In utramque partem tum Graece tum Latine:
Code-Switching and Cultured Identity in Cicero's Letters to Atticus
By

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Abstract

In this thesis I investigate the linguistic phenomenon of code-switching between Latin and Greek in the letters of Cicero to his friend Atticus. I do this by surveying the individual instances of Greek in the letters to Atticus. I then record the parts of speech, inflections, forms of code-switching, and context each time Cicero uses Greek. With this information I look at patterns within the contexts of the letters in order to discover what the nature of Cicero's code-switching may reveal about his identity, personal and political relationships, and the literary qualities of his letters. I assert that these patterns demonstrate the purposes of code-switching and the cultured game that Cicero plays when he uses Greekand illuminate how code-switching fits into the specific literary function of letters to a close friend.

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Introduction

In her survey of linguistic code-switching, Penelope Gardner-Chloros defines the phenomenon as "varied combinations of two or more linguistic varieties… languages or dialects in the same conversation or sentence by bilingual people" (Gardner-Chloros 4). This definition is applicable not only to spoken conversation, but to written texts as well. We can see several ancient examples of this phenomenon in the letters of Cicero, who frequently switches between Latin and Greek. In the following passage, he uses several Greek phrases embedded in the Latin of his letter to his friend Atticus:

> *quaeres scilicet* **κατὰ τὸ κηδεμονικὸν** *et ad me ab eo quasi* **ὑποθήκας** *adferes quem ad modum me geram. aliquid ex eius sermone poterimus* **περὶ τῶν ὅλων** *suspicari.*
> (*Ad Atticum* 2.17.3=SB 37; 59 BC)

> You will of course make your inquiries **as a relative**, and bring me a **prescription** as it were from him on how to conduct myself. We shall be able to get some inkling **of the general situation** from what he says.
> (trans. Shackleton Bailey 1965-1970:1.243- emphasis mine)[1]

The exact boundaries of what does and does not constitute code-switching and the best terminology to describe the mixing of languages are topics of debate among linguists: it can for example be difficult to determine where to draw the line between switching languages on the one hand and borrowing words and structures which then become integrated into the borrowing language on the other. However, the term "code-switching" is popular and useful when discussing the use of multiple languages within conversations (Gardner-Chloros 12). Code-switching is most prevalent and most studied in spoken conversations that contain spontaneous utterances in multiple languages, but it is by no means absent from written language, which is typically composed with more conscious stylistic choices. Most of our knowledge of

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[1] Unless otherwise noted, translations are my own.

bilingualism and code-switching throughout history comes by necessity from code-switches present in written texts, although there also exists anecdotal evidence of spoken code-switching in antiquity: J.N. Adams gives as an example the fact that "Martial writes disparagingly of an upper-class woman who switches into Greek in the bedroom (10.68)" (Adams 20). In relation to ancient code-switching, Gardner-Chloros mentions Cicero's letters, particularly those like the one above addressed to Atticus, as an example of code-switching in antiquity, because of their use of both Latin and Greek (Gardner-Chloros 20).

Cicero's letters are one of the most important sources for the study of code-switching in Latin and Greek. An extensive corpus of the letters survives to the present day alongside Cicero's many speeches and philosophical and rhetorical works. Cicero intended at least some of his letters for publication, which we know from Cicero's own instructions, and, as G.O. Hutchinson argues, he wished to publish them "for their style as well as their content" (Hutchinson 4). Although not all of the letters were intended for publication, they can all be seen as careful compositions. In fact, the very contrast between the more public letters and those addressed to more intimate relations like Atticus or Quintus strengthens the idea that Cicero crafted his style in the letters to best fit the audience and purpose of each. If we want to consider the letters as works of literature, or at least as stylistically significant, then how Cicero uses code-switching within the letters must be an important part of that consideration. An extensive collection survives of Cicero's letters, even of those letters that were not to be published. A large portion of the letters, known as the letters *Ad Familiares*, contain communications to and from various friends, family members, and acquaintances of Cicero, including powerful men like Caesar. These as a whole contain far less Greek than the letters to his brother (*Ad Quintum Fratrem*) and especially the letters to his friend Atticus (*Ad Atticum*). The letters *Ad Atticum*

contain the most Greek, and consist almost solely of Cicero's letters without Atticus' half of the conversation. Overall, the letters *Ad Familiares* are more formal, while those to Brutus, Cicero's brother Quintus, and especially Atticus are more personal and informal. The types of letters contained in the collections are varied, including letters of reference, humorous letters, and letters of condolence. Thus in his stylistic choices Cicero made careful consideration concerning types of letters, explicitly trying to determine the appropriateness of various letter forms to different situations (Hutchinson 8).

The use of code-switching by Cicero falls into general patterns that have emerged through linguistic studies of the phenomenon. For one, surveys of code-switching, both modern and ancient, indicate that single word code-switching is the most common in many, though not all situations (Gardner-Chloros 30). This is the case in Cicero's letters: Adams reveals, with a list of 35 examples, that the most common types of switches in Cicero are single-words or short phrases that characterize his own words and the words of other people (Adams 323-5). Even a quick glance at the Greek that Cicero uses shows an obvious tendency for single Greek words to be inserted into Latin sentences. The dominance of Latin over Greek in the letters fits Myers-Scotton's (1993) model of the Matrix Language Frame, with Latin being the "matrix language" and Greek being the "embedded language"(Gardner-Chloros 100-101). Since pure Latin discourse is the default for Cicero's social status, code-switching to Greek would be a "marked choice" in the Myers-Scotton model, as opposed to an "unmarked choice," if code-switching were the norm in conversation (Gardner-Chloros 101). This type of code-switching also fits into P. Muysken's framework of bilingual speech as an example of "insertion," which is a type of switch similar to word borrowing, but which can include longer elements than single words (Gardner-Chloros 105). Since Latin is obviously the principal language within Cicero's letters,

even those to Atticus, it is easy to see Greek elements "inserted" into otherwise Latin writings.

That Atticus presumably used the same style of code-switching is supported by quotations of

Atticus' own letters within Cicero's responses. These come both in Greek and Latin, and even

demonstrate explicit instances of code switching (Adams 318). This can be seen as Cicero

remarks on Atticus' approval of his own decision to leave the country:

> *tu id non modo non prohibebas verum etiam adprobabas. graviora quae restant: "velim* **σχόλιον** *aliquod elimes ad me oportuisse te istuc facere." itane, mi Attice?*
> (*Ad Atticum* 16.7.3=SB 415; 44 BC)

> You not only did not prohibit it, but even aproved of it. The things that remain are more serious: "I would like you to complete some **commentary** for me that it was fitting for you to do that." Is that so, my Atticus?

Even if Cicero is not directly quoting one of Atticus' letters here, he clearly represents Atticus'

typical method of writing as a code-switching variety.

The contexts in which Cicero code-switches can also find explanation in modern code-

switching theory. Gardner-Chloros calls code-switching "a symptom of different/opposite

tendencies" referring to the fact that code-switching can be used as a tool for distancing or for

adding intimacy in a conversation (Gardner-Chloros 21). Although I will mostly focus on code-

switching as it relates to intimacy in the letters to Atticus, the distancing effect occurs as well.

Adams gives examples of the effect, writing, "Cicero refers to certain 'unmentionable things'

about Quintus in an interesting way: *Att.* 13.9.1 *multa* ἄφατα, ἀδιήγατα. They are not mentioned,

and not mentioned as unmentionable except in Greek. Note too the way in which Cicero refers to

an error that he has made: 13.44.3 μνημονικὸν ἁμάρτημα (cf. 14.5.1).[2] This phrase follows

erratum meum, and seems to tone down the mistake" (Adams 332). Cicero is delicate in his word

choice. He softens uncomfortable subjects with Greek, which somehow makes the reference

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[2] "An error of memory."

seem less direct. He is able to point out mistakes and "unmentionable things" to Atticus, who clearly will understand the Greek, while maintaining a level of politeness requisite in conversation between men of their status. The addition of elements from other languages can create a sense of a special bond between groups of people who for whatever reason are competent in multiple languages. This bond is associated with theories of "we-code" and "they-code" in conversation, which explain how speakers create a sense of belonging to an in-group via language choices. Informal uses of language are most often "we-code," planting the speaker and listener in an in-group and separating them from the majority population (Gardner-Chloros 56). An especially clear example of code-switching as a form of "we-code" occurs when Cicero makes puns on Atticus' name:

> *quae laudas ex orationibus, mihi crede, valde mihi placebant, sed non audebam antea dicere. nunc vero, quod a te probata sunt, multo mihi* Ἀττικώτερα *videntur.*
> (*Ad Atticum* 1.13.5=SB 13; 61 BC)

> Of the things you praise in the speeches I had, let me tell you, a pretty good opinion, though I did not dare to say so before; now I assure you they look to me far **more Attic** than ever in the light of your approbation (Shackleton Bailey 1.139).

The use of Greek here is an inside joke between the two men, and functions as a statement of belonging to an in-group of Romans who are particularly well educated in Greek. It also alludes to the rhetorical trend of Atticizing at the time, so that the statement is a contribution to the debate amongst rhetorical schools and asserts that Cicero has a place in that debate.

The manner in which code switching occurs within conversation is often associated with "a particular context or way of life" (Gardner-Chloros 42). These social theories of code switching help illuminate the reasoning behind Cicero's choices of when to code-switch and when not to. Cicero's public speeches usually lack Greek terms, and his more formal letters will exclude code-switching, including letters to people such as Paetus, who associates himself with

traditional Roman values (Adams 315). Letters to Cicero's more hellenophilic circle of associates contain more Greek: Atticus in particular, who has a very Greek identity, receives much more Greek in his letters and Varro, who belongs to the learned circle with which Cicero associates himself, receives letters full of Greek philosophical terms (Adams 316-17). The Greek philosophical terms in the letters to Varro stand in contrast to Cicero's philosophical works, which rarely contain Greek terms (although slightly more often than in the speeches) and when they do, the Greek is usually explained and translated (Hutchinson 13). Since one of the philosophical works, the *Academica*, is addressed to Varro, Cicero demonstrates a complex combination of regard for his addressee's sensibilities and of sensitivity to the formality of a situation. The higher frequency Greek in the letters to Varro than in the *Academica* supports the idea that both addressee and genre are important considerations in determining whether or not to use code-switching. When Cicero molds his Greek usage to the identity of his addressee and to his relationship with the addressee, his code-switching reflects principles of "audience design" described by A. Bell (1997), which explains the common occurrence of "reciprocation of the interlocutor's style" (Gardner-Chloros 64). Thus Cicero's use of Greek is not surprising in its manifestation according to what we know about code-switching. However, it is revealing about the nature of Cicero's relationship to and concept of his social network. For, as Adams states, "Code-switching of these types involves the establishment of relationships and is thus eminently social" (Adams 318).

Cicero's relationship with his friend Atticus was particularly intimate. The two were schoolmates and grew up knowing each other, and they kept up a correspondence for most of Cicero's life (Shackleton Bailey 3-4). Cicero often sought Atticus' advice in political and personal affairs. He did not always take the advice he was given—and he at least on one

occasion laments that fact in his letters as in *Ad Atticum* 8.12.5, "in which Cicero recalls certain counsels of expediency as contrasted with duty (*officium*) proffered by Atticus in the days before his exile. Had he listened, he would not have had to go through 'the sorrow of those times'" (Shackleton Bailey 17). However, he did value the advice: for example it is Atticus who convinced Cicero not to commit suicide during his exile (Shackleton Bailey 14-18). The friends diverged in their lifestyles: Cicero took the path of public life, while Atticus, having received a healthy inheritance, took the path of private life (Shackleton Bailey 5). This difference laid the foundation for a lifelong conversation between the two about the duties of a man concerning the state, and the merits and fallbacks of the different lifestyles. Atticus himself did not completely keep out of politics, but assisted Cicero at Rome and "spent a good deal of time and money on the state affairs of his all but adoptive countrymen" during his time living in Athens (Shackleton Bailey 6). Atticus found a different balance between public and private life than Cicero did, as he kept current and well informed in the societies of Greece and Rome but stayed out of office and mostly out of politics except by necessity in public emergencies (Shackleton Bailey 5).

Cicero, famously a *novus homo* in his political life, had a unique relationship with the Roman elite, and was driven by a desire for respect within the cultured circles. Adams argues that Cicero's Greek use in the letters fits into a sort of "cultured game" among the elite circles (Adams 322). Cicero jockeys for position in a group of men while trying to identify his own role and the roles of his peers within Roman society. As a way to fashion his own identity and to respond to the identities of others, Cicero's use of Greek in his letters sheds light on this game and how he plays it. When Cicero uses Greek in his letters to Atticus, he includes Atticus in the process of determining Cicero's identity, and uses Atticus as a partner in playing the "cultured game."

Much work has been done regarding the code-switching phenomenon in antiquity. Simon Swain, in his chapter "Bilingualism in Cicero?," outlines a good part of the history of the Greek language in Rome. According to Swain, it is commonly agreed that the use of Greek by slaves and lower class characters in Plautus' plays reflects the linguistic circumstances of the 3rd century B.C.E. Greek then moved to the higher classes, as "idiomatic usages and protocol in Greek can be demonstrated from the diplomatic contacts recorded by historians and the epigraphical evidence of treaties and documents" (Swain 130). Latin was not always the base language for switches between Latin and Greek. For instance, Adams cites an undated Greek inscription at Rome, *IGUR* 570, which contains Latin words: Ἡρακλέων Ἡλιοδώρῳ ἀδελφῷ φηκιτ βενεμερετι Δεις Μανιβους (i.e. *fecit bene merenti dis manibus*) (Adams 348). This inscription uses the typical Latin formula for funerary inscriptions, but is mixed with Greek names and kinship terms and is written entirely in Greek characters. Latin and Greek were not the only languages that interacted through code-switching in antiquity: "Tacitus describes an altercation between two German brothers, one of whom kept switching into Latin as the exchange became more heated" (Adams 20). Thus evidence exists for code-switching in the ancient world in literature, inscriptions, and conversations known through written anecdotes.

Swain lays out a solid foundation for the circumstances in which Cicero code-switches and the types of switches he uses. He begins by mentioning some of the common contexts for switching: "Medicine, discussion of literature, and the emotive sphere…. Analogous to the last is the sphere of family life" (Swain 151). Code-switching in the discussion of literature also includes the use of words and short phrases characterizing other people's words, as mentioned above. This use of code-switching falls into Swain's category of "discourse markers, i.e. tag phrases, (abbreviated) proverbs, and metalinguistic comments" (Swain 152). Swain also

discusses the use of code-switching for the purpose of humor, as we have seen in Cicero's pun on Atticus' name, and his use of Greek quotations, which "should be seen as playing a part in the general pattern of code-switching," and which also constitute part of Cicero's discussion of literature (Swain 158).

Although Adams and Swain thoroughly investigate Cicero's code-switching by exploring some of the more common contexts for switches and the various potential motivations behind those switches, they leave room for further study. Adams reminds his reader that "Much remains to be done on Ciceronian code-switching," and he suggests that "a statistical survey of the parts of speech and inflectional forms admitted might be revealing. Ideally too a distinction should be made between the different forms which Greek takes in the letters: literary quotations, partial quotations, proverbs, single words, words from the koine, coinages, etc. What distinctions of function can be discerned between the various types?" (Adams 345). In this work I will endeavor to take Adams' advice and to analyze trends in the parts of speech and types of code-switching Cicero uses. To do this, I survey the individual instances of Greek in the letters, and particularly those to Atticus, considering an instance of Greek to be any of those words and phrases that D.R. Shackleton Bailey prints in Greek characters in his edition of the letters. This method is convenient, since it allows me easily to locate the Greek within the body of Latin, and it helps maintain objectivity by taking away the variable of my own judgment about the language to which a given word belongs. I then record the parts of speech, inflections, forms of code-switching, context, and any other information of interest for each time Cicero uses Greek. With this information I look at patterns within the contexts of the letters in order to discover what the nature of Cicero's code-switching may reveal about his identity and relationships and the literary qualities of his letters.

Verbs, Deliberation, and Identity

After looking at the instances of Greek throughout Cicero's letters to Atticus, I have found that of the approximately 760 times that Cicero code switches, 527 or 70% are single-word switches, which are the most common type of code-switches according to Gardner-Chloros (30). Within this body of letters, only 60 (11%) of those single-word switches are verbs. This low number makes sense given the nature of sentence structure: there will almost always be more nouns, adjectives, and other parts of speech than verbs in either Latin or Greek, since sentences and clauses are generally built around verbs. Since verbs are fundamental to language usage, I have endeavored to determine when and why Cicero code-switches certain verbs.

At 33 out of the 60, over half of the Greek verbs that Cicero uses are in the first person, or, if they are infinitives, are complements of 1st person verbs, in comparison with 11, or 18% in the 2nd person and 17, or 29% in the 3rd. Thus when Cicero does use verbs in his code-switching, the action centers around him. It could be argued that this bias toward the 1st person is simply a product of the nature of letter writing. However, given a sampling of around 850 Latin verbs from throughout the letters to Atticus, the proportions favored the 3rd person, with 40% of verbs being in 1st person, 15% in 2nd, and 45% in 3rd.[3] This leads us to question why the Greek and Latin verbs have such a different distribution of person. One trend that emerges is that Greek verbs often appear in contexts in which Cicero is trying to make a decision. This may be a choice about how to proceed with various matters, or a consideration of his various roles such as statesman, writer, and friend. When Cicero uses Greek verbs in his deliberations on future

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[3] These data are my own findings. The sampling came from one letter from each book of the Letters to Atticus, with effort made to vary the length and topics of the chosen letters. Since the sample size of Greek verbs is limited by the lack of available data, the differences in proportions may be skewed by chance. However, with a reasonable sample size from Latin verbs, we can at least discuss how the extant Greek relates to Latin trends.

actions, it is often alongside a discussion of Atticus' own advice in the matter. This can be either real advice Atticus has given Cicero, or advice constructed from Cicero's own imagination of Atticus. For example, when discussing the dangers that could come with his course of political action against Clodius, Cicero writes:

> *Dices fortasse: "Dignitatis* **ἄλις** *tamquam* **δρυός**, *saluti, si me amas, consule." Me miserum! cur non ades? Ego fortasse* **τυφλώττω**... (*Ad Atticum* 2.19.1=SB 39; 59 BC)

> Perhaps you will say, "**Enough** of honor just like of **oak**, please, attend to safety."
> Poor me! Why are you not here? Perhaps I **am blind**…

The verb (along with, notably, a few other single-word code-switches in Cicero's imagination of Atticus' speech) comes in the middle of a discussion of Cicero's values and how they influence his decision. Atticus here becomes a literary construct to help explain his decisions. Letters by nature bridge distances between people who cannot have face-to-face conversations and create an artificial sense of presence between correspondents. Cicero emphasizes that artificial presence in the example above by simulating a hypothetical conversation between himself and his friend with the words *dices fortasse* (perhaps you will say). The letters then serve as a stand in for spoken interaction and may thus be expected to reproduce the style of that interaction. Since Atticus, both as a real person and as a character within Cicero's writing, is the pinnacle of a Roman citizen immersed in Greek culture, it is only natural that Cicero interacts with this literary construct in a linguistic variety tailored to his addressee. This is especially clear from the fact that ἄλις δρυός is a Greek proverb, and the usage creates a strong sense of familiarity with Greek, both in language and culture.[4]

Greek verbs also show up in discussion of the different roles Cicero plays in life. In one letter he writes, somewhat tongue-in-cheek,

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[4] Shackleton Bailey ad loc.: "According to Zenobius [the proverb ἄλις δρυός] was usually applied ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ φαυλοτέρας διαίτης ἐρχομένων ἐπὶ βελτίονα"

Ego autem usque eo sum enervatus, ut hoc otio, quo nunc tabescimus, malim ἐντυραννεῖσθαι *quam cum optima spe dimicare.* (*Ad Atticum* 2.14.1=SB 34; 59 BC)

I, however, have been so deprived of my vigor that because of this leisure in which I am now wasting away, I would prefer to live under a tyranny than to fight it out with the highest hope.

Although this is written in the form of a jest, he does bring up the serious idea of tension between his public and private life, and the importance of his role as a politician. If he does not engage in public life and retires to leisure, he runs the risk of living in a tyranny. This same debate over the merits and difficulties of engaging in politics comes up over and over throughout the letters, as we can see much further toward the end of the collection, during the turmoil after Caesar's death. Cicero writes, in a more serious tone:

quid enim miserius quam ea nos tueri propter quae illum oderamus? etiamne consules et tribunos pl. in biennium quos ille voluit? nullo modo reperio quem ad modum possim πολιτεύεσθαι. (*Ad Atticum* 14.6.2=SB 360; 44 BC)

For what could be more miserable than that we protect the circumstances on account of which we hated him [Caesar]? Even for the next two years the consuls and tribunes of the plebs whom he desired? I find no way in which I would be able **to live in a free state.**

The question to which degree he should engage in politics forms the basis for what is a continuing conversation between Cicero and Atticus throughout the letters. The prevalent use of Greek verbs in this and other conversations of importance in the letters to Atticus reveals an aspect of Cicero's relationship with his friend. The two examples above use the infinitives ἐντυραννεῖσθαι and πολιτεύεσυθαι, which are opposite in meaning. This shows the tension Cicero feels between different forms of the Roman state. The amount of time separating the two examples—one in 59 BC and one near the end of the letters in 44 BC—indicates just how long and extensive this conversation has been. The letters between these two contain Cicero's questions, musings, and analyses of the relationship between his own actions and the growing crisis of identity within Rome itself. Since code-switching can be a sign of intimacy with and

respect for the identity of one's interlocutor, this shows the value Cicero places on Atticus'

advice about Cicero's own actions. Additionally, when Cicero code-switches his verbs in

discussions of the tensions between his own roles and aspects of his identity, by using Greek,

which is associated with Atticus' identity, he implicitly gives Atticus a role in the process of

defining himself.

The specific Greek verbs that Cicero uses the most in his letters each fit into this trend of

code-switching in deliberative contexts. Forms of πολιτεύομαι (to be a citizen, to take part in the

government), ἀπορέω (to be at a loss), and μέλω (to be a care) each appear three or more times in

the letters.[5] As in the example above, πολιτεύομαι implies that Cicero is trying to decide what his

role will be within the state, as a citizen or politician. If we consider the verb πολιτεύομαι to

have the meaning "take part in the government" (LSJ) then Jonathan Zarecki's article "Cicero's

Definition of πολιτικός" can provide insight to the subtleties of meaning that are present in the

verb. According to Zarecki, by Cicero's usage a πολιτικός is "a person who takes extraordinary

action in a time of political crisis," with the caveat that the definition of the word can take on

subtly different meanings based on circumstances (Zarecki 256-257). Then Cicero's emphasis on

this Greek word demonstrates his struggle to determine whether he should play the role of that

πολιτικός and fix things for the republic (again). The other two verbs, ἀπορέω and μέλω, Cicero

uses in contexts which invite Atticus' input on a given problem. Cicero will write ἀπορῶ to mean

"I am at a loss" in a tricky situation. In 13.13-14.1, he writes,

> *Nunc autem **ἀπορῶ** quo me vertam. volo Dolabellae valde desideranti; non reperio
> quid…*(*Ad Atticum* 13.13-14.2=SB 321; 45 BC)

> Now, however, **I am at a loss** as to where I should turn. I want something greatly for
> Dolabella as he desires; but I do not find anything…

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[5] For πολιτεύομαι: 2.6.2, 14.6.2 (3 times) For ἀπορέω: 7.11.3, 9.10.7, 13.13-14.2 For μέλω:
12.3.2, 14.17.3, 15.4.2

The verb ἀπορῶ implies a request for Atticus' advice concerning what he should do for Dolabella. It also appears here in a context rich with intertextual reference. The words *nunc…quo me vertam* recall part of Cicero's *De Oratore* in which "Crassus cites Gaius' Gracchus famous speech…*quo me miser conferam? quo vertam?* ('Wretched as I am, where shall I betake myself? Where shall I turn? *De Or.* 3.214)," which in turn "recalls the dilemma of Ennius' *Medea*, quoted by Crassus soon thereafter: *quo nunc me vertam?* ('Where shall I turn now?', 3.217)" (Connors 60). Since Cicero has used these words previously in *De Oratore*, they draw attention to his own engagement with the rhetorical world and with literary tradition. When Cicero is "at a loss," then, he turns to his rhetorical training and his colleague from his early education in order to work through his dilemma. I will discuss the relationship between Cicero's rhetorical education and his Greek in a later chapter, but it is sufficient here to say that the Greek verb ἀπορῶ fits the tone of the sentence, which displays Cicero's erudition and his connection to Atticus through shared linguistic practice.

The verb μέλω has a function similar to that of ἀπορῶ. It appears in the form μελήσει, with the sense of "you will think about it" as in the following, when Cicero desires to confer with Atticus during the political tension after Caesar's death:

> *puto enim nobis Lanuvium eundum et quidem non sine multo sermone. sed* **μελήσει.**
> (*Ad Atticum* 15.4.2=SB 381; 44 BC)

> For I think we must go to Lanuvium and indeed not without much conversation. But **you will have it in mind.**

This verb therefore invites the idea that Cicero and Atticus should both consider the matter at hand and discuss it later, *multo sermone*. It serves as an indication that a given discussion needs more thorough treatment than he gives it in that particular letter, and once again shows that he is open to Atticus' input.

Adjectives

At 141 instances, there are more than twice as many adjectives as verbs in the category of single-word code-switches in the letters to Atticus. These occur in a variety of contexts and forms, and agree grammatically with Latin nouns, except in cases of Greek dative adjectives modifying Latin ablative nouns, such as in *Ad Atticum* 14.13.1 (SB 367; 44 BC), where we find the phrase *ambulatione* ἁλιτενεῖ (a stroll **by the shore**), because Greek lacks the ablative case. (I will discuss the interactions between the Greek dative and the Latin ablative further in a later chapter.) Cicero's use of adjective degree in Greek is also consistent with his Latin usage. About a quarter of these single Greek adjectives are in either the comparative or superlative degree, which is approximately the same ratio found in a sampling of Latin adjectives from the letters.[6] The major difference between Greek and Latin adjective forms comes in the distribution of adjective gender. Of the 141 single Greek adjectives, 90 are neuter (63%), 41 are masculine (29%), and only 10 are feminine (8%). This breakdown of genders differs quite a bit from the sampling of Latin adjectives, which is 43% neuter, 26% masculine, and 30% feminine. I chose not to count *publica* in the context of the phrase *res publica* in my sampling of adjectives on the grounds that *respublica* can be understood as a single noun. However, if I had counted these instances, the gap between the percentages of Latin feminine versus Greek feminine adjectives would be even wider. So the Greek adjectives in Cicero's letters exhibit a much stronger tendency to be neuter than Latin adjectives, seemingly at the expense of the feminine.

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[6] I have used the same sampling technique for Latin adjectives as verbs: I looked at all the Latin adjectives within letters selected from each book, making sure to sample from a variety of letter lengths, subjects, and time periods.

I propose a potential explanation for this observation. First, neuter adjectives often modify elements of sentences other than simple nouns. They may, for example, modify infinitives, as in the following:

> est enim **ὑποσόλοικον**, *cum velim vitare omnium deliciarum suspicionem, repente* **ἀναφαίνεσθαι** *non solum delicate sed etiam inepte peregrinantem*
> (*Ad Atticum* 2.10=SB 31; 59 BC).

> It would be a bit **incongruous**, when I want to avoid the suspicion of any kind of pleasure seeking, **to turn up** suddenly as a holiday-maker amusing myself, and in so silly a fashion too. (Shackleton Bailey 229).

Neuter plural adjectives often modify the pronouns *haec* and *quae* when their antecedents are unspecified and they refer to whole clauses or sentences. An example follows, in which Cicero anxiously awaits news of the outcome of hostilities between Pompey and Caesar at Brundisium:

> *tamen angebar singularum horarum expectatione mirabarque nihil adlatum esse ne rumoris quidem; nam erat mirum silentium. sed* **haec** *fortasse* **κενόσπουδα** *sunt,* **quae** *tamen iam sciantur necesse est* (*Ad Atticum* 9.1.1=SB 167; 49 BC)

> Still I am troubled by the anticipation of each hour and I am amazed that nothing, not even any rumor, has been reported. For there is a wondrous silence. But perhaps **these things** are **frivolous**, **which** nevertheless must be known presently.

The neuter plural pronouns and the Greek adjective modifying them refer to the statements of the preceding sentence instead of referring to any particular nouns. We also see Greek adjectives modifying words like *aliquid* (something) or *nihil* (nothing). An example of the latter is in the following lines, as Cicero discusses the well being of his and Atticus' shared nephew:

> *Nihil* **εὐκαιρότερον** *epistula tua, quae me sollicitum de Quinto nostro puero optimo, valde levavit* (*Ad Atticum* 4.7.1=SB 77; 56 BC)

> Nothing could have been more ***à propos*** than your letter, which has greatly relieved my anxiety about our nephew, good boy that he is. (Shackleton Bailey 83).

These adjectives are Greek words describing ideas and statements that exist in the letters themselves. They modify sentence structures, thoughts, and the very words that make up the

letters instead of modifying things that exist in the real world. Greek adjectives are most applicable to coloring the conversation between Cicero and his correspondent whereas Latin is more applicable to descriptions of things that exist outside the letters.

In fact the feminine noun *res*, which could be a blanket term for the state of affairs and circumstances surrounding these letters, is only modified by a Greek adjective once. (*Ad Atticum* 2.6.1=SB 26: *res difficiles ad explicandum et* **ὁμοειδεῖς**). Latin adjectives modify the noun *res* more often. A few examples from the sampling of Latin adjectives that I took to compare with the Greek ones include *rem totam* 6.8.5 (SB 122), *meliorum rerum* 10.15.1 (SB 207), *o rem acerbam* 13.22.2 (SB 329). Of course the adjective *publica* very frequently modifies *res* as well, as I have mentioned above.

Although the use of Latin adjectives instead of Greek ones to modify *res* cannot account for all of the difference in adjective genders between languages, it does contribute to the gap and furthermore strengthens the idea that Greek and Latin adjectives belong to different aspects of Cicero's letters. Latin belongs to the real world, while Greek is native to the world created within the letters. It is in this metatextual world that Cicero plays his "cultured game" and attempts to define both his role as a citizen and his relationship with Atticus.

Nouns

At 251 instances, nouns make up the largest portion of Cicero's single word code-switches. One pattern that stands out within the Greek nouns is their case distribution. Only 14 of the nouns, 7% of the total number, are in the genitive case. Out of these 14, 11 are proper nouns, which often are in the genitive as writers of works of literature or as artists of works of art, as follows:

> *in illa autem quae est ad* **Πολυκλέους** *Herculem…* (*Ad Atticum* 6.1.17=SB 115; 50 BC)

> On that [statue] that is next to the Hercules **of Polycles**…

Of the remaining three genitive nouns, one is partitive (*aliquid* **ἐπικώπων**: some **rowers,** *Ad Atticum* 5.11.4) and two are objective (**ἐποχής** *causae*: causes **of suspense of judgment**; 6.6.3, **νεωτερισμοῦ** *suspicio*: suspicion **of neoterism**; 14.5.3). The comparative lack of genitives may be in large part because this sample only contains single words and the genitive by nature does not stand alone. There certainly are instances within Cicero's letters in which Greek genitive nouns appear in a Greek phrase. For instance, while Cicero narrates fighting against the Parthians, he writes:

> *scis enim dici quaedam* **πανικά***, dici item* **τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου**
> (*Ad Atticum* 5.20.3=SB 113; 51 BC)

> For you know that certain **groundless things** are spoken, you know **the illusions of war.**[7]

However, it is an interesting fact in itself that noun phrases that include genitives do not usually switch languages mid-phrase, or at least not with the genitive noun in Greek. This could be interpreted as an instance of what Adams would call a "constraint" on code-switching: he defines

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[7] My translation, except for "the illusions of war," from Shackleton Bailey's note.

"constraints" as "factors, syntactic or otherwise, which restrict or prevent certain types of code-switching" (Adams 298).

The nouns within Cicero's single word code-switches also have a completely different gender distribution from his Greek adjectives. The nouns are predominantly feminine, at 147 or 58% of the total, while 47 or 19% are masculine, and 58 or 23% neuter. Although at first it appears strange that this distribution is so different between Greek adjectives and nouns (as stated above, the sample of Greek adjectives in *Ad Atticum* is 8% feminine, 29% masculine, and 63% neuter), a close examination reveals that the higher percentage of feminine nouns can be explained similarly to the neuter adjectives. In the same way that adjectives must often be neuter to describe clauses and abstract ideas in the verbal world, nouns that name aspects of language and rhetoric tend to be feminine since these aspects are abstract concepts. We see in Smyth's *Greek Grammar* that "feminine are most abstract words, that is, words denoting *quality* or *condition*" (Smyth 199c; original emphasis). Approximately 15% of Greek nouns in Cicero's letters are technical rhetorical terms.[8] Although not all of the rhetorical terms are feminine, the fact that a predominantly feminine category of nouns makes up a significant portion of Cicero's vocabulary contributes to the overall higher proportion of feminine nouns. Like the neuter Greek adjectives, these rhetorical terms facilitate discussion of language itself and the world of writing rather than the real world. The following are examples of such rhetorical terms:

> *admiratus sum, ut vidi obsignatam epistulam, brevitatem eius, ut aperui, rursus* **σύγχυσιν** *litterularum, quae solent tuae compositissimae et clarissimae esse…*
> (*Ad Atticum* 6.9.1=SB 123; 50 BC)

> I wondered as I saw the sealed letter at its shortness, and as I opened it I wondered again at the **confusion** of the note, since yours are customarily very well organized and clear.[9]

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[8] I used Heinrich Lausberg's *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric* to determine which nouns should be classified as rhetorical terms.
[9] My translation.

*earum exemplum ad te misi. nihil arbitror fore quod reprehendas; si qua erunt, doce me quo modo **μέμψιν** effugere possim.* (*Ad Atticum* 8.2.2= SB 152; 49 BC)

I have sent you a transcription of this [letter]. I think there will be nothing for you to censure; if there is anything, teach me how I might avoid **complaint**.

These rhetorical terms factor into the elite "cultured game" Cicero plays by building a descriptive space within the letters to explore identity and position. In a rhetorical sense the word σύγχυσις means the use of convoluted word order to obscure meaning, and μέμψις is rhetorical censure (LSJ). The attempt to avoid μέμψις comes in the context of Cicero writing to Caesar during the civil war. It is important for Cicero not to make any blameworthy remarks, and he sends Atticus a copy in order to get his input. Cicero's use of rhetorical terms in contexts other than the strictly rhetorical colors his discussion of situations with analysis of the real world through the orator's lens. All texts and conversations can be analyzed with rhetoric in mind, and Cicero makes it clear in his treatment of language that he thinks about other literature and speech in the same way he thinks about oratory. The frequency of these rhetorical terms in various contexts reflects the idea that Cicero's Greek vocabulary is based on his rhetorical education, and thus that his rhetorical education continues to influence him deeply in his everyday life.

Adams observes the frequency of Cicero's use of rhetorical terms in his letters. He elaborates on how these terms create a sense of connection between correspondents. These special technical terms belong to the rhetorical schools in which Cicero and Atticus were both educated, and their use reflects this background: "To account for the frequency of the type one must look for a special determinant, and that surely lies in a convention of the rhetorical schools of using a Greek critical vocabulary. Two educated Romans who use such terminology constantly in private may be seen as alluding to their common rhetorical education" (Adams

328). Allusions to a common background then strengthen connections between those who use them and increase the sense of belonging to an in-group for both parties.

Along with rhetorical terms, 18% or more of the nouns occur in Stoic and/or Epicurean texts.[10] These philosophical terms, like the rhetorical terms, are also predominantly feminine and therefore help explain the feminine majority in Cicero's Greek nouns. The vocabulary that Cicero employs, between the rhetorical and philosophical terms and the references to Greek literature, helps to confirm the sense that Cicero was well educated and immersed in the literary world while still being able to discern the proper balance of Greek and Roman culture in the elite and cultured circles with which he interacted. This polished vocabulary has its roots in Cicero's Greek rhetorical education, since it is likely that during that period of his life was the time when he used the most Greek. According to Adams, "Both Dubuisson (1992:193) and Dunkel (2000: 128) argue that the reason why there was often a switch to Greek under such circumstances [i.e. moments of intimacy] was that Greek was in effect the first language of upper-class Roman boys, and that they were therefore in later life prone to revert as it were to their childhood language in expressing intimacy or emotion" (Adams 310). However, he dismisses this claim in favor of the idea that "If there is a reversion… to the writer's roots, these roots are not to be sought in early childhood, but at an advanced stage of the educational system" (Adams 310). As I have already mentioned, since Atticus and Cicero shared an educational background, it makes sense that the vocabulary of Cicero's switching reflects this background. Cicero also worked with younger Romans to teach them rhetoric through the practice of declamation. According to Michael Alexander, "Suetonius also relates that Cicero wrote in a letter (no longer extant) that he remembered that in his youth that a certain Lucius Plotius Gallus taught in Latin, and that all the

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[10] Based on citations given in entries in the LSJ.

most enthusiastic students went to him for training; but Cicero was not allowed to do so because

doctissimi homines ('very learned men') thought that he should be educated through traditional

Greek training (*Rhet.* 26.1)" (Alexander 106). Since rhetorical training could involve either or

both Latin and Greek, Cicero as a teacher would continue to associate rhetoric and bilingualism.

The use of Greek rhetorical terms, and the philosophical terms in particular, allows Cicero to

engage deeply in continued discussion of the subjects of his and Atticus' shared education. When

he uses Stoic, or especially Epicurean vocabulary, Cicero shows Atticus that the two still have

similar interests, and he highlights the value of their connection and their discourse. Although

Cicero did not himself agree with Epicureanism, his philosophical discourse, both with Atticus

and otherwise, brought him into frequent contact with the philosophy. He would have engaged

thoroughly with Epicureanism, even as he argued against it, which provides a reason for why he

often used Epicurean vocabulary. An example of friendly philosophical debate occurs when

Cicero makes a retort against Atticus' criticism of his windows:

> *fenestrarum angustiam quod reprehendis, scito te* **Κύρου παιδείαν** *reprehendere. nam cum ego idem istuc dicerem, Cyrus aiebat virid<ar>iorum* **διαφάσεις** *latis luminibus non tam esse suavis; etenim* **ἔστω ὄψις μὲν ἡ Α, τὸ δὲ ὁρώμενον <τὸ> ΒΓ, ἀκτῖνες δὲ ‡ΑΙΤΑ‡**. *vides enim cetera. nam si* **κατ᾽εἰδώλων ἐμπτώσεις** *videremus, valde laborarent* **εἴδωλα** *in angustiis. nunc fit lepide illa* **ἔκχυσις** *radiorum.*
> (*Ad Atticum* 2.3.2 = SB 23; 60 BC)

> As to the fact that you scold the narrowness of my windows, know that you are scolding **the Education of Cyrus**. For when I said the same thing on that point, Cyrus said that **views** of tree-gardens are not as sweet with wide lights; for **let the sight be A, and the seen thing ΒΓ, and the rays [?]…** you see the rest. For if we saw **by impacts of films**, the **films** would struggle greatly in the narrow places. Now that **outflow** of rays happens agreeably.

This banter centers on the philosophical question of how vision happens, whether objects emit

rays or, as the Epicureans believed, emit films of atoms. Several nouns occur here which are

technical philosophical terms: διαφάσις, ἐμπτώσις, εἴδωλον, ἔκχυσις, three of which are feminine

nouns. The vocabulary of the discussion belongs to the types of philosophical dialogues that

occur between Cicero and Atticus. Cicero's use of Epicurean terms is humorous here as he

mimics the language of a rival philosophical school and pokes fun at Atticus, so the tone of the

philosophical discussion gives the impression that Cicero's relationship with Atticus, while

clearly full of high regard for his friend, can hold up to friendly jesting.

Another 34, or 14%, of Cicero's single Greek nouns are proper nouns. These are typically

names of writers and speakers or place names and demonyms associated with Greece. In the

following passage, Cicero code switches multiple times as he asks Atticus to read a speech that

Brutus gave him to edit. He makes puns on Atticus' name, and he includes a reference to

Demosthenes in which he uses Greek morphology:

> *tu tamen velim orationem legas, nisi forte iam legisti, certioremque me facias quid iudices ipse. quamquam vereor ne cognomine tuo lapsus* ὑπεραττικὸς *sis in iudicando. sed si recordabere* Δημοσθένους *fulmina, tum intelleges posse et* Ἀττικώτατα *<et> gravissime dici.* (*Ad Atticum* 15.1a.2=SB 378; 44 BC)

> But I would like you to read the speech, unless perhaps you have already read it, and inform me what your own verdict is. But I fear that you, turned aside by your cognomen, might be **too Attic** in your judgment. However, if you will recall the thunderbolts of **Demosthenes,** then you will understand that it is possible to speak both **very Attically** and very weightily.

This passage is illustrative of both Cicero's relationship with Atticus and his relationship with

Greek culture and oratory. He demonstrates respect for Atticus' opinions by asking about the

speech, and he expresses care about the degree of Atticizing appropriate in Roman oratory. By

making a statement on Demosthenes' style, with the name in the Greek genitive, he displays his

own engagement with Greek literature and desire to seem cultured in Atticus' estimation. Yet

this comes in the context of an accusation of Atticus for being "too Attic." The Latin words

iudices and *iudicando* imply a courtroom setting here, and Cicero playfully speaks Greek as if in

a courtroom with Atticus as the judge, and he uses the judge's own style of language as if he

were trying to win him over on behalf of his client. The discussion of Demosthenes and Atticism parallels passages in *Orator* (23, 234) and *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* (13), which Shackleton Bailey cites (Shackleton Bailey 244). These have Demosthenes' name in Latin orthography, as well as the Latin word *Attice*, equivalent to Greek Ἀττικῶς, in similar context. The difference here is register: the same words and context will include code-switching in a letter to a bilingual, Greek-loving correspondent, but will be strictly Latin in a formal treatise.

Quotations

In Cicero's letters to Atticus, there are 80 Greek quotations, of which 57 are full quotations—that is, complete sentences or lines of poetry. The other 23 are partial, cutting off in the middle of a thought and left for the reader to complete. When Adams mentions quotations in code switching, he observes that quotations often belong to a subcategory of code-switching called "tag-switching": "'tag-like switches', such as fillers, interjections, quotations and idiomatic expressions…are called 'emblematic'. They have sometimes been regarded not as true instances of code-switching, but rather as constituting 'an emblematic part of the speaker's *monolingual* style'" (Adams 24).[11] As I have mentioned in the introduction, Swain argues that quotations "should be seen as playing a part in the general pattern of code-switching" due to the fact that they are used in a manner similar to how other bilingual tags are used (Swain 158). For my purposes, the question of whether Cicero's quotations should be considered as examples of code-switching is less significant than how the quotations fit the "cultured game" Cicero plays.

Most (64 out of 80) of the quotations are not introduced by any reference to source or with any indication that Cicero is quoting at all. Instead, Cicero simply drops most of his quotations without warning into his mostly Latin letters. For example, he quotes Homer in the midst of a discussion of his situation with respect to Pompey:

> *sed vereor ne Pompeio quid oneris imponam* **μή μοι γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου** *intorqueat.* (*Ad Atticum* 9.7.3=SB 174; 49 BC)[12]

> But I fear that I will impose something of a burden on Pompey that he will turn **the gorgon head of a terrible monster against me**.

By choosing not to attribute his quotations, Cicero puts the responsibility on Atticus to recognize

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[11] Adams here cites Poplack 1980:589. The italics are Adams' emphasis. See also Wenskus 1980.

[12] The quotations is from *Odyssey* 11.634.

the source of the words. Adams describes how an exchange of unflagged quotations illustrates the relationship between speakers or correspondents. He uses as an example an exchange that Cicero describes in *Ad Atticum* 13.42.1 (SB 354), "where a report of a conversation between Cicero and his nephew Quintus *filius* begins with two snatches of Greek. But the two pieces of Greek are almost certainly partial quotations of comedy, probably of Menander (see Shackleton Bailey ad loc.) If so, one speaker uses an unflagged literary quotation which the other is expected to recognise and perhaps be able to respond to it. This is the sort of game which takes place between two members of a self-conscious cultural élite" (Adams 312). The conversation Adams references is as follows:

> *venit ille ad me* **καὶ μάλα κατηφής**. *et ego* **σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σύννους;** *"rogas?" inquit, "cui iter instet et iter ad bellum idque cum periculosum tum etiam turpe!" "quae vis igitur?" inquam. "aes" inquit "alienum et tamen ne viaticum quidem."*
> (*Ad Atticum* 13.42.1=SB 354; 45 BC)

> He [Quintus' son] comes to me **and exceedingly downcast**. And I: "**but why are you deep in thought?**" "You ask?" he says, "for whom a journey looms and a journey toward war, and not only is it dangerous but even shameful!" "What is the need?" I say. He replies "Debt, but not even a travel provision's worth."

This reported conversation, even if it did not go exactly as Cicero quotes it, demonstrates how Cicero portrays a conversation including both Latin and Greek. It is plausible here that Cicero is once again playing his cultured game, as he tests his nephew to see if he is cultured as well. Unintroduced quotations, then, can serve the same purpose as the Greek rhetorical terms in the letters. Just as Cicero knows he can use the vocabulary of rhetoric with Atticus without impeding understanding because of a shared educational background, he knows that Atticus, and perhaps his nephew Quintus, will understand and recognize the quotations from Greek literature. He flatters Atticus' intelligence by declining to mention authors' names in most situations and he heightens the sense of connection between friends by doing so. The implication that Atticus is

knowledgeable enough that he does not need Cicero to give him a source for his quotations is

particularly evident when Cicero explicitly invites Atticus to finish a quotation, as in 6.1.16 (SB

115), where Cicero ends a discussion of his management of tax farmers as follows:

> *sunt omnes ita mihi familiares ut se quisque maxime putet; sed tamen* **μηδὲν αὐτοῖς**— *scis reliqua.* (*Ad Atticum* 6.1.16=SB 115; 50 BC)

> They are all so close to me that each thinks he is the closest; but nevertheless '**not at all to them…**'—you know the rest.

According to Shackleton Bailey, "we do not know the rest, but something like πίστευε [trust] or

πρόσεχε τὸν νοῦν [offer your mind] seems to be implied" (Shackleton Bailey ad loc.;

Translations are my own). The casually expressed *scis reliqua* (you know the rest) with which

Cicero breaks off the quotation gives a sense of complete confidence that Atticus does indeed

know the rest. The two friends fully understand the level and nature of each other's education

and knowledge, and they can therefore, so to speak, finish each other's sentences.

Another instance that represents Cicero's usage of quotations in contexts of friendship

and connection with Atticus appears as Cicero attempts to work out his decision about how he

should react to the conflict between Pompey and Caesar:

> *videsne ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus [Pompeium et Caesarem]? ac vellem a principio te audisse amicissime monentem,*
>   **'ἀλλ'ἐμὸν οὔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθες'**
>   **[πατρίδος]**
> *sed aliquando tamen persuasisti ut alterum complecterer quia de me erat optime meritus, alterum quia tantum valebat.* (*Ad Atticum* 7.1.2=SB 124; 50 BC)

> Do you see how I, under your authority, have embraced each of them? And I wish I had listened to you, advising me in a most friendly manner, from the start, "**but you never persuaded the heart in my chest.**" But eventually you did persuade me that I should embrace one of the two because he was very deserving of me, the other because he was so strong.[13]

Cicero inserts a Homeric quotation (*Od.* 9.33) into his musing on a time of crisis and on the

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[13] I follow Shackleton Bailey in leaving the bracketed words out of my translation.

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importance of Atticus' advice. He praises the advice he has received from Atticus in the past, and

sets himself up to ask for more advice later in the letter, when he asks *verum quid agam?*, "But

what should I do?" (*Ad Atticum* 7.1.4=SB 124). The exchange of ideas, of literary references and

particularly Greek culture, flavors the relationship between Cicero and Atticus, and it is fitting

that a Greek literary quotation is central to a conversation involving Atticus' advice. The use of

the Greek allows Cicero to put himself into Atticus' linguistic domain, since although Latin was

Atticus' native language, Greek has a much stronger association with Atticus than it does with

Cicero. Cicero's Greek enhances the idea that he is receptive to his friend's advice and guidance.

I have already noted Cicero's use of Greek verbs in situations where he is welcoming advice or

input from Atticus in his letters. Quotations fit into this dialogue of advice well by nature, since

at a time of crisis it is understandable to seek wisdom from literature and from things learned in

youth, as well as from friends who share the wisdom of that literary education.

　　　Cicero's quotations also illustrate how Cicero thinks about his own language uses. One

partial quotation appears as Cicero confers with Atticus concerning former and current tensions

among Atticus, Quintus Cicero, and their family:

> *Quod autem relanguisse se dicit, ego ei tuis litteris lectis* **σκολιαῖς ἀπάταις** *significavi me non fore iratum.* (*Ad Atticum* 13.41.1=SB 344; 45 BC)

> But because he [Quintus] says he has eased off, I, when I had read your letter, indicated by **twisted deceits** that I would not be angry.

The Greek here fits Cicero's tendencies to switch in metalinguistic contexts—the σκολιαῖς

ἀπάταις refer to interactions within the realm of words and letters, and Cicero here is describing

a particularly careful use of language on his part in a delicate situation—and it also works

together with the Latin to produce a more flexible variety of language. This is especially true

since the tension between family members seems to come from a tangle of communications and

miscommunications. Cicero reports that Quintus admitted to sending letters that may have caused his son to feel animosity toward Atticus, and conveys Quintus' surprise that his son sent a kind letter to his mother but not to his uncle. Since the situation is complex and confused, Cicero demonstrates the care with which he has inserted himself into communications between family members by his carefully chosen words.

Although most of Cicero's quotations are unintroduced, he does occasionally name the author of the lines that he quotes, especially if the lines are less likely to be immediately recognizable as belonging to a particular author. Although the quotations are in Greek, Cicero almost always uses Latin letters and morphology in the Greek names he uses to introduce Greek quotations. For the sake of example, Cicero, once again trying to determine a course of action in response to Caesar's actions, looks in Thucydides' histories to explain his position:

> *nisi forte me Sardanapali vicem in suo lectulo mori malle censueris quam <in> exsilio Themistocleo. qui cum fuisset, ut ait Thucydides,* **τῶν μὲν παρόντων δι᾽ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων ἐς πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής,** *tamen incidit in eos casus quos vitasset si eum nihil fefellisset.*
> (*Ad Atticum* 10.8.7=SB 199; 49 BC)

> Unless perhaps you think I would prefer the lot of Sardanapalus, to die in one's own bed, than in the exile of Themistocles. Although, as Thucydides says, he had been "**not only the best thinking in circumstances of split-second decision making, but also the best diviner of the future concerning the extreme point of possibility,**" still he fell into those misfortunes that he would have avoided if he had not deceived himself.

Once again, Cicero includes Atticus in his contemplation of his own circumstances and his use of Greek literature in that contemplation. This inclusion is evident in the second person *censueris* which Cicero uses to introduce the question of death in bed versus death in exile. The chosen quotation also portrays a Themistocles who is intelligent and wise but cannot save himself, and therefore casts an air of desperation on the situation, which begs for the help and advice of a wise friend. The important aspect of this quotation is not the author of the quotation so much as the

content of the history. There is no need here to emphasize Thucydides' Greekness, so here the name appears in Latin orthography, simply to introduce the more important Greek quotation. If Cicero needed advice in the literary sphere, perhaps Thucydides' name would be appear in Greek as the focus of the conversation, like Demosthenes' name does when Cicero is discussing the Attic nature of Brutus' speech, as I have previously mentioned (*Ad Atticum* 15.1a.2). But it is the content here that is relevant to the advice Cicero needs, so that is where the Greek appears.

Of course, this raises the question of when Cicero does use Greek orthography and morphology to name the source of quotations. As it turns out, he only does this twice in the letters to Atticus. The first comes in a discussion of personal debts between Quintus and Atticus, in which Cicero claims:

> *ego autem etsi illud* **ψευδησιόδειον** *(ita enim putatur) observo,* '**μηδὲ δίκην**…,' *praesertim in te, a quo nihil umquam vidi temere fieri, tamen illius querela movebar.* (*Ad Atticum* 7.18.1=SB 142; 49 BC)

> However, although I follow that **Pseudo-Hesiodic** phrase (it is thought to be so), "**not a trial…**" especially as regards you, by whom I have never seen anything done rashly, nevertheless, I am moved by his complaint.

Here Cicero needs to soften an awkward situation between his brother and his best friend. With the quotation, once again flattering Atticus' intelligence, and the raising of the question of authenticity, Cicero diverts some of the pressure away from his brother's complaints and financial difficulties, and shifts the focus toward lighter literary concerns, the shared interest of Cicero and Atticus. Additionally, if Cicero wished to use Latin here as in other quotation attributions, he would have needed to use a circumlocution since Latin has no single word equivalent for ψευδησιόδειος. Since the word ψευδησιόδειος appears nowhere else in extant literature, it may also be a coinage by Cicero himself. Therefore the succinct Greek word fits well into the tone of Cicero's short literary distraction from his brother's financial issues, in

which he makes his own playful contribution to the Greek language and to literary discussion.

In the other instance when Cicero uses Greek to introduce a quotation, his motivation for using Greek instead of Latin is less clear. Cicero expresses his worries about Caesar and how popular he is in rural areas, and then states:

> *Ego autem non tam* **γοητείαν** *huius timeo quam* **πειθανάγκην**. "**Αἰ γὰρ τῶν τυρράννων δεήσεις**," *inquit* **Πλάτων**, "**οἶσθ᾽ὅτι μεμιγμέναι ἀνάγκαις**"
> (*Ad Atticum* 9.13.4=SB 180; 49 BC)

> However I do not so much fear his **diplomacy** as his **compulsion.** "**For know that the entreaties of a tyrant**" says **Plato** "**are mixed with force.**"

Plato's name shows up in the letters to Atticus several other times, but always in Latin orthography and morphology, even when accompanied by the title of his work, Πολιτεία (*The Republic*) in Greek (See *Ad Atticum* 2.1.8, 4.16.3, 7.13.4, 10.8.6, 13.21a.1).[14] Since the default mode for names seems to be Latin orthography, especially in the context of quotations, it is desirable to find a reason for this special case. It is of course possible that this is simply a textual problem, and the name originally appeared in Latin letters. However, I follow Shackleton Bailey's lead in reading it as Πλάτων. The clearest possibility for why this case is special can be seen from the word γοητεία in the previous sentence. This word appears in Plato's *Symposium,* 203a, but in few other places (LSJ). So since Cicero is already using Platonic vocabulary, he has put himself into the Greek literary realm. While Demosthenes' name in a previous example above is written in Latin because the focus is beyond literature, Plato's name appears in Greek when Cicero has narrowed his focus from external, political ideas to literary and philosophical vocabulary. The quotation is part of an ongoing discussion in the letters with Atticus, since 9.10.2 (SB 177) alludes to the same letter of Plato. It is this type of metalinguistic context that typically triggers code-switching in Cicero's letters, and the literary conversation he has with

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[14] SB 21, 89, 136, 199, 327.

Atticus here invites the use of Greek.

The appearances of Homer's name in Greek and in Latin strengthen the assertion that Cicero's orthography of Greek names is related to the literary nature of the passages in which the names appear. Out of the 80 Greek quotations I have been discussing, almost half of the total, or 38 out of 80, are from Homer. Yet only three of the quotations from Homer are introduced as quotations at all, and in one of those three, Cicero names Homer only as *ille* (*Ad Atticum* 9.15.4= SB 183). When Cicero refers to Homer as *ille*, he implies something similar to the *scis reliqua* in 6.1.16. The pronoun *ille* bears a weight of importance and suggests that the origin of the quotation is a well known source, and Cicero draws attention to the fact that he deliberately leaves out information and expects Atticus to understand the reference anyway. The two quotations in which Cicero does supply Homer's name stand out because of the narrative exposition Cicero includes to accompany them. The first appears in a passage in which Cicero discovers in what trouble Pompey has found himself:

> *video plane nihil aliud agi, nihil actum ab initio, nisi ut hunc occideret. Ego igitur, sicut ille apud Homerum cui et mater et dea dixisset:*
> Αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ᾽ Ἕκτορα πότμος ἕτοιμος
> *matri ipse respondit:*
> Αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ᾽ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ
> κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμυναι.
> *Quid, si non* ἑταίρῳ *solum, sed etiam* εὐεργέτῃ *adde tali viro talem causam agenti?*
> (*Ad Atticum* 9.5.3=SB 171; 49 BC)
>
> I see clearly that nothing else is being done, nothing has been done from the beginning, except so that he may kill this man [Pompey]. Therefore I, just as that man to whom, in Homer, both his mother and his goddess spoke: "**for fate is at hand for you immediately after Hector.**" He himself answered his mother: "**Let me die immediately, since I was not destined to help my dead companion.**" What? Add to it that this is for such a great man advocating such a great cause, not only my **companion** but also my **benefactor**.

The second flagged Homeric quotation appears a few letters later as Cicero tries to decide whether to remain at Formiae when he hears that Caesar is on his way:

> *Hic ego vellem habere Homeri illam Minervam simulatam Mentori, cui dicerem*:
> **Μέντορ, πῶς τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἴω, πῶς τ᾽ ἄρ προσπτύξομαι αὐτόν**;
> (*Ad Atticum* 9.8.2=SB 175; 49 BC)

> I wish I had here that Minerva of Homer, disguised as Mentor, to whom I might say:
> "**Mentor, how should I go, how should I embrace him?"**

In both of these quotations, Cicero focuses on the content of Homer's work as it relates to the circumstances of his life, rather than the literary aspects of the work. Both explain the context of the lines within Homer's poetry and name the characters involved. The first quotation particularly illustrates the relationship between the content and Cicero's circumstances when Cicero pulls the word ἑταίρῳ out of the quotation and uses it to describe Pompey. The second quotation, about Mentor, fits into Cicero's tendency to use Greek literary language when asking for advice. So the Latinized name of Homer appears in contexts where the focus strongly lies on external circumstances. The name Minerva also appears in Latin in the introduction to the quotation, which is an even stronger Romanization of the context, since calling the Greek goddess Athena by her Roman goes beyond a simple switch of alphabet. Therefore, Cicero puts the Greek quotation into a Roman linguistic setting, paralleling the way he embeds a piece of Greek narrative into the very Roman context of his real situation. When Cicero does write about the literary aspects of Homer, the name is in Greek, albeit an adverbialized version. When discussing the trial of Clodius, he introduces his narrative by explaining the order in which he will describe events:

> *Respondeo tibi* **ὕστερον πρότερον Ὁμηρικῶς.** (*Ad Atticum* 1.16.1=SB 16; 61 BC)

> I answer you **Homerically**, **last things first**.

This introduction constitutes a discussion of Cicero's own literary and rhetorical strategy, and names the rhetorical figure, ὕστερον πρότερον. The whole phrase, ὕστερον πρότερον Ὁμηρικῶς reads much like a saying from a rhetorical school, and likely fits in to standard rhetorical

education. Therefore this statement firmly belongs to the world of letters in which Cicero uses a

code-switching style of language to deal with topics relating to language itself.

Cicero's Longer Greek Phrases and Sentences

Although single-word switches and quotations from literature form the core of Cicero's

Greek usage in the letters, he does produce longer samples of his own Greek as well. Even the

multi-word Greek phrases Cicero uses are usually just two or three words, but these phrases

often provide additional insight into how Cicero's Greek and Latin work together. Adams gives

an example of the interaction between the two languages in the letters with a thorough analysis

of single-word Greek datives embedded in Cicero's Latin. I reproduce the data from his study

here:

> I set out below a complete collection from Cicero's letters to Atticus of those examples of
> the Greek dative standing in agreement with a Latin ablative, or dependent on a
> preposition or other word (such as a verb) requiring an ablative, arranged according to
> ending:
> (I) Forms ending in -ᾳ
>   1.16.18 (SB16.18) quo ornatu, qua τοποθεσίᾳ
>   1.16.18 (16.18) historias de Ἀμαλθείᾳ
>   2.1.8 (21.8) in Platonis πολιτείᾳ
>   4.16.3 (89.3) in πολιτείᾳ
>   10.8a.1 (199a.1) a ζηλοτυπίᾳ (a letter of Antonius)
>   14.19.1 (372.1) ex Dolabellae ἀριστείᾳ
>   16.5.3 (410.3) de ὁμοπλοίᾳ
>   16.4.4 (411.4) uti ὁμοπλοίᾳ
>   16.8.2 (418.2) in maiore ἀπορίᾳ fui
>   16.11.2 (420.2) cum εὐμενείᾳ
> (2) Forms ending in -ῳ
>   5.21.14 (114.14) de ἐνδομύχῳ
>   6.6.2 (121.2) de Academiae προπύλῳ
>   10.11.4 (202.4) illo Rhodiorum ἀφράκτῳ nauigans
>   15.26.1 (404.1) ψευδεγγράφῳ senatus consulto
>   16.7.3 (415.3) opus est σχολίῳ
>   16.12(421) de Ἡρακλειδείῳ
>   16.15.3 (426.3) ἐν πολιτικῷ genere
> (3) Other endings
>   5.21.2 (114.2) recesserant. ., sed nullo nostro εὐμερήματι
>   14.13.1 (367.1) ambulatione ἀλιτενεῖ delecter
>   12.3.1(239.1) in eodem πάθει
>   13.21.3 (351.3) ab ἐποχῇ
>   (Adams 498-499)

Given these data, Adams concludes that Cicero uses the Greek dative in situations where the Latin ablative is called for, even "in a context in which Greek would have required a genitive rather than a dative," as at 16.7.3, *opus est* σχολίῳ, since the Greek phrases equivalent to *opus est,* "δεῖ and χρεία ἐστί both take a genitive of the thing needed" (Adams 501). One thing that Adams' study reveals is that Cicero's Greek connects with his Latin not haphazardly, but rather in specific patterns of usage. Where there are gaps between grammars, that is, where Latin and Greek syntax do not align perfectly, Cicero naturally finds ways to produce a bilingual variety of language, in some ways following the rules of both languages, but in others following rules belonging to the bilingual code-switching variety of his language, which is itself neither fully Latin nor fully Greek.

An instance of code-switching in a conditional sentence provides another example of Greek and Latin constructions corresponding in function if not in form, as Cicero discusses Balbus' assertion that Cicero seems to be a threat to Caesar:

φοβερ<ὸν> ἂν ἦν *nisi viderem scire regem me animi nihil habere*[15]
 (*Ad Atticum* 13.37.2=SB 346; 45 BC)

It would be frightful if I did not see that the king knows I have no spirit.

An indicative apodosis with a subjunctive protasis in Latin would constitute a mixed conditional, but the two halves of the sentence both belong to a present unreal conditional in their respective languages. The context of this switch once again involves Cicero assessing his own position and role in the political realm, although he appears self-deprecating here when he claims to have no spirit. He has been defeated in his ultimate desires for the safety of the republic, and he makes his defeat clear by referring to Caesar as *regem*. However, Cicero still attempts to determine

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[15] Although there is a textual problem, the conjecture seems quite likely.

where he fits in the new form of the state and society. As in previous examples, Cicero turns to the code-switching variety of language when he is trying to discover his identity in relation to the state, especially as he invites Atticus to help him define that identity.

Since Cicero rarely switches to Greek for more than one or two words, it will be worth noting some of the circumstances in which he does produce longer samples of Greek. I have already mentioned the philosophical passage of *Ad Atticum* 2.3.2 (SB 23), in which Cicero discusses the merits of narrow windows in relation to the disagreements between philosophical schools over how vision functions. The extensive Greek usage in the passage makes sense considering the nature of the subject matter, since it demonstrates Cicero directly engaging in philosophy, a particularly Greek activity.

Cicero occasionally uses Greek tags in the conclusions of his letters. In particular, he uses longer Greek sentences at the end of two letters in order to express greetings between his son and Atticus' son as in the following:

> *Terentia delectata est [et] tuis litteris. impertit tibi multam salutem,* **καὶ Κικέρων ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸν πολίτικὸν Τίτον ἀσπάζεται**. (*Ad Atticum* 2.12.4=SB 30; 59 BC)

> Terentia is also delighted with your letter. She wishes much health to you, **and Cicero the philosopher greets the statesman Titus.**

The social game that Cicero plays extends to his son as well, as he grooms him for and begins to draw him into cultured society. Adams notes this, and points out that Terentia's conveyed greetings, by contrast, are always in Latin. Thus young Marcus Cicero "is becoming a member of an in-group, from which Terentia is apparently excluded" (Adams 321). Since Terentia is a woman, she is automatically excluded from elite cultured circles, despite the fact that she would have understood Greek—Cicero only uses Greek in his letters to Terentia on one occasion, but the occurrence does indicate at least a basic understanding on her part (Adams 316). She has no

position in Cicero's game, and therefore does not merit a code-switched salutation. By naming

the sons ὁ φιλόσοφος and ὁ πολίτικος, Cicero makes a joke about the fact that the apolitical

Atticus has a political son. This mirrors the ongoing question of when and when not to engage

with the political life of the state, and reflects Cicero and Atticus' relationship despite the fact

that they choose opposite answers to that question.

When Cicero has been out of Rome for a while, he uses a longer Greek phrase requesting

information from Atticus:

> *illud etiam te rogo,* **τὴν παροῦσαν κατάστασιν τυπωδῶς**, *ne istuc hospes veniam.*
> (*Ad Atticum* 4.13.2=SB 87; 55 BC)

> I ask you also that thing, i.e., **a sketch of the present establishment**, lest I come there as
> a stranger.

Since Cicero has been out of the loop for a while, in order to return physically to society he must

update his role and reinsert himself into the political elite. He explicitly states the motivation for

the request, *ne istuc hospes veniam*. The code-switching here indicates the role that Cicero

played previously and desires to play again, as someone who is educated and informed and who

belongs to the bilingual Roman elite.

The longest Greek passages in the letters are those in 6.4 and 6.5 (SB 118 and 119), in

which Cicero uses Greek in order to conceal deliberately the meaning of his words. He does so to

protect the privacy of the content, since the letter contains personal information concerning the

unsavory actions of a freedman. He introduces the subject matter as follows:

> *Illud praeterea* **μυστικώτερον** *ad te scribam, tu sagacius odorabere.*
> (*Ad Atticum* 6.4.3=SB 118; 50 BC)

> Moreover I will write a **rather secret** thing to you, and you will smell it out wisely.

The rest of the passage that follows is in Greek. Although the practical purpose behind the use of

Greek for this part of the letter is clear, the word μυστικώτερον adds another dimension to the

interaction. The word connotes things that are accessible only to select people. The ability to hide private conversation in Greek words puts Cicero and Atticus into an exclusive category, and Cicero's word choice draws attention to this fact. Cicero gives Atticus his trust concerning private matters, and the way in which he communicates the private matters displays part of the reason that trust exists. Their friendship, shared background, and thorough knowledge of one another's affairs allow the two to use their bilingual language variety to facilitate their exchanges.

Another instance in which Cicero provides an explanation for his Greek usage comes in a letter during the civil war, after Pompey has fled Italy and Cicero tries to determine what to do. The explanation accompanies another one of the longest passages of unbroken Greek in the letters, which consists of a series of philosophical questions relevant to the decisions Cicero must make in the near future. He introduces the paragraph thus:

> *sed tamen, ne me totum aegritudini dedam, sumpsi mihi quasdam tamquam* θέσεις, *quae et* πολιτικαὶ *sunt et temporum horum, ut et abducam animum a querelis et in eo ipso de quo agitur exercear. eae sunt huius modi:* **Εἰ μενετέον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυραννουμένης αὐτῆς. Εἰ**… (*Ad Atticum* 9.4.1-2=SB 173; 49 BC)

> Nevertheless, lest I give myself entirely to sickliness, I have taken up certain **themes** for myself, which are both **political** and relevant to these times, so that I may distract my mind from my complaints and train it in that very thing by which it is troubled. They are of this sort: **Whether it is necessary to remain in the fatherland of a land subjected to tyranny. Whether…**

A series of questions of the same form and subject follow. The Greek terms preceding the questions, θέσεις and πολιτικαί, are representative of Cicero's typical code-switching since the one is a rhetorical term and the other from the root πολιτ-, which appears regularly in Cicero's Greek. They represent Cicero's use of Greek in his musings concerning rhetorical and political ideas. The θέσεις that Cicero lists take the form of topics for *controversiae,* which were exercises used in practice declamations. These would have been spoken in both Greek and Latin, so Cicero

here falls back on his education to determine actions in real world situations. He concludes the

series of questions with a note on his language usage:

> *In his ego me consultationibus exercens et disserens in utramque partem tum Graece tum*
> *Latine et abduco parumper animum a molestiis et* **τῶν προὔργου τι** *delibero.*
> (*Ad Atticum* 9.4.3=SB 173)

> Training myself and arguing on both sides concerning these questions, sometimes in
> Greek, sometimes in Latin, I lead my mind away from troubles for a short while and I
> deliberate on **something of the issues before me.**

This last statement is key to how Cicero views the nature of his Greek usage. The questions all

pertain to the problem of determining the role Cicero plays in society, and his use of code-

switching, especially in the context of his early education, helps him to sort out how he should

feel about that role. His dialogue with himself is *tum Graece tum Latine*, indicating the constant

tension between his sense of responsibility to the state and his devotion to writing, philosophy,

and educated pursuits. The fact that he shares this inner debate with Atticus is indicative in turn

of the role Atticus plays for Cicero, as advisor and friend.

Conclusion

With so many instances of Greek words, phrases, and quotations throughout Cicero's letters to Atticus, the absence of code-switching during Cicero's exile period (Book 3 of Shackleton Bailey), and for a time after the defeat of Pompey (Book 11) is that much more significant. It is in these time periods that Cicero is the furthest separated from the social elite—in a way, he has lost the cultured game. His entire focus is on trying to get back into Roman circles, but since he no longer belongs to the in-group, his identity in the cultured elite is temporarily lost, even to the point that it affects his interactions with Atticus. It is during his exile period that he most questions Atticus' advice: over and over he laments giving in to Atticus' pleas not to kill himself. He no longer functions in the literary realm either. He feels that not even his books can comfort him, and instead his letters center on attempts to solve real-world problems. When he returns to Roman social and political life, though, he returns to the same game as before, and his normal code-switching register returns. The contrast between periods of exile and periods of participation strengthens the assertions I have made based on patterns in Cicero's Greek. Namely, the way Cicero code-switches is complexly and intimately linked to his roles as a statesman, orator, and writer, and to his inclusion of Atticus in the discussion of those roles by the medium of their letters. By surveying the Greek in the letters, I have found that trends in Cicero's use of code-switching support Adams's conclusions about the purposes of code-switching and the cultured game that Cicero plays when he uses Greek. Furthermore, specific patterns in the morphology of Cicero's Greek words—the prevalence of first-person verbs and the gender distribution of nouns and adjectives—and in the context and strategies of introduction for quotations and longer Greek phrases further illuminate how code-switching fits into the specific literary function of letters to a close friend. The letters allow conversation over a

distance, and they create a world of their own, related to but separate from the real world, in which Cicero can use his rhetorical and literary education and his own construction of Atticus' character to work out questions of how to react to real world circumstances. Code-switching then brings into this world an echo of the conversational style between intimate friends who share a sense of belonging to a social group with specific cultural associations.

Appendix

This appendix contains some of the charts of the data I have collected on instances of Greek in Cicero's letters to Atticus. I have included those that are particularly relevant to the above chapters, i.e. single-word code-switches (divided into categories of parts of speech) and quotations. Not included are the citations of two- or three-word Greek phrases occurring in the letters.

Verbs

Citation	Date	Person	Number	Tense	Voice	Mood	Person of governing verb of infinitive
01.14.04	61	1st	sg	aor	mid	ind	
02.06.01	60			pres	mid	inf	3rd
02.06.02	60	1st	sg	pres	mid	ind	
02.09.03	59			pres	act	inf	1st
02.09.03	59	1st	sg	pres	mid	ind	
02.10.00	59			pres	mid	inf	1st
02.13.02	59	1st	pl	pres	act	subj	
02.14.01	59			pres	mid	inf	1st
02.16.02	59	3rd	sg	impf	mid	ind	
02.19.01	59	1st	sg	pres	act	subj	
02.19.05	59	1st	pl	pres	mid	ind	
04.18.02	54			aor	act	inf	1st
05.12.02	51	1st	sg	impf	act	ind	
05.17.02	51	3rd	pl	pres	act	ind	
05.20.06	51	1st	sg	aor	mid	subj	
06.01.01	50	3rd	sg	pres	mid	ind	
06.01.18	50	2nd	sg	aor	act	ind	
06.01.25	50			aor	act	inf	1st
06.06.1	50			pres	act	inf	2nd

06.06.3	50			pres	act	inf	2nd
06.09.02	50	2nd	sg	aor	act	imptv	
06.09.3	50			pres	act	inf	2nd
07.05.5	50	2nd	sg	aor	imptv	mid	
07.11.3	49	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
07.21.1	49			pres	act	inf	3rd
08.09a.1	49	1st	pl	pres	act	ind	
08.11.3	49	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
09.09.1	49	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
09.10.5	49	2nd	sg	pres	mid	ind	
09.10.7	49						
09.13.4	49	3rd	sg	aor	act	ind	
10.18.1	49	3rd	sg	aor	act	ind	
12.02.2	46	3rd	sg	perf	mid	ind	
12.03.2	46	3rd	sg	aor	mid	imptv	
12.03.2	46	3rd	sg	aor	pass	subj	
12.03.2	46	2nd	sg	fut	mid	ind	
12.11.0	46	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
12.12.2	45	1st	sg	fut	mid	ind	
12.25.2	45			perf	pass	inf	1st
13.13-14.1	45			pres	mid	inf	2nd
13.13-14.2	45	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
13.18.0	45			pres	act	inf	3rd
13.20.4	45			perf	pass	inf	1st
13.21a.1	45	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
13.27.1	45			pres	act	inf	3rd
13.31.3	45	1st	sg	perf	act	ind	
13.38.1	45	3rd	sg	aor	act	ind	
13.40.2	45	1st	sg	pef	pass	ind	
14.06.2	44			pres	mid	inf	
14.06.2	44	1st	pl	perf	mid	ind	
14.17.3	44	3rd	sg	fut	mid	ind	

14.20.5	44			pres	mid	inf	
14.21.3	44	3rd	sg	perf	mid	ind	
15.04.2	44	3rd	sg	fut	mid	ind	
15.29.2	44			aor	mid	inf	3rd
15.29.2	44	1st	sg	impf	mid	ind	
16.05.5	44	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
16.09.0	44	1st	sg	pres	mid	ind	
16.11.4	44	1st	sg	pres	act	ind	
16.13a.2	44	1st	pl	pres	act	ind	

Adjectives

Citation	Year		Case	Number	Gender	Degree
01.01.02		65	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
01.06.2		68	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
01.09.2		67	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
01.10.3		67	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
01.13.5		61	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
01.14.6		61	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
01.14.6		61	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Superlative
01.15.1		61	Nom.	Plural	Masculine	Positive
01.18.1		60	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Superlative
01.19.10		60	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
02.01.4		60	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
02.02.01		60	Nom.	Plural	Masculine	Positive
02.06.1		60	Nom.	Plural	Feminine	Positive
02.09.2		59	Dat.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
02.10.0		59	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
02.12.2		59	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
02.14.1		59	Acc.	Plural	Feminine	Positive
02.17.2		59	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
04.06.1		55	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
04.07.1		56	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Comparative

04.13.2	55	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
04.16.02	54	Acc.	Plural	Masculine	Positive
05.03.2	51	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Comparative
05.04.1	51	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
05.09.1	51	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Superlative
05.10.3	51	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
05.11.6	51	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
05.14.03	51	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
05.16.02	51	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
05.18.01	51	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
05.20.03	51	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
05.20.6	51	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
05.20.6	51	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
05.21.4	50	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
05.21.7	50	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
05.21.14	50	Dat.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
06.01.02	50	Acc.	Plural	Feminine	Positive
06.01.08	50	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
06.01.15	50	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
06.01.16	50	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Superlative
06.01.23	50	Acc.	Singular	Feminine	Positive
06.02.3	50	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Superlative
06.02.3	50	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
06.03.7	50	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
06.09.2	50	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
06.09.2	50	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
07.01.7	50	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
07.02.3	50	Nom.	Singular	Feminine	Positive
07.03.2	50	Nom.	Singular	Feminine	Positive
07.03.5	50	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
07.04.02	50	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
07.05.03	50	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive

07.07.4	50	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
07.13.01	49	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
07.17.2	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Comparative
07.18.4	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
08.08.1	49	Acc.	Plural	Masculine	Positive
08.16.1	49	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Superlative
08.16.1	49	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Superlative
08.9a.1	49	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
09.01.1	49	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
09.01.3	49	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Superlative
09.04.3	49	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
09.10.5	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
09.10.5	49	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
09.10.5	49	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
09.11.2	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
09.13.05	49	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
09.17.2	49	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
09.18.4	49	Acc.	Singular	Feminine	Positive
09.02a.2	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
09.02a.2	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
09.10.09	49	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
10.10.6	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
10.11.1	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
10.11.4	49	Dat.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
10.12.4	49	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
10.18.1	49	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
12.01.2	46	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
12.01.2	46	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Comparative
12.04.1	46	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Comparative
12.44.2	45	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
12.45.1	45	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
12.6a.2	46	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive

13.05.1	45	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
13.06.4	45	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Superlative
13.07.0	45	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
13.09.1	45	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Comparative
13.09.1	45	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Comparative
13.09.1	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
13.09.1	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
13.10.2	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
13.10.2	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
13.12.3	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
13.18.0	45	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Superlative
13.19.3	45	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
13.19.4	45	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
13.19.4	45	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
13.19.5	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
13.20.2	45	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
13.21a.1	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
13.21a.1	45	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
13.21a.4	45	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Comparative
13.25.2	45	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Comparative
13.33.3	45	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
13.52.1	45	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
13.52.2	45	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Superlative
14.03.01	44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
14.03.2	44	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
14.05.2	44	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
14.06.2	44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
14.06.2	44	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
14.10.1	44	Nom.	Singular	Feminine	Positive
14.13.1	44	Dat.	Singular	Feminine	Positive
14.14.1	44	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Comparative
14.17.6	44	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Positive

Citation		44			
14.21.3		44	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
14.22.2		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
15.04.3		44	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
15.09.1		44	Nom.	Singular	Feminine	Positive
15.14.4		44	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
15.19.1		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
15.19.1		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
15.19.2		44	Acc.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
15.1a.2		44	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
15.26.1		44	Dat.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
15.26.1		44	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Superlative
15.27.2		44	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.01.4		44	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.02.6		44	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.05.3		44	Acc.	Singular	Masculine	Comparative
16.05.3		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.05.05		44	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
16.05.05		44	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
16.07.2		44	Nom.	Plural	Neuter	Positive
16.07.5		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.11.2		44	Nom.	Singular	Masculine	Positive
16.11.3		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.11.4		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.12.0		44	Nom.	Singular	Neuter	Positive
16.13.1		44	Acc.	Singular	Neuter	Positive

Nouns

Citation	Special Categories	Philosophical Associations	Year	Case	Number	Gender
01.01.5			65	nom	sg	neut
01.06.2			68	nom	sg	fem
01.12.1			61	nom	pl	fem

01.12.1			61	nom	pl	fem
01.13.5	Rhetorical Term		61	acc	sg	fem
01.13.5			61	acc	sg	masc
01.14.1			61	nom	sg	fem
01.14.3			61	acc	pl	fem
01.14.4	Rhetorical Term	Stoic	61	nom	sg	fem
01.14.4	Rhetorical Term	Epicurean, Stoic	61	nom	pl	masc
01.14.4	Rhetorical Term		61	nom	pl	neut
01.14.4			61	nom	pl	fem
01.14.4		Stoic	61	nom	pl	fem
01.14.5	proper noun		61	nom	sg	masc
01.14.7	proper noun		61	nom	sg	fem
01.16.08			61	acc	sg	fem
01.16.08		Epicurean	61	acc	sg	masc
01.16.11		Epicurean, Stoic	61	acc	pl	fem
01.16.13	Rhetorical Term		61	acc	sg	fem
01.16.18	proper noun		61	dat	sg	fem
01.16.18	proper noun		61	nom	sg	neut
01.16.18	Rhetorical Term		61	dat	sg	fem
01.19.03	Rhetorical Term		60	acc	pl	neut
01.20.3	proper noun		60	acc	sg	fem
01.20.5			60	nom	sg	neut
02.01.2			60	acc	sg	neut
02.01.3			60	acc	sg	neut
02.01.3			60	nom	pl	neut
02.01.8	proper noun		60	dat	sg	fem
02.02.2	proper noun		60	nom	sg	masc
02.02.2	proper nouns		60	gen	pl	neut
02.02.2	proper nouns		60	gen	pl	neut
02.02.2	proper nouns		60	gen	pl	neut
02.03.1			60	nom	sg	fem
02.03.2			60	acc	pl	fem

02.03.2		Epicurean	60	nom	pl	neut
02.03.2			60	nom	sg	fem
02.03.3			60	acc	sg	fem
02.03.3			60	acc	sg	fem
02.03.4			60	nom	sg	fem
02.05.1	proper noun		60	nom	sg	masc
02.06.2	Rhetorical Term		60	nom	pl	neut
02.09.1	proper noun		59	nom	sg	fem
02.09.1			59	acc	sg	fem
02.12.1			59	acc	pl	neut
02.12.2	proper noun		59	gen	sg	fem
02.12.2		Epicurean	59	acc	sg	neut
02.12.2			59	acc	sg	neut
02.12.4			59	nom	pl	masc
02.14.1	proper noun		59	gen	sg	fem
02.17.2		Epicurean, Stoic	59	nom	sg	fem
02.17.2		Epicurean, Stoic	59	nom	sg	fem
02.17.3	medical term		59	acc	pl	fem
02.18.1			59	nom	sg	masc
02.19.4	Rhetorical Term		59	acc	sg	fem
02.20.3	Rhetorical Term		59	dat	pl	fem
02.22.5	proper noun		59	acc	sg	fem
04.05.1			56	nom	sg	fem
04.05.2	Rhetorical Term		56	dat	sg	fem
04.06.3			55	nom	sg	fem
04.13.1			55	acc	sg	masc
04.15.01		Epicurean, Stoic	54	acc	sg	fem
04.15.4			54	acc	pl	masc
04.15.7			54	nom	sg	fem
04.16.3	proper noun		54	dat	sg	fem
04.16.3			54	acc	sg	fem
04.16.6		Epicurean, Stoic	54	nom	sg	fem

04.19.1	Rhetorical Term		54	nom	sg	masc
04.19.1			54	acc	pl	fem
04.4a.1			56	acc	pl	masc
05.02.2			51	dat	sg	neut
05.04.2			51	acc	sg	fem
05.05.2			51	acc	pl	masc
05.10.3			51	nom	pl	neut
05.10.3			51	nom	pl	neut
05.10.3			51	nom	sg	fem
05.11.4			51	gen	pl	masc
05.11.5			51	acc	sg	fem
05.11.6			51	acc	sg	masc
05.11.7			51	acc	sg	fem
05.16.2			51	acc	pl	fem
05.18.3		Epicurean, Stoic	51	acc	sg	fem
05.20.6	proper noun		51	dat	sg	masc
05.20.9			51	acc	sg	neut
05.21.2			50	dat	sg	neut
05.21.3			50	acc	sg	neut
05.21.9			50	acc	sg	neut
06.01.01		Epicurean, Stoic	50	acc	sg	fem
06.01.02			50	acc	sg	fem
06.01.08			50	acc	pl	neut
06.01.11		Epicurean, Stoic	50	nom	sg	fem
06.01.13			50	acc	sg	neut
06.01.13			50	nom	sg	neut
06.01.15			50	acc	sg	fem
06.01.17	proper noun		50	gen	sg	masc
06.01.18			50	acc	sg	fem
06.01.26			50	acc	sg	neut
06.02.03	proper nouns		50	nom	pl	masc
06.02.03	proper nouns		50	nom	pl	masc

06.02.03	proper nouns		50	gen	sg	masc
06.02.03	proper nouns		50	nom	sg	masc
06.02.03	Rhetorical Term	Epicurean	50	nom	sg	fem
06.02.10			50	acc	sg	fem
06.02.4			50	acc	sg	fem
06.06.3		Stoic	50	gen	sg	fem
06.06.4		Stoic	50	acc	sg	fem
06.09.1	Rhetorical Term		50	acc	sg	fem
06.09.3		Stoic	50	nom	sg	fem
06.09.3		Stoic	50	nom	sg	fem
07.01.1			50	nom	sg	fem
07.01.2		Epicurean	50	acc	sg	neut
07.01.9			50	nom	sg	masc
07.03.10			50	acc	pl	neut
07.03.10			50	acc	pl	masc
07.07.1			50	nom	sg	fem
07.07.3			50	nom	sg	fem
07.11.05			49	acc	sg	neut
07.11.5		Stoic	49	nom	sg	fem
07.12.2			49	acc	sg	masc
07.12.4	Rhetorical Term		49	acc	sg	fem
07.13.1			49	acc	sg	masc
07.21.03			49	nom	sg	fem
07.21.3			49	acc	sg	neut
08.02.2	Rhetorical Term		49	acc	sg	fem
08.11.03	proper noun		49	nom	sg	fem
08.11.2			49	nom	sg	masc
08.16.2		Epicurean	49	acc	pl	fem
08.9a.2			49	nom	sg	neut
09.05.3			49	dat	sg	masc
09.05.3			49	dat	sg	masc
09.07.2		Epicurean	49	nom	sg	fem

09.07.3			49	acc	sg	neut
09.09.1	Rhetorical Term	Epicurean, Stoic	49	acc	pl	fem
09.10.5			49	nom	sg	masc
09.11.2			49	acc	sg	fem
09.11.4	proper noun		49	acc	sg	fem
09.11.4			49	acc	sg	fem
09.13.1			49	acc	sg	fem
09.13.3		Epicurean, Stoic	49	nom	sg	fem
09.13.4			49	acc	sg	fem
09.13.4			49	acc	sg	fem
09.13.4			49	nom	sg	neut
09.13.5			49	acc	pl	neut
09.13.7			49	acc	sg	fem
09.18.2			49	nom	sg	fem
09.18.2			49	nom	sg	masc
09.18.3			49	nom	sg	fem
09.19.1			49	nom	sg	fem
10.01.3	Rhetorical Term		49	nom	sg	fem
10.07.2			49	nom	sg	fem
10.08.10		Epicurean, Stoic	49	acc	sg	fem
10.08.9			49	nom	sg	fem
10.08.9			49	nom	sg	fem
10.10.04	medical term		49	nom	sg	fem
10.10.4			49	nom	sg	fem
10.12a.2			49	nom	sg	neut
10.13.3			49	acc	sg	neut
10.18.1	proper noun		49	nom	pl	masc
10.1a.0			49	nom	sg	fem
12.01.2			46	nom	sg	fem
12.02.2		Epicurean	46	nom	sg	neut
12.03.1	Rhetorical Term	Epicurean, Stoic	46	dat	sg	neut
12.04.2			46	nom	sg	neut

12.05.1	proper noun		46	acc	sg	fem
12.06.2		Epicurean	45	acc	sg	fem
12.06.2		Stoic	45	acc	sg	neut
12.12.1	Rhetorical Term		45	acc	sg	fem
12.12.1			45	acc	sg	fem
12.12.1			45	nom	sg	masc
12.29.2			45	acc	sg	neut
12.36.1	Rhetorical Term		45	acc	sg	fem
12.38a.2	proper noun		45	nom	sg	masc
12.44.2			45	acc	sg	neut
12.44.4			45	acc	pl	neut
12.45.1			45	nom	sg	fem
12.45.2	Rhetorical Term	Stoic	45	nom	sg	fem
12.5c.00		Stoic	46	nom	pl	neut
13.01.2			45	acc	sg	fem
13.12.3	proper noun		45	acc	sg	fem
13.12.3	proper noun		45	nom	sg	masc
13.12.3	Rhetorical Term		45	acc	sg	fem
13.13-14.1			45	nom	sg	fem
13.13-14.2	Rhetorical Term		45	acc	sg	fem
13.16.1			45	nom	sg	fem
13.16.1			45	nom	sg	fem
13.19.3			45	acc	sg	fem
13.21.3		Stoic	45	acc	sg	fem
13.21.3			45	dat	sg	fem
13.22.4	Rhetorical Term		45	acc	sg	fem
13.23.1		Stoic	45	nom	sg	fem
13.24.1			45	nom	pl	fem
13.25.3		Epicurean	45	acc	pl	fem
13.27.1			45	nom	sg	fem
13.27.1			45	nom	sg	neut
13.27.1			45	nom	sg	neut

13.27.1			45	nom	sg	neut
13.27.1			45	nom	sg	fem
13.29.1			45	acc	sg	neut
13.30.1			45	nom	pl	fem
13.31.2			45	gen	sg	fem
13.32.2	proper noun		45	gen	sg	fem
13.32.2			45	acc	sg	masc
13.32.3			45	acc	sg	masc
13.33.2			45	gen	sg	fem
13.33.2			45	nom	sg	fem
13.39.2			45	acc	pl	neut
13.40.1			45	nom	sg	fem
13.40.1			45	nom	sg	neut
13.52.2			45	acc	sg	fem
14.02.3			44	acc	sg	neut
14.03.2		Stoic	44	acc	sg	fem
14.03.2		Epicurean, Stoic	44	acc	sg	fem
14.04.2			44	nom	pl	masc
14.05.3			44	gen	sg	masc
14.07.2			44	nom	sg	masc
14.10.3			44	acc	sg	fem
14.11.1			44	acc	sg	fem
14.15.1			44	acc	sg	fem
14.21.4	proper noun		44	acc	sg	masc
14.22.1	Rhetorical Term	Stoic	44	acc	sg	fem
15.02.4	proper noun		44	acc	sg	masc
15.04.2	Rhetorical Term		44	nom	sg	fem
15.04.3			44	nom	sg	fem
15.12.2		Stoic	44	dat	sg	fem
15.12.2			44	acc	pl	masc
15.14.4		Stoic	44	acc	pl	fem
15.16.0		Stoic	44	acc	sg	fem

15.16a	Rhetorical Term		44	nom	sg	fem
15.19.2			44	nom	sg	neut
15.1a.2	proper noun		44	gen	sg	masc
15.1a.2	Rhetorical Term	Stoic	44	nom	sg	fem
15.21.2		Stoic	44	acc	sg	fem
15.29.2			44	nom	sg	masc
16.03.1			44	acc	sg	neut
16.03.1			44	acc	sg	neut
16.05.3			44	dat	sg	fem
16.05.4			44	nom	sg	fem
16.05.5		Epicurean, Stoic	44	nom	sg	fem
16.06.4			44	acc	sg	neut
16.07.3			44	dat	sg	neut
16.07.6			44	nom	sg	fem
16.08.2			44	acc	sg	fem
16.09.0			44	nom	sg	fem
16.11.1			44	acc	pl	neut
16.11.2	Rhetorical Term		44	nom	sg	fem
16.11.2			44	dat	sg	fem
16.11.3	Rhetorical Term		44	acc	sg	fem
16.11.3			44	nom	sg	masc
16.11.6		Epicurean	44	nom	sg	fem
16.12.0	proper noun		44	dat	sg	masc
16.15.2			44	acc	sg	fem

Quotations

Citation	Source	Year	Introduction
01.01.4	Il. 12	65	
01.12.1	Menander	61	
01.15.1	Il. 22	61	
01.16.5	Il. 16	61	
01.19.02	Strattis, Phoenessae	60	

01.19.08	Epicharmus	60	Epicharmus, vafer ille Siculus
01.19.10	Plutarch	60	
01.20.3	Rhinton	60	Nam, ut ait Rhinton, ut opinor,..
02.03.4	Il.12	60	
02.05.1	Il. 6/12	60	
02.05.1	Il.12	60	
02.07.4	Sophocles.	60	ut ait tuus amicus Sophocles
02.09.3	Il.24	59	
02.11.0	Od. 9	59	
02.16.2	Sophocles.	59	
02.16.4	Il. 6	59	
02.25.1	Eur. Andr, Phoen	59	illud praeceptum
04.07.2	Od. 22	56	
04.07.3	Od. 17	56	
04.08.1	Sophocles, Tyro	56	
04.08a.2	New Comedy	56	
04.11.2	Menander	55	
04.15.7	Il. 23	54	
06.01.16	unknown	50	
06.01.23	Il.7	50	
06.01.8	Euripides	50	
06.03.1	unknown	50	
06.08.5	Euripides	50	
06.09.3	Callimachus	50	
07.01.2	Od. 9	50	
07.01.4	Il. 6	50	
07.01.4	Il.22	50	
07.01.9	Il.18	50	
07.03.5	Eurip, via Atticus	50	ut scribis
07.06.2	Od. 12	50	
07.08.4	Il.18	50	
07.11.1	Euripides	49	

07.11.3	Il. 9	49	
07.12.3	Il. 6	49	
07.13.4	Euripides	49	
07.18.4	Pseudo Hesiod	49	Ego autem, etsi illud ψευδησιόδειον (ita enim putatur) observo…
08.05.1	something Alexandrine prob.	49	
08.08.2	Euripides	49	
08.16.2	Il. 6	49	
09.05.3	Il.18	49	Ego igitur, sicut ille apud Homerum, cui et mater et dea dixisset
09.06.4	Il. 10	49	
09.06.6	Il.10	49	
09.07.3	Od. 11	49	
09.07.5	Leonidas or Hesiod?	49	
09.08.2	Od.3	49	Hic ego vellem habere Homeri illam Minervam simulatam Mentori, cui dicerem.
09.09.4	Il. 4	49	
09.13.1	Stesichorus	49	
09.13.4	Plato	49	inquit Πλατων
09.15.3	Od. 20	49	
09.15.4	Od. 3	49	ut ait ille
09.2a.2	Euripides	49	
10.01.1	Il.22 reported speech	49	
10.05.2	Herodotus	49	
10.08.7	Thucydides	49	ut ait Thucydides…ut ait idem
10.12a.1	Il. 18	49	
13.11.1	Euripides	45	
13.12.3	Hesiod	45	Nam hoc etiam Hesiodus ascribit
13.21a.1	Zenobius	45	
13.25.3	Il. 11	45	ut scis
13.38.2	Pindar	45	
14.12.1	unknown	44	
14.13.1	Il. 9	44	
14.13.2	Il. 5	44	

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