39</sup> ὑμῶν γ' ἔνεκά μοι λέξειν δοκῶ   (170) τονδὶ λαβοῦσα.   τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν εὐχομαι   τυχεῖν κατορθώσασα τὰ βεβουλευμένα.   <u>ἐμοὶ δ'</u>   ἴσον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρας μέτα   ὅσονπερ ὑμῖν. (...)</p>	<p>(Pr.) To judge from what I've seen of your abilities it seems best that I put on this garland and make a speech myself. I beseech the gods to grant success to today's deliberations. My own stake in this country is equal to your own, (...).</p>
---	--

Aristophanes' *Assemblywomen* 170-174

Praxagora's calm state of mind can be inferred from the official, serious content of this utterance and the parts of her speech that follow.<sup>40</sup> In 173 she uses a priming act ἐμοὶ δ', in order to project a series of acts related to “me.” The position of μὲν tells us, retrospectively, that ἐμοὶ δ' forms a separate discourse act. Note that at the same time this act involves a syntactic projection beyond an act: the dative in the

---

demonstrative. On pragmatic projection realized by vocatives and other means in tragedy, see §§67-68 below.

<sup>37</sup> On the use and functions of priming acts in Homer, see De Kreij 2016b, and 2016c:II.2 on Homer and Pindar. On priming acts in Herodotus and Thucydides, see Bonifazi 2016:IV.3 and IV.5.

<sup>38</sup> Praxagora's monologue in 171-188 is 20 lines long; after interruptions it is followed by another 11.5 lines (192bis-203), then 8.5 more lines (204bis-212), and 97 more lines (214-240). All these parts together contain 415 words.

<sup>39</sup> A vertical bar indicates a (relevant) discourse-act boundary that I inferred from the co-text. See De Kreij 2016c:II.2 § 26, with references.

<sup>40</sup> On 171-172 Murphy 1938:87 writes, in connection to the rest of the speech, that Praxagora's “solemn prayer to the gods to prosper her plans indicates to her audience the gravity of the situation and the importance of her subject.” See pp. 109-110 for Murphy's analysis of the argumentative build-up of 171-240.

act ἐμοὶ δ' is syntactically incomplete on its own. Additionally, even though γε may also occur in a later than act-peninitial position, I consider it probable that αὐτὴ γάρ in 170 is a priming act as well, which emphasizes Praxagora's decision to take the floor. Priming acts in drama are strikingly frequent in calm contexts, such as official speeches in Aristophanes, and certain monologues in tragedy.<sup>41</sup> These acts reflect calmness in that the speaker promises, so to say, to stick with a certain concept or referent for at least one more discourse act.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Other priming acts in calm, official speeches in Aristophanes include *Acharnians* 509 (ἐγὼ δὲ | μισῶ μὲν...), 513 (ἀτάρ, | φίλοι γάρ...); *Assemblywomen* 84 (ἡκκλησία δ', | εἰς ἦν...); *Wasps* 678 (σοὶ δ' | ὦν ἄρχεις...). Priming acts in other calm contexts, namely orders or advice by high-status Aristophanic characters, include *Assemblywomen* 509 (καὶ μέντοι | σὺ μὲν...); *Birds* 837 (ἄγε νυν | σὺ μὲν...), 1363 (σὺ γὰρ | /τὸν μὲν...); *Frogs* 31 (σὺ δ' οὖν | ἐπειδὴ...). See note 46 below for priming acts in short utterances in Aristophanes.

Examples of priming acts in calm tragic monologues (at least 25 lines; see chapter 2 §17) include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 854 (νίκη δ', | ἐπέιπερ...); *Libation Bearers* 279 (νῦν οὖν | σὺ μὲν...); *Seven against Thebes* 24 (νῦν δ' | ὡς); Sophocles' *Ajax* 487 (ἐγὼ δ' | ἐλευθέρου μὲν...); *Antigone* 722 (εἰ δ' οὖν, | φιλεῖ γάρ...), 1226 (ὁ δ' | ὡς ὄρα σφε; NB this is in a messenger speech; the form and function of the priming act resemble those in Homer; see De Kreij 2016c:II.2; and see chapter 2 §28 on messenger speeches' similarity to epic); *Electra* 577 (εἰ δ' οὖν, | ἐρῶ γάρ...), 951 (ἐγὼ δ' | ἔως μὲν...); *Oedipus at Colonus* 377 (ὁ δ', | ὡς); *Oedipus King* 222 (νῦν δ', | ὕστερος γάρ...), 258 (νῦν δ' | ἐπεὶ...); *Philoctetes* 1343 (ταῦτ' οὖν | ἐπεὶ...); Euripides' *Alcestis* 313 (σὺ δ', | ὦ τέκνον μοι), 323 and 325 (καὶ σοὶ μὲν, | πόσι, / γυναικ' ἀρίστην ἔστι κομπάσαι λαβεῖν, / ὑμῖν δέ, | παῖδες...); *Andromache* 6 (νῦν δ', | εἴ τις...), 209 (σὺ δ' | ἦν τι...); *Bacchae* 268 (σὺ δ' | εὐτροχον μὲν...), 274 (δύο γάρ, | ὦ νεανία), 1323 (νῦν δ' | ἄθλιος μὲν...; this speaker, Cadmus, is in grief, but not agitated); *Children of Heracles* 23 (οἱ δ' | ἀσθενῆ μὲν...), 819 (μάντις δ', | ἐπειδὴ...; NB this is in a messenger speech); *Hecuba* 51 (τοῦμόν μὲν οὖν | ὄσονπερ...), 326 (ἡμεῖς δ', | εἰ...), 546 (ἡ δ', | ὡς...); *Heracles* 1331 (θανόντα δ', | εὐτ' ἄν...); *Hippolytus* 47 (ἡ δ' | εὐκλεῆς μὲν), 1025 (νῦν δ' | ὄρκιόν σοι...); *Medea* 244 (ἀνήρ δ', | ὅταν...), 526 (ἐγὼ δ', | ἐπειδὴ...), 529 (σοὶ δ' | ἔστι μὲν...), 1141 (κυνεῖ δ' | ὁ μὲν...; this is in a messenger speech), 1156 (ἡ δ', | ὡς ἐσεῖδε...; this is in a messenger speech; see the remark above on Sophocles' *Antigone* 1226), 1177 (εὐθύς δ' | ἡ μὲν...; this is in a messenger speech).

Other tragic examples of priming acts, in calm contexts but outside of long monologues, include Sophocles' *Ajax* 1 (ἀεὶ μὲν, | ὦ παῖ...) in a 13-line utterance by Athena; *Electra* 15 (νῦν οὖν, | Ὀρέστα...) in a 22-line utterance by the old slave; *Philoctetes* 1140 (ἀνδρός τοι | τὸ μὲν...) in a 6-line utterance by the chorus; *Women of Trachis* 52 (νῦν δ', | εἰ...) in a 12-line utterance by the nurse; Euripides' *Andromache* 269 (δρινὸν δ' | ἐρπετῶν μὲν) in a 5-line utterance by Andromache (see §25 with note 26 above on tragic characters' ignorance of upcoming disaster); *Hecuba* 900 (νῦν δ', | οὐ γάρ...) in a 7-line utterance and 1243 (ἐμοὶ δ', | ἴν'...) in a 12-line utterance, both by Agamemnon.

<sup>42</sup> Concerning structurally similar constructions in other languages, see e.g. Ochs Keenan and Schieffelin 1976; Salmon 2010. Admittedly, Ochs Keenan and Schieffelin consider the "Referent + Proposition construction" in spoken American English to be "a form of "unplanned" speech"

§32 As my discussion of (t3) shows, particles in and after priming acts are relevant to our interpretation in two ways. The priming act itself, on the one hand, tends to contain a particle, in this case δέ, that carries out its normal function by signaling how the act relates to the preceding speech. The examples collected suggest that δέ is indeed the most frequent particle in priming acts. The next act, on the other hand, often includes a particle, in this case μέν, that retrospectively enables us as readers to see the boundary of the priming act—which the original audience was probably able to perceive via an intonational break.<sup>43</sup>

§33 The following passage from Aristophanes' *Birds* illustrates the connection between priming acts and calmness in a rather different context: not an official speech, but a 2-line utterance. Three gods (Poseidon, Heracles, and the so-called Triballian) have come to Peisetaerus in order to discuss a settlement between him and the gods; Peisetaerus demands Zeus' girl Princess for himself in this negotiation. The three representative gods now discuss this proposal:

(t4)

(...) Ηρ. παραδοῦναι λέγει. (1679bis)	He. He [i.e. the Triballian] says, hand her over.
Πο. μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐχ οὗτός γε παραδοῦναι λέγει, (1680)	Po. No, by Zeus, he's not saying hand her over; he's just twittering like the swallows.
εἰ μὴ βαβάζει γ' ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες.	Pe. All right, he's saying hand her over to the
Πε. οὐκοῦν παραδοῦναι ταῖς χελιδόσιν λέγει.	swallows.

---

(1976:248), which seems not to fit calm, well-thought-through utterances; however, the construction they discuss involves material that is not syntactically integrated in what follows. In my corpus of Greek drama priming acts usually form a syntactic whole with subsequent acts. Salmon analyzes double-subject sentences in spoken Brazilian Portuguese, of the form “This president, taxes are getting higher.” This construction does not involve syntactic integration either. Interestingly, Salmon considers this construction to be “a tool of style, of rhetoric” (2010:3441) and a reflection of the speaker's “attention to the informational needs of the audience” (3437).

<sup>43</sup> This boundary may however also be indicated by another signal, such as a subordinating conjunction.

Πο. σφῶ νυν διαλλάττεσθε καὶ ξυμβαίνετε· | Po. Very well, you two negotiate the terms of a  
ἐγὼ δ', | ἐπειδὴ σφῶν δοκεῖ, | σιγήσομαι. settlement; if that's your decision, I'll keep  
quiet.

Aristophanes' *Birds* 1679bis-1684 (translation slightly modified)

Poseidon's turn in 1680-1681 contains the swearing expression μὰ τὸν Δί' as well as two instances of γε, reflecting a certain agitation (see §§45-47 below). However, after the squabbles, in 1683-1684 he gives in and leaves the final negotiation to the other two gods, declaring that he will "keep quiet" (σιγήσομαι). That is, he indirectly states that he will refrain from further agitation: he has decided to be calm from now on.<sup>44</sup> In 1683 he uses καὶ to combine διαλλάττεσθε "be reconciled" and ξυμβαίνετε "come to an agreement," two semantically similar words, the second of which may be considered a specification of the first. This use of καὶ is in fact most frequent in long monologues, where the speaker feels at leisure to formulate a concept in several slightly distinct ways;<sup>45</sup> the construction may therefore reflect calmness. Moreover, Poseidon's utterance features a subordinate clause (ἐπειδὴ σφῶν δοκεῖ) before its main verb σιγήσομαι in 1684. It also contains the priming act ἐγὼ δ'.<sup>46</sup> I interpret these features as text-structuring reflections of Poseidon's calmness.

<sup>44</sup> See Schröder 1927 *ad loc.*, who interprets Poseidon's attitude as feeling too noble to deal further with that terribly rhetorical speaker Peisetaerus; the god gives in and keeps quiet ("Pos. hat kaum hingehört: zu vornehm, mit dem entsetzlich redegewandten weiter sich einzulassen gibt er nach und schweigt.").

<sup>45</sup> See chapter 2 §36 on this use of καὶ.

<sup>46</sup> Other examples of priming acts in calm short utterances in Aristophanes are *Assemblywomen* 57 (official question of 3 lines; κάθησθε τοίνυν, | ὡς...), 601 (interested question of 1.5 lines; πῶς οὖν | ὅστις...), 610 (rhetorical argument of 2 lines; νῦν δ', | ἔσται γὰρ...), 728 (thoughtful decision of 2 lines; ἐγὼ δ' ἴν'...); *Lysistrata* 111 (official question of 2 lines, also containing syntactic projection across line-end; ἐθέλοιτ' ἄν οὖν, | εἰ...), 120 (official proclamation of 3.5 lines; ἡμῖν γάρ, | ὧ γυναῖκες, εἴπερ...); *Wasps* 764 (compromise of 3 lines; σὺ δ' οὖν, | ἐπειδὴ...). Calm short utterances can also form part of longer speeches: see note 41 above for priming acts in such contexts.



§34 Let us now consider more specific reflections of calmness than subordinate clauses preceding their main clauses and forms of pragmatic projection. The case study of Aeschylean Agamemnon's particular use of μέν shows the influence of specific co-textual and contextual elements on how a particle may reflect calmness.<sup>47</sup> This example is followed by a discussion of several uses of μέν that do not reflect calmness, in order to clarify how co-text and context determine the emotional quality of particles.

§35 Agamemnon in his eponymous play utters μέν 7 times, or with a frequency of 1.5% (out of a total of 473 words), higher than any of the other 20 main characters in the 9 tragedies of my corpus.<sup>48</sup> This statistic alone cannot account for specific pragmatic goals; after all, particles are multifunctional. What is remarkable about

---

<sup>47</sup> Tragic characters are more suitable for such a spotlight than comic ones, because tragic characters generally have a more consistent personality, with more complex life histories, which may lead to specific communicative goals. References to Agamemnon in this section only involve the character in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, not in other plays.

<sup>48</sup> For the comparisons of particle use across characters, the utterances of the following 21 tragic characters have been taken into account (in parentheses the total numbers of words spoken per character): Aeschylus: Agamemnon (473) and Clytaemnestra (1927) in *Agamemnon*, Electra (929) and Orestes (1864) in *Libation Bearers*, Xerxes (266) and the queen (1097) in *Persians*; Sophocles: Ajax (1629) and Tecmessa (1269) in *Ajax*, Antigone (1220), Creon (2117), and Teiresias (447) in *Antigone*, Creon (882), Oedipus (4258), and Teiresias (518) in *Oedipus King*; Euripides: Dionysus (1549), Pentheus (1119), and Teiresias (615) in *Bacchae*, Hippolytus (1644) and Phaedra (1088) in *Hippolytus*, and Medea (3447) and Jason (1225) in *Medea*. For characters that have relatively few lines to speak, their particle frequencies are influenced more by the specific scenes they appear in than by their personality or life-history features. This is especially striking in the case of Teiresias in *Oedipus King*: his utterances have a much higher frequency of γάρ (2.9%, 15 instances) and γε (1.2%, 6 instances) than usual. Emotionality, however, does play a role in these high frequencies: Teiresias in this play is relatively often engaged in angry stichomythia, where γάρ and γε are particularly at home (see §56 below on γε, and chapter 3 §§87-90 on γάρ). For other analyses of particle distributions in tragedy and comedy, concerning different communicative situations rather than different characters, see chapter 2. See chapter 2 §69, with note 146, for the average frequencies of μέν in different parts of tragedies and comedies, regardless of the specific speakers.

Agamemnon's use of μέν is that he, despite his fondness for the particle, only employs certain uses of it.<sup>49</sup>

§36 Let us consider the following instance from the king's answer to Clytaemnestra's long welcome speech:

(t5)

<p>Αγ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ, ἀπουσίαι μὲν εἶπας εἰκότως ἐμῆι· (915) μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἀλλ' ἐναισίμωσ αἰνεῖν, παρ' ἄλλων χρὴ τόδ' ἔρχεσθαι γέρας. καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ ἄβρυνε, (...)</p>	<p>Ag. Daughter of Leda, guardian of my house, you have made a speech that was like my absence—you stretched it out to a great length; but to be fittingly praised is an honour that ought to come to me from others. For the rest, do not pamper me as if I were a woman; (...)</p>
---	--

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 914-919

With μέν in 915, Agamemnon projects the continuation of his speech. He warns Clytaemnestra immediately at the start of his speech that he will not only assess the length of her preceding monologue, but also, as it turns out, the content: her praise and her suggestion to walk on the purple fabric were in his view excessive. There is no δέ that answers this μέν in the lines that follow it (916-919), which suggests that μέν's projecting signal here works more globally than to mark semantic or syntactic juxtaposition. In particular, the signal here pertains to the level of communication rather than content: this μέν implies that Agamemnon feels he can go on speaking for some time without any problems. Thus the use of this particle reflects calmness,

---

<sup>49</sup> Apart from the uses mentioned here, he utters μέν in 924 to imply that others may think differently (ἐμοὶ μέν, with a potential counterpart left implicit); and in 932 in a 1-line utterance to acknowledge that the conversation goes on, projecting further utterances within the dialogue rather than further units within the utterance (see chapter 4 §33 on this use). Both of these uses differ from the ones discussed here, as they do not concern the text structuring within one turn of speaking.

and perhaps also an authoritative tone.<sup>50</sup> Along these lines Fraenkel 1950 *ad loc.* remarks: “[t]he king is, at least up till now, completely composed, he speaks with the gracious dignity of a great gentleman.”<sup>51</sup> With this calmness Aeschylus in turn invites the audience to infer that Agamemnon does not suspect his upcoming murder.<sup>52</sup>

§37 Later in the play the king uses μέν together with a δέ in the next clause, again to structure the presentation of his speech, rather than indicate semantic contrast. Clytaemnestra has now persuaded her husband to walk on the fabric:

(t6)

<p>(Ag.) καὶ τοῖσδέ μ' ἐμβαίνονθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος. πολλή γὰρ αἰδῶς δωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶν φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάας. τούτων μὲν οὕτω τὴν ξένην δὲ πρευμαενῶς (950) τήνδ' ἐσκόμιζε (...)</p>	<p>(Ag.) and as I walk on these purple-dyed &lt;robes&gt;, may no jealous eye strike me from afar! For I feel a great sense of impropriety about despoiling this house under my feet, ruining its wealth and the woven work bought with its silver. Well, so much for that. This foreign woman—please welcome her kindly.</p>
---	---

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 946-951

In this case μέν occurs in the last unit of a speech segment in which Agamemnon comments on the action of treading on the robes; the first unit of the next segment, about Cassandra, contains δέ. This construction, with μέν and δέ belonging to different larger text structures, differs from the construction in which the two

---

<sup>50</sup> On the general function of μέν in tragedy and comedy, see chapter 2 §§69-72. A similar μέν instance by Agamemnon in this play, also at the start of a speech, is found in 810. For a similar instance of μέν in Euripides, compare the instance in Euripides' *Hecuba* 218, at the start of a calm, authoritative speech by Odysseus (218-228).

<sup>51</sup> Groeneboom 1966 *ad loc.* speaks of a cold stateliness.

<sup>52</sup> See §25 with note 26 above on demonstrating ignorance about one's upcoming doom as one of the literary functions of ostensible calmness in tragedy.

particles indicate semantic contrast.<sup>53</sup> Fraenkel 1950 ad 950 considers τούτων μὲν οὕτω “a dry, businesslike formula of transition.” Again, the careful articulation of linguistic structuring befits a calm state of mind. For the audience, well aware of what is about to happen to the king, the irony of his calmness may have heightened the tension.

§38 One μὲν construction that Agamemnon does not use is that involving a strong semantic contrast between a μὲν act and an immediately following δέ act. Sophoclean *Antigone* favors this particle construction, however.<sup>54</sup> Even though this use of μὲν... δέ does not reflect calmness or agitation, I will discuss it here in order to clarify the role of co-textual and contextual features in our interpretation of particle constructions. In *Antigone*’s utterances, the μὲν... δέ construction conveys the speaker’s stance, more specifically her disalignment with her addressee Ismene, and even hostility towards her.<sup>55</sup> That is, this use is more connected to the emotional dimension of pleasure-displeasure, by conveying a negative stance, than to the dimension of arousal.

(t7)

Ισ. οἴμοι τάλαινα, κάμπλάκω τοῦ σοῦ μόρου; Is. Ah me, am I to miss sharing in your

Αν. σὺ μὲν γὰρ εἴλου ζῆν, ἐγὼ δὲ κατθανεῖν. death?

(555) An. Yes, you chose life, and I chose death!

Ισ. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀρρήτοις γε τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις. Is. But I did not fail to speak out!

<sup>53</sup> On μὲν at the end of multi-act structures, often followed by δέ at the start of the next larger segment, see De Kreij 2016c:II.3 on Homer; Bonifazi 2016:IV.5 on Herodotus and Thucydides. Agamemnon utters similar μὲν acts in 829 and 846, also here followed by δέ acts.

<sup>54</sup> References to *Antigone* in this discussion only involve this character in Sophocles’ *Antigone*, not in other plays. Like Aeschylus’ Agamemnon, *Antigone* is relatively fond of μὲν: her utterances have a frequency of 0.9% (11 instances in 1220 words). Only those of Agamemnon (see §35 above), the queen in Aeschylus’ *Persians* (1.2%), and Jason in Euripides’ *Medea* (1.0%) have a higher frequency of μὲν; the other 17 main characters in the 9 tragedies (see note 48 above) utter the particle less often.

<sup>55</sup> On stance in general, including (dis)alignment and its linguistic expression, see Du Bois 2007.

Αν. καλῶς σὺ μὲν τοῖς, τοῖς δ' ἐγὼ ἴδοκουν φρονεῖν. An. Some thought you were right, and some thought I was.

Ισ. καὶ μὴν ἴση νῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ἴξασμαρτία. Is. Why, our offence is equal!

Αν. θάρσει. σὺ μὲν ζῆς, ἡ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ πάλαι τέθνηκεν, ὥστε τοῖς θανούσιν ὠφελεῖν. (560) An. Be comforted! You are alive, but my life has long been dead, so as to help the dead.

#### Sophocles' *Antigone* 554-560

Three times in this passage (555, 557, and 559) Antigone directly follows a clause containing *σὺ μὲν* with a clause containing *δέ* and a first-person pronoun.<sup>56</sup> In this way she highlights her disalignment from her sister, that is, the contrast between their respective views—a rhetorical strategy that conveys emotional distance and hostility.<sup>57</sup>

§39 Ismene uses *μὲν... δέ* constructions within one line as well, but never to stress an opposition to her sister. In 99 she even uses it to emphasize that Antigone is dear to her: ἄνους μὲν ἔρχη, τοῖς φίλοις δ' ὀρθῶς φίλη “in your going you are foolish, but truly dear to those who are your own.”<sup>58</sup> The contrast expressed by the “local” *μὲν... δέ* construction, then, may also be used to express emotional nearness.

§40 When *μὲν... δέ* constructions contrast actions or situations, instead of decisions or opinions, they do not imply hostility, even if they do contrast the

<sup>56</sup> Griffith 1999 *ad loc.* notes that 555-560 refer back to the sisters' earlier argument at 71-81. Also in this earlier dialogue Antigone explicitly contrasts her own decisions to those of her sister, using *μὲν* and *δέ* to signal the oppositions.

<sup>57</sup> The use of antithesis and chiasmus (regardless of which particles are used) may also betray the influence of rhetoric on Sophocles' style. See Slings 1997b on such figures of speech (which he argues are not always literary language) in Sophocles and other authors. See e.g. McDonald 2007 and Pelling 2005 on the relation between rhetoric and tragedy in general; McDonald points out that rhetoric is more present in Sophocles than in Aeschylus, and even more in Euripides.

<sup>58</sup> See Griffith 2001:127-129 on differences between Antigone's and Ismene's speech styles. See also Finley 1939, who argues that Sophocles' *Antigone* is “in style the most antithetical (...) of all extant Greek tragedies” (58).

second and first person. For example, the angry Philoctetes in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 1021 and 1025-1026 uses the μέν... δέ construction twice in order to contrast his addressee (Odysseus) with himself, within a long monologue. However, he contrasts their respective situations, rather than their decisions; in this way he conveys more bitterness than hostility with these words. The differing nature of the co-texts, then, leads to an interpretation that is pragmatically different from the particles in Antigone's hostile utterances.

§41 Another example that clarifies the difference between μέν... δέ used to convey disalignment and μέν... δέ expressing another kind of contrast is the following passage from Aristophanes' *Women at the Thesmophoria*.<sup>59</sup> The character Euripides has just managed to distract the archer who was guarding Euripides' kinsman, and so has found an opportunity to rescue him.

(t8)

<p>Ευ. Ἐρμῆ δόλιε, ταυτὶ μὲν ἔτι καλῶς ποιεῖς.          σὺ μὲν οὖν ἀπότρεχε, παιδάριον, ταυτὶ          λαβών·          ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω τόνδε. σὺ δ' ὅπως ἀνδρικῶς,          ὅταν λυθῆς τάχιστα, φεύξει καὶ τενεῖς (1205)          ὡς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδί' οἴκαδε.</p>	<p>Eu. Trickster Hermes, just keep on giving          me this good luck! You can run along now,          kid; and take this stuff with you. And I'll          release this one. As soon as you get loose          you'd better run like a man away from          here and head back home to your wife and          kids.</p>
--	--

*Aristophanes' Women at the Thesmophoria* 1202-1206

After thanking the god Hermes for his good luck (1202), Euripides first orders one of his slaves to leave, marking this order with μέν (1203) as only part of what he wants

---

<sup>59</sup> Apart from the one in (t8), Aristophanic examples of such μέν... δέ constructions contrasting actions of first and second person without hostility include *Assemblywomen* 351-352, 509-510; *Frogs* 495-497; *Peace* 1122.

to say.<sup>60</sup> He then describes his own intended action in a δέ clause (ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω τόνδε, 1204): he will free his kinsman. Another δέ unit follows (σὺ δ' ὅπως ἀνδρικῶς, 1204), addressed to the kinsman, in which Euripides tells him, too, what he should do. The acts thus juxtapose actions by different people; they do not refer to different decisions or opinions, as Antigone's hostile μέν and δέ acts did.<sup>61</sup>

§42 The following passage from *Frogs* contains a further exploitation of μέν and δέ in successive acts, in this case with a metapoetic goal. No particular emotional state of mind is detectable from the context; again, the specific co-textual and contextual features determine the interpretation of the particle construction. The juxtaposition marked by μέν... δέ here combines with a figure of speech for parodic effect, as well as with a priming act. The god Dionysus has just told his half-brother Heracles that he wants to bring back Euripides from Hades.

(t9)

<p>Ηρ. εἴτ' οὐ Σοφοκλέα πρότερον ὄντ' Εὐριπίδου μέλλεις ἀναγαγεῖν, εἴπερ ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν;</p>	<p>He. if you must resurrect someone, then why not Sophocles, who's better than Euripides?</p>
<p>Δι. οὐ πρὶν γ' ἂν Ἴοφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον, ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὃ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω. κάλλως ὁ μὲν γ' Εὐριπίδης πανοῦργος ὢν (80) κἂν ξυναποδρᾶναι δεῦρ' ἐπιχειρήσειέ μοι   <u>ὁ δ'</u>   εὐκόλος μὲν ἐνθάδ',   εὐκόλος δ' ἐκεῖ.  </p>	<p>Di. No, first I want to get Iophon alone by himself and evaluate what he produces without Sophocles. Besides, Euripides is a slippery character and would probably even help me pull off an escape, whereas Sophocles was peaceable here and will be</p>

<sup>60</sup> μέν and οὖν do not form a cluster in this case, but each carry out their own separate function. οὖν here marks a conclusion from the preceding co-text or situation: now that the archer is gone, the next planned actions can go on. See chapter 2 §§82-83 on μέν οὖν as a cluster or as a combination of separate functions in drama.

<sup>61</sup> Another example of σὺ μέν... ἐγὼ δέ in Aristophanes, contrasting actions rather than decisions, is found in *Assemblywomen* 509-510.

peaceable there.

Aristophanes' *Frogs* 76-82

Slings 2002:101 argues that the repetition of εὐκόλος in 82 make this verse “not only a tribute to Sophocles’ character, but also to his style,” because Sophocles regularly makes use of anaphora, that is, repetition of words at the beginnings of successive clauses.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps, I would add, Aristophanes also means the juxtaposition of a μὲν unit and a δέ unit to allude to antithetic Sophoclean style.<sup>63</sup> The conspicuous act boundary after ὁ δ’, possibly accompanied by a prosodic break, further helps the line stand out. Together with the anaphora this priming act—typical of calm, carefully structured language use—makes the sentence appear like an official, important message. This form may have contributed to turning *Frogs* 82 into “probably the most famous anaphora from Aristophanes” (Slings 2002:101).

§43 To sum up my observations in this section: a speaker’s calmness tends to be linguistically reflected in subordinate clauses preceding their main clauses, pragmatic projection through vocatives and priming acts, and certain uses of μὲν. The particle δέ often figures in priming acts. However, μὲν and δέ also occur in constructions that are unrelated to a certain emotional state of mind. The difference depends on several co-textual and contextual elements.

### 5.3.2 Agitation

§44 Let us now have a look at the way tragic and comic speakers linguistically express agitation, the other end of the arousal dimension. Commentators describe the following passage from Aeschylus’ *Seven against Thebes*, for example, as conveying “alarm” (Tucker 1908 *ad loc.*) or “intense emotion” (Hutchinson 1985 *ad*

<sup>62</sup> See Slings 1997b:176-192 on anaphora in Sophocles’ *Electra* and several other authors.

<sup>63</sup> On antithesis in tragedy, see e.g. Navarre 1900:106; Finley 1939. See also note 57 above.



loc.).<sup>64</sup> Here a messenger informs the chorus (Theban women) of Eteocles and Polyneices' death:

(t10)

Αγγ. ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων. Me. The men have died at each other's  
(805) hands.

Χο. τίνες; | τί δ' εἶπας; | παραφρονῶ φόβῳ Ch. Who? What are you saying? Your words  
λόγου. are frightening me out of my mind.

Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* 805-806

In his discussion of this example Stanford 1983 adds precision to the commentators' descriptions: he remarks that “jerky syntax often indicates emotion” (99).<sup>65</sup> Differently formulated, the three discourse acts in 806 are not syntactically integrated, but form syntactic units on their own. This incremental style is reminiscent of the so-called “adding style” that is often mentioned in connection to Homeric syntax. As Bakker 1997c:147 discusses, this style is defined by “the absence of syntactic anticipation.” It is my impression that several successive acts without syntactic integration are typical of agitated tragic utterances. For example, a similar utterance in Aristophanes is found at *Lysistrata* 830bis with three discourse acts in less than one line: τί δ' ἐστίν; | εἰπέ μοι, | τίς ἢ βοή; (“But what is it? Tell me, what is the shouting?”). The speaker's apparent agitation, as expressed by the structure of her utterance, fits the parody of a (tragic) war situation, in which one suddenly sees an enemy approaching.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Even though “intense emotion” does not necessarily refer to an intense emotion with a high degree of arousal (see §22 with (t1) above), in this case it is likely that this is what Hutchinson means.

<sup>65</sup> A similar point is made by Mastrorarde 1979:62 about suspension of syntax beyond a turn of speaking in Euripides; see §18 above.

<sup>66</sup> Hutchinson 1985 *ad loc.* refers to two lines that are very similar in their syntactically incremental structure: Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 268, and Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 1231. As in (t10), in both these cases

§45 As for particles, γε and δῆτα occur more frequently in agitated than in calm contexts. In general, these particles typically appear in dialogues with short turns, that is, in communicative situations in which speakers come to the foreground in their identity as communicators (see chapter 2 §58). In such situations there is a clear focus on who is saying something, apart from the attention to what is said. The expression of agitated emotion, by its nature, tends to highlight the presence of the speaker, and therefore forms a suitable context for the two particles, just as dialogues in general do.

§46 Examples of γε in an agitated context are found at the end of a monologue by the dying Heracles in the *Women of Trachis*.<sup>67</sup> The hero in his rhesis speaks to the gods as well as to the people gathered at his deathbed: his son Hyllus, the chorus of Trachinian women, and an old man serving as a doctor.

(t11)

(Hr.) ἀλλ' εὖ γέ τοι τόδ' ἴστε, κἂν τὸ μηδὲν ὦ,	(He.) But know this for certain, even if I amount to nothing and I cannot move, I
κἂν μηδὲν ἔρπω, τήν γε δράσασαν τάδε	shall chastise her who has done this, even in
χειρώσομαι κάκ τῶνδε. προσμόλοι μόνον,	this condition! Let her only come near, so
ἴν' ἐκδιδαχθῆ ἅσιν ἀγγέλλειν ὅτι (1110)	that she may be taught to proclaim to all
καὶ ζῶν κακούς γε καὶ θανῶν ἐτεισάμην.	that both in life and in death I have

---

the speakers themselves refer to their emotional state of mind as a clarification for why they are asking for more information.

Examples of syntactic increments in agitated tragic monologues include the structures in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1266-1268 by Cassandra; Sophocles' *Ajax* 1003-1007 by Teucer; *Women of Trachis* 1086-1090 by Heracles; Euripides' *Andromache* 388-392 by Andromache; *Hecuba* 438-440 by Hecuba; *Medea* 1327-1332 by Jason. A similar example from Aristophanes is *Birds* 1199-1201 (a 3-line utterance).

<sup>67</sup> Other examples of γε in agitated tragic monologues include Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1279 by Cassandra; Euripides' *Andromache* 385 and 408 by Andromache. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1267, spoken by Cassandra, γε forms part of a conjecture, accepted by Smyth 1963 [1926], Murray 1955 [1937], Page 1972, and Sommerstein 2008a. West 1998 [1990] reads a conjecture containing θ' instead.

punished evildoers!

Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* 1107-1111

Heracles on his deathbed thinks (wrongly) that his wife Deianeira had intended to kill him, and he desperately wants to punish her for that. Here, γε works to highlight a specific part of the utterance: “but know this for certain” (ἀλλ’ εὖ τοι τόδ’ ἴστε) or only εὖ in 1107, “her who has done this” (τὴν δράσασαν) in 1108, and “evildoers” (κακούς) in 1111. As Jebb 2004 [1892] *ad* 1111 remarks, “[t]he γε is very expressive”; he uses italics to render this in his paraphrase. The particle, in other words, works similarly to prosodic emphasis.<sup>68</sup> Heracles indicates that he considers his angry message and his wife’s (presumed) responsibility highly important. Through this highlighting the particle indirectly reflects Heracles’ emotional agitation. More specifically, these γε instances reflect agitation in form of anger (see §§53-58 below). After 61 lines of mainly expressing pain, sadness, and desperation, but not anger (1046-1106)—without any γε—Heracles now turns his attention to the person he considers responsible for his situation, even though she is absent from the scene. That is, he turns to his feelings of anger.

§47 Recall from other chapters that γε’s pragmatic function is to highlight a specific part of the utterance as highly relevant, according to the speaker, and as implicitly contrasted to something else; indeed the highlighted part often relates to the speaker’s stance.<sup>69</sup> In this highlighting function, γε is comparable to the

---

<sup>68</sup> Note also the two exclamation marks in Lloyd-Jones’ translation. On the comparison of γε to exclamation marks, see §47 and §§90-91 below, and chapter 4 §64. Kamerbeek 1959 *ad loc.* merely calls γε in 1107 and 1111 “emphatic,” and the instance in 1108 “between emphatic and limitative.” Davies 1991 *ad* 1107 refers to Fraenkel 1977:37, who cites several semantically similar *loci*, including Sophocles’ *Antigone* 1064, which includes γε; however, neither commentator pays attention to the particle.

<sup>69</sup> For discussions of γε in drama, see chapters 2 §§58-63, 3 §§68-75, and 4 §§62-64. On γε in contexts of stancetaking, regardless of the speaker’s emotional state of mind, see §§69-63 below.

paralinguistic signs of prosodic emphasis or an exclamation mark.<sup>70</sup> That is to say, γε in itself does not express any emotion per se, but its use is very suitable for agitated contexts, just as prosodic emphasis and exclamation marks are.

§48 As a reflection of Heracles' agitation other than γε, the passage also contains a double repetition of καί, in both 1107-1109 (three instances) and 1111 (two instances), which emphasize the speaker's statements ("even if... even if... even" and "both in life and in death").<sup>71</sup> Moreover, in the online reception of these lines by hearers, it is not immediately clear whether the κἄν clauses syntactically belong to τόδ' ἴστε, and therefore follow their main clause, or to χειρώσομαι (1109), and therefore precede it. That is, even if they are retrospectively constructed with the latter, in their moment of utterance this structure is not yet apparent. The appearance of γε in both main clauses that frame the two κἄν clauses suggests that the prosodic emphasis is anyway on the pieces of information in the two main clauses. Regardless of the hypotactic structure, as received while hearing the lines or in retrospect, the first clause κἄν τὸ μηδὲν ᾧ̃ (1107) does not project a second one of similar structure. This repetition therefore creates the impression that these remarks have great relevance to Heracles—which fits the emotionally agitated context.

§49 δῆτα, which in monologues is even rarer than γε, usually occurs in contexts of agitation. Consider the following speech by Euripidean Heracles, after he has

---

<sup>70</sup> On the possibly emotional meaning of exclamation marks, it is interesting to note that Argaman 2010:92-94 includes "outstanding graphical means" such as certain forms of punctuation in her list of potential markers of emotional intensity in written Hebrew. Indeed, Argaman finds in her experiment that these features are more frequent in subjects' written expressions of more intense happiness than in those of less intense happiness. She does not, however, discuss the use, relevance, or statistical significance of these graphical means.

<sup>71</sup> See also chapter 2 §37 on this highlighting effect of repeated καί in certain contexts.

unwillingly killed his own wife and children. He has elaborately described the miseries throughout his life, and now cries out:

(t12)

(Hp.)	τί <u>δῆτά</u> με ζῆν δεῖ; τί κέρδος ἔξομεν	(He.)	Why then should I live? What
(1301)			advantage shall I have if I possess an
	βίον γ' ἀχρεῖον ἀνόσιον κεκτημένοι;		accursed and useless life?

Euripides' *Heracles* 1301-1302

Barlow 1996 *ad loc.* calls this rhesis (1255-1310) “a speech of despair”; she considers 1301-1302 its “emotional climax.”<sup>72</sup> Indeed one can hardly imagine a more desperate question than “why then should I live?” δῆτα indicates a logical connection to the preceding co-text; at the same time, since it normally occurs in dialogues, where questions are immediately answered, δῆτα provides a tone of urgency, and draws attention to the speaker.<sup>73</sup> It thereby reflects and emphasizes the speaker’s agitation and desperation.<sup>74</sup> Menge 1999 [1914]:246 implies this emotional implication of δῆτα questions in his general translation of τί δῆτα into German: “was denn nur?”<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Also Bond 1981 *ad* 1255-1310 observes the strong emotionality of the speech, especially after line 1279. On Sophocles, Goldhill 2012:43 similarly suggests that δῆτα, especially when repeated, may indicate “emotional expressivity.”

<sup>73</sup> See chapter 3 §78 on δῆτα in questions marking a logical connection; see chapter 3 §80 on δῆτα questions in monologues creating the impression of a quasi-dialogue.

<sup>74</sup> Other examples of δῆτα questions in emotional tragic monologues than in Oedipus’ speech include Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* 1264 and 1285 by Cassandra; Sophocles’ *Ajax* 518 by Tecmessa; *Philoctetes* 1348, 1352, and 1367 by Philoctetes; Euripides’ *Andromache* 404 by Andromache. The instance in Euripides’ *Children of Heracles* 162 occurs in a rational, non-emotional speech, but at this point of his speech the speaker, the herald, imagines hypothetical arguments against his own opinion (see W. Allan 2001 and Wilkins 1993 *ad loc.*); obviously he wants to present those counter-arguments as less rational.

Other examples of δῆτα questions in strongly emotional contexts (outside of long monologues) include Aeschylus’ *Prometheus Bound* 747 by Io (a 5-line utterance); Sophocles’ *Antigone* 230 by the guard (a 14-line utterance), 449 by Creon (a 1-line utterance; καὶ δῆτα is called “indignant” by Griffith 1999 *ad loc.*); Euripides’ *Electra* 967 by Orestes (a 1-line utterance); *Hippolytus* 806 (a 5-line utterance); Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 1399 by Euripides (a 1-line utterance).

<sup>75</sup> Wiesner 1999:356 also suggests “denn (nur)” as a German translation for δῆτα in questions. A Google search of “was denn nur?” (23 December, 2014) shows entries with several question marks

§50 Agitated speakers, then, frequently employ an “incremental” style, where subsequent clauses are not projected beforehand. Additionally, the particles γε and δῆτα are connected to agitation. γε highlights a specific part of an utterance and thereby emphasizes what the speaker is agitated about. δῆτα questions in monologues convey a sense of urgency, and appeal to hearers, since they are expected to be immediately answered. The particle γε may also reflect agitation in a more specific way, which is what we will turn to next.

#### **5.4 The different emotional and interactional associations of γε in Aristophanes**

§51 The connection of γε to agitated contexts merits closer attention, because more specific relations between the particle and certain emotional and interactional contexts can be identified. In fact the particle does not just fit agitation in general, but, as already suggested concerning (t11), at least in drama it is associated with angry contexts. In addition, γε tends to occur in contexts of stancetaking, which cross-cut those of anger: stancetaking contexts may or may not involve anger or agitation in general. In this section I analyze examples from both of these—sometimes overlapping—contexts; together these two uses account for most of the γε instances of in tragedy and comedy.<sup>76</sup> Here I focus on Aristophanes, since γε is much more frequent there than in tragedy.<sup>77</sup>

---

and/or exclamation marks, as well as contributions provided with explicit descriptions of the author’s desperate feeling (e.g. “[ich] werd langsam wahnsinnig” at [www.urbia.de/archiv/forum/th-3517711/aaah-werd-langsam-wahnsinnig-was-denn-nur-los.html](http://www.urbia.de/archiv/forum/th-3517711/aaah-werd-langsam-wahnsinnig-was-denn-nur-los.html)). An expression such as “what the hell?” seems to work as an English paraphrase of “was denn nur?”.

<sup>76</sup> Two other uses of γε in drama, that can also overlap with contexts of anger and/or of stancetaking, are the one in resonance contexts, which I discuss in chapter 3 §§68-71, and the one at the beginning of answers, which I discuss in chapter 4 §62.

<sup>77</sup> The frequency of γε in Aristophanes, more than 1% of all words, is higher than in any other author of Greek literature; see chapter 2 note 186.

§52 The particle's unparalleled high frequency in Aristophanes reflects the playwright's tendency to let speakers refer explicitly to their own subjective opinions, judgments, attitudes, and feelings—often in potential contrast to those of others—rather than mainly to external topics, such as those in arguments, narratives, or gnomic reflections. Although both tragedy and comedy contain all these communicative actions, the latter genre tends to draw more attention to the speaker of a message, and tragedy more to the message itself.<sup>78</sup> This generalization may be connected to Taplin's claim that comedy tends to pay more attention to particulars, and tragedy more to the general: comedy, as he puts it, “cannot universalise for long without falling over a heap of dung” (1986:173).<sup>79</sup> The comic emphasis on particular things fits well with a linguistic emphasis on individual speakers.

#### 5.4.1 γε in angry contexts

§53 Anger is a specific kind of agitated emotion.<sup>80</sup> It is also an interactional emotion: it involves not only someone experiencing the emotion, but also an external agent to whom the angry person attributes responsibility for causing the anger. As Konstan 2006:45 puts it, anger “involves a judgment of intentions. That is why we do not normally get angry at stones: they can hurt us, but cannot insult us (...). Nor can we take revenge on them.” Anger is inherently a reaction to a (real or supposed)

---

<sup>78</sup> As one illustration, consider the example of εὖ γε (or εὖ γ'), an expression with little semantic content but a strong connection to the speaker's personal view: it occurs once in Aeschylus, 5 times in Sophocles, 6 times in Euripides, and 17 times in Aristophanes. Stevens 1976:8 considers the expression “clearly colloquial.”

<sup>79</sup> Taplin discusses several differences between tragedy and Old Comedy, mainly concerning the relation of the play's worlds to the audience's world, and the related use of theatrical self-reference. He concludes that the two genres “are in essence fundamentally different” (1986:173).

<sup>80</sup> See e.g. Kuppens 2009:32 (on anger in modern humans in general) and (t1) above for anger as an emotion with a relatively high degree of arousal.

action by someone else, unlike other feelings such as joy, happiness, sadness, grief, despair, or even fear, which can all be felt without the influence of other people.<sup>81</sup>

§54 Konstan warns that the ancient Greek conception of anger differs from the modern English one. That is, Aristotle describes one of the ancient Greek terms for anger, ὀργή, as “a realizable desire for revenge” (2006:64) in reaction to a slight that involves contempt. Aristotle sharply distinguishes between anger on the one hand—a personal, temporary reaction to an intentional insult, with the possibility of revenge—and hatred or enmity on the other hand—a lasting, general attitude towards someone.<sup>82</sup> In English, by contrast, these two concepts overlap to a great extent, according to Konstan. I focus on linguistic reflections of the personal, temporary feeling of anger, but do not analyze the particular causes of this feeling; thus the appraisal causes of the feelings I focus on may include not only contemptuous insults, but also general intentional harm.

---

<sup>81</sup> On anger in general, see e.g. Kuppens 2009. On taking into account the appraisal causes of emotions in distinguishing between them (see also §22 above on such classification), see e.g. Riesenzein 1994:537. In this vein, anger typically presupposes that an action of some external agent has taken place in order to trigger the emotion. Kuppens 2009 notes that the agent who is blamed for a “goal-incongruent” situation does not necessarily have to be external, but typically is so. See Konstan 2006:38-40 on emphasis placed by Aristotle on emotions in social interactions, such as anger, rather than emotions arising without others’ intentions, such as sadness. See also §17 above on Luraghi and Sausa 2015 on emotion verbs in Homer: they find that verbs involving active reactions to other agents are construed with different grammatical constructions than verbs that only involve the experiencing subject. On fear in general, and the various stimuli that may cause it, see Öhman 2009.

<sup>82</sup> See Aristotle’s definition of ὀργή at *Rhetoric* 2.1.1378a, cited by Allen 2003:79 and Konstan 2006:41. See Konstan 2006:46-76 for discussion of the differences, according to Aristotle. On another Greek term for anger, that is, μῆνις, which plays a central role in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, see e.g. Clay 1983:esp. 65-68 (specifically on the *Odyssey*); Frisk 1946; Muellner 1996 (specifically on the *Iliad* and Hesiod’s *Theogony*); Watkins 1977. On μῆνις as well as other Greek terms for anger, such as χόλος, see Cairns 2003; Considine 1966; Irmscher 1950. Specifically on κότος and χόλος in Homer, see Walsh 2005.



§55 In tragedy and comedy anger plays a crucial role: it is often a driving force in the unfolding plot.<sup>83</sup> As Allen 2003 points out, anger was a central concept in fifth-century Athens, especially in the ethical discussions “that produced Athenian definitions of the good citizen, justice, and just behavior.” (78) The author detects reflections of a positive view on male anger in Aristophanic comedies: there anger is treated as the source of Athens’ independence, greatness, and egalitarianism (84). Tragedy, on the other hand, often revolves around “the angry woman” according to Allen (84), which is connected to the Athenian fear that anger would enter into the household, where it would be destructive.<sup>84</sup>

§56 The expression of anger in tragedy and comedy, then, tends to have different functions in terms of plot and character, just like the expression of calmness (see §25 above); nevertheless, in both genres the use of  $\gamma\epsilon$  can be connected to this emotion. In fact  $\gamma\epsilon$  appears in contexts of strong emotion since Homer;<sup>85</sup> for Aristophanes this usage has also been observed.<sup>86</sup>  $\gamma\epsilon$ ’s function naturally fits angry contexts, for what is at stake when someone is angry is that she has a different opinion from someone else, at the very least. Indeed, I have found  $\gamma\epsilon$  in both tragedy and comedy to be particularly frequent in angry or otherwise agitated contexts.<sup>87</sup> In general, as I discuss in chapter 2 §§58-63,  $\gamma\epsilon$  is significantly

---

<sup>83</sup> This is the case also for the *Iliad* (see e.g. Irmscher 1950; Muellner 1996; Walsh 2005) and, as Clay 1983 argues, the *Odyssey*.

<sup>84</sup> See also Konstan’s discussion (2006:57-64) of the anger of Medea and Hecuba in Euripides’ plays, and Gerolemou 2011 on “mad women” in tragedy.

<sup>85</sup> See e.g. Monro 1882:258 on  $\gamma\epsilon$  in Homer: the particle “sometimes emphasises a word as a strong or appropriate one, or as chosen under the influence of a feeling (anger, contempt, etc.).”

<sup>86</sup> On  $\gamma\epsilon$  in Aristophanes connected to emotionality in general, see Neil 1901:188: “After the first word in a sentence,  $\gamma\epsilon$  emphasizes the word and gives an emotional or ‘pathetic’ colour to the whole phrase.”

<sup>87</sup> Examples of  $\gamma\epsilon$  in angry contexts other than the ones discussed in this section include Aeschylus’ *Libation Bearers* 190 (though  $\gamma\epsilon$  here, printed by Page 1972, West 1998 [1990], and Sommerstein 2008, is Porson’s conjecture of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , and not accepted by Blass 1906, Garvie 1986, Groeneboom 1949, and Murray 1955 [1937]); Sophocles’ *Antigone* 70, 538, 739, 745, 747, 762; *Electra* 298, 341, 518, 520, 536;

more frequent in dialogues than elsewhere. This distribution makes it likely that γε's functions are connected to the speaker's personal involvement.

§57 In this scene from Aristophanes' *Frogs*, two innkeepers (called "innkeeper" and Plathane in Henderson's translation) in the Underworld are furious with Heracles for eating an enormous amount of food without paying. They obviously do not realize that the person looking like Heracles standing in front of them is actually Dionysus in a costume.

(t13)

<p>(...) Πα. οὐ μὲν οὖν με προσεδόκας, (556bis)          ὅτι κ' κοθόρνους εἶχες, ἀναγνῶναί σ' ἔτι;          τί δαί; τὸ πολὺ τάριχος οὐκ εἶρηκά πω.</p> <p>Πλ. μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ τὸν τυρόν γε τὸν χλωρόν,          τάλαν,          ὃν οὔτος αὐτοῖς τοῖς ταλάροις κατήσθιεν.</p>	<p>In. Hah! You didn't think I'd recognize you again with those buskins on. Well? I haven't even mentioned all that fish yet.</p> <p>Pl. Right, dearie, or the fresh cheese that he ate up, baskets and all.</p>
--	--

(560)

<p>Πα. κάπειτ' ἐπειδὴ τάργυριον ἐπραττόμην,          ἔβλεψεν εἰς με δριμὺ κάμυκᾶτό γε—</p> <p>Ξα. τούτου πάνυ τοῦργον· οὔτος ὁ τρόπος          πανταχοῦ.</p> <p>Πα. καὶ τὸ ξίφος γ' ἐσπᾶτο, μαίνεσθαι δοκῶν.</p>	<p>In. And when I presented the bill, he gave me a nasty look and started bellowing.</p> <p>Xa. That's his style exactly; he acts that way everywhere.</p> <p>In. And he drew his sword like a lunatic.</p>
--	---

Aristophanes' *Frogs* 556bis-564

In this case the speakers' angry mood is not reflected in an incremental syntactic style (in 557 and 561 a subordinate clause intervenes within the main clause) but the dialogue does contain a striking number of γε instances. The speaker's anger can be

---

*Oedipus King* 361, 363, 365, 369, 372 (δέ... γε; see chapter 4 §§80-83), 376, 383, 393; *Oedipus at Colonus* 1352, 1354; *Women of Trachis* 1107, 1106, 1111 (on these three cases see (t8) above with discussion), 1127; Euripides' *Hippolytus* 1080; *Medea* 495, 514, 608; Aristophanes' *Birds* 892, 894, 1208, 1210, 1216, 1220, 1575; *Frogs* 845; *Lysistrata* 529 (twice), 530; *Wasps* 416, 422 (see ὀργῆς in 424), 486.

inferred from the content of the dialogue; linguistically it is here reflected especially in their particle use.

§58 Tsakmakis 2010 interprets the use of  $\gamma\epsilon$  in this scene as a marker of coherence. In this way, he argues,  $\gamma\epsilon$  “highlights the common ground of the communication” (351). The use of  $\gamma\epsilon$  in 562, for example, is in his view “a rhetorical strategy intended to make the new information appear consistent with existing contextual information. Consequently, the new information will appear less unbelievable” (351). However, in this angry context the innkeeper and Plathane are probably not primarily interested in emphasizing that the narrated events (eating cheese in 559, bellowing in 562, and drawing a sword in 564) form a coherent story.<sup>88</sup> After all, both interlocutors have witnessed the events. They rather want to stress the outrageous nature of Heracles’ behavior.  $\gamma\epsilon$ ’s local function is to single out τὸν τυρόν (559), κάμυκᾶτό (562), and τὸ ξίφος (564)—implying, for example, that these events was extremely unexpected or outrageous. The women also emphasize stealing cheese, bellowing, and drawing one’s sword as successive stages of escalation.<sup>89</sup> In 564 it is rather καί, in my view, that marks the link with the preceding utterance (here the speaker’s own previous turn in 561-562). More globally  $\gamma\epsilon$  reflects the speakers’ agitated state of mind, in this case anger. Moreover, the particle’s distribution across tragedy and comedy makes Tsakmakis’ interpretation improbable (see §56 above). If its function would be the marking of

---

<sup>88</sup> Tsakmakis notes (2010:347n11) that Bakker 1988:97-98 “rightly observes that  $\gamma\epsilon$  is always related to a fact,” which may lead one to think that truth is important in  $\gamma\epsilon$ -utterances. However, Bakker’s description exclusively concerns  $\gamma\epsilon$  in Homer, whereas Tsakmakis discusses its use in Aristophanes; this does not need to be exactly the same as in Homer. Moreover, even when there is emphasis on facts, emotional or otherwise subjective implications can be attached to that emphasis. Note that in Aristophanes,  $\gamma\epsilon$  is often found in stancetaking (see §§59-63 below, and chapter 4 §63), which cannot be called pure “facts.”

<sup>89</sup> The mentioning of these events are preceded by that of eating bread (551), meat (553, with  $\gamma\epsilon$ ), garlic (555), fish (558), and followed by a description of the women’s fear (565bis, with  $\gamma\epsilon$ ), and of Heracles’ departure with their mattresses (567, with  $\gamma\epsilon$ ).

coherence, we would expect to find γε equally often in calm as in agitated contexts.<sup>90</sup>

#### 5.4.2 γε in stancetaking contexts

§59 Communicative situations involving anger, then, form highly suitable contexts for the pragmatic functions of γε. However, the particle also appears in contexts without anger or another kind of agitation. In these situations γε’s function simply is to imply a contrast with others’ views. The unifying factor in these cases is the phenomenon of stancetaking.<sup>91</sup>

§60 In the following passage from *Birds*, Tereus the Hoopoe has asked Peisetaerus and Euelpides, two Athenian visitors, what kind of city they are looking for. Peisetaerus has just answered that he would love to live in a city where his friends would insist on inviting him to parties. Tereus reacts:

(t14)

Επ. νή Δία ταλαιπώρων γε πραγμάτων ἔρᾳς.	Te. My word, it’s miserable troubles you [i.e.
(135)	Peisetaerus] long for! And what about you
τί δαὶ σύ;	[i.e. Euelpides]?
Ευ. τοιούτων ἔρῳ κάγω. (136bis)	Eu. I long for much the same.
Επ. τίνων; (136ter)	Te. Namely?

Aristophanes’ *Birds* 135-136

<sup>90</sup> Tsakmakis notes (2010:345n2) that his discussion of γε is influenced by Kroon’s 2009 description of the Latin particle *quidem*, which she argues to be a signal (both backward- and forward-looking) of conceptual unity across several discourse acts. This description seems to work well for *quidem*, which according to Kroon (155) is relatively rare in dialogic contexts; this does not mean, however, that it would translate well to Greek γε, which favors dialogues and agitated contexts. Tsakmakis does note that “[t]he communicative situation is extremely important” (352n20), which includes the “degree of involvement,” but in my view this observation does not influence his analysis enough.

<sup>91</sup> See also chapter 4 §§63-67 on linguistic features of utterances that express stancetaking in drama.

Tereus reacts to Peisetaerus' tastes by taking a clear stance: he finds them "miserable." This qualification is meant ironically, as the "troubles" that Peisetaerus longs for are in fact pleasant. That is, the utterance implies a contrast between its literal meaning and the conveyed ironic meaning. With γε Tereus highlights this implicit contrast, thereby emphasizing the irony.<sup>92</sup>

§61 Commentators observe emotions other than anger in this passage, which do not necessarily imply any agitation. Van Leeuwen 1902 *ad loc.* interprets Tereus as laughing (*ridens*) while saying this; Dunbar 1995 *ad loc.* considers Tereus' tone here "surprised." γε in Aristophanes, then, does not in itself express anger or, more generally, agitation; it can be employed in more friendly contexts, in order to emphasize part of a stancetaking expression or answer.

§62 γε also occurs in contexts that relate to both stancetaking and anger. An example is found in the utterance directly following (t14): Euelpides' answer to Tereus' question.

(t15)

Επ. τί δαὶ σύ;

(Te.) And what about you [i.e. Euelpides]?

Ευ. τοιοῦτων ἐρῶ καὶ γώ. (136bis)

Eu. I long for much the same.

Επ. τίνων; (136ter)

Te. Namely?

Ευ. ὅπου ξυναντῶν μοι ταδί τις μέμψεται  
ὥσπερ ἀδικηθεὶς παιδὸς ὠραίου πατήρ  
“καλῶς γέ μου τὸν υἱόν, ᾧ Στιλβωνίδη,  
εὐρῶν ἀπιόντ' ἀπὸ γυμνασίου λελουμένον  
(140)

Eu. A city where a blooming boy's father would bump into me and complain in this fashion, as if wronged: "A fine way you treat my son, Mr. Smoothy! You met him leaving the gymnasium after his bath, and you didn't kiss him, didn't chat him up, didn't hug him, didn't fondle his balls—and you are

οὐκ ἔκυσας, οὐ προσεῖπας, οὐ προσηγάγου,  
οὐκ ὠρχιπέδισας, ὧν ἐμοὶ πατρικὸς φίλος.”

<sup>92</sup> Note the exclamation mark in Henderson's translation. Dunbar 1995 *ad loc.* paraphrases γε's contribution with italics in her paraphrase of the utterance.

my old friend!”

Aristophanes’ *Birds* 136-142

Euelpides explains what would present an “ideal problem” for him: namely, the possibility that the father of an attractive boy might complain if Euelpides did *not* kiss his son. The quoted man feels wronged and insulted by Euelpides’ hypothetical behavior: one can infer that the imagined father is angry.<sup>93</sup> The quotation also involves irony or sarcasm, since the cited speaker could never mean *καλῶς* in a serious way (cf. 137 *μέμψεται*, “complain,” “blame”).<sup>94</sup> *γε* after *καλῶς* in 139 highlights the contrast between the literal meaning of this evaluative adverb, and the implied negative meaning. The particle also helps to signal that the announced quotation is starting: in Aristophanes the particle frequently occurs in turn-initial position in utterances expressing stance.<sup>95</sup>

§63 *γε*’s functions are associated, then, with several emotional and interactional contexts. Highlighting the speaker’s own view, often in implicit contrast to others, is particularly suitable for utterances that express anger. The connection to the speaker’s opinion also fits contexts of stancetaking. The implicit contrast that *γε* hints at can be part of an ironic expression, where the literal meaning of a word contrasts with its conveyed meaning. Irony always involves stancetaking; it may or may not be combined with anger.

---

<sup>93</sup> Dunbar 1995 *ad loc.* explicitly describes this hypothetical father as angry. In line with the emotional tone, Henderson uses an exclamation mark in his translation of the *γε* utterance, as well as Dunbar 1995 and Van Leeuwen 1902 *ad loc.* in their paraphrases. Hartung 1832:372 also cites this instance, using boldface to convey the highlighting function of *γε*.

<sup>94</sup> On the irony or sarcasm in this utterance, see Bothe 1829, Dunbar 1995, Kock 1876, and Van Leeuwen 1902 *ad loc.*

<sup>95</sup> See chapter 4 §63. In a different instance, namely *Birds* 1327, Dunbar 1995 *ad loc.* and Neil 1901:190 consider the presence of *γε* an argument for reading a change in speaker. See also Neil 1901:190 on the general association of *γε* with speaker changes in Aristophanes.

A very similar expression of stance with *γε* in a hypothetical quotation is found in 1442 of the same comedy, where all commentators refer back to 139. The expression in 1442 is not ironic.

## 5.5 Two tragic case studies of calmness versus agitation

§64 This section spotlights calm and agitated speech that simultaneously illustrate several of the findings discussed so far. The first case study compares utterances by the same character in different states of mind, the second involves the emotional inclinations of a play's two main characters.

### 5.5.1 Sophocles' calm versus agitated Oedipus

§65 Two speeches by Oedipus in *Oedipus King* well exemplify the two ends of the arousal spectrum. At the play's beginning, when Oedipus is unaware of his troubles, he appears calm, but at the end he becomes extremely desperate, that is, agitated in a certain way. The difference in these emotional states is reflected in several linguistic differences.

§66 At the very start of the play, Oedipus utters the following lines.

(t16)

Οἱ ᾧ τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τροφή,  
 τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θαάζετε  
 ἰκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι;  
 πόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει,  
 ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων· (5)  
 ἀγῶ δικαιῶν μὴ παρ' ἀγγέλων, τέκνα,  
 ἄλλων ἀκούειν αὐτὸς ᾧδ' ἐλήλυθα,  
 ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.  
 ἀλλ', ᾧ γεραῖέ, φράζ', ἐπεὶ πρέπων ἔφους  
 πρὸ τῶνδε φωνεῖν, τίτι τρόπῳ καθέστατε, (10)  
 δείσαντες ἢ στέρξαντες; ὡς θέλοντος ἂν  
 ἐμοῦ προσαρκεῖν πᾶν· δυσάλητος γὰρ ἂν  
 εἶην τοιάνδε μὴ οὐ κατοικτίρων ἔδραν.

Oe. Children, latest to be reared from the stock of Cadmus, why do you sit like this before me, with boughs of supplication wreathed with chaplets? and why is the city filled at the same time with incense, and with the sound of paeans and lamentations? Thinking it wrong to hear this from the report of others, my children, I have come myself, I who am called Oedipus, renowned to all. Come, aged man, tell me, since it is fitting you should speak for these, what is your state, one of fear or one of longing? Know that I am willing to render every kind of aid; I would be hard of heart if I felt no pity at such a supplication.

Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1-13

These words situate the audience in the play's opening state of affairs and enable them to infer Oedipus' specific state of mind at that point. He is here presented as a thoughtful and compassionate king, ready to help his people in times of need. He wants to inform himself well before taking action. As is usual for speakers at the beginning of tragedies,<sup>96</sup> the king appears calm, despite references to his own sense of worry and pity (κατοικτίρων, 13).<sup>97</sup>

§67 The speech contains an elaborate participial clause preceding its main clause, as well as examples of pragmatic projection through vocatives, ἀλλά, and a priming act.<sup>98</sup> In lines 6-7 a long participial clause, with the intervening vocative τέκνα in 6, precedes the finite verb ἐλήλυθα. In 1 the vocative ὦ τέκνα produces pragmatic projection: it is not complete on its own, but pragmatically requires the attachment of an utterance addressed to this addressee (see §30 above). ὦ τέκνα projects more than one discourse act: τίνας ποθ' ἔδρας τάσδε μοι θοάζετε, and

---

<sup>96</sup> Other calm speakers are found at the beginning of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (Pythia), *Seven against Thebes* (Eteocles); Sophocles' *Ajax* (Athena), *Electra* (old slave), *Philoctetes* (Odysseus), *Women of Trachis* (Deineira; she describes her fear, but in a calm way); Euripides' *Andromache* (Andromache; she speaks of her misery, but without agitation), *Bacchae* (Dionysus), *Children of Heracles* (Iolaus), *Hecuba* (Polydorus), *Hippolytus* (Aphrodite).

<sup>97</sup> Bollack 1990, Dawe 2006 [1982], Van Herwerden 1866, and Jebb 1887 [1883] do not remark on the speaker's emotions in this passage. Willms 2014:299 describes the chorus and Oedipus at the start of the play as full of confidence that the king will be able to solve the problem; in particular, the scholar writes that Oedipus "sich in dieser Szene durch im Vergleich zu seiner sozialen Umgebung signifikante Angstlosigkeit auszeichnet" ("is characterized in this scene by a significant fearlessness, in comparison to his social environment"). Ritter 1870 speaks of Oedipus' "Wahre Liebe und innige Theilnahme für die Bittenden" ("true love and heartfelt sympathy for the suppliants"; ad 6-8), and Kamerbeek 1967 mentions his "readiness to be helpful" (ad 6-7), remarks that can perhaps be connected to a relatively calm state of mind.

<sup>98</sup> Although the speech is only 75 words long and it is therefore hard to say anything about frequencies of linguistic items, perhaps another reflection of calmness is that the frequencies of first-person references (5 instances, that is 6.7%) and of negations (3 instances, that is 4.0%) are closer to the average frequencies in Sophoclean monologues of 25 lines or longer (6.5 and 4.0%, respectively) than to those in Sophoclean dialogues (7.3 and 4.9%, respectively). See §72 and note 106 below for the strikingly high frequencies of these items in Oedipus' agitated speech.



ἰκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι. The extension of the already incomplete vocative with the apposition Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τροφή in line 1 delays the fulfillment of the projection in this case. That is, even though appositions may be part of a purely incremental style, here the construction contributes to prolonging the vocative’s pragmatic projection.

§68 Another vocative, ὦ γεραῖέ “old man,” occurs in 9, again triggering the expectation of subsequent words—now addressed to the old priest rather than the group of young suppliants. In this case the main clause φράζ’ “tell me” follows immediately afterwards. This verb in itself semantically projects a complement clause clarifying what the addressee should tell, even though the utterance would have been syntactically complete if it had ended here.<sup>99</sup> Moreover, the particle ἀλλά before the vocative enhances the pragmatic projection: whether we read it as a discourse act on its own or as one act together with ὦ γεραῖέ, ἀλλά always marks some shift in the communication.<sup>100</sup> The shift to a different addressee in this case creates the pragmatic expectation that several upcoming text segments will be addressed to this person, not just one imperative.

§69 Oedipus’ speech also contains a priming act: πόλις δ’ | ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει (4). As in the Aristophanic example of a priming act discussed in §31 above, the particle μὲν retrospectively demonstrates the discourse-act boundary directly after δέ. The ὁμοῦ μὲν and ὁμοῦ δέ acts following it both pertain semantically to “the city”: together they form a multi-act whole.<sup>101</sup> With δέ Oedipus presents πόλις

<sup>99</sup> In this case the pragmatic projection is less strong than in the case of the vocative, because Oedipus has already asked the questions to which he would like his addressee to respond (lines 2-5).

<sup>100</sup> On the functions and uses of ἀλλά in drama in general, see chapter 2 §§64-68.

<sup>101</sup> In this case, the projection is simultaneously syntactic as well, because πόλις is the subject of the following finite verb γέμει, but since no full syntactic clause intervenes between them, the syntactic projection is less striking. That is, syntactically the structure πόλις δ’ ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει is

δ' as a new step in the communication, without making a more specific connection explicit.<sup>102</sup>

§70 Now let us turn to Oedipus' later agitation. The following passage is part of the speech (1369-1415, 46 lines in total, 295 words) that he utters shortly after he has learned of his troubles and blinded himself.

(t17)

<p>Oi. (...) ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων πατέρα ποτ' ἂν προσεῖδον εἰς Ἅιδου μολῶν, οὐδ' αὖ τάλαιναν μητέρ', οἷν ἐμοὶ δυοῖν ἔργ' ἐστὶ κρείσσον' ἀγχόνης εἰργασμένα. ἀλλ' ἢ τέκνων <u>δῆτ'</u> ὄψις ἦν ἐφίμερος, (1375) βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἔβλαστε, προσλεύσσειν ἐμοί; οὐ <u>δῆτα</u> τοῖς <u>γ'</u> ἐμοῖσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτε· οὐδ' ἄστυ <u>γ'</u>, οὐδὲ πύργος, οὐδὲ δαιμόνων ἀγάλαθ' ἱερά, τῶν ὀ παντλήμων ἐγὼ κάλλιστ' ἀνήρ εἷς ἔν <u>γ</u>ε ταῖς Θήβαις τραφεῖς (1380) ἀπεστέρησ' ἐμαυτόν, αὐτὸς ἐννέπων ὠθεῖν ἅπαντας τὸν ἀσεβῆ, τὸν ἐκ θεῶν φανέντ' ἀναγνον καὶ γένους τοῦ Λαΐου.</p>	<p>Oe. (...) For I do not know with what eyes I could have looked upon my father when I went to Hades, or upon my unhappy mother, since upon them both I have done deeds that hanging could not atone for. Then, could I desire to look upon my children, since their origins were what they were? Never could these eyes have harboured such desire! Nor to look upon the city, or the wall, or the statues of the gods or the temples, from which I, who had enjoyed the greatest luxury in Thebes, had in misery cut myself off, commanding with my own lips that all should drive from their houses the impious one, the one whom the gods had shown to be impure and of the race of Laius.</p>
--	---

Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1371-1383

This rhesis is highly emotional. Commentators speak of Oedipus' dread in remembering his incest,<sup>103</sup> his "incommunicable anguish,"<sup>104</sup> and his "desperate

---

simply one independent clause distributed over two discourse acts, rather than preceded or interrupted by another, dependent clause, as in the stronger cases of syntactic projection.

<sup>102</sup> On the possible exploitation of the "neutral" connection signaled by δέ in tragedy, see chapter 2 §§24-25.

<sup>103</sup> Van Herwerden 1866 ad 1376.

state of mind.”<sup>105</sup> Kamerbeek 1967 *ad* 1398-99 describes the whole speech as “Oedipus’ most pathetic rhesis.” Emotions such as desperation and anguish can be said to belong to the agitated pole of the arousal dimension.

§71 The use of particles reflects Oedipus’ emotionality. The entire speech contains, notably, four  $\gamma\epsilon$  (1377, 1378, 1380, 1386) and two  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  (1375, 1377). The  $\gamma\epsilon$  instances locally highlight specific parts of the content that are particularly connected to Oedipus’ curse (the city of Thebes) or his current misfortune (his eyes), and globally reflect his state of mind.  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  in 1375 makes its host question resemble a dialogic turn of speaking, thus engaging potential hearers. Oedipus goes on to answer his rhetorical question himself with  $\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}$   $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  in 1377: here the particle provides a strong emphasis on the negation (see chapter 2 §62).

§72 Numerous other linguistic features likewise reflect the agitation. Besides the semantic markers  $\text{p}\alpha\text{n}\tau\lambda\eta\mu\omega\text{n}$  (1379),  $\text{t}\acute{o}\upsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\varsigma$  (1388), and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu$  (1413), the abundance of first-person references (29 in total, 10% of all words) and negations (19 in total, 6% of all words) is remarkable.<sup>106</sup> The two devices work together to push the speaker into the foreground, the first-person references by directly pointing to the speaker, negations by reflecting his subjective influence on his way of expression.<sup>107</sup> Oedipus now knows that all eyes are on him, because he himself has been the center of the story which he had been unraveling.

§73 Regarding syntax and textual structure, this passage does not contain moves with a priming act followed by several acts fulfilling its projection, as the calm speech at the play’s beginning did. Rather, the linguistic structure mainly reflects a

---

<sup>104</sup> Jebb 1887 [1883] *ad* 1415.

<sup>105</sup> Kamerbeek 1967 *ad* 1389-1390.

<sup>106</sup> The average frequency of first-person references in Sophoclean monologues is 6.5%; of negations 4.0%. See note 98 above, and chapter 2 note 115 on first-person references, and note 137 on negations.

<sup>107</sup> On the relation of negations to the speaker’s explicit presence, see chapter 2 §66.

“spontaneous” adding of discourse acts onto each other, as in ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ’ | ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων | / πατέρα ποτ’ ἄν προσεῖδον | εἰς Ἄιδου μολῶν, | / οὐδ’ αὖ τάλαιναν μητέρ’ (“For I do not know | [looking] with what eyes | I could have looked upon my father | when I went to Hades, | or upon my unhappy mother,” 1372-1373). Here the syntax is complete after προσεῖδον, and does not project another discourse act. Oedipus could have formulated the remarks about Hades and his mother in a separate construction; instead he adds them as increments to the already syntactically complete remark about his father.<sup>108</sup>

§74 Other examples of such syntactic increments in (t17), which do not project the structure beforehand, include οὐδ’ ἄστν γ’, | οὐδὲ πύργος, | οὐδὲ δαιμόνων / ἀγάλμαθ’ ἱερά (“nor to look upon the city, or the wall, or the statues of the gods or the temples,” 1378-1379) and αὐτὸς ἐννέπων / ὠθεῖν ἅπαντας τὸν ἀσεβῆ, | τὸν ἐκ θεῶν / φανέντ’ ἀναγνον | καὶ γένους τοῦ Λαΐου (“commanding with my own lips that all should drive from their houses the impious one, the one whom the gods had shown to be impure and of the race of Laius,” 1381-1383). The syntax would not have required these linguistic units to be placed where they are. Therefore they give the impression that Oedipus only thinks of them at the very moment of utterance.

§75 The multi-act structure | τῶν ὁ παντλήμων ἐγὼ | / κάλλιστ’ ἀνὴρ εἷς ἐν γε ταῖς Θήβαις τραφεῖς | / ἀπεστέρησ’ ἑμαυτόν | (1379-1381) seems an exception to the incremental style in this speech, as the second discourse act intervenes between the subject ἐγὼ in the first act and its syntactically projected verb ἀπεστέρησα in the third act. However, the intervening act is not a subordinate clause preceding and therefore projecting an entire main clause, but an apposition, not syntactically

<sup>108</sup> Only the first act of this structure does project, semantically, an object for οἶδ’ “I [don’t] know,” which is fulfilled in the second and third acts (“[looking] with what eyes | I could have looked upon my father”).

projected or required, within a subordinate clause. The multi-act structure is incremental in a different way: each of these acts adds information about Oedipus himself in a piecemeal fashion, which enhances the dramatic focus on his fate. Additionally, παντλήμων “utterly miserable” (1379) semantically does not project a word like κάλλιστ’ “in a most beautiful way” (1380) so closely afterwards.

§76 One may object, justifiably, that an accumulation of increments may still form an elaborate structure of acts that syntactically, semantically, and/or pragmatically belong together. However, my point is that the earlier parts of such structures do not project or require the addition of the later parts. That is, we may identify multi-act segments such as ἀλλ’ ἢ τέκνων δῆτ’ ὄψις ἧν ἐφίμερος, | / βλαστοῦσ’ ὅπως ἔβλαστε, | προσλεύσσειν ἐμοί; | (1375-1376) as coherent units. But in the moment of their utterance their combined structure is in fact incremental, literally: “but was my children’s sight desirable, then? | [the sight that had] originated in such way as it had, | [was it desirable] for me to look at?” Line 1375 could have stood on its own; the two acts in 1376 only later turn out to belong, syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically, to the preceding line as well. The entire combined segment appears more fragmented than a structure in which earlier parts project the later ones.

§77 Note that in both Oedipus’ calm and his agitated speeches he uses repetition in successive acts—ὄμοῦ-ὄμοῦ in the calm speech (lines 4-5), τόν-τόν in the agitated one (line 1382). These instances, however, serve different purposes. The ὄμοῦ acts are part of a carefully composed whole, and pragmatically projected beforehand by a priming act, whereas the unannounced repetition of the definite article τόν reflects an incremental style, and thus contributes to the image of an agitated

speaker.<sup>109</sup> Lexical repetition by itself, then, is not a sign of either calmness or agitation, but can be employed for different pragmatic goals. It is multifunctional and dependent on its specific context, just as other linguistic features, including particles, are (see §7 above).

### 5.5.2 Euripides' agitated Pentheus versus calm Dionysus

§78 So far I have discussed how a certain emotional state of mind at particular moments affects linguistic output. With the second tragic comparison of calmness and agitation I consider how a character's speech style reflects a more permanent emotional state, when emotionality is a feature of someone's temperament. As Revelle and Scherer put it, "personality is to emotion what climate is to weather" (2009:304). Because of the relation of  $\gamma\epsilon$  to anger the particle also reflects, in specific cases, the more global feature of a tragic character's irascibility. The case of Pentheus in Euripides' *Bacchae* illustrates  $\gamma\epsilon$ 's connection to anger as well as to temperament. His opponent, the god Dionysus, generally stays calm: this is reflected in his particular uses of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , among other features.

§79 Pentheus is presented as particularly short-tempered: Dodds 1960 [1944] for example mentions that "Pentheus is flurried, irascible, full of an unhealthy excitement" (xliv).<sup>110</sup> The character is fond of  $\gamma\epsilon$ : he utters 11 instances, which means 1.0% of his 1119 words in the whole play. Most other tragic characters use the particle less often: for example, Clytaemnestra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 0.3% (6

---

<sup>109</sup> Other examples of lexical repetition reflecting emotional distress are the several word doublings spoken by Philoctetes in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* 1169-1217, such as  $\acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu \acute{\pi}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$  in line 1169 and  $\phi\omicron\nu\tilde{\alpha} \phi\omicron\nu\tilde{\alpha}$  in line 1209. In this lyric dialogue between Philoctetes and the chorus, some lines are distributed among several speakers (antilabe), which Stanford 1983:99 identifies as another sign of "emotional excitement."

<sup>110</sup> For example Pentheus' speech at 215-262 reflects anger (even though no  $\gamma\epsilon$  is present here); Dodds 1960 [1944], Oranje 1984, and Seaford 1996 *ad loc.* remark on this anger, and all call the passage a "tirade" (so does Mastrorarde 1979:23 on syntactic reflections of contact in tragedy).

instances in 1927 words in total); Antigone in the eponymous play by Sophocles 0.7% (8 instances in 1220 words); Hippolytus in his eponymous play by Euripides 0.8% (13 instances in 1644 words); Medea in hers 0.4% (14 instances in 3447 words).<sup>111</sup> These frequencies are of course only part of the information at our disposal, and do not tell us *how* a character uses a certain particle. Differences in frequencies across characters can, however, form a starting point for an analysis.

§80 In Pentheus' case, the high frequency of  $\gamma\epsilon$  can be connected to his fiery temper. However, being angry by itself does not always entail that a character expresses this feeling in words, which is the aspect relevant to particle use. That is, if a character expresses her anger mainly through nonverbal means, then this feeling may not have clear reflections in her language use. It may seem surprising, for instance, that Euripidean Medea does not utter many instances of  $\gamma\epsilon$ , but in fact she does not very often express her anger *verbally*. She spends most of her words for other communicative actions, such as lamenting her fate (e.g. lines 111-114, 144-147, 160-167), arguing her case (214-266), or explaining her plans (364-409, 764-810). Even when speaking directly to Jason she hides her anger in one of her speeches (869-905). In short, Medea expresses her anger especially in her nonverbal actions, but uses language to do other things, for which  $\gamma\epsilon$  is less fitting. Pentheus, in contrast, destined as he is to lose the battle with Dionysus, can only rage with words.

§81 The other main character of *Bacchae*, Dionysus, tends to remain calm. Dodds 1960 [1944]:xliv notes this general calmness, and writes *ad* 621-622: "amid the physical turmoil of the earthquake and the moral turmoil of the baffled Pentheus,

---

<sup>111</sup> See note 48 above for the 21 tragic characters taken into account in my comparisons of particle frequencies. Oedipus in Sophocles' *Oedipus King* is the only other character with a higher  $\gamma\epsilon$  frequency than Euripides' Pentheus: 1.1% (48 instances in 4258 words). Oedipus speaks much of his text within angry dialogues.

the Stranger’s calm marks him as something supernatural; it is like the sinister calm at the heart of a typhoon.” Dionysus utters γε with a relatively low frequency of 0.6% (9 times in 1549 words). It is δέ that he uses more often than any other tragic character: its frequency in Dionysus’ utterances is 4.1% (63 instances in 1549 words).<sup>112</sup>

§82 The following dialogue shows how emotional differences manifest in divergent particle use. Over the course of the exchange, Pentheus becomes increasingly agitated, while the Stranger (in fact Dionysus) remains calm throughout.

(t18)

Πε. πρῶτον μὲν ἄβρὸν βόστρυχον τεμῶ σέθεν.	Pe. First I shall cut off your delicate locks. Di. My locks are sacred: I grow them long in
Δι. ἱερός ὁ πλόκαμος· τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.	the god’s honor. Pe. Next, hand over that wand.
Πε. ἔπειτα θύρσον τόνδε παράδος ἐκ χερσῶν. (495)	Di. Take it from me yourself: I carry it, but it belongs to Dionysus.
Δι. αὐτός μ' ἀφαιροῦ· τόνδε Διονύσῳ φορῶ.	Pe. We will keep you penned up inside and
Πε. εἰρκταῖσί τ' <sup>113</sup> ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάξομεν.	under guard. Di. Dionysus himself will free me when I so
Δι. λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω.	desire.
Πε. ὅταν γε καλέσης αὐτὸν ἐν βάρκχαις	Pe. Sure, when you stand surrounded by

<sup>112</sup> Of the 21 tragic characters analyzed (see note 48 above), the next highest δέ frequencies are those of Clytaemnestra in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, the queen in Aeschylus’ *Persians*, and Teiresias in Euripides’ *Bacchae* (all three 3.7%); those of Electra in Aeschylus’ *Libation Bearers* (3.6%); and those of Hippolytus in his eponymous play (3.4%). Although the frequencies by themselves do not yet tell us which communicative strategies these characters favor, since they may prefer different uses of the same particle, the quantitative comparison does make it clear that Dionysus utters δέ strikingly often. The next step is then to analyze in which way exactly he tends to use the particle; see the discussion of (t18) below for examples of such analyses.

<sup>113</sup> On turn-initial τε (a rare position for this particle), see chapter 4 §27, with note 37.



σταθείς.	bacchants and call on him.
Δι. καὶ νῦν ἄ πάσχω πλησίον παρῶν ὄραϊ. (500)	Di. Yes, even now he is near and sees what I am undergoing.
Πε. καὶ ποῦ ἴσθιν; οὐ γὰρ φανερός ὄμμασίν γ' ἔμοῖς.	Pe. Where is he? To my eyes he is not in evidence.
Δι. παρ' ἔμοί· σὺ δ' ἀσεβῆς αὐτὸς ὦν οὐκ εἰσορᾷς.	Di. He's with me: since you are a godless man you do not see him.
Πε. λάζυθε· καταφρονεῖ με καὶ Θήβας ὄδε.	Pe. Seize him! He's treating me and Thebes with contempt!
Δι. ἀδῶ με μὴ δεῖν, σωφρονῶν οὐ σώφροσιν.	Di. And I forbid it: I am sane and you are not.
Πε. ἐγὼ δὲ δεῖν γε, κυριώτερος σέθεν. (505)	Pe. I say bind him, and I have more authority than you.

Euripides' *Bacchae* 498-505

Pentheus' use of γε keeps pace with his mounting frustration. In 499, γε marks a hostile use of resonance: Pentheus echoes his interlocutor's ὅταν, thereby extending its syntactic dependence on the main clause “the god himself will free me” (λύσει μ' ὁ δαίμων αὐτός, 498); he also picks up the reference to his interlocutor from the previous utterance. The addition of γε in resonating utterances emphasizes the speaker's hostile goal in echoing his opponent's words, and thereby implies anger or hate.<sup>114</sup> Line 505 contains another γε, in this case preceded by turn-initial δέ. As discussed in chapter 3, in contexts of resonance the combination of these two particles mark the echo from the preceding utterance as a

<sup>114</sup> On this function of γε in contexts of resonance in tragedy and comedy, see chapter 3 §§68-71. On this instance of γε, Oranje 1984 notes that Pentheus speaks “mockingly” (60); he calls γε “emphatic” (61n154). Rijksbaron 1991 *ad loc.* cites Oranje and reads γε as implying assent through emphasis, while limiting that assent. Seaford 1996 *ad loc.* interprets the utterance as sarcastic (Pentheus “means, sarcastically, that the invocation will occur in prison”). On another note, Elmsley 1821 considers γε an argument against taking this utterance as a question (see chapter 4 §64 on the rarity of γε at the start of questions).

hostile one.<sup>115</sup> In other words, Pentheus here employs γε as well as δέ... γε in such a way as to convey anger and hostility.

§83 Pentheus' utterance in 501 is a question starting with καί, which may imply indignation.<sup>116</sup> This implication fits the king's growing anger. His use of γε to highlight ὄμμασιν ἐμοῖς, "my eyes"—implying a contrast to what his addressee is claiming—accordingly receives a hostile function: the utterance implies that Pentheus' addressee is lying about the god's presence.

§84 In contrast to Pentheus, Dionysus stays calm in this scene. He adopts a solemn speaking style, which is reflected in his frequent use of αὐτός when it is semantically redundant (494, 496, 498, 502),<sup>117</sup> and in starting several turns without turn-initial contextualization cues, even though these are not answers to questions (see 494, 496, 498).<sup>118</sup> In 500 the subordinate clause at the start (ἃ πάσχω) and the intervening participial phrase (πλησίον παρών) project that their main clause (ὄρᾱ) will follow.

§85 Both Pentheus and Dionysus use δέ, but in notably different constructions. They illustrate that in combination with several co-textual and contextual features, δέ may also contribute to the linguistic reflection of calmness or agitation. Dionysus twice uses δέ not in the first act of his turn, but later; this is in fact his usual habit.<sup>119</sup> When he utters δέ in turns longer than one line, which he often does, the particle

<sup>115</sup> See chapter 3 §§72-75, including discussion of this particular example. Again, Oranje 1984:62 notes the anger conveyed by Pentheus' words. Similarly, Wecklein 1903 *ad loc.* and Oranje 1984:77 note the sarcasm in Pentheus' utterance in 796, which contains another γε. On another particle implying emotion, see chapter 2 §87 on ἦ in tragedy.

<sup>116</sup> On this instance of καί marking a contemptuous or indignant question, see Dodds 1944 *ad loc.* and Oranje 1984:61n155. On this use of turn-initial καί in drama in general, see note 17 above.

<sup>117</sup> In 498 αὐτός also hints at his double identity, since he is in fact "himself." αὐτός typically refers to gods or heroes. On the pragmatics of αὐτός, particularly in Homer, see Bonifazi 2012:137-183.

<sup>118</sup> On turn-initial contextualization cues in tragedy and comedy, and their connection to solemn utterances, see chapter 4 §12 and §68.

<sup>119</sup> The other one-line utterances by Dionysus with δέ in non-turn-initial position are *Bacchae* 464, 474, 484, 647, 833, 841, and 1345.

also rarely appears in turn-initial position.<sup>120</sup> Pentheus, in contrast, usually uses δέ in turn-initial position.<sup>121</sup>

§86 I associate these different δέ constructions with different pragmatic goals. On the one hand, δέ marking an act boundary later in an utterance simply signals a new step, without explicitly relating the host act to the preceding one; this use is for example frequent in long narratives.<sup>122</sup> On the other hand, δέ in the first discourse act of an utterance marks the start not just of a new act, but of an entire new adjacency pair, usually a new question-answer pair.<sup>123</sup> This turn-initial construction is therefore especially frequent in a list of questions, such as Pentheus' interrogation of the Stranger at *Bacchae* 460-486, where he utters 7 instances of turn-initial δέ. The one-line questions in that interrogation scene usually give little information about the speaker's emotional state; nevertheless, in the case of

---

<sup>120</sup> Dionysus utters δέ in non-turn-initial position in turns longer than one line in *Bacchae* 4, 6, 10, 11, 13, 23, 28, 33, 37, 48, 50, 62, 461, 617, 618, 621, 622, 624, 626, 627, 630, 632, 633, 634, 636, 638, 657, 659, 788, 847 (in the manuscripts this instance is turn-initial, but all editors accept Musgrave's transposition of 848 to before 847; indeed the text makes more sense like this, and as Seaford remarks *ad loc.*, in this way "δέ acquires its proper place"), 850, 853, 854, 859, 861, 917, 924, 944, 947, 948, 960, 965, 966, 975, 976, 1333, 1335, 1336, 1338, and 1341. He utters it in turn-initial position (that is, in the first discourse act of a turn) only four times: in 490, 654, 813, and 815.

<sup>121</sup> Pentheus utters turn-initial δέ in *Bacchae* 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 481, 485, 505 (see (t10); δέ... γέ), 663, 830, 832, and 941.

<sup>122</sup> On the "neutral" signal of δέ within turns, see chapter 2 §§24-25; on its relatively high frequency in messenger speeches, see chapter 2 §§27-28. A high frequency of δέ may also trigger an association to epic; see chapter 2 §26 on that. In angry or generally agitated contexts δέ seems to be less frequent. Speakers there tend to organize their speech in a less neutral way, or use an incremental style without marking the start of new acts at all (see §44 above). For example, in Oedipus' emotional speech at Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1369-1415 (on which see §§70-77 above), δέ is even completely absent. Heracles' emotional speech at Sophocles' *Women of Trachis* 1046-1111 (on which see §46 above) has a low δέ frequency of 1.3% (5 instances in 387 words; the average δέ frequency in Sophoclean monologues is 2.6%); Hermione's angry 8-line utterance at Euripides' *Andromache* 261-268 has 1.9% (1 instance in 52 words; the average δέ frequency in Euripidean dialogues [maximum of 4 lines per turn] is 2.4%, in monologues [minimum of 25 lines] 3.7%); Jason's angry speech at *Medea* 1323-1350 has 2.3% (4 instances in 171 words; the average δέ frequency in Euripidean monologues is 3.7%).

<sup>123</sup> See chapter 4 §§34-35 on this function of turn-initial δέ, and chapter 4 §15 for discussion of the concept of adjacency pair.

Pentheus' list of questions the god, who possesses the desired information, is calmer than the king, who tries to get it out.<sup>124</sup> Dionysus' preference for non-turn-initial δέ, then, implies that he tends to mark connections of various kinds with the neutral signal of δέ, without making particular relations explicit; this reflects less communicative pressure, and therefore calmness. Pentheus usually employs the particle in its turn-initial construction, which is connected to interrogating, in his case in an agitated way. That is, δέ in itself indicates neither calmness nor agitation, but specific constructions of the particle in combination with other features do reflect these states of mind.

§87 The tragedians, then, represent some characters as more prone to certain emotions than other characters, and this leads to differences in particle use. In the case of *Bacchae*, Pentheus' frequent use of the particle γε and δέ in its turn-initial construction reflects his irascible personality. Dionysus' less frequent use of γε and his inclination for δέ in later than turn-initial position relates to his general calmness.

## 5.6 Conclusions

§88 In this chapter we have seen that particles do not directly express emotional states of mind by themselves, but often play an important role in facilitating our interpretation of an utterance's emotional qualities. Calmness and agitation are two opposing states of mind that reveal themselves in quite divergent patterns of textual organization and particle use. These linguistic tendencies are found in both

---

<sup>124</sup> A similar stichomythic interrogation scene is Sophocles' *Oedipus King* 1015-1046, where the questioner Oedipus utters 4 turn-initial δέ in his questions; he is clearly much more emotionally shaken by the answers than the shepherd who calmly gives his information. Compare in Aristophanes the question-answer scene of Socrates and Strepsiades cited in (t2) above. As in the Oedipus scene, here as well the one who possesses more knowledge (Socrates) is the calm, high-status character; however, in this case he is the questioner, as befits the philosopher's style (see §27 above).

tragedy and comedy, although the literary functions of the two emotional states tend to differ in the different genres.

§89 In calm contexts we tend to find, more than in agitated ones, subordinate clauses that precede and thereby project their main clauses, as well as pragmatic projection, especially through vocatives and priming acts. Several particles may play a role in priming acts, with  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  being the most frequent. Certain constructions with  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  may reflect calmness: they demonstrate that speakers who trust that they can keep the floor are at leisure to pay ample attention to structuring their language. In other words, I connect a textual organization that involves several kinds of “stretching”—a strategy that all of these features instantiate—to calmness. Certain uses of  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  also relate to calmness, by indicating neutral boundaries within longer turns of speaking.

§90 In agitated contexts speakers tend to utter text segments that appear to be spontaneously added to one another. The particles  $\gamma\epsilon$  and  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$  especially fit such contexts as well.  $\gamma\epsilon$  highlights a part of an utterance that expresses the speaker’s subjective views, attitude, or feelings, potentially in contrast to those of other people. It is comparable to the emphatic prosody represented by an exclamation mark in English.  $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$ , which appears less frequently than  $\gamma\epsilon$ , generally works to signal that a question arises from the preceding context, but additionally appears to directly reflect a speaker’s sense of disquiet. The emotional prosody it conveys would be akin to a loud and desperate pronunciation of the entire utterance.

§91  $\gamma\epsilon$  can be more specifically connected to the agitated state of anger. The particle’s pragmatic function, to highlight one element and stress the speaker’s own views in contrast to others’, makes it particularly useful for angry contexts. This interpretation again invites an analogy with the exclamation mark: like  $\gamma\epsilon$ , this paralinguistic device does not signal anger by itself, but is expected to occur more

frequently in angry contexts. Apart from angry contexts, the particle fits utterances that express the speaker's stance. Taking stance usually involves some degree of emotional involvement. At the same time, expressing an emotion tends to involve an evaluation, positioning, or alignment by the speaker. That is, even though expressing anger and expressing stance do not entail each other, they are compatible communicative actions that can be combined.

§92 My results show that Greek drama does not only provide information about the cultural and literary significance of emotional states of mind, which previous investigations have focused on. The texts are also an important source for the manner in which emotionality influences language use. By focusing on this influence, with special attention to calmness and agitation, my analyses complement the approaches to ancient emotions that have been prevalent in recent research.

§93 All of my observations mean, once more, that it is necessary to look beyond the clause or the sentence, in order to fully understand the use of particles, and their pragmatic contributions to communication.<sup>125</sup> Particles do not just modify the single clause or discourse act in which they occur; they also reflect the degree of emotional arousal of a passage, or aspects of a character's general emotional tendencies. In general, my results show that the organization of the language in drama (such as syntactic structure, pragmatic projection, and the marking of transitions) is connected to characters' calmness or agitation. That is to say, emotionality and textual organization in drama are not only compatible, but also to some extent interdependent. More specifically, emotional arousal reveals itself through alterations in linguistic patterns, such as patterns of particle use.

---

<sup>125</sup> This holds also for the observations about connections between particle use and other general pragmatic phenomena, which I discuss in chapters 2, 3, and 4.

§94 Since a speaker's emotional state of mind is relevant to this kind of linguistic choices, as I have demonstrated, the study of textual organization should not ignore the interactional level of communication, including characters' attitudes towards their utterances and towards their addressees. Calmness and agitation are not an optional addition to the "dry" meaning of dramatic utterances; they are an inherent part of the embodied performance. Both of these levels of emotional arousal have their own functions in the interaction among the characters, as well as in the literary communication between playwright and audience. My analyses in this chapter therefore start a direction of investigation that promises to illuminate the ancient dramas in many more ways. It would be interesting to see, for example, how calmness and agitation are reflected in lexical choices, or in other semantic, syntactic, or pragmatic differences than the ones I have observed. Comparing passages across the emotional dimension of pleasure-displeasure, rather than that of arousal, is potentially fruitful as well.





## The study of particles, and beyond

### 6.1 Illuminating particle use in drama

§1 The interpretation of particles always depends on several co-textual and contextual factors. I have focused in chapters 2 to 5 on a variety of pragmatic phenomena that are particularly relevant to the dramatic genres and that interact with particle use. These phenomena make specific contextual features particularly relevant to the analysis of the texts. Now it is time to summarize my results and pull the various strings together.

§2 First, the considerable situational differences among the various parts of the plays are connected to recurrent patterns of language use. Chapter 2 accordingly delved into one of those contextual factors that influence particle use, namely linguistic variation based on situational differences, and the resulting patterns of distribution. A particle's different frequencies across dialogues, monologues, and choral songs have proven to be an informative starting point for more local analyses. I found that these distributions are non-random, and in some cases remarkable or unexpected. They are connected to the functions and implications of specific particles; this becomes even clearer when distributions of other linguistic features are additionally taken into account. The chapter presented analyses of eleven particles, using distribution as input for interpretation. For example, δῆ has been shown to be linked to interactiveness, and this link is even stronger for δῆτα, which is associated with an immediate reaction. Knowledge of distributions may also warn us as readers if a certain particle is marked in its current context, or if in fact a particle's absence is striking. In general, I have concluded that the small-scale pragmatics of particles is connected to their large-scale pragmatics.

§3 The prominence of dialogue in the plays provided an excellent opportunity to consider how the fictional speakers are represented as building on the words of previous speakers. The ways in which speakers explicitly and implicitly refer to other speakers' utterances fall within the domain of dialogic syntax, a recently developed linguistic framework. If speakers deliberately stress certain similarities between their utterance and previous ones, we can speak of “resonance”—the pragmatic phenomenon that chapter 3 delves into. I have identified this process of conscious linguistic repetition across utterances as an important communicative strategy in Greek drama, and correspondingly the study of resonance as useful for our understanding of particles. Characters as well as playwrights highlight similarities across utterances for specific pragmatic reasons, such as to stress interpersonal differences or for parody. The highlighted similarities may be lexical, semantic, syntactic, morphological, phonological, metrical, and/or pragmatic. Particles and particle combinations may indicate the way in which a speaker is using resonance. For instance, *δέ γε* or *δέ... γε* tends to mark an echo from a preceding utterance as used in a hostile way. Particles may also trigger resonance themselves.

§4 In chapter 4 I have shown, by applying the framework of Conversation Analysis, how conversational regularities influence particle use. Recent scholarship has identified many regularities in modern talk-in-interaction. Dramatic dialogue is of course stylized, but close study of linguistic patterns shows that such fictional, written exchanges in fact follow the same conversational rules that are employed in everyday interaction. This analysis has demonstrated, for instance, a connection between the particle *μέν* and the pragmatic goal of holding the floor. In general, I have distinguished several aspects that are relevant to our interpretation of particles in drama. It makes a difference, for example, whether particles occur in

initiating turns of speaking (first pair parts) or in reacting ones (second pair parts). Particles may also relate to the expansion of a pair of turns with preliminary, intervening, or appending material. In other cases they signal whether a response fits the goal of the preceding turn best (preferred responses) or was in fact not called for (dispreferred responses). Certain particle constructions can also be connected to the social actions performed by their host turns, such as persuading, answering, and stancetaking.

§5 Another phenomenon especially relevant in multi-party communication is the linguistic reflection of emotional states of mind. This process usually involves several verbal and nonverbal signals at the same time. Chapter 5 has analyzed interactions between particle use and calmness versus agitation. Clues about the play's plot and semantic or syntactic patterns can be used to detect how particle use relates to these states of mind. My investigation opens a new way of thinking about textual organization in drama: that is, linguistic structuring and emotional states of mind are interdependent. Calm utterances, in other words, tend to show linguistic characteristics different from those spoken by agitated speakers. In particular, calm and agitated characters typically organize and segment their speech in different ways. The notion of act—a short linguistic unit, comparable to an intonation unit—is crucial to analyzing this segmentation, and has allowed me to discern specific patterns of particle use. Several particles play a role, for example, in the pragmatic projection signaled by priming acts. In addition, my investigation of several uses of  $\gamma\epsilon$  uncovers and explains its associations with contexts of anger and of stancetaking, and also throws light on the particle's extraordinarily high frequency in Aristophanes.

§6 This order of the chapters has been deliberate, from the most global analyses to more local ones, even though all chapters contain close readings of individual

passages. That is to say, the interpretations of distributional patterns from chapter 2 form the foundation of the rest of the work: they give a broad outline of each particle's functional range and of general differences between authors or parts of the plays. This chapter uses data from several plays and from more than one author at once, because the distributions become most illuminating in comparison. For example, Aristophanes' abundant use of *καί* in choral songs stands out compared to both the other parts of his own plays and the general frequencies of the particle in tragedy. Only after observing this peculiarity can we start to interpret and explain it. Even comparisons to other genres such as epic are discussed in chapter 2. Aeschylean choral songs and Euripidean messenger speeches turn out to have several aspects of language use in common with Homeric narrative.

§7 Chapter 3 still has a global perspective, although it does not primarily compare language use across authors or across plays. The process of resonance can span an entire drama, which makes a bird-eye view a potentially relevant perspective for the analysis. Nevertheless, resonance can also work from one line to the next or within a short stretch of text. While particle use often interacts with resonance on this more local scale, it is necessary to understand the global forms of resonance first. The striking recurrence of thematic keywords, such as “father” in Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* or “saying” in Sophocles' *Oedipus King*, is an example of such global resonance, used in the communication between playwrights and audience. More local instances of the process are the echoing of “a slave and mortal” by Xanthias in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, and Euripidean Jason picking up parts of Medea's utterance.

§8 Zooming in more, chapter 4 mainly focuses on line-to-line interaction between characters. Although it is crucial to look at tendencies of language use and particle use beyond a certain passage, it is the latter that the CA approach has the

most to say about—although a single line is never enough to observe and understand conversational regularities. For example, we first need to know which kind of speaking turns, in general, tend to start without a particle, before we can interpret a specific textual problem that potentially involves such context (as in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*). Likewise, the use of οὐ̃ν and νυν in a discussed passage from Sophocles' *Ajax* are clarified by the build-up of the immediately surrounding dialogue of about 9 verses.

§9 Chapter 5, finally, builds a bridge between linguistics and literary criticism. It involves both global patterns of language use and local close readings. In the latter case many contextual factors are taken into account, such as a character's knowledge state as well as emotional state, and the fate she will have later in a play. I argue, for example, that the knowledge and the calmness of the character Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds* influence certain linguistic choices. Similarly, the calm state of mind exhibited in Agamemnon's speaking style in various passages of Aeschylus' tragedy contrasts with this character's ignorance about his upcoming doom. Such detailed analyses are only possible when focusing on specific passages; yet it is in each case informed by global observations on general usage patterns.

§10 My findings as well as my methods, then, demonstrate that various aspects of communication are relevant to the language use of a passage and therefore to our interpretation of a specific particle. One can only interpret an individual instance if one keeps global tendencies in mind; those tendencies, in turn, receive substance from the analysis of specific passages. Both perspectives in combination are needed to advance our understanding of particle use.

§11 Moreover, communication is complex, and literary communication even more so. The phenomena that I have discussed—situational language variation, resonance, conversational regularities, and reflections of emotional states—are only

some of the communicative processes that interact with particle use, and they can do so simultaneously. A specific instance may reflect a particle's affinity for dialogic contexts, and at the same time signal a certain use of resonance (as some cases of γε; see chapters 2 and 3). One δέ... γε by Euripides' Pentheus may both clarify his echo from a previous utterance and reflect his angry temper (see discussions in chapters 3 and 5). In another example μέν may suggest that a speaker wants to hold the floor and that she is probably calm (see discussions in chapters 4 and 5). Specific δέ constructions may refer to Homeric language, while reflecting calmness in their local contexts (chapters 2 and 5). Many of these multifaceted intersections of uses are due to the plurality of communication levels in literary art (see especially chapters 3 and 5 for discussion of examples). That is, while Oedipus is talking to Teiresias, or Lysistrata to her Spartan friend, Sophocles or Aristophanes is presenting themes and questions to his audience, while simultaneously referring to other works, genres, and authors of literature. Considerations on all of these levels may influence, on a local and/or global scale, the poet's choices for certain linguistic constructions, and therefore also lead to tendencies in particle use. Nevertheless, close readings remain a key method for understanding these tendencies, for even a τε that helps to establish a link to Homeric language, or a μέν that fits with the emotional build-up of a tragedy always needs to make sense within the local character interaction as well.

§12 My work has also shown how particles themselves are multifunctional. Not only can they do different things in different contexts; they can also do multiple things at the same time. While often adding no propositional meaning, the use of a certain particle will lead to certain implications, which will strongly influence the communicative effect of an utterance. An example is the co-existence of καί's local connective function with the implication of indignation that the particle may

convey when it is in turn-initial position (see chapter 4). The particle  $\tau\epsilon$  likewise tends to carry local and global contributions at the same time: beyond a syntactic connection  $\tau\epsilon$  implies knowledge shared by speaker and addressee, or a solemn tone (see chapter 2). Similarly, the local function of  $\gamma\epsilon$  to highlight a particular element may be simultaneous with the particle's global association of reflecting the speaker's anger (chapter 5).

§13 Upon encountering a particle in a text, then, it is not sufficient to look it up in a dictionary—even when that dictionary is perfectly correct about a fitting translation for the word. Particles do not only contribute to the content of a stretch of text, and sometimes they hardly contribute to that at all. Instead, or in addition, they clarify what a speaker or writer wants to communicate. How does this passage link to a previous one? Which attitude does the speaker have to the things she says? In which style is the utterance presented, and to which other texts or genres could it refer? It is questions like these that particles can help to answer. How to translate a particle's contribution is a very different matter, and complex in itself. We have seen in chapter 1 that many modern languages contain a wide variety of particles or discourse markers as well, and these words are likewise elusive and multifunctional. The functions of such words in one language can therefore not be mapped onto those in another language. Sometimes it will not be possible to translate a Greek particle at all, or only with a completely different construction, such as a certain unusual word order. In any case, a translation is a later step, which should follow after having analyzed and grasped the communicative meanings of a passage.

§14 Another general finding of my work is that the uses, distributions, and associations of different individual particles vary widely. It is therefore inaccurate to simply say that “particles” are, for instance, related to resonance or conversational patterns, or more frequent in one of the playwrights' work. Such

conclusions only hold for certain particles, and often only for certain uses of them. In other words, particles should not be treated as a (homogeneous) group in analysis.

## 6.2 Language on stage

§15 My findings demonstrate the fundamental importance of the performative context for which the tragedies and comedies were originally written. It is the difference in performance that leads to different linguistic choices across dialogues, monologues, and choral songs. Likewise, for the process of resonance it is crucial that the dramatic characters were physically embodied by different actors: their different voices in this way stand out more clearly than if their utterances would have been purely written. For conversational regularities, again, the turn-taking represented on stage is essential. The performance of the dramas also makes emotional states of mind stand out, and the actors' presence on stage will have distinguished even more sharply between calmness and agitation than words alone can. So, even though we do not have access anymore to the nonverbal aspects of the original performances, *knowing* that these texts were meant to be performed makes an essential difference to our analysis. Different questions are asked and different assumptions taken into account than if we would not have this knowledge. In sum, then, attention to the dramatic background of the texts has informed my research throughout.

§16 All of the phenomena that I have analyzed require a pragmatic approach. That is, in order to learn how the various communicative processes summarized above influence linguistic choices, one needs to look beyond isolated sentences, and beyond the verbal level of communication. The comprehensiveness of the pragmatic approach guarantees that the syntax and semantics of sentences are taken into consideration as well. For example, the identification of resonance in a



certain utterance may require detecting the syntactic dependence on a previous utterance, as well as the speaker's pragmatic goal in picking up that structure. Likewise, the semantics of the immediate co-text plays a crucial role in distinguishing among, for instance, different uses of the particles γάρ and δή; the utterance's pragmatic environment informs our interpretation at the same time.

§17 The title "Language on stage" does not only highlight the relevance of the dramatic context, but also reflects my focus on language. As laid out in the introduction, the famous tragedies and comedies under investigation are rich works of art, offering numerous possibilities of perspective. This richness at the same time forces researchers to limit themselves to discussing only certain questions. My spotlight has been on specific aspects of language use, thereby also touching upon many related issues. In various detailed discussions, I have hinted at consequences of my findings for our interpretation of passages. My results and methodological suggestions also constitute input for research with a more global view. In general, they provide scholars with a stronger linguistic basis for further investigations, regardless of the particular perspective from which they approach the drama texts.

§18 Furthermore, my work has revealed various phenomena in language use that tend to be overlooked in traditional grammars and literary criticism. In this respect my attention to the functions and distributions of particles in drama brings scholars' knowledge of ancient Greek grammar more up-to-date, and advances current studies in ancient Greek literature. In fact, my chapters show that sensitivity to pragmatics reaches beyond particles and linguistics. Situational linguistic variation, resonance, conversational rules, emotional states of mind, stancetaking, and textual segmentation affect our comprehension of meaning and appreciation of artfulness *tout court*. For instance, these and similar pragmatic

phenomena may throw light on the representation of characters' personalities, or the gradual advancement of the audience's knowledge.

§19 The methodology that I have applied will therefore be fruitful to the analysis of other features in ancient Greek literature as well. To mention just a few examples: one may think of the situational influence on the distribution of compound versus simple forms, the literary value of resonance in different genres, the use of person references in dialogic interaction, or the linguistic reflections of pleasant versus unpleasant emotional states of mind. There are, in short, innumerable opportunities to extend my research by adopting similar methodological tools for the investigation of other features, in dramatic as well as other text corpora.

§20 In a different direction, it seems a promising avenue to analyze particle use in Greek drama with a focus on additional pragmatic phenomena apart from the ones that I have taken into account. I have focused mainly on the interaction between the characters on stage, since this element is characteristic for the dramatic genres. Especially tragedy contains considerable stretches of narrative as well; recent research on particle use in narrative contexts in other genres demonstrates that a specific focus on narrative strategies reveals and illuminates patterns of particle use. Another example of a further research question along these lines is to which extent tragic and comic particle use reflects intertextuality with other genres, mainly Homer. Although this has not been a central concern of my study, my findings do suggest that generic allusions play a role in dramatic particle use.

§21 Above all, I hope to have shown that particles are a crucial part of the theatrical performances of the fifth century BCE, as well as of the texts that we now have left of these events. Communicating is more than uttering sentences; it is in

the lively dynamic of interaction that the contribution of particles comes to the fore. Since these words are important to communication, so they are to interpretation. Paying attention to particles, then, will improve our understanding of the plays, as well as increase our pleasure in reading their texts.



## Bibliography

- (Anonymous.) 1824. *Lexicon Thucydidaeum: A dictionary in Greek and English, of the words, phrases, and principal idioms, contained in the History of the Peloponnesian War of Thucydides*. London.
- Abraham, Werner, ed. 1991. *Discourse Particles*. Pragmatics and beyond new series 12. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Adema, Susanne M. 2007. "Discourse modes and bases in Vergil's *Aeneid*." In *The language of literature. Linguistic approaches to classical texts*, edited by Rutger J. Allan and Michel Buijs, 42–64. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2008. *Discourse Modes and Bases. The Use of Tenses in Vergil's Aeneid*. Doctoral thesis, VU University Amsterdam.
- Agha, Asif. 2001. "Register." In *Key terms in language and culture*, edited by Alessandro Duranti, 212–15. Malden, MA.
- Aijmer, Karin. 2002. *English discourse particles: Evidence from a corpus*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2009. "The pragmatic marker *well*: A text study." In *Coherence and cohesion in spoken and written discourse*, edited by Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova and Renata Povolná, 4–29. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- . 2013. *Understanding pragmatic markers: A variational pragmatic approach*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Aijmer, Karin, Ad Foolen, and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberg. 2006. "Pragmatic markers in translation: A methodological proposal." In *Approaches to discourse particles*, edited by Kerstin Fischer, 101–14. Amsterdam and Boston: Elsevier.
- Aijmer, Karin, and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberg. 2003. "The discourse particle *well* and its equivalents in Swedish and Dutch." *Linguistics* 41 (6): 1123–61.
- . 2004. "A model and a methodology for the study of pragmatic markers: The semantic field of expectation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 36: 1781–1805.
- . 2011. "Pragmatic markers." In *Discursive pragmatics*, edited by Jan Zienkowski, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren, 223–47. Handbook of Pragmatics Highlights 8. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Allan, Rutger J. 2007. "Sense and sentence complexity. Sentence structure, sentence connection, and tense-aspect as indicators of narrative mode in Thucydides' *Histories*." In *The language of literature. Linguistic approaches to classical texts*, edited by Rutger J. Allan and Michel Buijs, 93–121. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2009. "Towards a typology of the narrative modes in ancient Greek. Text types and narrative structure in Euripidean messenger speeches." In *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, edited by Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, 171–203. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- . 2011. "The historical present in Thucydides: Capturing the case of αἰρεῖ and λαμβάνει." In *The historical present in Thucydides: Semantics and narrative function*, edited by Jean Lallot, Albert Rijksbaron, Bernard Jacquinod, and Michel Buijs, 37–63. Leiden: Brill.
- Allan, William. 2000. "Euripides and the sophists: Society and the theatre of war." In *Euripides and tragic theatre in the late fifth century*, edited by Martin J. Cropp, 145–56. Champaign, IL.: Stipes Publishing.
- . 2001. *Euripides: The children of Heracles*. Classical text series; The plays of Euripides 13. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.

- Allen, Danielle S. 2003. "Angry bees, wasps, and jurors: The symbolic politics of ὀργή in Athens." In *Ancient anger*, edited by Susanna Braund and Glenn W. Most. Yale Classical Studies 32:76–98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Altenberg, Bengt. 2010. "Conclusive English *then* and Swedish *då*: A corpus-based contrastive study." *Languages in contrast* 10 (1): 102–23.
- Altenmüller, Eckart, Sabine Schmidt, and Elke Zimmermann. 2013a. "A cross-taxa concept of emotion in acoustic communication: An ethological perspective." In *The evolution of emotional communication: From sounds in nonhuman mammals to speech and music in man*, edited by Eckart Altenmüller, Sabine Schmidt, and Elke Zimmermann, 339–55. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . , eds. 2013b. *The evolution of emotional communication: From sounds in nonhuman mammals to speech and music in man*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Andersen, Gisle. 1998. "The pragmatic marker *like* from a Relevance-Theoretic perspective." In *Discourse markers. Descriptions and theory*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, 147–70. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2001. *Pragmatic markers and sociolinguistic variation. A Relevance-Theoretic approach to the language of adolescents*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Andersen, Gisle, and Thorstein Fretheim, eds. 2000. *Pragmatic markers and propositional attitude*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Antonopoulou, Eleni, and Kiki Nikiforidou. 2011. "Construction Grammar and conventional discourse: A construction-based approach to discursal incongruity." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 2594–2609.
- Archakis, Argiris. 2001. "On discourse markers: Evidence from Modern Greek." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 1235–61.
- Argaman, Osnat. 2010. "Linguistic markers and emotional intensity." *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 39: 89–99.
- Arnold, Magda B. 1961. *Emotion and personality. Volume 1: Psychological aspects*. London: Cassell.
- Ast, Fridericus. 1835. *Lexicon Platonicum*. Leipzig.
- Auer, Peter. 1992. "Introduction: John Gumperz' approach to contextualization." In *The contextualization of language*, edited by Peter Auer and Aldo Di Luzio, 1–37. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2002. "Projection in interaction and projection in grammar." *Interaction and Linguistic Structures* 33: 1–39.
- . 2009. "Projection and minimalistic syntax in interaction." *Discourse Processes* 46 (2-3): 180–205.
- Auffarth, Christoph. 2007. "Ritual, Performanz, Theater: Die Religion der Athener in Aristophanes' Komödien." In *Literatur und Religion 1: Wege zu einer mythisch-rituellen Poetik bei den Griechen*, edited by Anton F. Bierl, Rebecca Lämmle, and Katharina Wesselmann, 387–414. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter.
- Austin, Colin and S. Douglas Olson. 2004. *Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusae*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, J. L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Austin, Norman. 1966. "The function of digressions in the *Iliad*." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 7 (4): 295–312.
- Bain, David. 1977. *Actors and audience: a study of asides and related conventions in Greek drama*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bakker, Egbert J. 1986. "*Hosper en eiper*: Een aspect van Attische conversatie." *Lampas* 19: 142–58.
- . 1988. *Linguistics and formulas in Homer: Scalarity and the description of the particle "per."* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- . 1993a. "Boundaries, topics and the structure of discourse. An investigation of the Ancient Greek particle *de*." *Studies in Language* 17 (2): 275–311.
- . 1993b. "Concession and identification. The diachronic development of the particle *per*." In *Miscellanea Linguistica Graeco-Latina*, edited by Lambert Isebaert. Collection d'Études Classiques 7. Namur: Société des Études Classiques.

- . 1993c. “Discourse and performance: Involvement, visualization and ‘presence’ in Homeric poetry.” *Classical Antiquity* 12: 1–29.
- . 1997a. *Poetry in speech: Orality and Homeric discourse*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- . 1997b. “Verbal aspect and mimetic description in Thucydides.” In *Grammar as interpretation. Greek literature in its linguistic contexts*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 7–54. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2005. *Pointing at the past: From formula to performance in Homeric poetics*. Washington DC: Center of Hellenic Studies.
- , ed. 2010a. *A companion to the Ancient Greek language*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2010b. “Pragmatics: Speech and text.” In *A companion to the Ancient Greek language*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 151–67. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2011. “Particles.” In *The Homer encyclopedia*, edited by Margalit Finkelberg. Wiley-Blackwell (online).
- Bakker, Mathieu de, Evert van Emde Boas, Luuk Huitink, and Albert Rijksbaron. Forthcoming 2017. *Cambridge grammar of Classical Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bakker, Stéphanie J. 2009. “On the curious combination of the particles ΓΑΡ and ΟΥΝ.” In *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek* edited by Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 16:41–61. Leiden: Brill.
- Bakker, Stéphanie J., and Gerry C. Wakker, eds. 2009. *Discourse Cohesion in Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 16. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Barlow, Shirley A. 1986. *The imagery of Euripides: A study in the dramatic use of pictorial language*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- . 1996. *Euripides: Heracles*. Classical Texts; The Plays of Euripides 10. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Barrett, James. 2002. *Staged narrative. Poetics and the messenger in Greek tragedy*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London.
- Barrett, Lisa F., and James A. Russell. 2009. “Circumplex models.” In *The Oxford companion to emotion and the affective sciences*, edited by David Sander and Klaus R. Scherer, 85–88. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barrett, William S. 1964. *Euripides: Hippolytus*. Oxford.
- Barrett, William S. 2007. “A detail of tragic usage: The application to persons of verbal nouns in -μα.” In *Greek lyric, tragedy, and textual criticism: Collected papers*, edited by Martin L. West. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barron, Anne. 2014. “Variational pragmatics.” In *The Encyclopedia of applied linguistics (online)*, edited by Carol A. Chapelle. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Barth-Weingarten, Dagmar. 2012. “Of ens ’n’ ands: Observations on the phonetic make-up of a coordinator and its uses in talk-in-interaction.” *Language and Speech* 55: 35–56.
- Basset, Louis. 1988. “Valeurs et emplois de la particule dite modale en grec ancien.” In *In the footsteps of Raphael Kühner*, edited by Hotze A. Mulder, Albert Rijksbaron, and Gerry C. Wakker, 27–37. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1997. “Ἄλλ’ Ἐξόλοισθ’ Αὐτῶι Κοαξ. Réexamen des emplois de ἄλλά à la lumière de l’*enonciation* dans les *Grenouilles* d’Aristophane.” In *New approaches to Greek particles: Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 7:75–99. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Battezzato, Luigi. 2005. “Lyric.” In *A companion to Greek tragedy*, edited by Justina Gregory, 149–66. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bauer, Wolfgang, and Nikolaus Wecklein. 1894. *Des Euripides Medea*. Munich: Lindauer.
- Bäumlein, Wilhelm von. 1861. *Untersuchungen über griechische Partikeln*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Bazzanella, Carla. 2004. “Emotions, language, and context.” In *Emotion in dialogic interaction: Advances in the complex*, edited by Edda Weigand, 55–72. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- . 2006. “Discourse markers in Italian: Towards a ‘compositional’ meaning.” In *Approaches to discourse particles*, edited by Kerstin Fischer, 449–64. Amsterdam and Boston: Elsevier.
- Bazzanella, Carla, and Lucia Morra. 2000. “Discourse markers and the indeterminacy of translation.” In *Argomenti per una linguistica della traduzione*, edited by Iørn Korzen and Carla Marelllo, 149–57. Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso.
- Beck, Deborah. 2005. *Homeric conversation*. Washington, DC: Center For Hellenic Studies.
- Bednarek, Monika. 2009. “Emotion talk and emotional talk: Cognitive and discursive perspectives.” In *Language and social cognition: Expression of the social mind*, edited by Hanna Pishwa, 395–432. Berlin.
- Beeching, Kate. 2002. *Gender, politeness and pragmatic particles in French*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Beekes, Robert. 2010. *Etymological dictionary of Greek*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series. Leiden: Brill.
- Béguelin, Marie-José. 2010. “Noyaux prédicatifs juxtaposés.” In *La parataxe: Entre dépendance et intégration*, edited by Marie-José Béguelin, Mathieu Avanzi, and Gilles Corminboeuf, 3–33. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Bell, David M. 1998. “Cancellative discourse markers: A core/periphery approach.” *Pragmatics* 8: 515–41.
- Bell, David M. 2009. “Mind you.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 915–20.
- Bendel Larcher, Sylvia. 2015. *Linguistische Diskursanalyse: ein Lehr- und Arbeitsbuch*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Bergen, Geertje van, Rik van Gijn, Lotte Hogeweg, and Sander Lestrade. 2011. “Discourse marking and the subtle art of mind-reading: The case of Dutch *eigenlijk*.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 3877–92.
- Berrettoni, Pierangiolo. 1969. *Ricerche sulla frase interrogativa in greco antico*. Annale Della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Lettere, storia, e filosofia 2: 38. Pisa.
- Biber, Douglas. 1988. *Variation across speech and writing*. Cambridge.
- . 1994. “An analytical framework for register studies.” In *Sociolinguistic perspectives on register*, edited by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, 31–56. New York.
- . 1995. *Dimensions of register variation: A cross-linguistic comparison*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2006. *University language: A corpus-based study of spoken and written registers*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2010. “Corpus-based and corpus-driven analyses of language variation and use.” In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*, edited by Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog, 159–91. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biber, Douglas, Susan Conrad, and Randi Reppen. 1998. *Corpus linguistics: Investigating language structure and use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bierl, Anton F. 2001. *Der Chor in der Alten Komödie: Ritual und Performativität*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 126. Munich and Leipzig: Saur.
- Blakemore, Diane. 1987. *Semantic Constraints on Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 1992. *Understanding utterances*. Blackwell textbooks in linguistics 6. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 2000. “Indicators and procedures: *Nevertheless* and *but*.” *Journal of Linguistics* 36 (03): 463–86.
- . 2002. *Relevance and linguistic meaning: The semantics and pragmatics of discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blass, Friedrich. 1906. *Aeschylos’ Choephoren*. Halle.
- Blass, Regina. 1990. *Relevance relations in discourse: A study with special reference to Sissala*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bloch, Alfred. 1955. “Was bedeutet das ‘epische’ τε?” *Museum Helveticum* 12: 145–153.
- Blomqvist, Jerker. 1969. *Greek particles in Hellenistic prose*. Lund: Gleerup.
- . 1981. “On adversative coordination in Ancient Greek and as a universal linguistic phenomenon.” *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Acta Societatis Linguisticae Upsaliensis. Nova Series* 3 (2): 57–70.
- . 1995. “ἀλλά... μήν, ἀλλά... μέντοι, and Atticistic particle usage.” *Eranos* 93 (1): 3–23.



- Boas, Hans C., ed. 2010. *Contrastive studies in Construction Grammar*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia.
- Bodin, Louis, and Paul Mazon. 1902. *Extraits d'Aristophane et de Ménandre*. Paris: Hachette.
- Boegehold, Alan L. 1999. *When a gesture was expected. A selection of examples from Archaic and Classical Greek literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bolden, Galina B. 2006. "Little words that matter: Discourse markers "so" and "oh" and the doing of other-attentiveness in social interaction." *Journal of Communication* 56: 661–88.
- . 2008. "Reopening Russian conversations: The discourse particle '-to' and the negotiation of interpersonal accountability in closings." *Human Communication Research* 34 (1): 99–136.
- . 2009. "Implementing incipient actions: The discourse marker 'so' in English conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 974–98.
- Bollack, Jean. 1981. *L'Agamemnon d'Eschyle*. Lille: Publications de l'Université.
- . 1990. *L'Oedipe Roi de Sophocle*. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille.
- Bolly, Catherine, and Liesbeth Degand. 2013. "Have you seen what I mean?: From verbal constructions to discourse markers." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 14: 210–35.
- Bond, Godfrey W. 1981. *Euripides: Heracles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bonifazi, Anna. 2008. "Memory and visualization in Homeric discourse markers." In *Orality, literacy, memory in the Ancient Greek and Roman world*, edited by E. Anne Mackay, 35–64. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2009. "The pragmatic meanings of some discourse markers in Homer." In *Pragmatische Kategorien: Form, Funktion und Diachronie. Akten der Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft von 24. bis 26. September 2007 in Marburg*, edited by Elisabeth Rieken and Paul Widmer, 29–36. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 2012. *Homer's versicolored fabric: The evocative power of Ancient Greek epic wordmaking*. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies.
- . 2016. *Volume IV. Particle use in Herodotus and Thucydides*. In Bonifazi, Drummen, and De Kreij.
- Bonifazi, Anna, Annemieke Drummen, and Mark de Kreij. 2016. *Particles in Ancient Greek discourse: Five volumes exploring particle use across genres*. Hellenic Studies Series 74. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies. [http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS\\_BonifaziA\\_DrummenA\\_deKreijM.Particles\\_in\\_Ancient\\_Greek\\_Discourse.2016](http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hul.ebook:CHS_BonifaziA_DrummenA_deKreijM.Particles_in_Ancient_Greek_Discourse.2016)
- Boogaart, Ronny. 2009. "Semantics and pragmatics in Construction Grammar: The case of modal verbs." In *Contexts and constructions*, edited by Alexander Bergs and Gabriele Diewald, 213–41. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bothe, Friedrich H. 1829. *Aristophanis Aves*. Leipzig: Hahn.
- Bouma, Gosse, Petra Hendriks, and Jack Hoeksema. 2007. "Focus particles inside prepositional phrases: A comparison of Dutch, English, and German." *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 10 (1): 1–24.
- Brannan, Rick. 2008. "The discourse function of ἀλλά in non-negative contexts." In *Evangelical Theological Society's 60th National Meeting*.
- Brewster, Christopher. 1991. "Discourse and relevance: The case of Modern Greek *lipon*." *Studies in Greek linguistics* 12.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 1990. "The development of discourse markers in English." In *Historical linguistics and philology*, edited by Jacek Fisiak, 45–71. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1996. *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- . 2006. "Pathways in the development of pragmatic markers in English." In *The handbook of the history of English*, edited by Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los, 307–34. Malden, MA.: Blackwell.
- Briz, Antonio, and Maria Estellés. 2010. "On the relationship between attenuation, discourse particles and position." In *New approaches to hedging*, edited by Gunther Kaltenböck, Wiltrud Mihatsch, and Stefan Schneider, 289–304. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.

- Broadhead, Henry D. 1960. *Aeschylus: Persae*. Cambridge.
- Brown, Gillian, and George Yule. 1983. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruijnen, Susan, and Stefan Sudhoff. 2013. "Wir müssen sowieso erst herausfinden, was das überhaupt dedeutet. Die Partikeln *sowieso* und *überhaupt* im Deutschen und Niederländischen." *Germanistische Mitteilungen* 39: 79–104.
- Budaeus, Guglielmus (Guillaume Budé). 1556 [1529]. *Commentarii Linguae Graecae*. Paris: Josse Bade.
- Budermann, Felix. 1998. "Review of S. Pfeiffer-Petersen 'Konfliktstichomythien bei Sophokles: Funktion und Gestaltung.'" *The Classical Review*, 5–7.
- . 2000. *The language of Sophocles: Communality, communication, and involvement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Budermann, Felix, and Patricia E. Easterling. 2010. "Reading minds in Greek tragedy." *Greece & Rome* 57: 289–303.
- Buffing, Petra. 2011. "'Ik heb het wel gezegd dat je beter bij mij kon blijven!' [On character changes in Euripides' *Medea* as reflected in her language use.]" Unpublished paper, VU University Amsterdam.
- Buijs, Michel. 2005. *Clause combining in Ancient Greek narrative discourse. The distribution of subclauses and participial clauses in Xenophon's Hellenica and Anabasis*. Leiden: Brill.
- Burton, Reginald W.B. 1980. *The chorus in Sophocles' tragedies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Buxton, Richard G.A. 1982. *Persuasion in Greek tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, Joan L. 2010. *Language, usage and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, Joan L., and Paul J. Hopper, eds. 2001. *Frequency and the emergence of linguistic structure*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Caffi, Claudia, and Richard W. Janney. 1994. "Toward a pragmatics of emotive communication." *Journal of Pragmatics* 22: 325–73.
- Cairns, Douglas L. 2003. "Ethics, ethology, terminology: Iliadic anger and the cross-cultural study of emotion." In *Ancient anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen*, edited by Susanna Braund and Glenn W. Most, 11–49.
- . 2008. "Look both ways: Studying emotion in ancient Greek." *Critical Quarterly* 50 (4): 43–62.
- Calame, Claude. 2013. "Choral polyphony and the ritual functions of tragic songs." In *Choral mediations in Greek tragedy*, edited by Renaud Gagné and Marianne Govers Hopman, 35–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carston, Robyn. 2002. *Thoughts and utterances: The pragmatics of explicit communication*. Oxford.
- Carston, Robyn, and Seiji Uchida. 1998. *Relevance Theory: Applications and implications*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Carter, David M. 2007. *The politics of Greek tragedy*. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
- Cauer, Paul. 1914. *Die Kunst des Übersetzens*. 5th ed. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Chafe, Wallace L., ed. 1980. *The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production*. Advances in discourse processes 3. Norwood, NJ.: Ablex.
- . 1994. *Discourse, consciousness, and time: The flow and displacement of conscious experience in speaking and writing*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- Chang, Miao-Hsia, and Hsin-Yi Su. 2012. "To mark or not to mark the cause, that is the question: Causal marking in Taiwanese conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 44: 1743–63.
- Chaniotis, Angelos, ed. 2012. *Unveiling emotions: Sources and methods for the study of emotions in the Greek world*. Heidelberg althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien (HABES) 52. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Chaniotis, Angelos, and Pierre Ducrey, eds. 2013. *Unveiling emotions II: Emotions in Greece and Rome: Texts, images, material culture*. Heidelberg althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien (HABES) 55. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Chantraine, Pierre. 1968. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots*. Paris: Klincksieck.

- Chapman, Robert W. 1911. "Ἀλλά... μέν." *The Classical Review* 25: 204–5.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam, and James A. McGilvray. 2012. *The science of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Christodoulidou, Maria. 2011. "Lexical markers within the university lecture." *Novitas-ROYAL (Research on Youth and Language)* 5: 143–60.
- Clark, Herbert H. 1996. *Using language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clarke, Michael. 2010. "Semantics and vocabulary." In *A companion to the Ancient Greek language*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 120–33. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Clay, Jenny Strauss. 1983. *The wrath of Athena: Gods and men in the Odyssey*. Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press.
- Clayman, Steven E. 2013. "Turn-constructive units and the transition-relevance place." In *The handbook of Conversation Analysis*, edited by Jack Sidnell and Tanya Stivers, 150–66. Malden, MA.
- Collard, Christopher. 2005. "Colloquial language in tragedy: A supplement to the work of P.T. Stevens." *The Classical Quarterly* 55: 350–86.
- . 2007. "On stichomythia." In *Tragedy, Euripides and Euripideans: Selected papers*, by Christopher Collard, 16–30. Bristol.
- Collinge, Neville E. 1988. "Thoughts on the pragmatics of Ancient Greek." *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 214: 1–13.
- Collins, Derek. 2004. *Master of the game. Competition and performance in Greek poetry*. Washington.
- Conacher, Desmond J. 1998. *Euripides and the sophists*. London: Duckworth.
- Conrad, Susan, and Douglas Biber, eds. 2001. *Variation in English: Multi-dimensional studies*. Harlow.
- Considine, Patrick. 1966. "Some Homeric terms for anger." *Acta Classica: Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa* 9: 15–25.
- Cook-Gumperz, Jenny, and John Joseph Gumperz. 1976. "Context in children's speech." In *Papers on language and Context*, edited by Jenny Cook-Gumperz and John Joseph Gumperz. Working Paper 46. Berkeley: Language Behavior Research Laboratory.
- Cooper, Guy L. 2002. *Greek syntax: Early Greek poetic and Herodotean syntax, after K.W. Krüger. Volume 4*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Corrigan, Roberta, Edith A. Moravcsik, Hamid Ouali, and Kathleen Wheatley, eds. 2009. *Formulaic language. Volume 1: Distribution and historical change*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Coulon, Victor, and Hilaire Van Daele. 1958. *Aristophane: Les Oiseaux, Lysistrata*. Paris. [text and commentary by Coulon, French translation by Van Daele]
- Coulon, Victor, and Pierre Judet de la Combe. 2012. *Aristophane: Les Grenouilles*. Paris.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Margret Selting. 2001. "Introducing Interactional Linguistics." In *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*, edited by Margret Selting and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, 1–22. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical Construction Grammar. Syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford.
- Croft, William, and D. Alan Cruse. 2004. *Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Csapo, Eric. 2002. "Kallippides on the floor-sweepings: The limits of realism in classical acting and performance styles." In *Greek and Roman actors: Aspects of an ancient profession*, edited by Pat Easterling and Edith Hall, 127–47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cuenca, Maria-Josep, and Maria-Josep Marín. 2009. "Co-occurrence of discourse markers in Catalan and Spanish oral narrative." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 899–914.
- Curtius, Georg. 1873. *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*. 4th ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Cutting, Joan. 2008 [2002]. *Pragmatics and discourse. A resource book for students*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Cuypers, Martine P. 2005. "Interactional particles and narrative voice in Apollonius and Homer." In *Beginning from Apollo. Studies in Apollonius Rhodius and the Argonautic tradition*, edited by Martine P. Cuypers and M. Annette Harder, *Caeculus* 6:35–69. Leuven: Peeters.
- Davidse, Kristin, Lieven Vandelanotte, and Hubert Cuyckens, eds. 2010. *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*. *Topics in English linguistics* 66. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Davies, Malcolm. 1991. *Sophocles: Trachiniae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dawe, Roger D. 2006. *Sophocles Oedipus Rex*. Cambridge.
- Dedaić, Mirjana N., and Mirjana Mišković-Luković. 2010. *South Slavic discourse particles*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- De Falco, Vittorio. 1950. *Sophocles: Aiace*. Naples.
- Defour, Tine. 2008. "The speaker's voice: A diachronic study on the use of *well* and *now* as pragmatic markers." *English Text Construction* 1: 62–82.
- Degand, Liesbeth, Bert Cornillie, and Paola Pietrandrea, eds. 2013a. *Discourse markers and modal particles: Categorization and description*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2013b. "Modal particles and discourse markers: Two sides of the same coin?" In *Discourse markers and modal particles: Categorization and description*, edited by Liesbeth Degand, Bert Cornillie, and Paola Pietrandrea, 1–18. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Degand, Liesbeth, and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberg, eds. 2011. *Grammaticalization, pragmaticalization, and (inter)subjectification: Methodological Issues in the study of discourse markers*. *Linguistics* 49. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Denis, Derek. 2015. *The development of pragmatic markers in Canadian English*. Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto.
- Denniston, John D. 1950 [1934]. *The Greek particles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1952. *Greek prose style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Denniston, John D., and Denys L. Page. 1957. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dér, Csilla Ilona, and Alexandra Markó. 2010. "A pilot study of Hungarian discourse markers." *Language and Speech* 53: 135–80.
- De Romilly, Jacqueline. 1974. *Eschyle: Les Perses*. Paris.
- Des Places, Edouard. 1929. *Étude sur quelques particules de liaison chez Platon*. Paris.
- Devarius, Matthaëus. 1588. *Liber de Graecae linguae particulis*. Rome: Francisco Zannetti.
- Dickey, Eleanor. 1996. *Greek forms of address: From Herodotus to Lucian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Diewald, Gabriele. 1999. "Die dialogische Bedeutungskomponente von Modalpartikeln." In *Dialogue analysis and the mass media*, edited by Bernd Naumann, 187–99. Tübingen.
- . 2008. "Die Funktion 'idiomatischer' Konstruktionen bei Grammatikalisierungsprozessen – illustriert am Beispiel der Modalpartikel *ruhig*." In *Konstruktionsgrammatik II: Von der Konstruktion zur Grammatik*, edited by Kerstin Fischer and Anatol Stefanowitsch, 33–57. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Diggle, James. 1981-1994. *Euripidis Fabulae*. Oxford.
- Dik, Helma. 1995. *Word order in Ancient Greek. A pragmatic account of word order variation in Herodotus*. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 2007. *Word order in Greek tragic dialogue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dikken, Marcel den, ed. 2013. *The Cambridge handbook of generative syntax*. Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dik, Simon C. 1968. *Coordination*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- . 1978. *Functional Grammar*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- . 1989. *The theory of Functional Grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris.

- Dillon, Matthew. 1995. "By gods, tongues, and dogs: The use of oaths in Aristophanic comedy." *Greece and Rome* 42: 135–51.
- Dimock, George E. 1952. "ἄλλά in Lysias and Plato's *Phaedrus*." *American Journal of Philology* 73 (4): 381–96.
- Dindorf, Wilhelm. 1873. *Lexicon Aeschyleum*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Dittmar, Norbert. 2010. "Register." In *Variation and change: Pragmatic perspectives*, edited by Mirjam Fried, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren, 221–33. Amsterdam and Philadelphia.
- Döderlein, Ludwig. 1858. *Homerica particula γάρ nusquam refertur ad insequentem sententiam*. Erlangen.
- Dodds, Eric R. 1960. *Euripides: Bacchae*. Oxford.
- Dover, Kenneth J. 1968. *Aristophanes: Clouds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1972. *Aristophanic comedy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1987. "Language and character in Aristophanes." In *Greek and the Greeks: Language, poetry, drama*, by Kenneth J. Dover, 237–48. Oxford.
- . 1993. *Aristophanes: Frogs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Drummen, Annemieke. 2009. "Discourse cohesion in dialogue: Turn-initial ἄλλά in Greek drama." In *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, edited by Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, 135–54. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2013. "A constructionist approach to the potential optative in Classical Greek drama." *Glotta* 89: 68–108.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. "The stance triangle." In *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, edited by Robert Englebretson, 139–82. Amsterdam and Philadelphia.
- . 2010 [2001]. "Towards a dialogic syntax." Unpublished paper, University of California.
- . 2011. "Co-opting intersubjectivity. Dialogic rhetoric of the self." In *The rhetorical emergence of culture*, edited by Christian Meyer and Felix Girke, 52–83. New York and Oxford.
- . 2014. "Towards a dialogic syntax." *Cognitive Linguistics* 25: 359–410.
- Du Bois, John W., and Elise Kärrkäinen. 2012. "Taking a stance on emotion: Affect, sequence, and intersubjectivity in dialogic interaction." *Text & Talk* 32: 433–51.
- Ducrot, Oswald. 1972. *Dire et ne pas dire: Principes de sémantique linguistique*. Collection savoir. Paris: Hermann.
- . 1975. "Je trouve que." *Semantikos* 1: 63–88.
- . 1980. *Les échelles argumentatives*. Propositions. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- . 1984. *Le dire et le dit*. Propositions. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
- Duhoux, Yves. 1997a. "Grec écrit et grec parlé. Une étude contrastive des particules aux Ve-IVe siècles." In *New approaches to Greek particles. Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 7:15–48. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1997b. "Quelques idées reçues, et néanmoins fausses, sur les particules grecques." *AC* 66: 281–88.
- . 1998. "Les particules grecques: Les situations homérique et mycénienne." In *Langue et langues: Hommage à Albert Maniet*, edited by Yves Duhoux, 13–42. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- . 2006. "Les particules: Une classe de mots à supprimer en grec ancien?" In *Word classes and related topics in Ancient Greek: Proceedings of the conference on "Greek syntax and word classes" held in Madrid on 18-21, June 2003*, edited by Emilio Crespo, Jesús de la Villa, and Antonio Revuelta, 519–36. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- Dunbar, N. 1995. *Aristophanes. Birds*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dunkel, George E. 2014. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Dynel, Marta. 2011. "Stranger than fiction? A few methodological notes on linguistic research in film discourse." *Brno Studies in English* 37: 41–61.
- Earp, Frank R. 1944. *The style of Sophocles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1948. *The style of Aeschylus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ebeling, Heinrich. 1885. *Lexicon Homericum*. Leipzig: Teubner.

- Eggler, Marcel. 2015. "Michel Foucault." In Bendel Larcher, 19-22.
- Ellendt, Friedrich. 1872 [1835]. *Lexicon Sophocleum*. Königsburg: Bornträger.
- Elliott, Alan. 1969. *Euripides: Medea*. London.
- Elmsley, Peter. 1821. *Euripides: Bakchai*. Oxford.
- Emde Boas, Evert van. 2010. *Linguistic Studies in Euripides' Electra*. Doctoral thesis, Oxford University.
- . 2017. *Language and character in Euripides' Electra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Enfield, Nick J. 2013. *Relationship thinking: agency, enchrony, and human sociality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Erman, Britt. 2001. "Pragmatic markers revisited with a focus on you know in adult and adolescent talk." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 1337-59.
- Erp Taalman Kip, A.M. van. 1997. "H gar in questions." In *New approaches to Greek particles. Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, *Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology* 7:151-56. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 2009. "καὶ μὴν, καὶ δὴ and ἤδη in tragedy and comedy." In *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, edited by Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, 111-33. Leiden: Brill.
- Eucken, Rudolf C. 1866. *De Aristotelis dicendi ratione. Pars 1: Observationes de particularum usu*. Doctoral thesis, University of Göttingen.
- Fairbanks, Brendan George. 2009. *Ojibwe discourse markers*. Doctoral thesis, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities.
- Feng, Guangwu. 2010. *A theory of conventional implicature and pragmatic markers in Chinese*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1994. "Dialect, register, and genre: Working assumptions about conventionalization." In *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, edited by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, 15-30. New York.
- Ferrara, Kathleen W. 1997. "Form and function of the discourse marker anyway: Implications for Discourse Analysis." *Linguistics* 35: 343-78.
- Ferrari, Angela, Luca Cignetti, Anna-Maria De Cesare, Letizia Lala, Magda Mandelli, Claudia Ricci, and Enrico Roggia. 2008. *L' interfaccia lingua-testo: natura e funzioni dell' articolazione informativa dell' enunciato*. Gli argomenti umani 12. Alessandria: Edizioni dell' Orso.
- Ferreira, Fernanda, and Benjamin Swets. 2002. "How incremental is language production? Evidence from the production of utterances requiring the computation of arithmetic sums." *Journal of Memory and Language* 46 (1): 57-84.
- Fielder, Grace E. 2008. "Bulgarian adversative connectives: Conjunctions or discourse markers?" In *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions*, edited by Ritva Laury, 79-97. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2010. "Ama, a Bulgarian adversative connective." In *South Slavic discourse particles*, edited by Mirjana N. Dedaić and Mirjana Mišković-Luković, 23-44. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Fillmore, Charles J., Paul Kay, and Mary Catherine O'Connor. 1988. "Regularity and idiomaticity in grammatical constructions: The case of let alone." *Language* 64: 501-38.
- Finglass, Patrick J. 2011. *Sophocles: Ajax*. Cambridge.
- Finley, John H. 1939. "The origins of Thucydides' style." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 50: 35-84.
- Fischer, Kerstin. 2000. "Discourse particles, turn-taking, and the semantics-pragmatics interface." *Revue de Sémantique et Pragmatique* 8: 111-37.
- . , ed. 2006a. *Approaches to discourse particles*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- . 2006b. "Towards an understanding of the spectrum of approaches to discourse particles: Introduction to the volume." In *Approaches to discourse particles*, edited by Kerstin Fischer, 1-19. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- . 2010. "Beyond the sentence: Constructions, frames and spoken interaction." *Constructions and Frames* 2 (2): 185-207.

- Fischer, Kerstin, and Maria Alm. 2013. "A Radical Construction Grammar perspective on the modal particle-discourse particle distinction." In *Discourse markers and modal particles: Categorization and description*, edited by Liesbeth Degand, Bert Cornillie, and Paola Pietrandrea, 234:47–88. Pragmatics & Beyond New Series. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Flacelière, Robert. 1970. *Euripide: Médée*. Paris.
- Fleischmann, Suzanne, and Marina Yaguello. 2004. "Discourse markers across languages: Evidence from English and French." In *Discourse Across Languages and Cultures*, edited by Carol L. Moder and Aida Martinovic-Zic, 129–147. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Fludernik, Monika. 1995. "Middle English *þo* and other narrative discourse markers." In *Historical Pragmatics*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker, 359–92. Pragmatics and beyond new series 35. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2000. "Narrative discourse markers in Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 1 (2): 231–62.
- Foley, Helene P. 1999. "Modern performance and adaptation of Greek tragedy." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 129: 1–12.
- . 2003. "Choral identity in Greek tragedy." *Classical Philology* 98: 1–30.
- Foolen, Ad. 1993. *De betekenis van partikels: Een dokumentatie van de stand van het onderzoek, met bijzondere aandacht voor maar*. Nijmegen: Universitair Publikatiebureau KUN.
- . 1996. "Pragmatic particles." In *Handbook of pragmatics*, edited by Jef Verschueren, Jan-Ola Östman, Jan Blommaert, and Chris Bulcaen, 1–24. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2006. "Polysemy patterns in contrast: The case of Dutch 'toch' and German 'doch.'" In *Pragmatic Markers in Contrast*, edited by Karin Aijmer and Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberg, 59–72. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Foucault, Michel. 1966. *Les mots et les choses: Une archéologie des sciences humaines*. Paris: Gallimard.
- . 1971. *L'ordre du discours*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Fox, Barbara A. 1983. "The discourse function of the participle in Ancient Greek." In *Discourse perspectives on syntax*, edited by Flora Klein-Andreu, 23–41. New York: Academic Press.
- Fox Tree, Jean E. 2006. "Placing *like* in telling stories." *Discourse Studies* 8 (6): 723–43.
- Fraenkel, Eduard. 1950. *Aeschylus: Agamemnon*. Oxford.
- . 1977. *Due seminari romani di Eduard Fraenkel: Aiace e Filottete di Sofocle*. Edited by Luigi E. Rossi. *Sussidi eruditi* 28. Roma: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura.
- Fraser, Bruce. 1999. "What are discourse markers?" *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 931–52.
- Fraser, Bruce, and Monica Malamud-Makowski. 1996. "English and Spanish contrastive discourse markers." *Language Sciences* 18 (3–4): 863–81.
- Fried, Mirjam. 2009. "Construction Grammar as a tool for diachronic analysis." *Constructions and Frames* 1 (2): 262–91.
- Fried, Mirjam, and Jan-Ola Östman. 2004. "Construction Grammar: A thumbnail sketch." In *Construction Grammar in a cross-language perspective*, edited by Mirjam Fried and Jan-Ola Östman, 11–86. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2005. "Construction Grammar and spoken language: The case of pragmatic particles." *Journal of Pragmatics* 37: 1752–78.
- Friis Johansen, Holger, and Edward W. Whittle. 1980. *Aeschylus: The Suppliants*. Copenhagen.
- Frisk, Hjalmar. 1946. "ΜΗΝΙΣ. Zur Geschichte eines Begriffes." *Eranos* 44: 28–40.
- . 1954–1972. *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Fritsch, Ernst A. 1859. *Nam, enim, etenim, ἄρα, γάρ*. Wetzlar.
- Fuami, Shigenobu. 2009. "Well in Shakespeare: Discourse, collocation and text." *The Online Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Poetics and Linguistics Association (PALA)*.

- Fujii, Seiko. 2000. "Incipient decategorization of MONO and grammaticalization of speaker attitude in Japanese discourse." In *Pragmatic markers and propositional attitude*, edited by Gisle Andersen and Thorstein Fretheim, 85–118. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Fulkerson, Laurel. 2013. *No regrets: Remorse in classical antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Furman, Reyhan, and Aslı Özyürek. 2007. "Development of interactional discourse markers: Insights from Turkish children's and adults' oral narratives." *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 1742–57.
- Gaines, Philip. 2011. "The multifunctionality of discourse operator *okay*: Evidence from a police interview." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 3291–3315.
- Gardner, Rod. 2005. "Conversation Analysis." In *The handbook of applied linguistics*, edited by Alan Davies and Catherine Elder. Blackwell Reference Online.
- Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Cambridge.
- Garvie, Alexander F. 1986. *Aeschylus: Choephoroi*. Oxford.
- . 1998. *Sophocles: Ajax*. Warminster.
- Garzya, Antonio. 1953. *Euripides: Andromacha*. Leipzig.
- Gelzer, Thomas. 1960. *Der epirrhematische Agon bei Aristophanes*. Munich.
- Georgakopoulou, Alexandra. 1997. *Narrative performances. A study of Modern Greek storytelling*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2007. *Small stories, interaction and identities*. Studies in Narrative 8. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, Alexandra, and Dionysis Goutsos. 1998. "Conjunctions versus discourse markers in Greek: The interaction of frequency, position, and functions in context." *Linguistics* 36 (5): 887–917.
- George, Coulter H. 2005. *Expressions of agency in Ancient Greek*. Cambridge.
- . 2009. "Greek particles: Just a literary phenomenon?" In *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, edited by Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 16:155–69. Leiden: Brill.
- Gerolemou, Maria. 2011. *Bad women, mad women*. Classica Monacensia 40. Tübingen: Narr.
- Giora, Rachel. 2007. "'A good Arab is not a dead Arab – a racist incitement': On the accessibility of negated concepts." In *Explorations in pragmatics: Linguistic, cognitive and intercultural aspects*, edited by Istvan Kecskes and Laurence R. Horn, 129–62. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Giora, Rachel, and Noga Balaban. 2001. "Lexical access in text production: On the role of salience in metaphor resonance." In *Text representation*, edited by Ted Sanders, Joost Schilperoord, and Wilbert Spooren, 11–124. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions. A Construction Grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2006. *Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldhill, Simon. 2000. "Greek drama and political theory." In *The Cambridge history of Greek and Roman political thought*, edited by Christopher Rowe and Malcolm Schofield, 60–88. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2012. *Sophocles and the language of tragedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goldstein, David M. 2010. *Wackernagel's law in fifth-century Greek*. Doctoral thesis, University of California, Berkeley.
- . 2012. "Iterated modal marking and polarity focus in ancient Greek." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 110: 1–25.
- . 2013. "The synchrony and diachrony of a scalar coordinator: Latin *nedum* 'let alone.'" *Indo-European Linguistics* 1: 68–106.
- . 2016. *Classical Greek syntax: Wackernagel's Law in Herodotus*. Leiden: Brill.



- Gonda, Jan. 1954. "The history and original function of the Indo-European particle *kue*, especially in Greek and Latin." *Mnemosyne* 7: 177–214 & 265–96.
- González, Montserrat. 2004. *Pragmatic markers in oral narrative: The case of English and Catalan*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Grethlein, Jonas. 2010. *The Greeks and their past: poetry, oratory and history in the fifth century BCE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2013. "Choral intertemporality in the *Oresteia*." In *Choral mediations in Greek tragedy*, edited by Renaud Gagné and Marianne Govers Hopman, 78–99. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grethlein, Jonas, and Antonios Rengakos, eds. 2009. *Narratology and interpretation: The content of narrative form in ancient literature*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Grice, H. Paul. 1961. *The causal theory of perception*. Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society Supplementary 35: 121–52.
- . 1989. *Studies in the way of words*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Griffith, Mark. 1999. *Sophocles: Antigone*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2001. "Antigone and her sister(s): Embodying women in Greek tragedy." In *Making silence speak: Women's voices in Greek literature and society*, edited by André P.M.H. Lardinois and Laura McClure, 117–36. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Groeneboom, Petrus. 1930. *Aeschylus' Persae*. Groningen: Wolters.
- . 1938. *Aeschylus' Zeven tegen Thebe*. Groningen: Wolters.
- . 1949. *Aeschylus' Choephoroi*. Groningen: Wolters.
- . 1952. *Aeschylus' Eumenides*. Groningen: Wolters.
- Gruber, William E. 1986. *Comic theaters: Studies in performance and audience response*. Athens, GA.: University of Georgia Press.
- Grundy, Peter. 2000. *Doing pragmatics*. London: Arnold.
- Gumperz, John Joseph. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haddington, Pentti. 2004. "Stance taking in news interviews." *SKY Journal of Linguistics* 17: 101–42.
- Hadley, William S. 1889. *The Hippolytus of Euripides*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 1993. "The interpretation of the particle *da* in West Flemish." *Lingua* 90: 111–28.
- Hakulinen, Auli. 1998. "The use of Finnish *nyt* as a discourse particle." In *Discourse markers. Descriptions and theory*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, 83–96. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2001. "On some uses of the discourse particle 'kyl(lä)' in Finnish conversation." In *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*, edited by Margret Selting and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, 171–98. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hall, Edith. 1996. *Aeschylus: Persians*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Hall, Edith, and Amanda Wrigley, eds. 2007. *Aristophanes in performance, 421 BC-AD 2007: Peace, Birds and Frogs*. London: Modern Humanities Research Association and Maney.
- Halla-aho, Hilla, and Peter Kruschwitz. 2010. "Colloquial and literary language in early Roman tragedy." In *Colloquial and literary Latin*, edited by Eleanor Dickey and Anna Chahoud, 133–59. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halleran, Michael R. 1995. *Euripides: Hippolytus*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Halliday, Michael A.K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, Michael A.K., and Ruquaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Halliwell, Stephen. 2002. *The aesthetics of mimesis: ancient texts and modern problems*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hancock, John Leonard. 1917. *Studies in stichomythia*. Chicago, IL.: The University of Chicago Press.

- Hannay, Mike, and Caroline H.M. Kroon. 2005. "Acts and the relationship between discourse and grammar." *Functions of Language* 12: 87–124.
- Hansen, Maj-Britt M. 1998a. *The function of discourse particles. A study with special reference to spoken standard French*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1998b. "The semantic status of discourse markers." *Lingua* 104: 235–60.
- Hartung, Johann A. 1828. *Commentatio de particulis δή et ἤδη*. Erlangen.
- . 1832. *Lehre von den Partikeln der griechischen Sprache*. Erlangen: Palm and Enke.
- Haviland, John B. 2007. "Person reference in Tzotzil gossip: Referring dupliciter." In *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural, and social perspectives*, edited by Nick J. Enfield and Tanya Stivers, 226–52. Cambridge.
- Hayashi, Makoto. 2013. "Turn allocation and turn sharing." In *The handbook of Conversation Analysis*, edited by Jack Sidnell and Tanya Stivers, 167–90. Malden, Mass.
- Headlam, Walter, and George Thomson. 1966 [1938]. *The Oresteia of Aeschylus*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- Heine, Bernd. 2013. "On discourse markers: Grammaticalization, pragmaticalization, or something else?" *Linguistics* 51: 1205–47.
- Heller, J.C. 1858. "De particula ἄρα." *Philologus* 13: 68–121.
- Hell, Janet G. van, Ludo Verhoeven, Marjan Tak, and Moniek van Oosterhout. 2005. "To take a stance: A developmental study of the use of pronouns and passives in spoken and written narrative and expository texts in Dutch." *Journal of Pragmatics* 37: 239–73.
- Hellwig, Antje. 1974. "Zur Funktion und Bedeutung der griechischen Partikeln." *Glotta* 52: 145–71.
- Henderson, Jeffrey. 1987. *Aristophanes' Lysistrata*. Oxford.
- . 1998a. *Aristophanes: Acharnians, Knights*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 1998b. *Aristophanes: Clouds, Wasps, Peace*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 2000. *Aristophanes: Birds, Lysistrata, Women at the Thesmophoria*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 2002. *Aristophanes: Frogs, Assemblywomen, Wealth*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Hengeveld, Kees, and J. Lachlan Mackenzie. 2008. *Functional Discourse Grammar: A typologically-based theory of language structure*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heritage, John. 1984. "A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement." In *Structures of social action. Studies in Conversational Analysis*, edited by John Heritage and J. Atkinson, 299–345. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1998. "Oh-prefaced responses to inquiry." *Language in Society* 27: 291–334.
- . 2002. "Oh-prefaced responses to assessments: A method of modifying agreement/disagreement." In *The language of turn and sequence*, edited by Ceci Ford, Barbara Fox, and Sandra Thompson, 196–224. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2010. "Conversation Analysis: Practices and methods." In *Qualitative Sociology*, edited by David Silverman, 208–230. London: Sage.
- Heritage, John, and Marja-Leena Sorjonen. 1994. "Constituting and maintaining activities across sequences: And-prefacing as a feature of question design." *Language in Society* 23: 1–29.
- Hermann, J. Gottfried J. 1823. *Euripidis Bacchae*. Leipzig.
- . 1825. *Sophocles: Oedipus Coloneus*. 1st ed. Leipzig: Fleischer.
- Herwerden, Hendrik van. 1866. *Sophoclis Oedipus Rex*. Utrecht.
- Hesk, Jon. 2003. *Sophocles: Ajax*. London: Duckworth.
- . 2006. "Homeric flyting and how to read it: performance and intratext in *Iliad* 20.83–109 and 20.178–258." *Ramus* 35: 4–28.
- . 2007. "Combative capping in Aristophanic comedy." *Cambridge Classical Journal* 53: 124–60.

- Hoffmann, Thomas, and Graeme Trousdale, eds. 2013. *The Oxford handbook of Construction Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hoffmann, Victor. 1884. *Über den Gebrauch der Part. ὅν bei Herodot.* Schneidemühl.
- Hogan, Patrick C. 2010. "Fictions and feelings: On the place of literature in the study of emotion." *Emotion Review* 2: 184–95.
- . 2011. *What literature teaches us about emotion*. Studies in emotion and social interaction. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hölker, Klaus. 1990. "Französisch: Partikelforschung." In *Lexikon der romanistischen Linguistik*, V.1:77–88. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Holmes, Nigel. 2011. "Interrogative *nam* in early Latin." *Mnemosyne* 65: 203–18.
- Hoogeveen, Hendrik. 1769. *Doctrina particularum linguae Graecae*. 1st ed. Leiden.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1988. "Emergent grammar and the a priori grammar postulate." In *Linguistics in Context: Connecting Observation and Understanding: Lectures from the 1985 LSA/TESOL and NEH Institutes*, edited by Deborah Tannen, 117–34. Norwood, NJ.: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1984. "The discourse basis for lexical categories in universal grammar." *Language* 60: 703–752.
- . 2008. "Projectability and clause combining in interaction." In *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining*, edited by Ritva Laury, 99–123. Amsterdam and Philadelphia.
- Horn, Laurence R. 2001. *A natural history of negation*. 2nd ed. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Horn, Laurence R., and Gregory L. Ward. 2006. *The handbook of pragmatics*. Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics 16. Malden, MA., and Oxford: Blackwell.
- Huang, Yan. 2007. *Pragmatics*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Huitink, Luuk. 2012. *Reported discourse in Classical Greek: Grammatical form and communicative function*. Doctoral thesis, Oxford University.
- Humbert, J. 1960. *Syntaxe grecque*. 3rd ed. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Hummel, Pascale. 1993. *La syntaxe de Pindare*. Louvain: Peeters.
- Hutchinson, Gregory O. 1985. *Aeschylus: Septem contra Thebas*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ifantidou, Elly. 2001. *Evidentials and relevance*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Imo, Wolfgang. 2005. "A Construction Grammar approach to the phrase 'I mean' in spoken English." *InLiSt - Interaction and Linguistic Structure* 42.
- . 2007. *Construction Grammar und Gesprochene-Sprache-Forschung*. Reihe germanistische Linguistik 275. Tübingen: Zugl.: Münster, Univ., Diss., 2007.
- . 2013. *Sprache in Interaktion: Analysemethoden und Untersuchungsfelder*. Linguistik - Impulse & Tendenzen 49. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Ireland, Stanley. 1974. "Stichomythia in Aeschylus: The dramatic role of syntax and connecting particles." *Hermes* 102: 509–24.
- Irmscher, Johannes. 1950. *Götterzorn bei Homer*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Italie, Gabriel. 1953. *Aeschylus: Perzen*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1955. *Index Aeschyleus*. Leiden: Brill.
- Itani, Reiko. 1993. "The Japanese sentence-final particle *ka*: A Relevance-Theoretic approach." *Lingua* 90 (1): 129–47.
- Izutsu, Katsunobu, and Mitsuko Narita Izutsu. 2013. "From discourse markers to modal/final particles: What the position reveals about the continuum." In *Discourse markers and modal particles: Categorization and description*, edited by Liesbeth Degand, Bert Cornillie, and Paola Pietrandrea, 217–236. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Jacquino, Bernard. 1997. "Sur le rôle pragmatique de καίτοι." In *New approaches to Greek particles. Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, *Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology* 7:131–49. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Jakobson, Roman. 2004 [1960]. Closing statement: Linguistics and Poetics (1960). In *Poetry in theory: an anthology 1900 - 2000*, edited by Jon Cook, 350-377. Malden, Ma.: Blackwell.
- Jannaris, Antonius N. 1897. *An historical Greek grammar*. London: MacMillan.
- Jebb, Richard C. 1887 [1883]. *Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1888. *Sophocles: Antigone*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1892. *Sophocles: Trachiniae*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1896. *Sophocles: Ajax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jefferson, Gail. 1983. "Notes on a systematic deployment of the acknowledgement tokens 'yeah' and 'mmhm.'" *Tilburg Papers in Language and Literature* 30: 1–18.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1933. "Monosyllabism in English." In *Linguistica: Selected papers in English, French and German*, 384–408. Copenhagen and London: Levin & Munksgaard.
- Jiménez Delgado, José Miguel. 2013. "Καὶ μάλα: Estructuras de focalización y polaridad positiva." *Veleia* 30: 249–58.
- Jong, Irene J.F. de. 1987. *Narrators and focalizers: The presentation of the story in the Iliad*. Amsterdam: Grüner.
- . 1991. *Narrative in drama: The art of the Euripidean messenger-speech*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1997. "γάρ introducing embedded narratives." In *New approaches to Greek particles. Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, *Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology* 7:175–85. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 2001. *A narratological commentary on the Odyssey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- , ed. 2012. *Space in Ancient Greek literature: studies in ancient Greek narrative*. Leiden: Brill.
- Jonge, Casper C. de. 2015. "Grammatical theory and rhetorical teaching." In *Brill's companion to ancient scholarship*, edited by Franco Montanari and Antonios Rengakos. Brill's Companions in Classical Studies. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Jonker, Diane-Eugenie. 2014. *Oh, well, you know, do not you?: Socio-historical Discourse Analysis of Jane Austen's fictional works*. MA thesis, Leiden University.
- Jucker, Andreas H. 1993. "The discourse marker well: A Relevance-Theoretical account." *Journal of Pragmatics* 19: 435–52.
- , ed. 1995. *Historical pragmatics. Pragmatics and beyond New Series 35*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1997. "The discourse marker well in the history of English." *English Language and Linguistics* 1: 91–110.
- . 2002. "Discourse markers in Early Modern English." In *Alternative histories of English.*, edited by Richard Watts and Peter Trudgill, 210–30. London: Routledge.
- . 2010. "Historical pragmatics." In *Variation and change: Pragmatic perspectives*, edited by Mirjam Fried, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren, 110–22. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Jucker, Andreas H., and Yael Ziv, eds. 1998a. *Discourse markers. Descriptions and theory*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1998b. "Discourse markers: Introduction." In *Discourse markers. Descriptions and theory*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, 1–12. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Juslin, Patrik N. 2013. "Vocal affect expression: Problems and promises." In *The evolution of emotional communication: From sounds in nonhuman mammals to speech and music in man*, edited by Eckart Altenmüller, Sabine Schmidt, and Elke Zimmermann, 252–73. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kakridis, Phanis I. 1974. *Aristophanous: Ornithes*. Athens.
- Kamerbeek, Jan C. 1953. *Sophocles: Ajax*. Leiden: Brill.

- . 1959. *Sophocles: Trachiniae*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1967. *Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1978. *Sophocles: Antigone*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kaster, Robert A. 2005. *Emotion, restraint, and community in ancient Rome*. Classical Culture and Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katsures, Andreas G. 1975. *Linguistic and stylistic characterization: Tragedy and Menander*. Ioannina.
- Keevallik, Leelo. 2008. "Conjunction and sequenced actions: The Estonian complementizer and evidential particle *et*." In *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions*, edited by Ritva Laury, 125–52. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kent, Alexandra. 2012. "Compliance, resistance and incipient compliance when responding to directives." *Discourse Studies* 14: 711–30.
- Kirsner, Robert S., and Vincent J. van Heuven. 1999. "How Dutch final particles constrain the construal of utterances: Experiment and etymology." In *Discourse studies in cognitive linguistics*, edited by Karen van Hoek, Andrej A. Kibrik, and Leo Noordman, 165–83. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Kloss, Gerrit. 2001. *Erscheinungsformen komischen Sprechens bei Aristophanes*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Klotz, Reinhold M. 1835. *Matthaei Devarii liber de Graecae linguae particulis: Reinholdi Klotz adnotationes continens*. Vol. 1. Leipzig: Baumgaertner.
- . 1842. *Matthaei Devarii liber de Graecae linguae particulis: Reinholdi Klotz adnotationes continens*. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Baumgaertner.
- Kock, Theodor. 1894. *Aristophanes: Die Vögel*. 3rd edition. Berlin.
- Koier, Elizabeth. 2013. *Interpreting particles in dead and living languages. A Construction Grammar approach to the semantics of Dutch ergens and Ancient Greek pou*. Doctoral thesis, University of Leiden. Utrecht: LOT.
- Koike, Dale A. 1996. "Functions of the adverbial *ya* in Spanish narrative discourse." *Journal of Pragmatics* 25:267–79.
- Konopka, Agnieszka E., and Sarah Brown-Schmidt. 2014. "Message encoding." In *The Oxford handbook of language production*, edited by Matthew A. Goldrick, 3–20. Oxford Library of Psychology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Konstan, David. 2001. *Pity transformed*. London: Duckworth.
- . 2006. *The emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical literature*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kovacs, David. 1998. *Euripides: Suppliant Women, Electra, Heracles*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 2001. *Euripides: Cyclops, Alcestis, Medea*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 2002. *Euripides: Bacchae, Iphigeneia at Aulis, Rhesus*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 2005. *Euripides: Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Kreij, Mark de. 2015. "ἄρα, ἄρα, and ἦρα in Pindar's Victory Odes." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica n.s.* 107 (136): 93–101.
- . 2016a. "1.2 From σύνδεσμοι to particulae." In Bonifazi, Drummen, and De Kreij.
- . 2016b. "The priming act in Homeric epic." In *Oral Poetics and Cognitive Science*, edited by Mihailo Antović and Cristóbal Pagán Cánovas, 148–167. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- . 2016c. *Volume II. Particle Use in Homer and Pindar*. In Bonifazi, Drummen, and De Kreij.
- Kress, Gunther R., and Theo van Leeuwen. 2001. *Multimodal discourse: The modes and media of contemporary communication*. London: Arnold.

- Kroon, Caroline H.M. 1989. "Causal connectors in Latin: the discourse function of *nam*, *enim*, *igitur* and *ergo*." In *Actes du Ve colloque de linguistique latine*, edited by Marius Lavency and Dominique Longrée, 231-243. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- . 1992. "Particula perplexa. Over veelzijdige buitenbeentjes en gefrustreerde geleerden." In *Pentecostalia. Bundel ter gelegenheid van de vijftigste verjaardag van Harm Pinkster*, edited by Gabriël C.L.M. Bakkum, Caroline H.M. Kroon, and Rodie Risselada, 53-64. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- . 1994a. "Discourse connectives and discourse type: The case of Latin *at*." In *Linguistic studies on Latin: Selected papers from the 6th international colloquium on Latin linguistics (Budapest, 23-27 March 1991)*, edited by József Herman, Studies in Language Companion Series 28:303-17. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1994b. "Latijnse *maar*-equivalenten in narratief proza." In *Nauwe betrekkingen. Voor Theo Janssen bij zijn vijftigste verjaardag*, edited by Ronny Boogaart and Jan Noordegraaf, 129-36. Stichting Neerlandistiek VU. Münster: Nodus.
- . 1995. *Discourse particles in Latin: A study of nam, enim, autem, vero and at*. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1997. "Discourse markers, discourse structure and Functional Grammar." In *Discourse and pragmatics in Functional Grammar*, edited by John H. Connolly, Roel M. Vismans, Christopher S. Butler and Richard A. Gatward, 17-32. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 1998. "A framework for the description of Latin discourse markers." *Journal of Pragmatics* 30: 205-23.
- . 2004. "Latin *quidem* and the structure of the move." In *Words in their places. A Festschrift for J. Lachlan Mackenzie*, edited by Henk Aertsen, Mike Hannay, and Rod Lyall, 199-209. Amsterdam: VU University Amsterdam.
- . 2005. "The relationship between grammar and discourse. Evidence from the Latin particle *quidem*." In *Latina Lingua!*, edited by Gualtiero Calboli, 577-90. Roma: Herder Editrice.
- . 2009. "Latin linguistics between grammar and discourse. Units of analysis, levels of analysis." In *Pragmatische Kategorien. Form, Funktion und Diachronie. Akten der Marburger Arbeitstagung der indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 24. bis 26. September 2007 in Marburg*, edited by Elisabeth Rieken and Paul Widmer, 143-58. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Kroon, Caroline H.M., and Rodie Risselada. 1998. "The discourse functions of *iam*." In *Estudios de linguística latina. Actas del IX coloquio internacional de linguística latina, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, edited by Benjamin García-Hernández, 429-45. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.
- . 2002. "Phasality, polarity, focality: A feature analysis of the Latin particle *iam*." *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 16: 65-78.
- Krüger, Georg T.A. 1834. *De formulae ἀλλ' ἢ et affinum part. natura et usu commentatio*. Braunschweig.
- Krüger, Karl W. 1845-1846. *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schulen*. Berlin.
- Kühlewein, Hugo. 1870. *Observationes de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumferuntur*. Göttingen: Kästner.
- Kühner, Rafael. 1835. *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II: Syntax*. Hannover: Hahn.
- Kuppens, Peter. 2009. "Anger." In *The Oxford companion to emotion and the affective sciences*, edited by David Sander and Klaus R. Scherer, 32-33. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kvicala, J. 1863. "[Review of Bäumlein 1861.]" *Zeitschrift für die Österreichischen Gymnasien* 14: 304-325.
- Labéy, Daniel. 1950. *Manuel des particules grecques*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Lam, Phoenix W.Y. 2010. "Discourse particles in corpus data and textbooks: The case of *well*." *Applied Linguistics* 31: 260-281.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Volume I: Theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press.
- . 1990. *Concept, image, and symbol*. Cognitive Linguistics Research 1. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- . 2008. *Cognitive Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2010. “Cognitive Grammar.” In *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*, edited by Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog, 87–109. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Langslow, David R. 2000. “Latin discourse particles, ‘Medical Latin’ and ‘Classical Latin.’” *Mnemosyne* 53: 537–60.
- Laury, Ritva. 2005. “Dialogic syntax and the emergence of topics in interaction – an initial exploration.” *Tranel (Travaux Neuchâtelois de Linguistique)* 41: 165–89.
- . , ed. 2008. *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions*. Typological Studies in Language 80. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Laury, Ritva, and Eeva-Leena Seppänen. 2008. “Clause combining, interaction, evidentially, participation structure, and the conjunction-particle continuum: The Finnish *että*.” In *Crosslinguistic studies of clause combining: The multifunctionality of conjunctions*, edited by Ritva Laury, 153–78. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lee, David Y.W. 2001. “Genres, registers, text types, domains, and styles: Clarifying the concepts and navigating a path through the BNC jungle.” *Language Learning and Technology* 5: 37–72.
- Lee-Goldman, Russell. 2011. “No as a discourse marker.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 2627–49.
- Leeuwen, Jan van. 1896. *Aristophanis Ranae*. Leiden.
- . 1898. *Aristophanis Nubes*. Leiden.
- . 1902. *Aristophanis Aves*. Leiden.
- . 1903. *Aristophanis Lysistrata*. Leiden.
- Lenk, Uta. 1997. *Discourse markers*. Handbook of Pragmatics Online. John Benjamins.
- . 1998. *Marking discourse coherence: Functions of discourse markers in spoken English*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Leumann, Manu. 1949. “Μέν und μήν, δέ und δή.” *Museum Helveticum* 6: 85–89.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1987. *Textual connections in Acts*. The Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 31. Atlanta, Georgia.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2006. “On the human ‘interactional engine.’” In *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction*, edited by Nick J. Enfield and Stephen C. Levinson, 39–69. Oxford and New York: Berg.
- . 2013. “Action formation and ascription.” In *The handbook of Conversation Analysis*, edited by Jack Sidnell and Tanya Stivers, 103–30. Malden, MA.
- Lewis, Diana M. 2011. “A discourse-constructional approach to the emergence of discourse markers in English.” *Linguistics* 49: 415–43.
- Linell, Per. 1998. *Approaching dialogue: Talk, interaction and contexts in dialogical perspectives*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2009. “Grammatical constructions in dialogue.” In *Contexts and constructions*, edited by Alexander Bergs and Gabriele Diewald, 97–110. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lloyd-Jones, Hugh. 1997 [1994]. *Sophocles: Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Tyrannus*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 1998 [1994]. *Sophocles: Antigone, The Women of Trachis, Philoctetes, Oedipus at Colonus*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Lloyd-Jones, Hugh, and Nigel G. Wilson. 1990. *Sophoclis fabulae*. Oxford.
- Lloyd, Michael. 1994. *Euripides: Andromache*. Warminster.
- López Eire, Antonio. 1996. *La lengua coloquial de la comedia aristofánica*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.
- Louwerse, Max M., and Heather H. Mitchell. 2003. “Towards a taxonomy of a set of discourse markers in dialog: A theoretical and computational linguistic account.” *Discourse Processes* 35: 199–239.
- Lucci, Jay. 2011. “Sophocles the comedian: Wordplay, unequal status, and humor in Sophoclean tragedy.” Unpublished paper, University of Pennsylvania.
- Ludlow, Peter. 2011. *The philosophy of generative linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Luke, Kang Kwong. 1990. *Utterance particles in Cantonese conversation*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Luraghi, Silvia, and Eleonora Sausa. 2015. "Hate and anger, love and desire: The construal of emotions in Homeric Greek." In *Historical Linguistics 2013: Selected papers from the 21st international conference on historical linguistics, Oslo, 5-9 August 2013*, edited by Dag T. T. Haug, 233–256. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lutzky, Ursula. 2012. *Discourse markers in Early Modern English*. Pragmatics and beyond new series 227. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Lutzky, Ursula, and Jane Demmen. 2013. "Pray in Early Modern English drama." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 14: 263–84.
- MacDowell, Douglas M. 1971. *Aristophanes: Wasps*. Oxford.
- Margerie, H el ene. 2010. "On the rise of (inter)subjective meaning in the grammaticalization of *kind of/kinda*." In *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*, edited by Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte, and Hubert Cuyckens, 315–46. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Markantonatos, Gerasimos A. 1986. *Sophokleous Oidipous Tyrannos*. Athens.
- Maschler, Yael. 1998. "Rotse lishmoa keta? 'Wanna hear something weird/funny (lit. "a segment")?': The discourse markers segmenting Israeli Hebrew talk-in-interaction." In *Discourse markers: Description and theory*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, 13–59. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2003. "The discourse marker *nu*: Israeli Hebrew impatience in interaction." *Text* 23: 89–128.
- . 2009. *Metalanguage in interaction: Hebrew discourse markers*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Masini, Francesca, and Paola Pietrandrea. 2010. "Magari." *Cognitive Linguistics* 21 (1): 75–121.
- Masinyana, Abdul-Malik S.O. 2013. *Ke in utterances: Uses and functions of the Xhosa discourse marker ke*. MA thesis, University of Cape Town.
- Mastromarco, Giuseppe, and Piero Totaro. 2006. *Commedie di Aristofane. Volume secondo*. Turin.
- Mastrorarde, Donald J. 1979. *Contact and Discontinuity: Some Conventions of Speech and Action on the Greek Tragic Stage*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- . 2000. "Euripidean tragedy and genre: The terminology and its problems." In *Euripides and tragic theatre in the late fifth century*, edited by Martin J. Cropp, 23–39. Champaign, Ill.: Stipes Publ.
- . 2002. *Euripides: Medea*. Cambridge.
- Matthiae, August. 1825. *Ausf uhrliche griechische Grammatik*. 2nd ed. Leipzig.
- Matthiae, August, Konstantin Matthiae, and Bernhard Matthiae. 1841. *Lexicon Euripideum*. Leipzig: Fleischer.
- Mazeland, Harrie. 2012. "NOU als discourse marker in het taalgebruik van kleuters [NOU as a discourse marker in talk-in-interaction of pre-school children]." In *Gesprekken in het onderwijs. Bijdragen over onderzoek naar interactie en leren voor Jan Berenst*, edited by Kees de Glopper, Myrte Gosen, and Jacqueline Kruiningen, 39–71. Delft: Eburon.
- Mazeland, Harrie, and Mike Huiskes. 2001. "Dutch 'but' as a sequential conjunction: Its use as a resumption marker." In *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*, edited by Margret Selting and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, 141–70. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mazeland, Harrie, and Leendert Plug. 2010. "Doing confirmation with *ja/nee hoor*. Sequential and prosodic characteristics of a Dutch discourse particle." In *Prosody in interaction*, edited by Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, Elisabeth Reber, and Margret Selting, 161–87. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- McDonald, Marianne. 1992. *Ancient sun, modern light: Greek drama on the modern stage*. New York and Oxford: Columbia University Press.
- . 2007. "Rhetoric and tragedy: Weapons of mass persuasion." In *A companion to Greek rhetoric*, edited by Ian Worthington, 473–89. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.



- McHoul, Alec W. 1987. "An initial investigation of the usability of fictional conversation for doing Conversation Analysis." *Semiotica* 67: 83–103.
- Meineck, Peter. 2011. "The neuroscience of the tragic mask." *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 19: 113–58.
- . 2013. "'The thorniest problem and the greatest opportunity': directors on directing the Greek chorus." In *Choral mediations in Greek tragedy*, edited by Marianne Govers Hopman and Renaud Gagné, 352–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Menge, Hermann. 1999 [1914]. *Repetitorium des griechischen Syntax*. Edited by Andreas Thierfelder and Jürgen Wiesner. 10th ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Mette, Adelheid. 1979. ἀλλά. In *Lexicon des frühgriechischen Epos. Band 1: A*, edited by Bruno Snell and Hans J. Mette, 505–535. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Meurman-Solin, Anneli. 2012. "The connectives *and*, *for*, *but*, and *only* as clause and discourse type indicators in 16th- and 17th-century epistolary prose." In *Information structure and syntactic change in the history of English*, edited by Anneli Meurman-Solin, María José López-Couso, and Bettelou Los, 2:164–96. Oxford Studies in the History of English. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mey, Jacob L. 2001. *Pragmatics. An introduction*. 2nd ed. Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell.
- Miestamo, Matti. 2009. "Negation." In *Grammar, meaning and pragmatics*, edited by Frank Brisard, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren, 208–29. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Minchin, Elizabeth. 2007. *Homeric voices: Discourse, memory, gender*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mišković-Luković, Mirjana. 2009. "Is there a chance that I might kinda sort of take you out to dinner?: The role of the pragmatic particles *kind of* and *sort of* in utterance interpretation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 602–25.
- . 2010. "Markers of conceptual adjustment: Serbian *baš* and *kao*." In *South Slavic discourse particles*, edited by Mirjana N. Dedaić and Mirjana Mišković-Luković, 65–89. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mišković-Luković, Mirjana, and Mirjana N. Dedaić. 2010. "South Slavic discourse particles: Introduction." In *South Slavic discourse particles*, edited by Mirjana N. Dedaić and Mirjana Mišković-Luković, 1–22. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2012. "The discourse marker *odnosno* at the ICTY: A case of disputed translation in war crime trials." *Journal of Pragmatics* 44: 1355–77.
- Molinelli, Piera. 2010. "From verbs to interactional discourse markers: The pragmaticalization of Latin *rogo*, *quaeso*." In *Papers on Grammar XI*, edited by Gualtiero Calboli and Pierluigi Cuzzolin, 181–92. Roma: Herder.
- Monro, David B. 1882. *Grammar of the Homeric dialect*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Moore, Colette. 2006. "The use of *videlicet* in Early Modern slander depositions: A case of genre-specific grammaticalization." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 7: 245–63.
- Moorhouse, Alfred C. 1952. "Observations on epic ἄλλά." *Classical Quarterly* 2: 100–104.
- . 1982. *The syntax of Sophocles*. Leiden: Brill.
- Mortillaro, Marcello, Marc Mehu, and Klaus R. Scherer. 2013. "The evolutionary origin of multimodal synchronization and emotional expression." In *The evolution of emotional communication: From sounds in nonhuman mammals to speech and music in man*, edited by Eckart Altenmüller, Sabine Schmidt, and Elke Zimmermann, 3–25. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mossman, Judith. 2011. *Euripides: Medea*. Oxford.
- Muchnová, Dagmar. 1993. "Les propositions causales en *epei*." *Graecolatina Pragensia* 14: 89–96.
- . 2000. "*Epei* en tant que particule dans les phrases autonomes." *Graecolatina Pragensia* 18: 119–36.
- . 2003. "*Epei* homérique: Sémantique, syntaxe, pragmatique." *Gaia* 7: 105–16.
- . 2004. "Les emplois paratactiques de *hos*." *Graecolatina Pragensia* 20: 121–31.

- . 2006. “Entre conjonction et particule: Le cas de *epei*.” In *Word classes and related topics in Ancient Greek. Proceedings of the conference on “Greek syntax and word classes” held in Madrid on 18-21, June 2003*, edited by Emilio Crespo, Jesus de la Villa, and Antonio R. Revuelta Puigdollers, 557–70. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- . 2007. “À propos des interprétations pragmatiques de ὅτι causal chez Homère.” *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philologica - Graecolatina Pragensia* 22: 85–102.
- . 2009. “*Epei* clauses in narrative discourse in Ancient Greek.” In *Early European Languages in the Eyes of Modern Linguistics*, edited by K. Loudová and M. Žáková, 229–40. Brno: Masaryk University.
- . 2011. *Entre conjonction, connecteur et particule: Le cas de ἐπεὶ en grec ancien. Étude syntaxique, sémantique et pragmatique*. Prague: Karolinum.
- Mueller, Melissa. 2011. “The politics of gesture in Sophocles’ *Antigone*.” *Classical Quarterly* 61: 412–25.
- . 2015. *Objects as actors: Props and the poetics of performance in Greek tragedy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Muellner, Leonard C. 1996. *The anger of Achilles: Mēnis in Greek epic*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Munteanu, Dana LaCourse. 2011. “Comic emotions: Shamelessness and envy (schadenfreude); moderate emotion.” In *Emotion, genre and gender in classical antiquity*, edited by Dana LaCourse Munteanu, 89–112. London and New York: Bloomsbury.
- . 2012. *Tragic pathos: Pity and fear in Greek philosophy and tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Murphy, Charles T. 1938. “Aristophanes and the art of rhetoric.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 49: 69–113.
- Murray, Gilbert. 1955. *Aeschylus septem quae supersunt tragoediae*. Oxford.
- Nagy, Gregory. 1995. “Transformations of choral lyric traditions in the context of Athenian state theater.” *Arion* 3: 41–55.
- . 1999. “Epic as genre.” In *Epic traditions in the contemporary world. The poetics of community*, edited by Margaret Beissinger, Jane Tylus, and Susanne Wofford, 21–32. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Navarre, Octave. 1900. *Essai sur la rhétorique grecque avant Aristote*. Paris.
- . 1908. “Études sur les particules grecques: οὐν.” *Revue Des Études Anciennes* x: 293–335.
- . 1932. “La particule grecque δὴ.” *Melanges Glotz* 2: 667–79.
- Neil, Robert Alexander. 1901. “The particle γε (Appendix I).” In *The Knights of Aristophanes*, 185–201. Cambridge.
- Noh, Eun-Ju. 2000. *Metarepresentation: A Relevance-Theory approach*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Nordgren, Lars. 2012. *The Greek interjections: Studies on the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the interjections in fifth-century drama*. Doctoral thesis, Stockholm University.
- . 2015. *Greek interjections: Syntax, semantics and pragmatics*. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs [TiLSM] 273. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Norrick, Neal R. 2000. *Conversational narrative*. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science: Series 4, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 203. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2001. “Discourse markers in oral narrative.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 849–78.
- . 2009a. “Interjections as pragmatic markers.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 866–891.
- . 2009b. “Pragmatic markers: Introduction.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 863–65.
- Nuolijärvi, Pirkko, and Liisa Tiittula. 2011. “Irony in political television debates.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 572–87.
- Ochs, Elinor, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Sandra A. Thompson, eds. 1996. *Interaction and grammar*. Vol. 13. Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs Keenan, Elinor, and Barbara Schieffelin. 1976. “Foregrounding referents: A reconsideration of left-dislocation in discourse.” *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 2: 240–57.

- Öhman, Arne. 2009. "Fear." In *The Oxford Companion to Emotion and the Affective Sciences*, edited by David Sander and Klaus R. Scherer, 182–83. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Olson, S. Douglas. 1998. *Aristophanes: Peace*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 2002. *Aristophanes: Acharnians*. Oxford.
- Onodera, Noriko O. 2004. *Japanese discourse markers: Synchronic and diachronic Discourse Analysis*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2011. "The grammaticalization of discourse markers." In *The Oxford handbook of grammaticalization*, edited by Heiko Narrog and Bernd Heine, 614–24. Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ophuijsen, Johannes M. van. 1993. "οὐν, ἄρα, δὴ, τοίνυν: The linguistic articulation of arguments in Plato's *Phaedo*." In *Two studies in Attic particle usage. Lysias & Plato*, by Christiaan M.J. Sicking and Johannes M. van Ophuijsen, 67–164. Leiden: Brill.
- Ophuijsen, Johannes M. van, and Peter Stork. 1999. *Linguistics into interpretation: Speeches of war in Herodotus VII 5 & 8-18*. Mnemosyne Supplement 195. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Oranje, Hans. 1984. *Euripides' Bacchae: the play and its audience*. Leiden: Brill.
- Orlandini, Anna. 1994. "'Si non eo die, at postridie': Une analyse pragmatique du connecteur latin *at*." *Lalies* 14: 159–75.
- . 1995. "De la connexion: Une analyse pragmatique des connecteurs latins *atque* et *inmo*." *Lalies* 15: 259–69.
- . 1999. "De la connexion: Une analyse pragmatique des connecteurs latins *autem* et *ceterum*." *Indogermanische Forschungen* 104: 142–63.
- Orlandini, Anna, and Paolo Poccetti. 2007. "Les opérateurs de coordination et les connecteurs en latin et dans d'autres langues de la méditerranée ancienne." In *La coordination. Rivages linguistiques*, edited by André Rousseau, Louis Begioni, and Nigel Quayle, 189–224. Presses de l'Université de Rennes.
- . 2009. "Corrélation, coordination et comparaison en latin et dans les langues italiennes." *Langages* 174: 53–66.
- Oropeza-Escobar, Minerva. 2011. *Represented discourse, resonance and stance in joking interaction in Mexican Spanish*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 1991. "On the language-internal interaction of prosody and pragmatic particles." In *Levels of linguistic adaptation*, edited by Jef Verschueren, 203–21. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1995. "Pragmatic particles twenty years after." In *Organization in discourse. Proceedings from the Turku conference*, edited by Brita Wårvik, Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen, and Risto Hiltunen, *Anglicana Turkuensia* 14:95–108. Turku.
- . 1999. "Coherence through understanding through discourse patterns: Focus on news reports." In *Coherence in spoken and written discourse*, edited by Wolfram Bublitz, Uta Lenk, and Eija Ventola, 77–100. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2005. "Construction Discourse: A prolegomenon." In *Construction Grammars: Cognitive grounding and theoretical extensions*, edited by Jan-Ola Östman and Mirjam Fried, 121–44. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Östman, Jan-Ola, and Mirjam Fried. 2004. "Historical and intellectual background of Construction Grammar." In *Construction Grammar in a cross-language perspective*, edited by Mirjam Fried and Jan-Ola Östman, 1–10. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Östman, Jan-Ola, and Tuija Virtanen. 1999. "Theme, comment, and newness as figures in information structure." In *Discourse studies in cognitive linguistics: Selected papers from the 5th international cognitive linguistics conference, Amsterdam, July 1997*, edited by Karen Van Hoek, Andrej A. Kibrik, and Leo Noordman, 91–110. *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory* 176. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

- Owren, Michael J., Michael Philipp, Eric Vanman, Niyati Trivedi, Allison Schulman, and Jo-Anne Bachorowski. 2013. "Understanding spontaneous human laughter: The role of voicing in inducing positive emotion." In *The evolution of emotional communication: From sounds in nonhuman mammals to speech and music in man*, edited by Eckart Altenmüller, Sabine Schmidt, and Elke Zimmermann, 175–90. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Páez Martínez, Martín. 2012. "Bibliography about Greek particles (1935-2010)." *Syntaktika* 42: 3–43.
- Page, Denys L. 1938. *Euripides: Medea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1972. *Aeschyli septem quae supersunt tragoedias*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paley, Frederick Apthorp. 1881. *A short treatise on the Greek particles and their combinations*. Cambridge: Bell.
- Passow, Franz. 1841 and 1857. *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache. Neue Bearbeitung von Valentin Rost und Johann F. Palm*. Leipzig: Vogel.
- Pelling, Christopher. 2005. "Tragedy, rhetoric, and performance culture." In *A companion to Greek tragedy*, edited by Justina Gregory, 83–102. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Pennebaker, James W. 2011. *The secret life of pronouns: What our words say about us*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Person, Raymond F. 2009. "'Oh' in Shakespeare: A conversation analytic approach." *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 10 (1): 84–107.
- Pfeiffer-Petersen, Sabine. 1996. *Konfliktstichomythien bei Sophokles: Funktion und Gestaltung*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Philippi, Jule. 2008. *Einführung in die generative Grammatik*. Studienbücher zur Linguistik 12. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Pickering, Martin J., and Simon Garrod. 2006. "Alignment as the basis for successful communication." *Research on Language and Computation* 4: 203–28.
- Pickering, Peter E. 1999. *Verbal repetition in Greek tragedy*. Doctoral thesis, University College London.
- . 2000a. "Repetitions and their removal by the copyists of Greek tragedy." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 41: 123–39.
- . 2000b. "Verbal repetition in *Prometheus* and Greek tragedy generally." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 44: 81–101.
- . 2003. "Did the Greek ear detect 'careless' verbal repetitions?." *The Classical Quarterly* 53: 490–99.
- Pickering, Peter E., and Martin J. Pickering. 2002. "Do real people talk like Electra and Orestes?—repetition in dialogue: tragedy compared with natural speech." Paper presented at the Classical Association Annual Conference, University of Edinburgh.
- Pinkster, Harm. 2010. "The use of *quia* and *quoniam* in Cicero, Seneca, and Tertullian." In *Studies in classical linguistics in honor of Philip Baldi*, edited by B. Richard Page and Aaron D. Rubin, 81–96. Amsterdam studies in classical philology 17. Leiden: Brill.
- Platnauer, Maurice. 1964. *Aristophanes: Peace*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Podlecki, Anthony J. 1989. *Aeschylus: Eumenides*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Polanyi, Livia, and Remko J. H. Scha. 1983. "The syntax of discourse." *Text* 3: 261–70.
- Polo Arrondo, Jesús F. 2007. "De la subordinación al discurso. Un ejemplo en Griego Antiguo." *Interlingüística (Actas Del XXI Encuentro de La Asociación de Jóvenes Linguistas)* 17: 827–36.
- . 2011. "A new approach to subordination in ancient Greek: The case of *πλήν*." Poster presented at the conference *Linguistics and Classical Languages*, Rome.
- . forthcoming. "*πλήν* + finite verb: a new perspective on exception clauses in Ancient Greek." In *Proceedings of the colloquium Linguistics and Classical Languages held in Rome, 2011*, edited by Anna Pompei and Jesús de la Villa.
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. "Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/ dispreferred turn shapes." In *Structures of Social Action*, edited by J. Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage, 57–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pons Bordería, Salvador, and Maria Estellés Arguedas. 2009. "Expressing digression linguistically: Do digressive markers exist?" *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 921–36.
- Pontani, Filippo M. 1970 [1951]. *Eschilo: I Persiani*. Rome: Bonacci.
- Powell, John Enoch. 1938. *A lexicon to Herodotus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Powers, Melinda. 2014. *Athenian tragedy in performance: A guide to contemporary studies and historical debates*. Studies in theatre history and culture. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Preacher, Kristopher J. 2001. Calculation for the chi-square test: An interactive calculation tool for chi-square tests of goodness of fit and independence [computer software]. Available from <http://quantpsy.org>.
- Provenza, Antonietta. 2013. "Madness and bestialization in Euripides' Heracles." *The Classical Quarterly (New Series)* 63 (01): 68–93.
- Quaglio, Paulo. 2009. *Television dialogue: The sitcom Friends vs. natural conversation*. Studies in Corpus Linguistics 36. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Raeburn, David, and Oliver R.H. Thomas. 2011. *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Raymond, Geoffrey. 2004. "Prompting action: The stand-alone "so" in ordinary conversation." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 37: 185–218.
- Redeker, Gisela. 1990. "Ideational and pragmatic markers of discourse structure." *Journal of Pragmatics* 14: 367–81.
- . 2006. "Discourse markers as attentional cues at discourse transitions." In *Approaches to discourse particles*, edited by Kerstin Fischer, 339–58. Amsterdam and Boston: Elsevier.
- Redondo Moyano, Elena. 1995. *Estudio sintáctico de las partículas en el período helenístico*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- Reisenzein, Rainer. 1994. "Pleasure-arousal theory and the intensity of emotions." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 67: 525–39.
- Revelle, William, and Klaus R. Scherer. 2009. "Personality (and emotion)." In *The Oxford companion to emotion and the affective sciences*, edited by David Sander and Klaus R. Scherer, 304–5. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Revermann, Martin. 2006a. *Comic business: Theatricality, dramatic technique, and performance contexts of Aristophanic comedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2006b. "The competence of theatre audiences in fifth- and fourth-century Athens." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 126: 99–124.
- Revuelta Puigdollers, Antonio R. 1996. *Estudio de las partículas griegas αὐ, αὐτε, αὐθις, ἄψ, πάλιν y ὀπίσω en griego antiguo*. Doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.
- . 1998. "Focusing particles in Latin. Some remarks." In *Estudios de lingüística latina: actas del IX Coloquio Internacional de Lingüística Latina*, edited by Benjamín García-Hernández, 2:689–704. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.
- . 2000. "Parallel focus particles, especially in Ancient Greek." In *Cien años de investigación semántica: de Michel Bréal a la actualidad: actas del Congreso Internacional de Semántica; Universidad de La Laguna 27 - 31 de octubre de 1997*, edited by Marcos Martínez Hernández, 1175–90. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas.
- . 2006a. "Los adverbios en griego antiguo. Las partículas." In *Sintaxis griega*, edited by Dolores Jiménez López, 38. Liceus E-Excellence. El Portal de las Humanidades.
- . 2006b. "Word classes, functions and syntactic level: The case of *palin*." In *Word classes and related topics in Ancient Greek: Proceedings of the conference on "Greek syntax and word classes" held in Madrid on 18-21, June 2003*, edited by Emilio Crespo, Jesús de la Villa, and Antonio R. Revuelta Puigdollers, 455–70. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- . 2009a. "Particles and discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek." In *Proceedings of the 8th international conference on Greek linguistics, August 30th - September 2nd, 2007*, edited by Georgios K. Giannakis, Maria Baltazani, Giorgos I. Xidopoulos, and Tasos Tsagalidis, 394–405. Ioannina: University of Ioannina.

- . 2009b. “The particles *au* and *aute* in Ancient Greek as topicalizing devices.” In *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, edited by Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 16:83–109. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2010. “Coordinación, parataxis e hipotaxis en griego antiguo.” In *Sintaxis Griega*, edited by Dolores Jiménez López. Liceus E-Excellence. El Portal de las Humanidade.
- . 2013. “Particles (syntactic features).” In *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek language and linguistics*, edited by Georgios K. Giannakis. BrillOnline.
- Rickheit, Gert, Sabine Weiss, and Hans-Jürgen Eikmeyer. 2010. *Kognitive Linguistik: Theorien, Modelle, Methoden*. Tübingen: Francke.
- Riemer, Friedrich Wilhelm. 1823. *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch für Anfänger und Freunde der griechischen Sprache*. Jena and Leipzig: Frommann.
- Rijksbaron, Albert. 1988. “The discourse function of the imperfect.” In *In the Footsteps of Raphael Kühner: Proceedings of the International Colloquium in Commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the publication of Raphael Kühner’s Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, II. Theil: Syntaxe*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, Hotze A. Mulder, and Gerry C. Wakker, 237–54. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1991. *Grammatical observations on Euripides’ Bacchae*. Studies in Greek philology 1. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1997a. “Introduction.” In *New approaches to Greek particles. Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 7:1–14. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . , ed. 1997b. *New approaches to Greek particles. Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 7. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 2002 [1984]. *The syntax and semantics of the verb in Classical Greek: an introduction*. 3rd ed. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 2007. *Plato. Ion, or On the Iliad*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Risselada, Rodie. 1989. “Latin illocutionary parentheticals.” In *Actes du Ve colloque de linguistique latine*, edited by Marius Lavency and Dominique Longrée, 367–78. Louvain-La-Neuve: Peeters.
- . 1994. “*Modo* and *sane*, or what to do with particles in Latin directives.” In *Linguistic studies on Latin: Selected papers from the 6th international colloquium on Latin linguistics*, edited by Jozseph Herman, 319–43. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1996. “And now for something completely different? Temporal discourse markers: Latin *nunc* and English *now*.” In *On Latin. Linguistic and literary studies in honour of Harm Pinkster*, edited by Rodie Risselada, Jan R. de Jong, and A. Machtelt Bolkestein, 105–25. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1998. “*Tandem* and *postremo*: two of a kind?” In *Latin in Use: Amsterdam Studies in the Pragmatics of Latin*, edited by Rodie Risselada, 85–116. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 2005. “Particles in questions.” In *Latina Lingua! Papers on grammar IX 2*, edited by Gualtiero Calboli, 663–79. Rome: Herder.
- Risselada, Rodie, and Wilbert Spooren. 1998. “Introduction: Discourse markers and coherence relations.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 30: 131–33.
- Ritter, Franz. 1870. *Sophokles’ König Oidipus*. Leipzig.
- Rosén, Hannah. 1989. “On the use and function of sentential particles in Classical Latin.” In *Actes du Ve colloque de linguistique latine*, edited by Marius Lavency and Dominique Longrée, 15:391–402. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- . 1993. “*Demum*: a message-articulating particle.” In *Florilegium historiographiae linguisticae. Études d’historiographie de la linguistique et de grammaire comparée à la mémoire de Maurice Leroy*, edited by Jan De Clercq and Piet Desmet, 173–84. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.

- . 1999. *Latine loqui: trends and directions in the crystallization of classical Latin*. Munich: Fink.
- . 2002. “Complementarity within the pool of cohesion devices?” In *Theory and description in Latin linguistics: selected papers from the XIth International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Amsterdam, June 24 - 29, 2001*, edited by A. Machtelt Bolkestein, Caroline H.M. Kroon, Harm Pinkster, H. Wim Kemmeling, and Rodie Risselada, *Amsterdam studies in classical philology* 10:333–46. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 2003. “Immo – its atypical use in Petronius.” In *Petroniana. Gedenkschrift Für Hubert Petersmann*, edited by Jozseph Herman and Hannah Rosén, 167–81. Heidelberg: Winter.
- . 2007. “On particles and otiose emendations: epitactic *sed*.” In *L’art de la philologie: Mélanges en l’honneur de Leena Löfstedt*, edited by Juhani Härmä and Marja Ursin, 177–84. *Uusfilologinen Yhdistys: Mémoires de La Société Néophilologique de Helsinki* 70. Helsinki: Soc. Néophilologique.
- . 2009. “Coherence, sentence modification, and sentence-part modification – the contribution of particles.” In *New Perspectives on Historical Latin Syntax 1: Syntax of the Sentence*, edited by Philip Baldi and Pierluigi Cuzzolin, 317–442. *Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs* 46. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Rost, Valentin C. F. 1859. *Über Ableitung, Bedeutung und Gebrauch der Partikel oŭv*. Gotha.
- Rouchota, Villy. 1998. “Procedural meaning and parenthetical discourse markers.” In *Discourse markers: Description and theory*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, 97–126. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Rouchota, Villy, and Andreas H. Jucker, eds. 1998. *Current issues in Relevance Theory*. Pragmatics and beyond 58. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Roulet, Eddy, Antoin Auchlin, Jacques Moeschler, Christian Rubattel, and Marianne Schelling. 1985. *L’articulation du discours en français contemporain*. Bern: Lang.
- Roussel, Louis. 1960. *Eschyle: Les Perses*. Montpellier: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Ruffell, Ian. 2008. “Audience and emotion in the reception of Greek drama.” In *Performance, iconography, reception: Studies in honour of Oliver Taplin*, edited by Martin Revermann and Peter Wilson, 37–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rühlemann, Christoph. 2013. *Narrative in English conversation*. *Studies in English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruijgh, Cornelis J. 1971. *Autour de “TE épique”: Études sur la syntaxe grecque*. Amsterdam: Hakkert.
- Rumpel, Johannes. 1883. *Lexicon Pindaricum*. Leipzig.
- Runge, Steven E. 2007. “Teaching them what NOT to do: The nuances of negation in the Greek New Testament.” Paper presented at the Evangelical Theological Society Annual Meeting, San Diego, CA.
- . 2010. *Discourse grammar of the Greek New Testament: A practical introduction for teaching and exegesis*. Peabody, Ma.: Hendrickson Publishers.
- Russell, James A. 1980. “A circumplex model of affect.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 39: 1161–78.
- Rutherford, Richard B. 2010. “The Greek of Athenian tragedy.” In *A companion to the ancient Greek language*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 441–54. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2012. *Greek tragic style: Form, language and interpretation*. Cambridge.
- Sacks, Harvey. 1995. *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford.
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. “A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation.” *Language* 50: 696–735.
- Sakita, Tomoko. 2006. “Parallelism in conversation: Resonance, schematization, and extension from the perspective of dialogic syntax and cognitive linguistics.” *Pragmatics & Cognition* 14 (3): 467–500.
- Salmon, William. 2010. “Double subjects and verbal demonstrations.” *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 3431–43.
- Sampson, John. 1997. “‘Genre,’ ‘style’ and ‘register’. Sources of confusion?.” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 73 (3): 699–708.

- Sanders, Ed. 2013. "Sexual jealousy and *eros* in Euripides' *Medea*." In *Erôs in Ancient Greece*, edited by Ed Sanders, Chiara Thumiger, Christopher Carey, and Nick J. Lowe, 41–58. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2014. *Envy and jealousy in Classical Athens: A socio-psychological approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sanford, Anthony J., and Catherine Emmott. 2012. *Mind, brain and narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1967. "The first five seconds: The order of conversational openings." Berkeley.
- . 1968. "Sequencing in conversational openings." *American Anthropologist* 70: 1075–95.
- . 1987. "Recycled turn beginnings: A precise repair mechanism in conversation's turn-taking organization." In *Talk and social organisation*, edited by Graham Button and John R.E. Lee, 70–85. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- . 1996. "Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction." In *Interaction and grammar*, edited by Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Sandra A. Thompson. *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics* 13:52–133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2006. "Interaction: The infrastructure for social institutions, the natural ecological niche for language, and the arena in which culture is enacted." In *Roots of human sociality: Culture, cognition and interaction*, edited by Nick J. Enfield and Stephen C. Levinson, 70–96. Oxford: Berg.
- . 2007. *Sequence organization in interaction. A primer in Conversation Analysis I*. Cambridge.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., Elinor Ochs, and Sandra A. Thompson, 1996. Introduction. In *Interaction and grammar*, edited by Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Sandra A. Thompson. *Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics* 13:1–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schein, Seth L. 2013. *Sophocles: Philoctetes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scheppers, Frank. 2011. *The Colon Hypothesis: Word order, discourse segmentation and discourse coherence in Ancient Greek*. Brussels: VUBPress.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse markers*. *Studies in interactional sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1994. *Approaches to discourse*. Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- . 2006. "Discourse marker research and theory: Revisiting *and*." In *Approaches to discourse particles*, edited by Kerstin Fischer, 315–38. Amsterdam and Boston: Elsevier.
- Schiffrin, Deborah, Anna De Fina, and Anastasia Nylund, eds. 2010. *Telling stories*. Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics Series. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Schironi, Francesca. 2010. "Technical languages: Science and medicine." In *A companion to the Ancient Greek language*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 338–53. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Schneider, Klaus P., and Anne Barron, eds. 2008. *Variational pragmatics: A focus on regional varieties in pluricentric languages*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Schneidewin, Friedrich W., and August Nauck. 1861. *Sophocles: König Oedipus*. Sammlung griechischer und lateinischer Schriftsteller mit deutschen Anmerkungen. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Schnyder, Bernadette. 1995. *Angst in Szene gesetzt: zur Darstellung der Emotionen auf der Bühne des Aischylos*. *Classica Monacensia* 10. Tübingen: Narr.
- Schourup, Lawrence. 1982. *Common discourse particles in English: "like", "well", "y'know"*. New York: Garland.
- . 1999. "Discourse markers." *Lingua* 107: 227–65.
- . 2011. "The discourse marker *now*: A Relevance-Theoretic approach." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 2110–2129.
- Schricks, Josine G. 2009. "Namque als Variante von nam?" *Mnemosyne* 62: 250–71.
- . 2010. "Die Partikel *nempe* diskurspragmatisch neu betrachtet." In *Latin linguistics today. Akten des 15. internationalen Kolloquiums zur lateinischen Linguistik Innsbruck, 4.-9. April 2009*, edited by Peter Anreiter and Manfred Kienpointner, 613–24. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.



- . 2011. *Lateinische epistemische Partikeln: Nempe, quippe, scilicet, videlicet und nimirum*. Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 19. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2014. "Latin commitment-markers: *scilicet* and *videlicet*." In *Certainty-uncertainty - and the attitudinal space in between*, edited by Sibilla Cantarini, Werner Abraham, and Elisabeth Leiss, 285-296. Studies in Language Companion Series, 165. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Schröder, Otto. 1927. *Aristophanes: Die Vögel. Erklärt von Theodor Kock. Neue Bearbeitung*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Schuren, Liesbeth. 2015. *Shared storytelling in Euripidean stichomythia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Schütz, Christian G. 1806 [1782]. *Henrici Hoogeveen Doctrina particularum Graecarum. Recensuit breviavit et auxit C. G. Schütz*. 2nd ed. Leipzig.
- Schweighäuser, Johann. 1824. *Lexicon Herodoteum*. Strassburg, Paris, and London: Treuttel, Würtz & Richter.
- Schwyzer, Eduard, and Albert Debrunner. 1950. *Griechische Grammatik II: Syntax*. Munich: Beck.
- Scodel, Ruth. 2000. "Verbal performance and Euripidean rhetoric." In *Euripides and tragic theatre in the late fifth century*, edited by Martin J. Cropp, 129-44. Champaign, IL.: Stipes Publishing.
- . 2012. "H and Theory of Mind in the *Iliad*." In *Homer, gedeutet durch ein großes Lexikon: Akten des Hamburger Kolloquiums vom 6.-8. Oktober 2010 zum Abschluss des Lexikons des frühgriechischen Epos*, edited by Michael Meier-Brügger, 319-34. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Scott, Mike, and Cristopher Tribble. 2006. *Textual patterns: Key words and corpus analysis in language education*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Seaford, Richard. 1996. *Euripides: Bacchae*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1975. "Indirect speech acts." In *Syntax and semantics. Vol. 3: Speech acts*, edited by Peter Cole and Jerry L. Morgan, 59-82. New York: Academic Press.
- Selting, Margret. 1994. "Emphatic speech style - with special focus on the prosodic signalling of heightened emotive involvement in conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 22: 375-408.
- Selting, Margret, and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, eds. 2001. *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Sicking, Christiaan M.J. 1986. "Griekse partikels: Definitie en classificatie." *Lampas* 19: 125-41.
- . 1993. "Devices for text articulation in Lysias I and XII." In *Two studies in Attic particle usage: Lysias and Plato*, by Christiaan M.J. Sicking and Johannes M. van Ophuijsen, 1-66. Leiden: Brill.
- . 1996. "Partikels in vragen bij Plato." *Lampas* 29 (5): 446-63.
- . 1997. "Particles in questions in Plato." In *New approaches to Greek particles. Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 7:157-74. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Sicking, Christiaan M.J., and Johannes M. van Ophuijsen. 1993. *Two studies in Attic particle usage: Lysias and Plato*. Leiden: Brill.
- Sideras, Alexander. 1971. *Aeschylus Homericus: Untersuchungen zu den Homerismen der aischyleischen Sprache. Hypomnemata* 31. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sidnell, Jack. 2007. "Comparative studies in Conversation Analysis." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36: 229-44.
- . 2010. *Conversation Analysis. An introduction*. Malden, MA.
- Sidnell, Jack, and Nick J. Enfield. 2012. "Language diversity and social action: A third locus of linguistic relativity." *Current Anthropology* 53: 302-33.
- Sier, Kurt. 1988. *Die lyrischen Partien des Choephoren des Aischylos*. Stuttgart.
- Silk, Michael S. 1998. "Style, voice and authority in the choruses of Greek drama." In *DRAMA: Der Chor im antiken und modernen Drama*, edited by Peter Riemer and Bernhard Zimmermann, 7: 1-26.
- . 2010. "The language of Greek lyric poetry." In *A companion to the Ancient Greek language*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 424-40. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Sinclair, John M., and Malcolm Coulthard. 1975. *Towards an analysis of discourse: The English used by teachers and pupils*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1992. "Towards an analysis of discourse." In *Advances in spoken Discourse Analysis*, edited by Malcolm Coulthard, 1–34. London and New York: Routledge.
- Slater, Niall W. 2002. *Spectator politics: Metatheatre and performance in Aristophanes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Slater, William J. 1969. *Lexicon to Pindar*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Slings, Simon R. 1980. "KAI adversativum: Some thoughts on the semantics of coordination." In *Linguistic studies offered to Berthe Siertsema*, edited by Dick J. van Alkemade, Anthonia Feitsma, Willem J. Meys, Pieter van Reenen, and Jacob J. Spa, 101–25. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- . 1997a. "Adversative relators between PUSH and POP." In *New approaches to Greek particles: Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4–6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, *Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology* 7:101–29. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1997b. "Figures of speech and their lookalikes: two further exercises in the pragmatics of the Greek sentence." In *Grammar as interpretation. Greek literature in its linguistic contexts*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 169–214. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2002. "Figures of speech in Aristophanes." In *The language of Greek comedy*, edited by Andreas Willi, 99–109. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Carlota S. 2003. *Modes of discourse: The local structure of texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smyth, Herbert W. 1984 [1920]. *Greek grammar*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- . 1963. *Aeschylus: Suppliant Maidens, Persians, Prometheus, Seven against Thebes*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- Soltic, Jorie. 2015. *The Late Medieval Greek πολιτικός στίχος poetry: language, metre and discourse*. Ghent: University of Ghent. [biblio.ugent.be/publication/5908646/file/5908656.pdf](http://biblio.ugent.be/publication/5908646/file/5908656.pdf)
- Sommerstein, Alan H. 1987. *Aristophanes. Birds*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- . 1989. *Aeschylus: Eumenides*. Cambridge.
- . 1990. *Aristophanes: Lysistrata*. Warminster.
- . 1994. *Aristophanes: Thesmophoriazusae*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- . 2008a. *Aeschylus: Oresteia*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 2008b. *Aeschylus: Persians, Seven against Thebes, Suppliants, Prometheus Bound*. Loeb Classical Library. London and Cambridge, MA.
- . 2010. *Aeschylean tragedy*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena. 2001. *Responding in conversation: A study of response particles in Finnish*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Sperber, Dan, and Deirdre Wilson. 1995 [1986]. *Relevance: Communication and cognition*. 2nd ed. Oxford.
- Spitzmüller, Jürgen, and Ingo Warnke. 2011. *Diskurslinguistik: eine Einführung in Theorien und Methoden der transtextuellen Sprachanalyse*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Squartini, Mario. 2013. "From TAM to discourse: The role of information status in North-Western Italian già 'already.'" In *Discourse markers and modal particles: Categorization and description*, edited by Liesbeth Degand, Bert Cornillie, and Paola Pietrandrea, 163–90. *Pragmatics & Beyond New Series* 234. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Stanford, William B. 1958. *Aristophanes: The Frogs*. London: MacMillan.
- . 1963. *Sophocles: Ajax*. London: MacMillan.
- . 1983. *Greek Tragedy and the Emotions*. London: Routledge & Kegan.
- Starkie, William J.M. 1911. *Aristophanes: The Clouds*. London: MacMillan.

- Steen, Gonda A.H. van. 2000. *Venom in verse: Aristophanes in Modern Greece*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stephanus, Henricus [Henri Estienne]. 1572. *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*. Paris: Estienne.
- Stephens, Edward. 1837. *A treatise on the Greek expletive particles*. Oxford: Talboys.
- Stevens, Philip T. 1971. *Euripides: Andromache*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1976. *Colloquial expressions in Euripides*. Wiesbaden: Steiner.
- Stivers, Tanya, Nick J. Enfield, and Stephen C. Levinson. 2007. "Person reference in interaction." In *Person reference in interaction: Linguistic, cultural, and social perspectives*, edited by Nick J. Enfield and Tanya Stivers, 1–20. Cambridge.
- Sturz, Friedrich W. 1801. *Lexicon Xenophonticum*. Leipzig.
- Stvan, Laurel Smith. 2006. "Diachronic change in the discourse markers *why* and *say* in American English." In *Corpus Linguistics*, edited by Ana María Hornero Corsico, María José Luzón, and Silvia Murillo Oñat, 61–76. Linguistic Insights 25. Bern: Lang.
- Sudhoff, Stefan. 2012. "Fokuspunktinventare des Niederländischen und Deutschen." In *Nicht-flektierende Wortarten*, edited by Björn Rothstein, 203–23. Linguistik - Impulse & Tendenzen 47. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Swift, Laura A. 2010. *The hidden chorus: echoes of genre in tragic lyric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Taboada, Maite. 2006. "Discourse markers as signals (or not) of rhetorical relations." *Journal of Pragmatics* 38: 567–92.
- Takahara, Paul O. 1998. "Pragmatic functions of the English discourse marker *anyway* and its corresponding contrastive Japanese discourse markers." In *Discourse markers. Descriptions and theory*, edited by Andreas H. Jucker and Yael Ziv, 327–51. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Takanashi, Hiroko. 2011. "Complementary stylistic resonance in Japanese play framing." *Pragmatics* 21: 231–64.
- Taplin, Oliver. 1978. *Greek tragedy in action*. London: Methuen.
- . 1986. "Fifth-century tragedy and comedy: a synkrisis." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 106: 163–74.
- . 1989. *The stagecraft of Aeschylus: The dramatic use of exits and entrances in Greek tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Teuffel, Wilhelm S., and Nikolaus Wecklein. 1901. *Aeschylus' Perser*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Theodoropoulou, Maria. 2012. "The emotion seeks to be expressed: Thoughts from a linguist's point of view." In *Sources and methods for the study of emotions in the Greek world*, edited by Angelos Chaniotis, 433–68. Heidelberg: althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien (HABES) 52. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Thiemann, Carl. 1881. "Über den Gebrauch der Partikel δὲ und ihre Bedeutung bei Homer." *Zeitschrift für Das Gymnasialwesen* xxxv: 530–34.
- Thiersch, Friedrich. 1826. *Griechische Grammatik vorzüglich des homerischen dialektes*. 3rd ed. Leipzig: Fleischer.
- . 1855. "Disquisitiones analogiae graecae capitibus minus cognitibus II." *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7: 309–88.
- Thrall, Margaret E. 1962. *Greek particles in the New Testament: Linguistic and exegetical studies*. Leiden: Brill.
- Thumiger, Chiara. 2013. "Mad eros and eroticized madness in tragedy." In *Erôs in ancient Greece*, edited by Ed Sanders, Chiara Thumiger, Christopher Carey, and Nick J. Lowe, 27–40. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Thyresson, Inga L. 1977. *The particles in Epicurus*. Lund: Lund University.
- Torck, Danièle M.F. 1996. *Aspects de la causalité discursive en français oral contemporain*. Doctoral thesis, Institute for functional research into language and language use, VU University Amsterdam.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1986. "On the origins of 'AND' and 'BUT' connectives in English." *Studies in Language* 10 (1): 137–50.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge studies in linguistics 97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Graeme Trousdale. 2013. *Constructionalization and constructional changes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tsakmakis, Antonis. 2010. "On the meaning and uses of γε in comic conversation." In *Παραχορήγημα*, 2:345–59. Heraklion: Πανεπιστημιακές Εκδόσεις Κρήτης.
- Tucker, Thomas G. 1906. *The Frogs of Aristophanes*. London and New York.
- . 1908. *Aeschylus: The Seven against Thebes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Urgelles-Coll, Miriam. 2010. *The syntax and semantics of discourse markers*. London: A&C Black.
- Valdmets, Annika. 2013. "Modal particles, discourse markers, and adverbs with It-suffix in Estonian." In *Discourse markers and modal particles: Categorization and description*, edited by Liesbeth Degand, Bert Cornillie, and Paola Pietrandrea, 107–32. Pragmatics & Beyond New Series 234. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Van Lancker Sidtis, Diana. 2008. "The relation of human language to human emotion." In *Handbook of the neuroscience of language*, edited by Brigitte Stemmer and Harry A. Whitaker, 199–207. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Verhagen, Arie. 2005. *Constructions of intersubjectivity. Discourse, syntax and cognition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Verrall, Arthur W. 1881. *The Medea of Euripides*. London: MacMillan.
- Verschueren, Jef. 1999. *Understanding pragmatics*. London: Arnold.
- Vigerus, Franciscus (François Viger). 1627. *De praecipuis Graecae dictionis idiotismis liber*. Paris: Cramoisy.
- . 1834. *De praecipuis Graecae dictionis idiotismis liber cum animadversionibus H. Hoogevenii, et I.c. Zeunii. Ed. et annotationes addidit G. Hermannus*. 4th ed. Leipzig: Hahn.
- Visconti, Jacqueline. 2009. "From "textual" to "interpersonal": On the diachrony of the Italian particle mica." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (5): 937–50.
- Visvardi, Eirene. 2015. *Emotion in action: Thucydides and the tragic chorus*. Mnemosyne Supplement 377. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Wähdel, Hermann. 1869. *Über Bedeutung und Gebrauch der Partikel οὖν beim Aristophanes*. Stralsund.
- Wakker, Gerry C. 1994. *Conditions and conditionals: An investigation of Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1995. "'Welaan dan dus nu.' Partikels in Sophocles." *Lampas* 28: 250–70.
- . 1996. "The discourse function of particles. Some observations on the use of μάν/μήν in Theocritus." In *Theocritus*, edited by M. Annette Harder, Remco F. Regtuit, and Gerry C. Wakker, Hellenistica Groningana 2:247–63. Groningen: Forsten.
- . 1997a. "Emphasis and affirmation: Some aspects of μήν in tragedy." In *New approaches to Greek particles: Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, 209–31. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- . 1997b. "Modal particles and different points of view in Herodotus and Thucydides." In *Grammar as interpretation. Greek literature in its linguistic contexts*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 215–50. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2001. "Le problème d'ἔτι μὲν avec aoriste." *Syntaktika* 22: 1–14.
- . 2002. "Une première description de ἤδη chez Xénophon." *Syntaktika* 23 (1-14).
- . 2009. "'Well I will now present my arguments.' Discourse cohesion marked by οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias." In *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, edited by Stéphanie J. Bakker and Gerry C. Wakker, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 16:63–81. Leiden: Brill.
- Walsh, Thomas R. 2005. *Fighting words and feuding words: Anger and the Homeric poems*. Lanham, MD.: Lexington Books.
- Waring, Hansun Zhang. 2003. "'Also' as a discourse marker: Its use in disjunctive and disaffiliative environments." *Discourse Studies* 5: 415–36.

- Wathelet, Paul. 1997. "Les particules *ke(n)* et *an* dans les formules de l'épopée homérique." In *New approaches to Greek particles: Proceedings of the colloquium held in Amsterdam, January 4-6, 1996, to honour C.J. Ruijgh on the occasion of his retirement*, edited by Albert Rijksbaron, Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 7:247–68. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Watkins, Calvert. 1977. "À Propos de ΜΗΝΙΣ." *Bulletin de La Société de Linguistique de Paris* 72: 187–209.
- Wecklein, Nikolaus. 1885. *Ausgewählte Tragödien des Euripides. Band 4: Hippolytos*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- . 1902. *Aeschylus: Die Schutzfliehenden*. Griechische und lateinische Klassiker. Leipzig: Teubner.
- . 1903. *Euripides: Bakchen*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Wentzel, Eduard. 1847. *Über den Gebrauch der Partikel τε bei Homer*. Glogau: Flemming.
- Werres, Joseph. 1936. *Die Beteuerungsformeln in der Attischen Komödie*. Doctoral thesis, University of Bonn.
- West, Martin L. 1990. "Colloquialisms and naïve style in Aeschylus." In *Owls to Athens: Essays on classical subjects presented to Sir Kenneth Dover*, edited by Elizabeth M. Craik, 3–12. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- . 1998 [1990]. *Aeschyli tragoediae*. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.
- Weydt, Harald. 1969. *Abtönungspartikel: die deutschen Modalwörter und ihre französischen Entsprechungen*. *Linguistica et litteraria* 4. Bad Homburg: Gehlen.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1986. "Introduction." *Journal of Pragmatics* 10: 519–34.
- . 1999. *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2006. *English: Meaning and culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiesner, Jürgen. 1999. "Ausführliche Darstellung der koordinierenden und nuancierenden Partikeln." Appendix to Hermann Menge, *Repetitorium des Griechischen Syntax*. 10th ed., 247–364. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Ulrich von. 1927. *Aristophanes: Lysistrate*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Wiles, David. 2007. *Mask and performance in Greek tragedy: From ancient festival to modern experimentation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2008. "The poetics of the mask in Old Comedy." In *Performance, iconography, reception: Studies in honour of Oliver Taplin*, edited by Martin Revermann and Peter Wilson, 374–92. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilkins, John. 1993. *Euripides, Heraclidae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Willi, Andreas. 2003. "Sophistic innovations." In *The languages of Aristophanes: Aspects of linguistic variation in Classical Attic Greek*, 118–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2010a. "Register variation." In *A companion to the ancient Greek language*, edited by Egbert J. Bakker, 297–310. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- . 2010b. "The language of Old Comedy." In *Brill's companion to the study of Greek comedy*, edited by Gregory W. Dobrov, 471–510. Leiden: Brill.
- Willms, Lothar. 2014. *Transgression, Tragik und Metatheater: Versuch einer Neuinterpretation des antiken Dramas*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.
- Wilson, Deirdre, and Dan Sperber. 2004. "Relevance Theory." In *Handbook of pragmatics*, edited by Gregory Ward and Laurence R. Horn. Oxford: Blackwell.
- . 2012a. "Linguistic form and relevance." In *Meaning and relevance*, 149–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2012b. *Meaning and relevance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, Nigel G. 2007. *Aristophanes Fabulae*. Oxford.
- Wolferen, Anthony J. van. 2003. *Vertelde en gespeelde wereld: Taalkundige notities bij de openingen van Euripides' tragedies*. Doctoral thesis, VU University Amsterdam.
- Worman, Nancy. 1999. "The ties that bind: transformations of costume and connection in Euripides' *Heracles*." *Ramus: Critical Studies in Greek and Roman Literature* 28 (2): 89–107.

- Wouden, Ton van der, and Ad Foolen. 2011. "Dutch particles in the right periphery." Paper published online at [tonvanderwouden.nl](http://tonvanderwouden.nl).
- Wouk, Fay. 2001. "Solidarity in Indonesian conversation: The discourse marker *ya*." *Journal of Pragmatics* 33: 171–91.
- Wray, Alison, and Mick Perkins. 2000. "The functions of formulaic language: An integrated model." *Language & Communication* 20: 1–28.
- Wright, Matthew. 2013. "Tragedy and quotation." Paper presented at the *Classical Association Annual Meeting 2013*, Reading, United Kingdom.
- Yang, Li-Chiung. 2006. "Integrating prosodic and contextual cues in the interpretation of discourse markers." In *Approaches to discourse particles*, edited by Kerstin Fischer, 265–98. Amsterdam and Boston: Elsevier.
- Yılmaz, Erkan. 2004. *A pragmatic analysis of Turkish discourse particles: YANİ, İŞTE, and ŞEY*. Doctoral thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.
- Zanetto, Giuseppe, and Del Corno, Dario. 1987. *Aristofane: Gli uccelli*. Milan. [text and commentary by Zanetto, Italian translation by Del Corno]
- Zima, Elisabeth, Geert Brône, Kurt Feyaerts, and Paul Sambre. 2008. "Resonance activation in interactional parliamentary discourse." In *Linearisation and segmentation in discourse. Multidisciplinary approaches to discourse 2008 (MAD 08), Feb 20-23 2008, Lysebu, Oslo*, edited by Wiebke Ramm and Cathrine Fabricius-Hansen, 137–47. Oslo: University of Oslo.