

## ἔγραψέ μοι γάρ ... τὰ νῦν οὖν γράφω σοι<sup>1</sup>

### οὖν and γάρ as inferential and elaborative discourse markers in Greek papyrus letters (I – IV AD)

KLAAS BENTEIN  
GHENT UNIVERSITY

**Abstract:** I analyse the use of the particles οὖν and γάρ in a corpus of documentary texts ranging from the first to the fourth century AD. I attempt to answer three main research questions: (i) with what frequency are οὖν and γάρ used; was one of these particles used more frequently than the other?; (ii) what are the functional/syntactic similarities and differences between the two particles; (iii) are there signs of functional development? My observations are framed within ‘discourse marker theory’, whereby οὖν and γάρ are viewed as ‘inferential’ and ‘elaborative’ discourse markers.

## 1 Introduction

Ancient Greek, it is sometimes claimed, lost its particles by Byzantine times. Egea, for example, presents the history of the Greek language as ‘the loss of particles’: ‘la historia de la lengua griega desde el ático clásico hasta el de la koiné es, en cierto modo, la historia de la desaparición de estas partículas’.<sup>2</sup> This constitutes, of course, an over-generalisation: Modern Greek still preserves a rich variety of so-called modal particles, such as *ας*, *θα*, *να*, *μην*, *που*, etc., next to sentence-connective particles such as *αλλά*, *άρα*, *και*, *λοιπόν*, etc. Nevertheless, it is true that the range of particles became significantly reduced. This is a process which first took place during the Post-classical period (III BC - VI AD), and which is typically attributed to the switch from a pitch to a stress accent, and the functional overlap between different particles.

Somewhat surprisingly, few studies exist on the use of particles in the Post-classical period: Thrall<sup>3</sup> and Blomqvist,<sup>4</sup> both of which were written almost half a century ago, deal with earlier prose texts (between the third century BC and the first century AD).<sup>5</sup> As such, questions of usage and development remain, to a large extent, unanswered. The only area where some studies have been undertaken is the New Testament: especially noteworthy in this regard are the books by Levinsohn,<sup>6</sup> Heckert,<sup>7</sup> and most recently

---

<sup>1</sup> P.Petaus.29, ll. 7-10 (II AD).

<sup>2</sup> EGEA, 1993, p. 294-295. I borrow this quote from SOLTIC, 2014, p. 136-137.

<sup>3</sup> THRALL, 1962.

<sup>4</sup> BLOMQVIST, 1969.

<sup>5</sup> For some more recent observations, see WAHLGREN, 1995, p. 89-123.

<sup>6</sup> LEVINSOHN, 1987.

<sup>7</sup> HECKERT, 1996.

Black.<sup>8</sup> Documentary sources, on the other hand, which, thanks to their long time-span and potentially<sup>9</sup> low-level language provide a key witness, have received almost no scholarly attention. Mayser<sup>10</sup> briefly discusses the Ptolemaic papyri, but, as is well known, there is no syntax of the Roman and Byzantine papyri.<sup>11</sup>

In the present article, I intend to analyse the use of οὐν and γάρ in documentary sources, letters in particular.<sup>12</sup> Most studies agree that both particles remained into use during the entire Post-classical period, although some scholars have noted that οὐν was used less frequently in the New Testament (with the exception of John's gospel).<sup>13</sup> As such, the first research question which I intend to answer is with what frequency the two particles were used in the papyri, and whether one was used more frequently than the other. In terms of usage, studies generally stress the similarities between the two particles:<sup>14</sup> Black,<sup>15</sup> for example, argues that 'both are concerned with inferential relationships in discourse'.<sup>16</sup> The second research question is therefore what the functional/syntactic similarities and differences between the two particles are: what kind of semantic import do they have, what is their 'scope', where are they placed in the sentence, etc. In this context, it will also be interesting to link the use of the two particles to the different parts of the Ancient letter, a genre which had a rather fixed format. The third and final research question which I hope to answer is whether and to what extent the two particles developed uses other than the inferential one. Blass & Debrunner,<sup>17</sup> for example, note with regard to οὐν in the New Testament that 'natürlich gibt es nicht immer streng ursächliche, sondern auch in freier Weise eine zeitliche Verknüpfung an, leitet also die Erzählung fort, bzw. führt zum Hauptthema zurück.'

The article is structured as follows: in §2, I discuss the theoretical framework that has been chosen for the present investigation; in §3, I give some more background on the corpus, as well as the form of the Ancient letter. In §4, I analyse the use of οὐν and γάρ as 'inferential' (§4.1) and 'elaborative' (§4.2) discourse markers. In §5, I briefly

---

<sup>8</sup> BLACK, 2002.

<sup>9</sup> For further considerations, see BENTEIN, 2015b.

<sup>10</sup> MASYER, 1934.

<sup>11</sup> For some recent observations with regard to the Ptolemaic papyri, see CLARYSSE, 2010; EVANS, 2010.

<sup>12</sup> See further §3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. REIMER, 1985, p. 30; TONNET, 1987, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> In Classical Greek, the two particles could even be combined (see DENNISTON, 1954, p. 445-448; BAKKER, 2009). For an isolated example from the documentary papyri, see P.Brem.55, l. 2 (113-120 AD).

<sup>15</sup> BLACK, 2002, p. 280.

<sup>16</sup> See further §2.

<sup>17</sup> BLASS & DEBRUNNER, 1979, p. 381.

elaborate on other linguistic means to express inferential relationships. In §6, I conclude the article.

## 2 Discourse marker theory

As in other parts of Greek grammar, there has been a considerable debate about the ‘meaning’ of particles.<sup>18</sup> Older studies –Denniston<sup>19</sup> being the most well-known example – tend to subcategorise particles for very specific meanings.<sup>20</sup> Moulton & Geden<sup>21</sup> recognise as much as eight different uses for οὐν:<sup>22</sup> (i) *inference (logical consequence)*, (ii) *consequent command or exhortation*, (iii) *consequent effect or response*, (iv) *inferential question*, (v) *summary (a final inference, a conclusive statement)*, (vi) *adversative*, (vii) *continuation or resumption of narrative*, and (viii) *continuation of discussion*.

In more recent years, scholars have attributed such very specific values to the influence of context, and described the use of particles in very general terms, focusing on their occurrence in discourse.<sup>23</sup> This approach was particularly stimulated by scholars working within the Dutch school of linguistics, such as Sicking & van Ophuijsen, Wakker, and Bakker & Wakker.<sup>24</sup> Sicking & van Ophuijsen,<sup>25</sup> for example, define οὐν as follows:

‘οὐν marks a difference in what may be called “status” between what precedes and what follows, where this status may be defined in terms of *relevance*: the speaker marks what precedes as relevant, and for the present purpose subsidiary, *to what follows*, and by extension to the story or argument as a whole.’

While such an account has some obvious advantages, and is generally favoured nowadays, it is not without its disadvantages either. First, the characterisations of particles that are offered are very general in nature: they do not provide much insight into the actual use of particles in context. Second, a comparative approach is missing: each particle is given a very general characterisation, but there is no comparison of the use of different particles; also, research on other languages than Greek (and perhaps Latin) is not taken into account (that is, there is no ‘cross-linguistic’ perspective). Third, such an approach does not invite diachronic considerations: it does not take into account the fact

---

<sup>18</sup> Compare e.g. BENTEIN, 2014 on the perfect.

<sup>19</sup> DENNISTON, 1954.

<sup>20</sup> What is called the ‘maximalist’ view, see e.g. BLACK, 2002, p. 51.

<sup>21</sup> MOULTON & GEDEN, 1978, p. 1104.

<sup>22</sup> I borrow this reference from LARSEN, 1991, p. 38.

<sup>23</sup> What is called the ‘minimalist’ view, see e.g. BLACK, 2002, p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> SICKING & VAN OPHUIJSEN, 1993; WAKKER, 1994; BAKKER & WAKKER, 2009.

<sup>25</sup> SICKING & VAN OPHUIJSEN, 1993, p. 27.

that the more a particle is used in a specific context, the more that context will become part of the meaning of the particle.

For these reasons, I will adopt so-called 'discourse marker theory', following recent studies by Loudová<sup>26</sup> and Soltic<sup>27</sup> on Post-classical and Byzantine Greek. Research on so-called 'discourse markers'<sup>28</sup> goes back to the 1980s, at which time it was mainly concentrated on English.<sup>29</sup> By now, scholars working within this framework have investigated a multitude of languages, such as English, French, Latin, Modern Greek, Hebrew, etc., also making cross-linguistic comparisons.<sup>30</sup>

One of the main proponents of the theory, Bruce Fraser, offers the following definition of the central notion 'discourse marker': 'for an expression to be a DM [discourse marker] it must be acceptable in the sequence S1-DM+S2, where S1 and S2 are discourse segments, each representing an illocutionary force, although elision may have occurred'.<sup>31</sup> He furthermore specifies three necessary and sufficient conditions that a discourse marker must meet:<sup>32</sup>

- (i) 'a DM is a lexical expression, for example, *but, so, and in addition*';<sup>33</sup>
- (ii) 'in a sequence of discourse segments S1-S2, a DM must occur as a part of the second discourse segment, S2';
- (iii) 'a DM does not contribute to the semantic meaning of the segment but signals a specific semantic relationship which holds between the interpretation of the two Illocutionary Force segments, S1 and S2'.

Most important for our present purposes is that scholars working within this framework have established a typology of discourse markers, which can be applied across languages. Fraser,<sup>34</sup> among others, recognises three general groups – *inferential, ela-*

---

<sup>26</sup> LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, 2009b.

<sup>27</sup> SOLTIC, 2013, 2014, 2015.

<sup>28</sup> A number of other terms are also (less frequently) used, sometimes with a slightly different meaning (e.g. 'pragmatic marker', 'discourse particle', 'pragmatic particle', 'pragmatic expression', 'discourse connective', etc.); I will not go further into this terminological issue here.

<sup>29</sup> See e.g. the foundational study by SCHIFFRIN, 1987.

<sup>30</sup> For further bibliography, see e.g. <http://people.bu.edu/bfraser/Guidelines%20for%20DM%20Research/Guidelines%20for%20Research%20in%20Discourse%20Markers.doc>.

<sup>31</sup> FRASER, 2009, p. 5. Note that for Ancient Greek, this excludes focus particles such as *γε* and modal particles such as *ἄν*.

<sup>32</sup> FRASER, 2009, p. 5-7. BRINTON, 1996, p. 33-35 offers a more extensive list of typical features of discourse markers.

<sup>33</sup> Thus excluding syntactic structures and prosodic features.

<sup>34</sup> FRASER, 1999.

*borative*, and *contrastive* discourse markers – which can be further subdivided, as shown in Table 1 for English.

**Table 1: Functional classes of discourse markers**<sup>35</sup>

Type	Definition	Examples	Subclasses
Contrastive discourse markers (CDMs)	CDMs signal a direct or indirect contrast between S1 and S2	<i>but, even so, however, nevertheless, notwithstanding, on the contrary, etc.</i>	a. but b. however, (al)though c. in contrast, whereas d. despite (doing) this/that, nevertheless, nonetheless, still e. ...
Elaborative discourse markers (EDMs)	EDMs signal an elaboration in S2 to the information contained in S1	<i>and, after all, besides, for example, in addition, in other words, likewise, etc.</i>	a. and b. above all, also, besides, furthermore c. I mean, in particular, namely, that is d. be that as it may, otherwise, that said e. ...
Inferential discourse markers (IDMs)	IDMs signal that S1 provides a basis for inferring S2	<i>so, as a conclusion, as a result, consequently, hence, then, therefore, thus, etc.</i>	a. so b. of course c. accordingly, as a consequence, as a result, hence, therefore, thus d. in that case, under those conditions, then e. ...

Applying this typology to the particles under investigation in this article, οὐν and γάρ, has some advantages, I would argue: there is an obvious focus on discourse, but we are still working with relatively concrete categories. These categories can be applied to different particles and languages, inviting comparative observations. Moreover, from a diachronic point of view, a shift in meaning can be described as a shift from one to the other type or subclass.

### 3 Background: the Ancient letter

The present study focuses on letters from the first four centuries AD. To keep the corpus manageable, I focus specifically on letters contained within so-called ‘archives’, that is, groups of texts that have been collected in antiquity by persons or institutions, for example because they were useful and needed to be kept, or because they had senti-

<sup>35</sup> Based on FRASER, 1999, 2009.

mental value.<sup>36</sup> This results in a corpus of 920 letters, with an average length of about 18 lines per letter.

In Roman times, letter writing was a common form of communication. It probably originated from official correspondence between and within Ancient states.<sup>37</sup> Scholars commonly recognise a number of epistolary types: official letters, business letters, private letters, letters of recommendation, etc.<sup>38</sup> Three main purposes can be identified in these letters:<sup>39</sup> (1) to convey information, (2) to make requests, (3) to enhance/maintain personal contact.

Ancient letters constitute what Kuiper<sup>40</sup> calls a 'formulaic genre': they are governed by so-called 'discourse-structure rules', that is, they contain a number of fixed structural parts, which are introduced by a number of stock phrases (e.g. an opening formula, a disclosure formula, a closing formula, etc.).<sup>41</sup> Scholars generally distinguish between three main structural parts, that is, an 'opening', a 'body', and a 'closing'.<sup>42</sup> Each of these general parts can be further subdivided. Below, an overview is given of the structural make-up of the Ancient letter.

---

<sup>36</sup> VANDORPE, 2009, p. 238-240. For a list of these archives, see appendix.

<sup>37</sup> WHITE, 1988, p. 85.

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. WHITE, 1988, p. 88-95. The exact definition of these different types, which is a contentious matter, will not further concern us here.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. WHITE, 1988, p. 95.

<sup>40</sup> KUIPER, 2009.

<sup>41</sup> On these formulaic phrases, see e.g. EXLER, 1923; WHITE, 1972, 1978; NACHTERGAELE, 2015. STEEN, 1938 has drawn attention to the fact that letters also contain other conventional language, which he calls 'epistolary clichés' ('expressions which either soften or intensify epistolary formulas'; WHITE, 1978, p. 309). WHITE, 1972, p. 10-17, 36-37, also discusses a number of 'non-formulaic transitional devices'.

<sup>42</sup> WHITE, 1988, p. 96, notes that the three general purposes of letters can be related to the three main structural parts: the staying-in-touch aspect of the letter is established mainly through the opening and closing, while the more specific occasions of the letter, that is, the conveying of information and the making of requests are mainly established through the body.

**Table 2: Structural parts of the Ancient letter**<sup>43</sup>

I.	Letter opening
a.	Prescript (e.g. A to B χαίρειν)
b.	Proem (e.g. εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν)
II.	Letter body
a.	Body opening (e.g. θέλω σε γινώσκειν)
b.	Body middle (e.g. καλῶς ἂν ποιήσας)
c.	Body closing (e.g. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας εὐχαριστήσεις ἡμῖν)
III.	Letter closing
a.	Epilogue (μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης)
b.	Postscript (e.g. ἀσπάζου τὰ τέκνα σου, ἔρρωσο)
IV.	(Address [verso])

It is important to note, however, that writers did not feel obliged to follow this pattern exactly: for example, in business letters, where conveying information or making requests are primordial, the opening and closing can often be quite minimal.<sup>44</sup> Writers of literary letters, on the other hand, could often be much more elaborate than what was usually the case.

For a short illustration, consider the following letter:

- (1) Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίω τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. καλῶς ποιήσεις συνελθὼν Αἰλουρίωνι τῷ κομίζοντί σοι τὸ ἐπ[ι]στ[ό]λιον, ὅπως εἰς τὴν ἑωρτὴν περιστερεΐδια ἡμεῖν ἀγοράσῃ, καὶ ἐρωτηθεῖς κατελθὼν συνευωχηθῆ[ς] ἡμεῖν. τοῦτ[ο] οὖν ποιήσας ἔση μοι μεγάλην χάριταν κατ[α]τ[ε]θειμ[έ]νο(ς). ἄσπασαι τοὺς σοὺς πάντας, ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους) τρίτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Παχ(ών) ιε. [verso] εἰς Βακχιάδα [ἀπόδος Ἀπολλωνίω] τῷ τιμιωτ[ά(τωι)] (BGU.2.596, ll. 1-18 (84 AD))

“Didymus to his most honoured Apollōnius, greetings. You will do well to accompany Ailuriōn, who brings you this letter, so that he can buy us pigeons for the party. Please, come down and join us in the celebration. When you will have done this, you will have done me a great favour. Greet all your relatives. Farewell. In the third year of the emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Pachon 15. [Verso] In Bacchias [give to Apollōnius] the most honoured one.”<sup>45</sup>

This letter presents most of the structural parts mentioned above. In the letter opening, we have a prescript (Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίω τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν). The letter body does not have a clear opening: Didymus asks Apollonius right away to accompany the person who delivers the letter. The letter body closes with the formula τοῦτ[ο] οὖν ποιήσας ἔση

<sup>43</sup> Based on KLAUCK, 2006, p. 42. Cf. also WHITE, 1988, p. 97.

<sup>44</sup> See WHITE, 1988, p. 96.

<sup>45</sup> Translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.

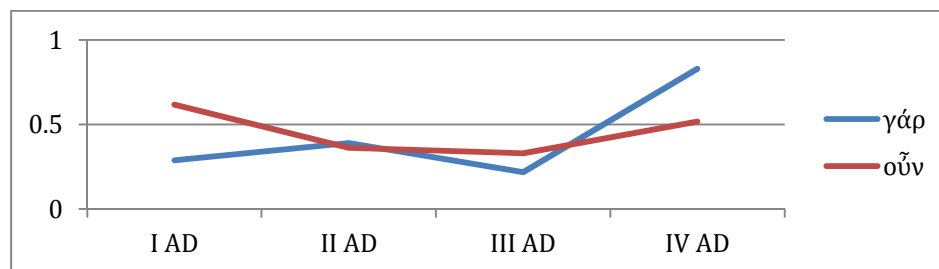
μοι μεγάλην χάριταν κατ[α]τεθειμ[έ]νο(ς). The letter closing has a postscript (ἄσπασαι), and a short farewell (ἔρρωσο). Afterwards, we find the dating, and on the verso-side the address.

## 4 Analysis

### 4.1 Inference

Both οὖν and γάρ occur relatively frequently in our corpus: for γάρ, there are 347 instances, and for οὖν 355.<sup>46</sup> Figure 1 shows the number of attestations of each particle divided by the total number of letters per century:

**Figure 1: Frequency of occurrence of οὖν and γάρ in Greek papyrus letters (I-IV AD)**



This figure shows that οὖν was used slightly more frequently up until the third century AD. In the fourth century, however, there are almost twice as many examples for γάρ as there are for οὖν. Studies have argued that γάρ remained much longer in use than οὖν,<sup>47</sup> so these numbers could be taken to foreshadow a later development. Further research on the Byzantine documentary papyri is needed to confirm this hypothesis, however.

In terms of the three functional classes of discourse markers established in §2, γάρ and οὖν can be considered inferential discourse markers.<sup>48</sup> Bearth<sup>49</sup> notes that inferential processes can be analysed into three phases '(1) the emergence of a verbal or non-verbal trigger (the source of the inference) as part of ongoing discourse activity, (2) the mediating phase (the single verbal utterance or the verbal exchange carrying the

<sup>46</sup> Some texts contain a particularly high number of attestations of one or both particles. See e.g. P.Tebt.2.315 (II AD); P.Hamb.1.54 (III AD); P.Herm.6 (317 AD); P.Lond.6.1914 (335 AD?); P.Herm.7 (IV AD); P.Neph.1 (IV AD).

<sup>47</sup> LOUDOVÁ, 2014, for example, referring to TONNET, 1987, argues that οὖν disappeared between the seventh and the eleventh century AD, while γάρ was frequent until the fourteenth century AD.

<sup>48</sup> For the 'original' meaning of γάρ and οὖν, see DES PLACES, 1929, p. 5-10; DENNISTON, 1954, p. 57, 416-417. There are several instances of γάρ in exclamations in our corpus (so-called 'asseverative' γάρ). See e.g. P.Abinn.18, l. 12 (342-51 AD); P.Oxy.48.3397r, l. 5 (IV AD); P.Oxy.48.3417, l. 16 (IV AD).

<sup>49</sup> BEARTH, 1997, p. 2.



inferential operation), and (3) the target (the inferential proposition which the speaker intends to be accepted by the addressee)'. Following this scheme, we can say that both οὖν and γάρ are operative in the mediating phase, but work in different directions (that is, they represent different subclasses of Greek inferential discourse markers).<sup>50</sup> This can be represented as follows:<sup>51</sup>

(2) trigger – [οὖν – target]

(3) target – [γάρ – trigger]

For an illustration from our corpus, consider the following two examples:

(4) ἔγραψάς μοι λέγων ὅτι Γάιος πέπρακέ τι. ἐρωτῶ σε **οὖν**, ἄδελφε, ἵνα μάθῃς τί πέπρακεν, καὶ ἀντίγραψόν μοι (P.Mich.8.475, ll. 8-12 (II AD))<sup>52</sup>

“You wrote me, saying that Gaius has sold something. I therefore ask you, brother, to find out what he has sold, and write to me.” [tr. Youtie & Winter]

(5) τὸ π[έ]νθ[ος] μοι ἐκάστης ἡμέρ[ας] προβιβάζω. ἔτι **γὰρ** οὐδεὶς ὧν ἐ[χ]ρηι κομίσει ὑμῖν ἐπι[σ]τολ[ά]ς χ[ω]ρίς τοῦ [Φ]ιβ[ᾶ]ς ἀνέπλευσεν (P.Sarap.88, ll. 3-7 (II AD))

“Ma peine augmente tous les jours, car aucun de ceux qui devaient vous apporter des lettres n'est parti, sauf Phibas.” [tr. Schwartz]

In (4), Papirius Apollinarius mentions the fact that Claudius Tiberianus has told him that Gaius has sold something. This serves as a trigger for an inferential proposition, which is mediated by οὖν, namely that Papirius wishes to know from Claudius exactly what Gaius has sold. In (5), the order is reversed: we first get the inferential proposition, namely that Heliodorus is in agony. The trigger or source of this agony, which is introduced by γάρ, is the fact that no messenger has left to carry letters to the addressee, Anoubion, except for a certain Phibas.

It should be mentioned, however, that the reasoning process is not always that clear. The same was observed by Denniston<sup>53</sup> with regard to the Classical period, when he writes that ‘the connexion of thought is sometimes lacking in logical precision’. Consider the following two examples:

<sup>50</sup> Compare ALTENBERG, 1984, p. 24, and LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, p. 298, with regard to Ancient Greek.

<sup>51</sup> Note that the two particles always accompany the second part of the inferential process, which is indicated by the square brackets.

<sup>52</sup> For the sake of clarity, instances of οὖν and γάρ are indicated in bold.

<sup>53</sup> DENNISTON, 1954, p. 61.

- (6) ἀπαξαπλῶς πέμψον μοι ὀλίγα, καὶ ἐν τίχῃ πέμπω σοι αὐτά, οἶδα **γὰρ** ὅτι ποιεῖς πλέον τὰ εἴρηκά σοι (P.Abinn.6, ll. 18-21 (342-51 AD))

“Send me anyhow a few, and I will quickly send them to you, for I know that you do more than what I have told you.” [tr. Bell *et al.*]

- (7) [Ἐπέσ]τιλας δηλωθῆναί σοι τὸν ἀρι[θμὸν] τῷ καλάμου τοῦ μετενεχθέν[τος] ἀπὸ τῆς κτήσεως. Μετηνέχθη **[οὔν]** [μυ]ριάδας θ φορτία ιβ (SB.24.16323, ll. 3-6 (249-68 AD))

“You wrote (asking) to be informed of the number of reeds transported from the ktesis; there have been transported ninety thousand, (in) 12 loads.” [tr. Salvo]

In example (6), abba Miô̄s writes to the cavalry commander Flavius Abinnaeus, asking him for a few nets to protect the crops. He promises to send them back soon, and notes that he knows that Flavius will do more than what is asked for. The inferential relationship between the two last clauses is unclear: does Miô̄s promise to send them back soon because he knows Flavius will send more nets than asked for, and hence will need them back? Example (7) is clearer: the *phrontistês* (estate manager) Heroninus writes in reply to the general manager Alypius, who had asked to report the number of reeds that have been transported. οὔν is used to indicate the answer, but accompanies μετηνέχθη directly, rather than an introductory statement of the type γίνωσκε [οὔν] ὅτι.<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, the order of thought is not always as discussed with regard to (4) and (5). Consider the following two examples:

- (8) μετέλαβον ὅτι τὰ ὀθόλνια/ εὔωνά ἐστι παρά σοι· ἠγόρασα **γὰρ** ἐνθάδε τριακοσίων δραχμῶν κ[α]ὶ οὐκ ἀρκεῖτ[α]ι (P.Giss.Apoll.21, ll. 11-14 (II AD))

“I received news that the linen cloths are cheap where you are; therefore I bought there (an amount) for 300 drachmae but it is not enough.” [tr. Bagnall & Cribiore]

- (9) ἐπιδὴ ὁ τρῶφιμός μου Ἄκωριν χρεωστὶ ἄλχυρον/ ἴνα **οὔν** ἀναλάβῃς σατῶν ἃ χρεωστὶ καὶ ὅτε μέλλεις ἐλθεῖν ἄνω ἔρχεται μετ’ εσοῦ καὶ πληρῶνι σε ὧδε ἄνω (P.Oxy.48.3411, ll. 5-15 (IV AD))

“Seeing that my foster-son, Akoris, owes you chaff - in order, then, that you can collect for yourself what he owes you - and since you are about to come up, he will come with you and pay you up here.” [tr. Chambers *et al.*]

In (8), Arsis writes to Apollonius the *strategus* and mentions the fact that she heard that the linen cloths are cheap where Apollonius resides. Whereas γὰρ normally introduces a

---

<sup>54</sup> Compare DENNISTON, 1954, p. 61: ‘compression of thought is often the source of difficulty, and formal exactitude can then be achieved by supposing an ellipse’.

trigger, in this particular example it mediates the target proposition, that is, that Arsīs has bought linen cloths for an amount of 300 drachmae.<sup>55</sup> In (9), we witness something different: we first get the target proposition, Dorotheus being able to collect what he owes himself, and then the trigger, Choūs’ foster-son Akoris coming up with Dorotheus. Note, however, that οὐ̃ν is not used with the semantics of γάρ: rather, it is the entire target proposition that is preposed, including οὐ̃ν. This moveability can be attributed to the fact that οὐ̃ν is embedded within a subordinate purpose clause, which can be more easily preposed.

As Verstraete<sup>56</sup> notes, interpreting the semantic relations which particles and conjunctions indicate does not only consist of specifying the semantic type of relation (such as inference), but also the *level* on which the relation holds. Consider the following two English examples:

(10) *John is ill because he has been out in the rain too long.*

(11) *Is John still ill, because I would like to visit him.*

In (10), the inferential relation holds between two states of affairs: John’s illness is due to him having been out in the rain for too long a period. The same cannot be said for (11), however: the fact that the speaker wants to visit John cannot be the cause of his illness. Rather, the second clause in this example indicates a reason for the speaker’s *speech act* with regard to John’s illness: the reason why the speaker asks is that he would like to visit John. In the first case, scholars speak of ‘external’ conjunction, in the second of ‘internal’ conjunction.<sup>57</sup> In our corpus, οὐ̃ν and γάρ can both function on these two levels: all of the above examples are of the ‘external’ type. However, the internal type also plays an important role in the papyri, especially when it comes to οὐ̃ν. Consider the following examples:<sup>58</sup>

(12) εἴη δέ σε, κύ[ρι]ε ἀδελφε, κατορθώσαν[τ]α ὑγι[ῶς κατελθ]εῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα· με[θ’ ἡδο]νῆς κ[αί] χαρᾶς γάρ [ἡ]μῶν ἐπὶ τ[ὴν πατρίδ]α ἡμῖν κατα[βήσ]ει (P.Herm.6, ll. 2-25 (ca. 317-323))

<sup>55</sup> Compare DENNISTON, 1954, p. 68-70 on ‘anticipatory’ γάρ in the Classical period.

<sup>56</sup> VERSTRAETE, 1997, p. 180.

<sup>57</sup> For further discussion, see e.g. HALLIDAY & HASAN, 1976, p. 240-241; MARTIN & ROSE, 2007, p. 122-141.

<sup>58</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Brem.6, l. 6 (II AD); BGU.1.33, l. 6 (II/III AD); P.Flor.2.171, l. 12 (255 AD); P.Sakaon.55, l. 12 (IV AD).

“And so, my lord brother, may it be that you will return in good health to your native city, having put these matters to rights. It will be with joyful pleasure on our part that you will return to your city.” [tr. Matthews]

- (13) εὖ ποιήσεις συντυχῶν Πε[θ]εῦτι τῶι διάκωνι, ἵνα βάλῃ τὸν μόσχον πρὸ τῶν προβάτων ἡσασει υἱῷ . Πετεσουχ( ) Πασεῖτος καὶ ἐὰν εἴποσει ὅτι ἔνικε αὐτ[ὸ]ν, πέμψον Ἀτρῆν ἔχοντα αὐτ[ὸ]ν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν καὶ μετρησ[ά]τωι Ἀτρῆς τὸν σάκκον τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ ἐπένεκε αὐτὸν εἰς Ἡφαιστιά[δα]ν καὶ ἀλλαξέτω σε αὐτὸν Πασίων καλοῖς σπέρμασει. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσε[ις] (BGU.2.597, ll. 3-12 (75 AD))

“Sei so gut und sprich mit dem Diener Petheus, dass er das Kalb vor den Schafen treibt. Hygie und Paseis' Sohn, Petesuchos, wissen darum, und wenn sie sagen: führe es (?) fort, so sende Hatres mit ihm auf das Land, und Hatres möge den Sack mit Weizen abmessen und bringe Du ihn nach Hephaistias, and Pasion möge ihn von Dir gegen gutes Getreide eintauschen. Mögest Du also nicht auf andere Weise handeln.” [tr. Olsson]

In (12), Besodorus writes to his friend Theophanes, who has been away for some time. He expresses the wish that Theophanes may soon return, through the optative εἴη “may it be”. The particle γάρ gives the grounds for this speech act: Besodorus will be much pleased when Theophanes returns. In (13), Chairemon makes a number of requests from Apollonius the *phrontistês* (εὖ ποιήσεις συντυχῶν, πέμψον, ἐπένεκε, ἀλλαξέτω). In the last sentence, οὖν refers back to this speech act: given these requests, Apollonius should not act otherwise.

Next to this type of internal use, where the clause refers to the performance of the speech act,<sup>59</sup> Verstraete (1997, esp. 199-206) recognises a second type of internal use, which he calls ‘epistemic’.<sup>60</sup> With this second type, which occurs less frequently in our corpus, the clause gives grounds for reasoning or knowledge. Consider the following example:

- (14) πλεῖον ἢ μᾶλλον παρέχεις καὶ παρέ[σ]χες τῇ ἀδελφῇ, ὅθεν ἀνθομολογοῦμ[α]ι πᾶσιν χάριν σοι παρὰ πᾶσιν θεοῖς, ἐμαρτυρήθη γάρ μοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῆς μητρός (P.Mich.8.499, ll. 7-11 (II AD))

“You provide and have provided more than enough for our sister, and for this I acknowledge all thanks to you in the presence of all the gods; for it has been attested to me both by our sister and mother.” [tr. Youtie & Winter]

---

<sup>59</sup> Compare DENNISTON, 1954, p. 62, with regard to γάρ.

<sup>60</sup> On the difference between these two types, see further VERSTRAETE, 1997, p. 201: ‘speech act conjunction functions on the social level, justifying the performance of a speech act that constitutes a particular type of social relation between speaker and hearer, whereas epistemic conjunction functions on the rhetorical level, supporting an argumentative position the speaker has taken with regard to a particular proposition.’

Sabinianus writes to his brother Apollinarius, expressing his gratitude for the help given by the latter to their sister. γάρ does not give a reason why Apollinarius provided help, but rather explains how come Sabinianus knows that Apollinarius provided much help: both their sister and mother have told it to Sabinianus.

Connected to the discussion about *level* is that about *scope*, that is, ‘that stretch of language affected by the meaning of a particular form’.<sup>61</sup> As I have previously mentioned, οὖν and γάρ typically have scope over the entire previous sentence, but this is not always the case. οὖν, for example, can have scope over an entire complex of sentences (what is called ‘wide scope’), especially when it occurs in its ‘internal’ use, as we have seen in our previous example (13).<sup>62</sup>

Another interesting example in this regard is P.Mich.8.466 (107 AD), a letter from Gaius Iulius Apollinarius to his father Sabinus. Gaius complains that his father has not informed him about his health yet in ll. 8-9 of the letter: οὐπω μοι ἀντέγραψες περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου “not yet have you answered me concerning your health”. He then continues to tell him about his life in the legion. It is only 25 (!) lines later that Gaius returns to the issue of his father’s health, when he writes ἐὰν οὖν με φιλήῃς εὐθέως ἐργασίαν δώσις γράψαι μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου “if then, you love me, you will straightway take pains to write me concerning your health”. This example shows that the sentence containing οὖν does not necessarily have to be contiguous to the discourse-segment it relates to.<sup>63</sup>

γάρ can also be used with wide(r) scope,<sup>64</sup> as shown in (15):<sup>65</sup>

- (15) γράψον Κουπανηοῦτι περὶ τῆς οἰκίας· ἐπὶ γάρ λέγει Ταῆσις· οὐ δίδωμι ἐνοίκιον· ὀφείλ[ει] γάρ μοι χαλκὸν ἅντι/ τῶν ἐνοικίων (BGU.3.822, ll. 9-12 (105 AD))

“Write to Koupaneous about the house, for Taesis is saying, ‘I’m not paying the rent’. For she owes me money for the rent.” [tr. Bagnall & Cribiore]

Thermouthas writes to Apollinarius, and asks him to write to a certain Cupaneus. The motivation for this request is explained in a γάρ-clause: Taesis, the tenant, does not want to pay the rent. Interestingly, however, another γάρ-clause is added, in which we read a

---

<sup>61</sup> CRYSTAL, 2008, 424.

<sup>62</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. BGU.2.597, l. 20 (75 AD); BGU.2.417, l. 26 (II/III AD).

<sup>63</sup> Compare FRASER, 2006, p. 191, who notes that some discourse markers relate non-contiguous segments.

<sup>64</sup> Compare DENNISTON, 1954, p. 63 on wide-scope γάρ. See further BLACK, 2002, p. 279-280.

<sup>65</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. SB.24.15909, l. 7 (6 AD); P.Abinn.10, l. 19 (342-351 AD).

similar motivation: Taesis owes Thermouthas money for the rent. Note how this clause too relates to the request, rather than to the previous γάρ-clause.<sup>66</sup>

Interestingly, οὖν and especially γάρ can also have much narrower scope.<sup>67</sup> They can connect to a clause in the previous or present sentence,<sup>68</sup> or even individual words,<sup>69</sup> as shown in the following two examples:

- (16) παρακαλοῦμέν σε, δέσποτα πάτερ, μὴ θελήσης ἐντυχῖν διὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ διὰ ὄλην τὴν κώμην, ἵνα μὴ οὔτοι ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐρημώσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καταξίωσον **οὖν** ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ εἴ τι θέλεις κέλευσον καὶ γίγνεται (P.Neph.19, ll. 4-10 (IV AD))

“Wir bitten Dich, Herr Vater, um Gottes und des ganzen Dorfes willen, beabsichtige nicht, eine Klageschrift einzureichen, damit diese Leute uns nicht alle vernichten, sonder es möge Dir belieben, zu uns zu kommen. Befiehl, was immer Du willst, und es wird geschehen.” [tr. Shelton]

- (17) ἐξ ὧν ἔγραψεν ὁ πατήρ Ἰέραξ χάριν ἔχω τῇ διαθέσει σου, ἀδελφὲ κύριε, ὅτι τὸ σφάλμα ἐβουλήθης διορθώσασθαι. δέον **γάρ** σε ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ τ[ῆ]ς ἐργασίας τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν πρώτοις ποιῆσαι γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ προκρίνειν ἄλλους ἡμῶν ἡμέλησας (CPR.8.28, ll. 3-9 (IV AD))

“Wegen des vom Vater Hierax Geschriebenen bin ich Deiner Wohlgeborenen dankbar, mein Herr Bruder, weil Du den Fehltritt wieder gutmachen wolltest. Während es nämlich notwendig gewesen wäre, dass Du in der Hauptzeit der Arbeit in erster Linie unsere Angelegenheiten besorgst und andere nicht bevorzugst, hast Du uns hinangesetzt.” [tr. Worp]

In (16), a community writes to father Paul, asking that he does not submit a petition, so that they won’t be destroyed. Rather, the community asks that Paul comes to them, and orders whatever he wants. Note how the trigger for οὖν is not the previous sentence, but rather a part of the present sentence, that is, μὴ θελήσης ἐντυχῖν. οὖν evokes the consequences of not submitting a petition, that is, coming to the community. In (17), Dioscurides writes that he has heard from a certain father Hierax that Nearchides has admitted his mistake. The γάρ-clause forms the trigger for a single word, that is, τὸ σφάλμα.

From a purely syntactic point of view, οὖν and γάρ are normally placed at the beginning of the sentence, in second position: in this position, the particles can split the article and its noun, the auxiliary and its complement, the subject of the genitive absolute and the

---

<sup>66</sup> Compare DENNISTON, 1954, p. 64-65, with regard to Archaic/Classical Greek.

<sup>67</sup> Compare DENNISTON, 1954, p. 65-66, on narrow-scope γάρ.

<sup>68</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Giss.Apoll.22, l. 7 (116-120 AD); P.Brem.20, l. 9 (II AD); P.Lond.6.1915, l. 16 (330-340 AD?); P.Herm.8, l. 14 (IV AD); P.Oxy.48.3404 (IV AD), l. 10.

<sup>69</sup> For a similar example, see e.g. P.Herm.2, l. 9 (317 AD).

participle, the preposition and its noun, etc.<sup>70</sup> It is to be noted, however, that this syntactic rule is not always upheld:<sup>71</sup> we also find our particles in third, fourth, fifth, and in one exceptional case even seventh position.<sup>72</sup> In these cases, the particles are placed *after* word groups that have a strict semantic connection,<sup>73</sup> such as the ones mentioned above.<sup>74</sup>

The repeated use of οὖν in one and the same sentence is another syntactic peculiarity worth mentioning:<sup>75</sup>

- (18) καθ' αὐτήν **οὖν** τὴν ὄψιν μὴ πισθεὶς **οὖν** τοῖς καρπῶναις τὴν τρύγην ποίησε καὶ οὕτως μοι ἐπίστειλον (P.Fay.133, ll. 11-3 (260 AD))

“As soon therefore as you see this, don't listen to the fruit-buyers, but hold the vintage, and when you do, send me word.” [tr. Hunt *et al.*]

Alypius writes a letter to the *phrontistês* (estate manager) Heroninus, giving him some advice about the vintage wine. At the end of the letter, he concludes that Heroninus should not listen to the fruit-buyers, but follow his own (Alypius') advice. Note how οὖν is used with two word groups, each of which it splits: καθ' αὐτήν τὴν ὄψιν and μὴ πισθεὶς τοῖς καρπῶναις.

Furthermore, οὖν and γάρ can occur in second position in a clause situated towards the end of the sentence,<sup>76</sup> as we have seen in (16), or in a parenthesis, as shown in the following example:<sup>77</sup>

- (19) ἐν ἐτύμως δὲ ἔχε τὰς σιπιπῖα, φέρω **γάρ** τοὺς κοινηγοὺς ἐρχόμενος, ἵνα τὰ λῖνα ποιήσομεν (P.Abinn.31, ll. 18-19 (342-351 AD))

“And keep the hempen cords ready, for I shall bring the huntsmen when I come, so that we may make the nets.” [tr. Bell *et al.*]

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. τὰ **γάρ** ἐργατικά μου κτήνη (P.Flor.2.127, ll. 20-21 (256 AD)); ἔμελλον **γάρ** ἀνελθῖν (P.Abinn.28, l. 20 (342-351 AD)); Θεοῦ **γάρ** θέλογτος (P.Oxy.48.3418, l. 7 (IV AD)); διὰ **γάρ** τὴν [σ]ῆ[ν] πρόν[ο]ια[ν] (BGU.1.248, l. 9 (ca. 75-76 AD)).

<sup>71</sup> Compare BROSCHMANN, 1881, p. 84-89, DES PLACES, 1929, p. 84, and DENNISTON, 1954, p. 95-98, with regard to Classical Greek. On Post-classical Greek, see further HORROCKS, 2010, p. 104.

<sup>72</sup> In P.Ammon.1.3, 4, l. 10 (348 AD), γάρ seems to be used in sentence-initial position.

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. ἵνα τὸν αὐτοῦ (?) Ἰσίδωρον πρῶτως ἀγάγη[ς] **οὖ(?)ν** (SB.24.15909, ll. 3-4 (6 AD)); ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου **γάρ** (P.Mich.8.466, l. 36 (107 AD)); παρακα]αλῶ σε **οὖν** (P.Giss.Apoll.8, l. 14 (115 AD)); ἄρτι δ[ὲ] εὐρῶν **γάρ** τὸ[ν] ἀνερχόμενον (BGU.11.2129, ll. 10-11 (II AD)); ἥς ὥρας **οὖν** λαμβάνεις (P.Flor.2.127, l. 3 (256 AD)); διὰ τὸ φόβος **γάρ** (P.Abinn.7, l. 5 (342-351 AD)).

<sup>74</sup> Also note that γάρ always comes after μέν, which is also placed in second position. See e.g. P.Oxy.2.282, l. 6 (29-37 AD); P.Tebt.2.315, l. 16 (II AD).

<sup>75</sup> For a somewhat similar example from the same archive, see P.Flor.2.189, ll. 6-9 (267 AD).

<sup>76</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Mich.8.477, l. 36 (II AD); P.Sarap.92, l. 9 (II AD); P.Flor.2.185, l. 9 (254 AD); P.Cair.Isid.133, l. 9 (III AD); P.Ryl.2.239, ll. 10, 12 (III AD).

<sup>77</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Fay.133, l. 8 (260 AD); P.Prag.Varcl.NS.30, l. 20 (III AD); P.Neph.3, l. 6 (IV AD).

Thareotes writes to the cavalry commander Flavius Abinnaeus. He asks him to have the hempen cords ready so that nets can be made. The trigger for this request does not follow this sentence, but rather is introduced parenthetically: Thareotes will bring the huntsmen when he comes.

Most often, the two particles appear in main clauses, although it should be noted that γάρ and especially οὖν also occur quite frequently in subordinate clauses. Generally, they occur in (temporal, causal, conditional, or purposive/consequential)<sup>78</sup> *preposed* subordinate clauses,<sup>79</sup> obeying the second-position rule. Much less frequently, we find the particles in postposed subordinate clauses.<sup>80</sup> Consider the following two examples:

- (20) ἀλλ' ὄρα μὴ ἀμελήσης καὶ οὐ συνοίσει σοι· ὅταν γάρ δεήσει τὰ παρὰ σοὶ θέρη συνκομισθῆναι πλείονα ἔξει βοήθειαν καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλων τόπων βουδίω[ν] σοὶ φερομένων (P.Flor.2.150, ll. 8-11 (267 AD))

“Bada a non trasandare, chè non ti converrebbe, poichè pur tu quando avrai duopo di raunare il raccolto di tua azienda, su maggior soccorso potrai contare se giovenchi anche a te da altri luoghi vengano recati.” [tr. Comparetti]

- (21) ἐρωτῶ σε εἰ δυνατός ἐστιν πέμψον μοι ἕνα ἐξ ὑμῶν ὅτι γάρ χρίαν ἔχω ἵνα ἔκδικός μοι γεινοῦ (P.Mich.8.507, ll. 4-6 (II/III AD))

“I ask you, if you can, send me one of your group, since I need him to be my legal representative.” [tr. Youtie & Winter]

In (20), the general manager Alypius advises Heroninus to be cooperative. The trigger for this proposition is given in the next sentence: if Heroninus helps other people now, then other people will help him in the future. Note how γάρ is used in a temporal subordinate clause, but actually relates the entire sentence to the previous one. In (21), Artemis asks Socrates to find her a legal representative. The reason for this is given in a subordinate causal clause: she wants to engage in a lawsuit. Quite noticeably, γάρ is used in second position in the subordinate clause, instead of being inserted at the beginning of a new sentence.

---

<sup>78</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. *temporal*: P.Tebt.2.315, l. 27 (II AD); P.Brem.16, l. 9 (II AD); P.Flor.2.150, l. 9 (267 AD); *causal*: P.Flor.2.189, l. 6 (267 AD); P.Abinn.15, l. 4 (342-351 AD); *conditional*: P.Mich.8.466, l. 33 (107 AD); P.Mil.Vogl.2.50, ll. 6-7 (II AD); P.Mich.3.216, l. 9 (296 AD); *purposive/consequential*: P.Kron.4, l. 11 (135 AD); P.Oxy.1.59, l. 15 (292 AD).

<sup>79</sup> Less frequently, we find the particles in preposed participial and relative clauses. For some examples, see e.g. *participial clause*: P.Flor.2.171, l. 12 (255 AD); P.Mich.3.214, l. 17 (296 AD); P.Oxy.48.3418, l. 7 (IV AD); *relative clause*: PSI.12.1248, l. 20 (235 AD); P.Flor.2.209, l. 13 (III AD); P.Abinn.8, l. 20 (342-351 AD); P.Amh.2.145, l. 14 (IV AD).

<sup>80</sup> For a similar example, see P.Flor.2.271, l. 2 (III AD).



Within the larger context of the letter, too, the two particles are often used in a fixed position. Both particles occur most frequently in the body of the letter, perhaps unsurprisingly. Very frequently, οὖν accompanies the request in the body middle,<sup>81</sup> in formulaic phrases of the type εὖ (οὖν) ποιήσεις “you will do well”, ἐρωτῶ (οὖν) “I ask”, καλῶς (οὖν) ποιήσεις “you will do well”, καταξιῶσον (οὖν) “deem it worthy”, παρακαλῶ σε (οὖν) “I ask you”, πᾶν (οὖν) ποιήσον “do everything”, and παρακαλοῦμεν (οὖν) “we request”.<sup>82</sup> Consider the following example:

- (22) θαυμάζω πῶς ἀναπλεύσας οὐκ ἀντέγραψάς μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου, ἀλλὰ ἕως σήμερ[ο]ν ἀγωνιῶ διότι vac.? νωθρευόμενος ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ἐξήλθες. καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ταχύτερόν μοι ἀντιγράψαι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου (P.Mich.8.479, ll. 4-10 (II AD))

“I marvel that after you sailed upcountry you did not write to me about your well-being, but until today I have been anxious because you were indisposed when you left me. Please, then, write me a reply at once concerning your well-being.” [tr. Youtie & Winter]

Claudius Terentianus writes to his father Claudius Tiberianus. In the body of the letter, he states that he feels anxious, as his father was indisposed the last time they met. He therefore requests that his father writes to him about his health, using the formula καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις.

οὖν also appears in non-formulaic request contexts, often accompanying a verb in the indicative future, aorist subjunctive, or especially imperative.<sup>83</sup>

Especially after longer stretches of text, οὖν can be seen as a marker of *central* information:<sup>84</sup> the trigger-target sequence can be seen as a *subsidiary* - *central* pair.<sup>85</sup> In (22), for example, οὖν announces the actual request. What precedes the request is known to both parties, and can therefore be considered background.

<sup>81</sup> οὖν can also accompany a regular statement, but much less frequently. For some examples, see e.g. P.Ryl.2.230, l. 5 (40 AD); P.Giss.Apoll.34, l. 8 (113/4-120 AD); P.Brem.16, l. 9 (II AD); P.Abinn.22, l. 13 (342-351 AD).

<sup>82</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.NYU.2.18, l. 10 (19 AD); SB.10.10278, l. 14 (98-138 AD); P.Giss.Apoll.9, l. 10 (115 AD); P.Mich.8.481, l. 10 (II AD); BGU.2.601, l. 9 (II AD); P.Sarap.95, l. 5 (II AD); P.Brem.15, l. 18 (II AD); P.Neph.19, l. 8 (IV AD).

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. P.Gen.2.1.72, l. 3 (211 AD?); P.Flor.2.170, l. 5 (255 AD); P.Mil.Vogl.4.256, l. 8 (II/III AD); P.Flor.2.158, l. 5 (III AD); P.Ryl.4.607, l. 6 (314-324 AD); P.Abinn.30, l. 19 (IV AD); P.Oxy.48.3407, l. 18 (IV AD).

<sup>84</sup> Compare WHITE, 1978, p. 301: ‘correspondingly, the frequent use of the conjunction, οὖν, in the request phrase indicates that the statement of request depends on a prior reason/explanation for the request, so that we can usually assume a *background* when the convention is employed.’ On the foregrounding function of οὖν, see further SICKING, 1993, p. 27.

<sup>85</sup> For this rhetorical relation, see e.g. KROON, 1997, p. 21-22.

The use of γάρ parallels that of οὖν quite closely:<sup>86</sup> γάρ is used *following* the request in the body middle.<sup>87</sup> Consider the following example:<sup>88</sup>

- (23) ἄμα τῷ λαβεῖν μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν αὐτῆ ὥρα ἀνελθε, ὁ γάρ κράτιστος ἐπιστράτηγος ἱκανῶς σε ἐπεζήτησε (P.Tebt.2.411, ll. 3-7 (II AD))

“Immediately upon receiving my letter come up instantly, for his highness the epistrategos has made several inquiries for you.” [tr. Grenfell & Hunt]

In this letter, Paulinus requests from his son Heron that he returns home immediately. The trigger for this request is given in a γάρ-clause: the *epistrategus* has made inquiries for Heron.

Whereas οὖν marks central information, γάρ can be said to signal *subsidiary* information<sup>89</sup> with regard to the preceding text.<sup>90</sup> In some examples, this function even plays such a prominent role that it is hard to still speak of an inferential sequence. Consider the following example:<sup>91</sup>

- (24) ἔλαβ[όν] σου [τὰ]ς ἐπιστολάς παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ Ἰουλίου Σαβ[εῖ]νου ἐξ ὧν ἐπέγνων σε δηλοῦντα οὐκ ὄτ[ι] οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ἀπαρτίσαι τὰ διαφέροντά σοι [ἀ]λλ’ ὅτι, ὡς φῆς, οὐκ ἐβουλήθην. καίτοι γε ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἠσθάνθην ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἀπολογήσομαι. ἡ γάρ διορκὴ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τὸν Οὐαλεριανὸν μὴ ἐθέ[λο]ντα ἀντιδιαστείλαμένης αὐτῷ τῆς γυναι[κὸ]ς εὐθέως πρὸς αὐτὴν καταστάσθαι (P.Mich.8.486, ll. 3-10 (II AD))

“I received your letters from your <father>, Iulius Sabinus, from which I learned that you state, not that I was unable to attend to your affairs, but that, as you say, I was unwilling. And, of course, on this point I understood, but nevertheless I shall present my justification. For the delay arose in the fact that Valerianus, not by his own wish, but because his wife controverted our orders to him, went off straightway to her.” [tr. Youtie & Winter]

Sempronius Clemens writes to Apollinarius. He states that he was unable, not unwilling, to attend to certain matters entrusted to him by Apollinarius. The actual explanation why he was unable to attend to these matters is introduced by γάρ: there was a delay due to the actions of Valerianus. Observe how it is hard<sup>92</sup> to consider ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἀπο-

---

<sup>86</sup> Compare BLACK, 2002, p. 276, with regard to the New Testament: ‘οὖν is often used to introduce an imperative which rests upon a preceding proposition, and γάρ often appears following an imperative to introduce a proposition with an indicative verb ... which “backwards confirms” the imperative.’

<sup>87</sup> Alternatively, the particle follows a regular statement in the body middle (compare fn. 81). See e.g. SB.14.12082, l. 5 (III AD).

<sup>88</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. SB.24.16323, l. 11 (249-268 AD); P.Flor.2.223, l. 8 (257 AD); SB.6.9468, l. 9 (266 AD); BGU.4.1030, l. 6 (III AD); P.Cair.Isid.133, l. 9 (III AD); P.Hamb.1.54, l. 10 (III AD).

<sup>89</sup> Explanation, elaboration, comment, etc. (cf. KROON, 1995, p. 147-148).

<sup>90</sup> On the backgrounding function of γάρ, see further LARSEN, 1991, p. 36; SICKING, 1993, p. 20 ff.

<sup>91</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Fouad.75, l. 8 (64 AD); PSI.12.1248, l. 17 (235 AD); P.Lips.1.107, l. 5 (253 AD); P.Mich.8.512, l. 6 (III AD); P.Lond.6.1915, l. 16 (330-340 AD?).

<sup>92</sup> But perhaps not impossible.

λογήσομαι the ‘target’ for our γάρ-clause: the explanatory function of γάρ is much more prominent here than in most of the examples cited in this article.

The two particles also appear in other places in the letter. As we have seen in (13), οὖν can be found in the letter closing, more specifically the epilogue, in formulaic phrases of the type μὴ ἀμελήσης (οὖν) “do not neglect”, μὴ (οὖν) ἄλλως ποιήσης “do not act otherwise”, ὄρα (οὖν) “see to it”, πᾶν (οὖν) ποιήσον “do everything”, and περὶ πάντων (οὖν) μελησάτω σοι “in all respects may it concern you”, which highlight the importance of the request<sup>93</sup> made in the letter body.<sup>94</sup> γάρ, on the other hand, also occurs after the disclosure formula in the body opening, after phrases such as γινώσκεις σε θέλω “I want you to know”;<sup>95</sup> exceptionally, it even accompanies the disclosure formula.<sup>96</sup> For an illustration, consider (25):

- (25) γεινω[σ]κιν σε [θ]έλω ὅτι ἡ θυγάτηρ μου κάκη παροχλῖτα[ι] ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς σου. ἔ[γ]ραψέ μοι **γάρ** λέγουσα ὅτι ἐὰν ἔτι μῆνα οὕτω ποιποιση ἐχόνουμά μου βάλλω ἐματ[ῆ]ν ἰς θάλασσαν (P.Petaus.29, ll. 6-10 (II AD))

“Ich möchte dich wissen lassen, daß meine Tochter übel von deiner Mutter belästigt wird. Sie hat mir geschrieben und gesagt: ‘Wenn sie noch einen Monat so mit mir umgeht, stürze ich mich selbst ins meer.’” [tr. Hagedorn *et al.*]

In this letter, Didymarion uses the γινώσκεις σε θέλω-formula to inform Paniscus that her daughter is being troubled by the latter’s mother. This is immediately specified by a γάρ-clause which explains how Didymarion knows this: her daughter has written a letter about the matter.

Finally, the two particles also appear as part of the postscript. A striking example is the following:<sup>97</sup>

- (26) πέμπω δέ σοι τὰ σχοινία. τὰς δὲ ὠλένας τοῦ ἐλαιουργίου δ[ι]πλᾶς ποιήσον, τὰς δὲ τῶν καταβολα[ί]ω(ν) ἀ[π]λᾶς. ἔρρωσο. (ἔτους)ιδ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ [Σ]εβασ[τοῦ Γερμ]ανικοῦ, μηνὸς Γερμανικοῦ ιδ. μὴ οὖν [ἄ]λλως ποιήσης (P.Fay.110, ll. 28-34 (94 AD))

---

<sup>93</sup> Compare WHITE, 1972, p. 28: ‘these phrases, like the motivation for writing formula, call attention to previous material in the body. Their function is to urge the addressee to be responsive regarding an earlier request.’

<sup>94</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Oxy.38.2844, l. 12 (50-100 AD); P.Mich.Mchl.23, l. 10 (51/65 AD); BGU.3.844, l. 12 (83 AD); P.Fay.111, l. 27 (95-96 AD); P.Mich.8.506, l. 8 (II/III AD); BGU.2.417, l. 26 (II/III AD); P.Lond.6.1917, l. 21 (330-340 AD).

<sup>95</sup> For a similar example, see e.g. BGU.1.261, l. 6 (105 AD).

<sup>96</sup> See e.g. P.Tebt.2.315, l. 10 (II AD).

<sup>97</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Mich.8.496, l. 22 (II AD); P.Flor.2.127, l. 26 (256 AD); P.Lond.6.1916, ll. 31, 33 & 37 (330-340 AD?); P.Oxy.48.3400, l. 32 (359-365 AD); P.Nyu.1.25, l. 15 (IV AD).

“I send you the measurements. Make the hinges (?) of the oil-press double, and those of the stores single. Goodbye. The 14th year of the Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, the 14th of the month Germanicus. Do not neglect these instructions.” [tr. Grenfell *et al.*]

Lucius Bellenus Gemellus sends instructions to Epagathus concerning the running of his estate. He closes the letter with a health wish (ἔρρωσο), then adds the dating, and in final instance the formula μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης, in order to make sure that Epagathus does not neglect his instructions.

Given the many functional and syntactic similarities we have observed between γάρ and οὖν so far, one could wonder why a speaker would want to opt for a γάρ-sequence.<sup>98</sup> As Altenberg notes ‘natural ordering always results in CR [cause-result] order’,<sup>99</sup> or, in other words, *trigger* [*οὖν* – *target*]. To explain the existence and usage of both particles, one must look at other ordering principles,<sup>100</sup> thematic ordering in particular. From this point of view, the difference between οὖν- and γάρ-sequences lies in the value attached to what I have called the ‘trigger’. If the speaker attaches relatively little attention to the trigger, he can decide to postpone it using γάρ, and first mention the target. Alternatively, if he attaches much importance to the trigger, he can mention it first, and then the target, using οὖν. The informational status of the trigger can thus be expected to play an important role:<sup>101</sup> if it is information that is known to or agreed upon by both parties or that can be easily deduced, it is more likely that it will be postponed, and that γάρ will be used.

For a brief illustration of these principles, we can turn to the so-called *Heroninus archive*,<sup>102</sup> which is the largest archive from Roman Egypt, consisting of over one thousand documents, the large majority of which (around six hundred) still await publication. The nucleus of this archive consists of the business correspondence and the accounts of Heroninus, a *phrontistês* (estate manager) in Theadelphia (249-268 AD). In the letters from this archive that have been published so far (292), οὖν is used most frequently, with 85 instances; γάρ is used less frequently, with 60 instances. As hypothesised, γάρ is mostly used with information that is known by both parties: it

---

<sup>98</sup> I define a ‘sequence’ as a combination of a trigger, the particle οὖν or γάρ, and a target.

<sup>99</sup> ALTENBERG, 1984, 58.

<sup>100</sup> ALTENBERG, 1984, outlines four different ordering principles: (i) pragmatic ordering; (ii) natural ordering; (iii) thematic ordering; (iv) cognitive ordering. I will not go further into pragmatic and cognitive ordering in the context of this article.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. EDWARDS, 1990.

<sup>102</sup> For further information, see e.g. RATHBONE, 1991; VERRETH & VANDORPE, 2013.

occurs, for example, in sentences that express the addressee's benevolence,<sup>103</sup> or the fact that he has neglected to do something that was agreed upon.<sup>104</sup> On various occasions, it is even explicitly mentioned that the information in the γάρ-clause is well known to the addressee.<sup>105</sup> On other occasions, γάρ occurs in sentences that express general truths,<sup>106</sup> or contain information that can be easily deduced, of the type '[do this for] the master has ordered this'<sup>107</sup> '[do this for] there is great need'.<sup>108</sup> Only in a few cases, the sentence containing γάρ presents information that can be considered unknown to the addressee.<sup>109</sup>

οὖν on the other hand, is mostly used following sentences that contain information that is new to the addressee: typical contexts are the sending of animals, persons or things,<sup>110</sup> or the future arrival of persons.<sup>111</sup> Interestingly, however, οὖν can also be found following sentences that contain information that is known to the addressee: in almost all cases, this concerns a reproach that the addressee has neglected to do

<sup>103</sup> Eg. οἶδα γάρ σου τὴν εὐγνώμοσύνην (P.Gron.16, ll. 23-24 (III AD)) "for I know your courtesy"; οἶδα γάρ ὅτι συνειδήσι σπουδάζεις ἐμοί (P.Flor.3.338, ll. 17-18 (III AD)) "for I know that you are exerting yourself for me conscientiously" [tr. Hunt & Edgar].

<sup>104</sup> E.g. ταξάμενος γάρ ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριῶν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι οὐκ ἐποίησας (P.Lips.1.107, ll. 4-6 (253 AD)) "for having been ordered to do this within three days you have not done it"; πρὸ γάρ [[καί] τοσοῦτων ἡμερῶν ἀκούσας \τουτο/, ἐνθάδε ἡμέλησας (P.Flor.2.171, ll. 12-13 (255 AD)) "for having heard this so many days ago, you have neglected it up until this point"; τσοσατάκις γάρ ἔγραψα περὶ τούτου (SB.14.12003, ll. 10-11 (III AD)) "for I have written so many times about this".

<sup>105</sup> E.g. ἐπίστασε γάρ τὰ [τῶν] κτημάτων ὅτι πολὺν κάλα[μον] δαπανᾷ (SB.24.16323, ll. 11-3 (249-68 AD)) "for you know that the situation of the vineyards is that they make use of many reeds" [tr. Salvo]; οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς γάρ τὰ κατεπεύγοντα ἔργα τῶν κάρνων (P.Flor.2.218, ll. 14-6 (257 AD)) "for you are not unaware of the urgent works of the carts"; οἶδας γάρ ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς νῦν ἐστὶν ὀψιμώτερος (P.Fay.133, ll. 8-9 (260 AD)) "for you know that the season is now rather late" [tr. Hunt *et al.*].

<sup>106</sup> E.g. π[ά]ντες γάρ ἐγύ[π]τι[οι] [α]γέσθητ[ο]ι ἰσιν (P.Ups.Frid.10, ll. 9-10 (250-300 AD)) "for all Egyptians are dull" [tr. Frid]; τοῖς γάρ μὴ ἐσθανομένοις ταῦτα ὀφείλει γείνεσθαι (SB.5.7529, ll. 18-19 (II/III AD)) "for to those who do not perceive it, this has to happen".

<sup>107</sup> E.g. τοῦτο γάρ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριός μου Σύρος (P.Flor.2.223, ll. 7-9 (257 AD)) "for my master Syrus ordered this"; τοῦτο γάρ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ κύριός μου Ἀλύπις (P.Flor.2.252, ll. 9-10 (257 AD)) "for my master Alypis ordered this".

<sup>108</sup> E.g. πάνυ γάρ αὐτοῦ χρήζει ἐνθάδε (P.Flor.2.252, ll. 11-12 (257 AD)) "for he has great need of it here"; ἔστιν γάρ ἀνάγκη (P.Prag.Varcl.NS.30, l. 20 (III AD)) "for there is need".

<sup>109</sup> See e.g. περιμένω γάρ ἐνθάδε τούτου χάριν (P.Prag.1.109r, ll. 20-22 (249-69 AD)) "for I remain here for this purpose"; αὔριον γάρ κτήνη ἀποστέλλω ἐπὶ αὐτάς (SB.6.9470, ll. 14-16 (265 AD)) "for tomorrow I will send beasts for these [artabs]"; οὐδὲ γάρ ἀνῆλθεν πρὸς [ἐμ]έ (SB.16.12577, ll. 21-22 (III AD)) "for he did not come to me".

<sup>110</sup> E.g. ἔπεμψά σοι βουρδῶνας δύο (P.Prag.2.204, ll. 3-4 (II/III AD)) "I have sent you two mules"; ἔπεμψα Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ Κλαύδιον (P.Flor.2.236, ll. 3-4 (266 AD)) "I have sent Apollonius and Claudius"; τοὺς τέκτ[ον]ας Ὀλυμπιόδωρον καὶ τοὺς [σὺν] αὐτῷ ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σε (P.Flor.2.158, ll. 2-3 (III AD)) "I have sent the carpenters Olympiodorus and those with him to you".

<sup>111</sup> E.g. τῇ κ' διέρχομαι τὰ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἀνερχόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν (P.Prag.1.114, ll. 19-22 (249-268 AD)) "on the twentieth I will pass by when I go to the city"; προσδόκα ἡμᾶς ... πρὸς σὲ γεινομένους (P.Flor.2.127, ll. 2-3 (256 AD)) "expect that we will be coming to you"; οἱ εὐσχήμονες προαίρεσιν ἔχουσιν περὶ τὰ μέρη ὑμῶν γενέσθαι (P.Prag.Varcl.NS.41, ll. 17-19 (258 AD)) "the noblemen have a predilection to come to your parts".

something.<sup>112</sup> Rather infrequently, it also occurs after information that can be easily deduced, of the type ‘the master has ordered this’.<sup>113</sup> That οὖν should also occur after this type of information can be attributed to reasons of emphasis: the addressor wants to highlight the fact that the addressee has neglected to do something. Occasionally, it also seems to be the case that the information is pre-posed for purposes of topicalisation. Consider the following example (= (7)):<sup>114</sup>

- (27) Τῶι κυ]ρίῳ μου Ἀλυπίῳ [π(αρά)] [Ἡ]ρωνεῖνου φροντιστοῦ Θεαδελφ[(εἰας)] [.] [Ἐπέσ]τιλας δηλωθῆναί σοι τὸν ἀρι[θμὸν]τῷ καλάμου τοῦ μετενεχθέν[τος] ἀπὸ τῆς κτήσεως. Μετηνέχθη [οὖν] [μυ]ριάδας θ φορτία ιβ (SB.24.16323, ll. 1-6 (249-69 AD))

“To my lord Alypius from Heroninos phrontistes of Theadelphia. You wrote (asking) to be informed of the number of reeds transported from the ktesis; there have been transported ninety thousand, (in) 12 loads.” [tr. Salvo]

In principle, the information [Ἐπέσ]τιλας δηλωθῆναί σοι κτλ. is known by both parties, so it could be expected to be postposed and introduced by γάρ. However, in this letter [Ἐπέσ]τιλας δηλωθῆναί σοι κτλ. is used as a reminder of exactly what this letter is a response to. Without the phrase, the tone of the response would be rather harsh, too.

As can be seen from these examples, there is a certain overlap between the pragmatic distribution of γάρ and οὖν: γάρ is mostly used when the trigger contains information that is known to both parties, or that can be easily deduced, whereas οὖν is most common following a trigger that contains new information, but this is not an absolute rule. Much depends from the individual writing, and his wish to highlight certain matters. The papyri as a corpus have their limitations for research of this type: larger prose works lend themselves better to stylistic examinations. Authors who have been reported to make frequent usage of γάρ are Homer and Herodotus,<sup>115</sup> and for Post-classical Greek St. Mark.<sup>116</sup> With regard to St. Mark’s style, Thrall makes the following observation:

‘Writers who use γάρ frequently, as Mark does, are not always logical thinkers who develop an argument stage by stage, representing each further statement as the ne-

<sup>112</sup> E.g. ἐθαύμασα πῶς μέχρι σήμερον οὐκ ἀνῆλθ\ε/ς (P.Lips.1.107, ll. 2-3 (253 AD)) “I have wondered at how up until now you have not come up”; καὶ ἄλλοτέ σοι ἐγ[ρά]φη ἀνα[π]έμψαι τὰ ... κα[ί] μ[ε]χρι τούτου οὐκ ἔπεμψα[ς] (P.Flor.2.170, ll. 2-4 (255 AD)) “already on another occasion it was written to you to send ... and up until now you have not sent it”; οὐκέτι ἐδήλωσάς μοι (P.Flor.3.338, ll. 14-5 (III AD)) “you have not informed me further”.

<sup>113</sup> E.g. [ὁ] κύριός μου Ἀλύπιος [ἐκέ]λευσεν τοὺς ἀπο[στα]λέντας καμήλους [εἰς Φ]ιλωτερίδα ἐπὶ ξύ[λον] πα[ρὰ] σοὶ ἀναπαύσασ[θαι] (P.Prag.1.106, ll. 3-7 (259 AD)) “my Lord Alypius has ordered that the camels sent to Philoteris for wood have to rest at your place”.

<sup>114</sup> For a similar example, see e.g. P.Flor.2.208v, ll. 3-6 (259-68 AD).

<sup>115</sup> Cf. BROSCHEMANN, 1881, p. 4-6; DENNISTON, 1954, p. 58.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. EDWARDS, 1990.

cessary deduction from the previous one, or who tell a story in strict chronological sequence, with every detail in its logical position in the narrative. In argument, they tend to set down the conclusion first and then to explain in a series of γάρ-clauses the considerations which led up to it. In narrative they mention first the important or striking points in the story, and then fit in the explanatory details afterwards by using γάρ, whether or not these details should logically precede the main points.<sup>117</sup>

## 4.2 Elaboration

In Greek papyrus letters, οὖν and γάρ are not exclusively used as inferential discourse markers. Consider the following example, which does not originate from our corpus, but is mentioned by Evans<sup>118</sup> in a recent article:

- (28) Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Πετενοῦρις Σαμῶυς οἱ ὑοφορβοί. δεόμεθα οὖν σου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς·  
 ὧν γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τ[ε]τιμωρήμεθα (P.Cair.Zen.3.59495, ll. 1-3 (III BC))

“To Zenon greetings, Petenouris and Samoys the swineheards. So we beg you, have pity on us – for we have been punished for our wrongs.” [tr. Evans]

Evans notes that the use of οὖν in the first sentence of the letter-body ‘is definitely bad Greek. The particle is misplaced.’<sup>119</sup> He suggests that οὖν is ‘logically meaningless’, and that its use can be explained by the fact that the phrase δεόμεθα οὖν has been transposed in its entirety from the body middle (where it would be common) to the body opening, while strictly speaking only δεόμεθα should have been used.

Evans might be on the right track as concerns the influence of δεόμεθα in (28), but since this is not an isolated example of a ‘meaningless’ οὖν in Greek papyrus letters, I would like to propose that more is going on: a shift in the semantics of οὖν, whereby the particle also comes to be used as an ‘elaborative’ discourse marker,<sup>120</sup> meaning that it comes to signal ‘the expansion of the previous discourse segment in another item’.<sup>121</sup> It draws attention to the facts at hand, and can be compared to English ‘now’.

Diachronically, a development from inferential to elaborative is not uncommon: English ‘so’ would be a typical example.<sup>122</sup> Loudová<sup>123</sup> notes that this development not only happens with οὖν, but also with other particles that originally served as inferential discourse markers, such as ὅθεν and λοιπόν. For οὖν, such a development is not hard to

<sup>117</sup> THRALL, 1962, p. 47.

<sup>118</sup> EVANS, 2010, p. 204.

<sup>119</sup> EVANS, 2010, p. 204.

<sup>120</sup> For οὖν as an elaborative discourse marker, see e.g. POYTHRESS, 1984, p. 328; BUTH, 1991, p. 145, 148-150 (New Testament Greek); LOUDOVÁ, 2009b, p. 193 (Early Byzantine Greek).

<sup>121</sup> LOUDOVÁ, 2009b, p. 192, referring to FRASER, 1999, p. 946ff.

<sup>122</sup> There is relatively little literature about the diachronic development of discourse markers. For some observations, see e.g. BRINTON, 1990; FANEGO, 2010.

<sup>123</sup> LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, 2009b.

imagine, since it already marks the next step from trigger to target. By the sixth century, Loudová claims,<sup>124</sup> οὖν is already more frequently used as a marker of elaboration than it is used as a marker of inference.

In the letters from our corpus, elaborative οὖν accompanies a number of request formulae we have already encountered in §4.1, such as εὖ (οὖν) ποιήσας “you will do well”, καλῶς (οὖν) ποιήσεις/ποιήσατε “you will do well”, παρακαλῶ (οὖν) “I request”, and σπουδάσατε (οὖν) “make sure”. Occasionally, οὖν accompanies these formulae immediately after the greeting, as in Evans’ example (28). Consider the following example:<sup>125</sup>

- (29) [H]ρα[κλεί]δης Νεμεσίῳ τῷ φιλότατῳ χαίρειν. καλῶ[ς] οὖν ποιήσεις ὑφ[έ]ξεις τοῖς περὶ Πανετβηοῦειν καὶ Πετεσοῦχον Ἐσοῦρ[ι]ος καὶ Πετεσοῦχον τὸν ἀδελ[φὸ(ν)] αὐτοῦ καὶ Νεφεράς ταυρ[ο]τάφο(ν) καὶ τοὺς περὶ Νικάνωρος τοῦ πολίτου καὶ Ὀννώφριν (SB.14.12143, ll. 1-10 (41-54 AD))

“Heracleides to Nemesion, his dearest friend, greeting. You will do well to lend your support to the associates of Panetbouis, Petesouchos son of Esouris, his brother Petesouchos, Nephervas the bull-burier, the associates of the citizen Nikanor, and Onnophris.” [tr. Youtie]

Heracleides greets his friend Nemesion, using the traditional formula A to B χαίρειν. Immediately afterwards, he requests that Nemesion lends his support to certain people, using the formula καλῶς ποιήσεις “you will do well” + FUT. This request formula is accompanied by οὖν, without there being an actual background to the request. οὖν functions as a marker of elaboration, drawing attention to the issue at hand.

In the body opening, οὖν can also be found with the more regular disclosure formulae γίνωσκε “know” and γινώσκειν σε θέλω “I want you to know”. For an example, consider (30):<sup>126</sup>

- (30) Πανίσκο[ς] τῇ σοιμβίῳ μου Πλουτογενία μητρὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς μου πλῖστα χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν <πάντων> εὐχομέ σοι τὴν ὀλοκληρία καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι/. γινώσκειν σε οὖν θέλω, ἀδελφή, ὅτι ἐν Κόπτῳ αἰμίναμεν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς [[μου]] σου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς (P.Mich.3.214, ll. 1-9 (296 AD))

“Paniskos, to my wife Ploutogenia, mother of my daughter, very many greetings. First <of all> I pray daily for your good health in the presence of all the gods. I would have you know then, sister, that we have been staying in Koptos near [[my]] your sister and her children.” [tr. Winter]

<sup>124</sup> LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, 302. Based on John Malalas’ *Chronicle*.

<sup>125</sup> For a similar example, see e.g. P.Fay.116, l. 3 (104 AD).

<sup>126</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Wisc.2.84, l. 7 (II AD); P.Lond.6.1917, l. 8 (330-340 AD); P.Neph.10, l. 7 (IV AD).



Paniscus writes to his wife Ploutogenia. The body opening starts with the formula γινώσκειν σε θέλω “I want you to know”, which is accompanied by οὖν. Again, there is no background to the information that is disclosed: οὖν merely indicates the beginning of a new section in the letter.

More frequently, however, elaborative οὖν occurs in the body middle, accompanying the above-mentioned request formulae. Consider the following example:<sup>127</sup>

- (31) Ἡρᾶς Ἐπαφροδίτῳ τῷ κυρίῳ πατρὶ χαίρειν. μόγις ποτὲ [εὐρ]ῶν τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς σε εἶχυσα {γὰρ} ἀσπάσασθαί σε· οἶδα δ’ ὅτι εὐκτεῖ[ο]ν ἐστίν[σ]ο[ι]. παρακαλῶ οὖν ἀντιγράψαι μου περὶ τε τῆς σωτηρίας σου καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου ὑγείας· καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, κύριε, μεταπέμψασθαί τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ τὴν [ἀ]δελ.φὴν μου, ἐπεὶ διπλοκάριος ἦλθεν εἰς Χηνοβόσκ[ι]α καὶ ἀπεφήγατο Ἀρχία [ὅτ]ι ἐν ἐσχάτοις ἐντὶν ἡ Ἐρμού πόλις (SB.10.10277, ll. 1-19 (116 AD))

“Heras to Epaphroditus his lord father, greetings. Having found with difficulty somebody who travels to you, I could send you my blessings. I know that this would please you. So I beg you to write me how is your health and that of my brother. You would do well, my lord, to send for my mother and my sister, since a duplicarius came to Xenoboskia and told the Archias that Hermoupolis is in extreme danger.” [tr. Pucci Ben Zeev]

In this letter, Heras requests two things from his father Epaphroditus: (i) that he informs Heras of his and Heras’ brother’s health; (ii) that he sends Heras’ mother and sister, as Hermopolis is no longer safe. Both requests are accompanied by οὖν, while no background is sketched: παρακαλῶ οὖν ἀντιγράψαι; καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις, κύριε, μεταπέμψασθαί. Rather, the function of οὖν is to signal a new segment in the letter body.

As I have already mentioned, the frequent occurrence of elaborative οὖν in formulae of this type may be of significance from a diachronic point of view: these formulae could have provided the context for the functional extension of οὖν. It is important to observe, however, that elaborative οὖν occurs even more frequently outside formulaic contexts. Consider the following two examples:<sup>128</sup>

- (32) γνῶθει δὲ, [ὅ]τι ἐ[λ]υπήθην διό[τι]/ ἀπεδήμησας ἀλόγως [εἰ μ]ὴ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ συνταγή, ἀλλ’ ἐχάρην [ἀκού]σας διὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτου, ὅτι ἀνέρχη [ταχ]υτέρου πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Ἱεραξ οὖν τῷ [κατα]φέροντί σοι ταῦτά μου τὰ γράμματα [ἀξί]ωσον συνβοηθῆσαι αὐτῷ εἰς ὃ ἐὰν [δυνα]τόν σοι τῆ τιμότητι (P.Amh.2.145, ll. 15-22 (IV AD))

<sup>127</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Mich.3.201, ll. 4-5 (99 AD); SB.6.9636, l. 7 (136 AD); P.Giss.97, ll. 7-8 (II AD); P.Hamb.1.54, l. 6 (III AD); P.Neph.11, ll. 16-17 (IV AD).

<sup>128</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Mich.8.465, l. 26 (107 AD); P.Petaus.22, l. 5 (185 AD); SB.6.9470, l. 12 (265 AD); P.Hamb.1.54, l. 12 (III AD); PSI.12.1260, l. 12 (III AD); P.Abinn.7, l. 6 (342-351 AD).

“Know that I am grieved because you went away without cause ..., but I rejoice at hearing through the praepositus that you are soon coming back to us. Hierax, who brings you this letter of mine, please assist to the full extent of your honour's power.” [tr. Grenfell & Hunt]

- (33) Σύρος Ἡρωνεῖνω τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χαίρειν. πολλάκις σοι ἐνετειλάμην περὶ τῶν παιδίων Ποντικοῦ, τοῦ ἐν παρακαταθηκῇ ἔχειν, οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶν τῆς οἰκίας ἀλλότριοι, ὡς καὶ σὺ ἐπίστασε. ὁ οὖν Διόσκορος ἤξιωσεν γράμματά σοι κομισθῆναι, ἵνα ἐν [ο]ῖς σου ἐὰν δεηθῆ, ἐπιδῶς σεαυτὸν (SB.6.9466, ll. 1-16 (255 AD))

“Syrus to his dearest Heroninus, greetings. I have often ordered you as concerns the children of Ponticus, to hold them in your care, for they are not strangers to the house, as you too know. Now, Dioscorus has asked that a letter be brought to you, so that, to whatever he petitions you, you would devote yourself.”

(32) is a letter from Abba Iohannes to a certain Paulus. Iohannes asks that Paulus helps the person delivering the letter as much as possible. This request comes without context: in the preceding lines, Iohannes expresses his grief that Paulus went away without cause. οὖν signals that a new topic is introduced, the request [ἀξι]ῶσον. (33) shows that οὖν does not necessarily signal a request (as in (31) and (32)): in this letter, Syrus first asks Heroninus to take care of the children of Ponticus. Afterwards, Syrus comes up with an entirely different topic, that is, that Dioscorus has asked that Heroninus should be advised to devote himself to whatever is asked. οὖν signals this second topic.

The development of οὖν from a marker of inference to a marker of elaboration probably took place already at an early stage.<sup>129</sup> In his study of οὖν in Plato's works, for example, Des Places<sup>130</sup> distinguishes four uses: (i) οὖν *au sens primitif*, (ii) οὖν *avec idée de conséquence*, (iii) οὖν *au sens continuatif*, (iv) οὖν *avec idée d'apport extrinsèque*. The second of these uses corresponds to our ‘inferential discourse marker’ (§4.1), and the third and fourth to our ‘elaborative discourse marker’ (§4.2). The distinction between uses three and four lies with the degree of thematic (dis)continuity:<sup>131</sup>

‘Même dans les cas où la particule marquait une légère opposition, l'idée nouvelle s'appuyait en quelque façon sur ce qui la précédait, ici encore la réplique ou la reprise d'un des personnages prend un point de départ dans ce que l'autre vient de dire. Mais, dans cette quatrième classe, la marche de la pensée dépend aussi peu que possible du jeu des questions et des réponses.’<sup>132</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Cf. DENNISTON, 1954, p. 425-426; LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, p. 302.

<sup>130</sup> DES PLACES, 1929, p. 3-88.

<sup>131</sup> One can speak of thematic discontinuity when there is a change of character, location, time, etc. On this topic, see esp. LEVINSOHN, 1987, with regard to Ancient Greek.

<sup>132</sup> DES PLACES, 1929, p. 66.

From the examples that have been given above, it may be clear that in our corpus elaborative οὖν is mostly used when there is clear thematic discontinuity: in both (32) and (33), for example, οὖν accompanies the introduction of a new character, which makes it similar in use to the particle δέ.<sup>133</sup> However, this is not *always* the case. Consider the following example:<sup>134</sup>

- (34) οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς, κύριε, πῶς ἐμι[σ]θωσάμην τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰ[ς] κ[έ]λλας πρὸς [ἐνι]αυτὸν ἕνα · ὁ οὖν ἐνιαυτος πεπλήρωται ὡς ἰ[.] [Φα]ρμουῦθι (SB.10.10278, ll. 5-8 (98-138 AD))

“Dir ist nicht unbekannt, Herr, dass ich die Festsäle und die Vorratsräume auf ein Jahr gemietet hatte; das Jahr ist nun zum ..ten Pharmuthi abgelaufen.” [tr. Maehler]

Horion writes to Apollonius the *strategus*. Horion has rented rooms for one year, and now wants to be released from the contract. For this purpose, he notes that the year has ended. The fact that the year has ended cannot be considered the target for renting rooms for one year, so οὖν must be considered elaborative. Note, however, how there is explicit thematic continuity between the two sentences, through the repetition of ἐνιαυτός.

That γάρ should also be used as an elaborative discourse marker<sup>135</sup> may be considered rather surprising: whereas οὖν provides information that it is logically consequential in its inferential use, γάρ links subsidiary information backwards. However, already in the New Testament there seem to be cases which are difficult to explain on the basis of an inferential value.<sup>136</sup> For an intriguing example from our corpus, consider (35):<sup>137</sup>

- (35) Ἀρποκρατίων Βελλήνωι Σαβεῖνωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χα(ίρειν). καὶ ἐκθές σοι ἔγραψα διὰ Μάρδωνος τοῦ σοῦ γνῶναί σε θέλων ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἐπηρεᾶσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθην κατελθεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἔχωι ὧδε ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐὰν δοκῇ σοι πέμψαι τὸ ἀποχρον Ἰσαῖος καὶ παραλάβωμεν τὸ ἐλάδιον λυπὸν ἐὰν δόξη σοι. ἐλήλυθεν γὰρ Τεύφιλος Ἰουδαῖος λέγων [ὅ]τι ἤχθην ἰς γεωργίαν καὶ βούλομαι πρὸς Σαβεῖνον ἀπελθεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ εἶρηχε ἡμ[ῖ]ν ἀγόμενος ἵνα ἀπολυθῆ, ἀλλὰ αἰφνιδί[.] ὡς εἶρηχεν ἡμῖν σήμερον. γνῶσομαι γὰρ εἰ ἀληθῶς λέγει (P.Fay.123, ll. 1-24 (ca. 100 AD?))

<sup>133</sup> For a comparison, see esp. BUTH, 1991, p. 157.

<sup>134</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. BGU.3.884, 2, l. 13 (ca. 75-85 AD); PSI.12.1247v, l. 18 (234-235 AD?); P.Flor.2.145, l. 7 (264 AD); P.Flor.2.226, l. 21 (III AD); P.Abinn.19, l. 16 (342-351 AD).

<sup>135</sup> For γάρ as an elaborative discourse marker, see e.g. LOUDOVÁ, 2009b, p. 193. The examples presented by SOLTIC, 2014, could be explained along similar lines. THRALL, 1962, p. 50, refers to Hdt. 2.68.5 as an early example. Compare also DENNISTON, 1954, p. 81-85 on ‘progressive’ γάρ.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. BIRD, 1953; THRALL, 1962, p. 41-50; EDWARDS, 1990.

<sup>137</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Giss.Apoll.6, l. 15 (117 AD); P.Mich.3.209, l. 14 (II/III AD); P.Abinn.31, l. 5 (342-351 AD).

“Harpokration to his brother, Sabinus, greeting. I wrote to you also yesterday through your man Mardon, wanting you to know that I was unable to come down, because of having been dealt with wantonly and, since I am remaining here a few days, send the measured out oil (?) of Isas, if it is agreeable with you, and let us take the remainder of the oil from him if you agree. Teuphilos the Jew has come, saying, “I have been pressed in as a cultivator and I want to go away to Sabinus.” He did not say anything about being released at the time he was impressed, but suddenly he has told me today. I will find out whether he is telling the truth.” [tr. White]

Harpocration writes to his brother Bellenus Sabinus, informing him that he was unable to come down. Harpocration also informs his brother that a certain Teuphilos has come to him, in the hope of going to Sabinus and being released of compulsory labor. Harpocration furthermore promises Sabinus to find out whether Teuphilos was impressed. Observe how γάρ is used three times to add new information: (i) Teuphilos has come down, (ii) he has not said anything before; (iii) Harpocration will find out whether he speaks the truth.

Contrary to what we have seen with elaborative οὖν, sentences and clauses containing an elaborative γάρ are typically not thematically discontinuous. They provide, as Loudova notes, ‘further extension of the same topic’.<sup>138</sup> As such, elaborative γάρ resembles καί more than it does δέ. For another example, consider (36):

- (36) παρακαλῶ σε οὖν, κύριε, ἐπιτρέψαι μοι πρὸς τὰς διακένους ἡμέρας κατελθεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἱερακίωνος τῷ πλοίῳ[ι, ἄ]λλω γὰρ καιρῷ οὐ δ[υ]νή[σομαι] πεζεύειν τοὺς τόπους [. . .] διὰ τὴν ἐκπόρθησιν τῶν τόπ[ων] καὶ τὴν σπάν[ιν] [[-ca.-] [-ca.-] ] γων [[μετ[α]κεκλη] μ[ετακεκλημέ]νων ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Μέμφιν πραγματικῶν πρὸς τὸν διαλογισμὸν, ἵνα εὐκαιρίαν λαβὼν ἐπιγνῶ, τί πράσσει Ἱερακίων. δύο γὰρ ἡμερῶν ἐστὶ τὸ διάστημα (P.Brem.15, ll. 18-31 (II AD))

“I therefore request you, master, to allow me to go to my brother in Hierakion's boat during these idle days, for at another time I will not be able to go on foot through the country because of its devastation and the lack of ... agents invited to Memphis for a settlement, so that I may take the opportunity to know how Hierakion fares. It is two days' journey.” [tr. Pucci Ben Zeev]

The architect Herodes writes to Apollonius the *strategus*, asking for permission to visit his ‘brother’ Hierakion. At the end of the fragment, Herodes informs Apollonius that the journey will take two days, using γάρ. In this context, the particle does not explain any part of the preceding context. Rather, it further extends the topic of travel.

Similarly to the thematic discontinuity of οὖν, however, the thematic continuity of γάρ does not form an absolute rule: in the first instance of γάρ in our previous example

<sup>138</sup> LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, p. 302.

(34) there seems to be complete discontinuity. With the second and third instance, on the other hand, there still seems to be some thematic continuity.

According to Thrall,<sup>139</sup> γάρ's functional development can be explained by the fact that the value of γάρ came to be associated more with that of providing subsidiary information than with a purely inferential force:

'In the kind of narrative style used by Mark the connection of the particle [that is, γάρ] with supplementary details may have become stronger than the explanatory force which originally caused it to be used to introduce such details, and it may be employed for this purpose where a causal connective is in no way appropriate.'<sup>140</sup>

In support of Thrall's hypothesis, we can refer to our previous example (24), where it was observed that γάρ's primary function is to provide subsidiary information, more so than indicating an inference. There are various of these examples in our corpus, so it seems conceivable that they provide a bridging context between an inferential and a purely elaborative force.

That γάρ was used with an elaborative force in Post-classical Greek presents an interesting parallel with Latin, where similar observations have been made with regard to the particle *nam*. Schiwy,<sup>141</sup> for example, shows that in the Vulgate *nam* is used where the Greek original has δέ. One of his examples is the following:

(37) οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες, εἶτα ἔρχεται ὁ διάβολος καὶ αἶρει τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς δέχονται τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὗτοι ῥίζαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οἱ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύουσιν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ ἀφίστανται (Lc. 8.12-3)

*Qui autem secus viam sunt qui audiunt deinde venit diabolus et tollit verbum de corde eorum ne credentes salvi fiant. Nam qui supra petram qui cum audierint cum gaudio suscipiunt verbum et hii radices non habent qui ad tempus credunt et in tempore temptationis recedunt.*

"Those along the path are the ones who hear, and then the devil comes and takes away the word from their hearts, so that they may not believe and be saved. Those on the rocky ground are the ones who receive the word with joy when they hear it, but they have no root. They believe for a while, but in the time of testing they fall away." (NIV)

Jesus tells the parable of the sower: when a farmer went out to sow his seed, some of the seed fell along the road, other seed fell on a rock, other among thorns, and still other on good ground. He then goes on to explain the parable. It is noteworthy how in the Greek

---

<sup>139</sup> THRALL, 1962, p. 49-50.

<sup>140</sup> THRALL, 1962, p. 50.

<sup>141</sup> SCHIWY, 1932, p. 66-88.

version δέ is used to introduce the different types of people (in other words, where there is discontinuity of character), whereas in Latin first *autem* is used, and then *nam*.

Schiwy<sup>142</sup> even argues that this use (*nam copulativum*) can be traced back to authors such as Cicero, Pliny the Elder, and Tacitus: ‘*nam* hat schon in der klassischen Zeit auch den Sinn von *autem*, entsprechend einem gr. δέ.’<sup>143</sup>

At this point, it is hard to make any definitive statements about the similarities of usage between Greek γάρ and Latin *nam*. Considering the examples presented by Schiwy, it seems that (a) *nam* was used more often with an elaborative force than γάρ, and (b) *nam* could also be used in thematically discontinuous contexts, whereas γάρ was primarily used in thematically continuous contexts. Further research on an extensive corpus of Post-classical Greek narrative texts<sup>144</sup> would be needed to confirm both hypotheses. Whether language contact could have played a role is also an item for further research.

## 5 Excursion: Inferential expressions in Ancient Greek

In §4.1, I presented an analysis of οὖν and γάρ as two major inferential expressions in Ancient (Post-classical) Greek. It is worth stressing however, that the language has many other inferential expressions. This is a topic that has not received much scholarly attention:<sup>145</sup> as Rijksbaron<sup>146</sup> already wrote, traditional grammars tend to discuss under one heading ‘expressions that are formally similar but differ from a syntactic-semantic point of view’, and to treat ‘expressions that are formally different but may intuitively be thought of as belonging to the same semantic sphere’ under totally different headings.

An exemplary treatment of inferential expressions<sup>147</sup> in English is given by Altenberg.<sup>148</sup> Altenberg<sup>148</sup> argues that there are four main types of inferential expressions: (i)

---

<sup>142</sup> SCHIWY, 1932, p. 68-75.

<sup>143</sup> SCHIWY, 1932, p. 75. KROON (1995), however, minimalises the elaborative use of *nam*, especially when it comes to Classical Latin. See e.g. KROON, 1995, p. 155: ‘it turns out that there are no, or only very few, instances of *nam* in Classical Latin that are strictly forward-linking in the sense that they merely indicate transitions to a new independent move, centered around a new topic of discourse ... For the most part, the discourse unit introduced by “forward-linking” *nam* also has the nature of an “afterthought”, containing information that is related to the preceding text in a rather associative way, as a kind of addendum.’

<sup>144</sup> For some preliminary observations on John Malalas’ *Chronicle*, see LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, p. 302-303.

<sup>145</sup> Note, for example, that there is no entry for ‘causal’ or ‘inferential’ expressions in the recently published *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics* (2014).

<sup>146</sup> RIJKSBARON, 1976, p. 4.

<sup>147</sup> ALTENBERG, 1984.

<sup>148</sup> ALTENBERG, 1984, p. 22.

adverbial linkage (e.g. 'so', 'hence', 'therefore'), (ii) prepositional linkage (e.g. 'because of', 'on account of'), (iii) subordination (e.g. 'because', 'as', 'since'), and (iv) clause-integrated linkage (e.g. 'that's why', 'the result was'). He then offers a classification of inferential linkage, based on the following criteria:<sup>149</sup> (i) the syntactic function of the link (e.g. prepositional vs. subordinative), (ii) the syntactic form and function of the members (e.g. subordinate and main clause), (iii) the type of cohesion existing between the members (e.g. global vs. local), (iv) the sequence of the members (e.g. trigger – target vs. target – trigger), (v) the communicative prominence of the link and the members (e.g. old information, prominent link), and (vi) the complexity and proximity of the members. Next to these semantic/functional factors, Altenberg also outlines a number of stylistic factors.

The application of these principles to Ancient Greek in its different diachronic stages constitutes a huge and as yet unexplored research area. As I already mentioned, Ancient Greek has a large number of expressions in each of Altenberg's areas:<sup>150</sup> (i) e.g. γάρ, διό, διόπερ, ὅθεν, οὖν, τοιγαροῦν, τοίνυν; (ii) e.g. διά or ἔνεκα with a (pro)noun; fixed combinations of the type ἀνθ' ὧν, διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκ τούτου, ὁθούνεκα, οὐνεκα, τούτου χάριν (iii) e.g. ἄτε, διότι, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ἴνα, ὅπου, οἷα, οἷον, ὅτι, ὅτε, ὁπότε, ὡς, ὥστε; (iv) e.g. ἀποτελέω/τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, dative of reason, genitive of cause (with infinitive), conjunct participle.<sup>151</sup> One thing that is quite noticeable – even in such a brief overview – is that *target – trigger* sequences are typically realised hypotactically in Ancient Greek, whereas *trigger – target* sequences are mostly realised paratactically.

Up until now, little comparative research of this type has been done with regard to Ancient Greek.<sup>152</sup> Most work has been done with regard to Archaic/Classical Greek. A number of publications have compared inferential particles: the older study of Des Places,<sup>153</sup> for example, compares, to some extent, the use of οὖν, ἄρα and τοίνυν. More recently, Wakker<sup>154</sup> has compared the use of οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias, and Bakker<sup>155</sup> has

<sup>149</sup> See ALTENBERG, 1984, p. 24.

<sup>150</sup> Compare also RIJKSBARON, 1976, p. 20-26.

<sup>151</sup> Other than this, we also need to take into account asyndeton. For an example of the use of asyndeton instead of an inferential particle in our corpus, see P.Lond.6.1914, l. 24 (335 AD?). For asyndeton in the New Testament, see e.g. POYTHRESS, 1984; BLACK, 2002, p. 179-217.

<sup>152</sup> For Latin, more work has been done. See a.o. BARENDT, 1902; FUGIER, 1987; BOLKESTEIN, 1991; KROON, 1995, p. 129-209.

<sup>153</sup> DES PLACES, 1929.

<sup>154</sup> WAKKER, 2009.

<sup>155</sup> BAKKER, 2009.

studied the combination of the particles γάρ and οὖν. In the area of subordination, Zycha,<sup>156</sup> Nilsson,<sup>157</sup> and Rijksbaron,<sup>158</sup> have compared various subordinating conjunctions (e.g. ἐπεὶ, ἐπειδή, ὡς, ὅτι) from a semantic and syntactic point of view. More recently, Buijs<sup>159</sup> has presented an in-depth study of the discourse-factors influencing the choice of semantically strong subordinators, semantically underspecified subordinators, or the participle, with a number of interesting observations on inferentiality. The only explicit comparison of subordinative and coordinative conjunctions comes from Rijksbaron.<sup>160</sup> Rijksbaron<sup>161</sup> discusses, among others, to what extent ἐπεὶ and γάρ are interchangeable.

With regard to Post-classical Greek, too, little work has been done. In his recent PhD-thesis, Pennington<sup>162</sup> offers an overview of adverbial clauses of ‘cause’ and ‘result’ in New Testament Greek, making some interesting observations with regard to tense/aspect/mood, and word order. Other than this, however, a comparative treatment of inferential expressions in Post-classical Greek from a semantic/syntactic point of view is, to the best of my knowledge, lacking:<sup>163</sup> Loudová<sup>164</sup> makes the interesting observation that γάρ ‘markedly prevails over other means of expressing cause, i.e. causal connective propositions or propositional infinitive’ in John Malalas’ *Chronicle*, but does not go further into the topic. When it comes to the pragmatic (social) value of inferential particles, Bentein<sup>165</sup> presents a brief discussion of the pragmatic value of τοίνυν and τοιγαροῦν in Greek letters and petitions.

Post-classical Greek (the papyri in particular) presents a particularly interesting corpus for research of this type, in view of ongoing diachronic changes such as the restructuring of the particle system (including a preference for asyndeton), a fixation of word order, and the preference of coordination over subordination. The corpus that has been used for the present study shows clear signs of confusion between the different inferential subsystems, as illustrated by (i) the combination of οὖν and γάρ with other particles and

---

<sup>156</sup> ZYCHA, 1885.

<sup>157</sup> NILSSON, 1907.

<sup>158</sup> RIJKSBARON, 1976.

<sup>159</sup> BUIJS, 2005.

<sup>160</sup> RIJKSBARON, 1976. For some observations with regard to Herodotus, see also BROSCHMANN, 1881, p. 4-6.

<sup>161</sup> RIJKSBARON, 1976, p. 81-84.

<sup>162</sup> PENNINGTON, 2010, p. 74-133.

<sup>163</sup> For some comparative observations on the use of οὖν and γάρ in the New Testament, see BLACK, 2002, 254-281.

<sup>164</sup> LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, p. 303.

<sup>165</sup> BENTEIN, 2015a.



subordinating conjunctions such as *διό, ἐπεί, ἴνα, λοιπόν, ὅτι, τούτου χάριν*, and *ὥς*;<sup>166</sup> (ii) the mixing of subordination and coordination. For an illustration of the latter point, consider the following example:<sup>167</sup>

- (38) ἐπ[ει]δὴ οὐχ εὔρηκα ἐγὼ πέμψαι διὰ τὸ νωθρε[ύεσ]θαί με, καλῶς οὖν [π]οιήσεις τὰ σὰ μετέ[ωρ]α ἐκπλέ[ξαι τ]αχέω[ς] κα[ι] καταπλε[ῦ]σαι πρὸς ἐμέ (P.Mich.8.477, ll. 35-7 (II AD))

“Since I have found no one to send because I am ill, you will therefore do well to conclude your business quickly and sail down to me.” [tr. Youtie & Winter]

Claudius Terentianus addresses his father Claudius Tiberianus. Terentianus asks his father to return home soon, as he is severely ill. Note how Terentianus mixes up two different systems: in standard language, one would write either *ἐπειδὴ οὐχ εὔρηκα ... καλῶς ποιήσεις* [subordination of the trigger] or *οὐχ εὔρηκα ... καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ...* [target with *οὖν*]. Examples such as this show that the different types of inferential expressions mentioned above were also by the users of the language felt to be closely related to each other.

## 6 Conclusion

In this article, I have analysed the use of *οὖν* and *γάρ* in a corpus of documentary papyri, letters in particular, ranging from the first to the fourth century AD. I attempted to answer three main research questions: (i) with what frequency are *οὖν* and *γάρ* used; was one of these particles used more frequently than the other?, (ii) to what extent do *οὖν* and *γάρ* resemble each other from a functional and syntactic point of view, and how are they different?, (iii) were there functional developments? To conclude this article, I will briefly summarise my main findings with regard to these research questions.

First, I showed that both particles are still (relatively) frequently used. *οὖν*'s frequency of usage seems to decrease in the fourth century AD. This, I suggested, may foreshadow a later development. Second, I argued that there are many similarities between *οὖν* and *γάρ*: in their basic function, the particles serve as ‘inferential’ discourse markers, operating in the ‘mediating’ phase of inferential sequences. Syntactically, they display a lot of similarities when it comes to *level, scope*, and position in the sentence.

---

<sup>166</sup> For some examples, see e.g. SB.24.15909, ll. 3-4 (6 AD); SB.6.9636, l. 7 (136 AD); P.Bour.23, l. 8 (II AD); P.Sarap.97, l. 8 (II AD); P.Brem.11, l. 31 (II AD); PSI.Congr.xi.11, l. 30 (III AD).

<sup>167</sup> For similar examples, see e.g. P.Flor.2.185, ll. 3-9 (254 AD); P.Mich.3.217, ll. 13-15 (296 AD); P.Cair.Isid.126, ll. 8-10 (308/9 AD). Compare DES PLACES, 1929, p. 53-54, with regard to Classical Greek.

One important difference between the two particles lies with their ‘cohesive direction’:<sup>168</sup> when we look at inferential expressions in terms of a ‘trigger’ and a ‘target’, we can say that οὖν attaches to the target, whereas γάρ attaches to the trigger (compare e.g. ‘it was raining this morning, so [οὖν] I took my umbrella’, with ‘I took my umbrella, for [γάρ] ‘it was raining this morning’). In the context of the Greek letter, οὖν typically accompanies the request in the letter body, whereas γάρ provides subsidiary information. From one point of view, one could expect οὖν-sequences to be more frequent, as they respect ‘natural’ ordering. However, I have argued that another ordering principle, ‘thematic’ ordering, also needs to be taken into account: γάρ-sequences will typically be used when the trigger represents information that is known to both parties, or that can be easily deducted, whereas οὖν-sequences are more common when the trigger contains new information. Third, I argued that both particles undergo a functional development, whereby they become used as ‘elaborative’ discourse markers. This mainly concerns οὖν, but γάρ is on occasion also used in this way. As an elaborative discourse marker, οὖν resembles δέ, in that it typically marks thematic discontinuity, whereas γάρ resembles καί, in that it mainly indicates thematic continuity.

In this article, I have concentrated on the use of οὖν and γάρ in a limited corpus of texts. In terms of further research, it would be interesting to compare my findings to narrative texts, and papyri from an earlier or later date. One important issue that I have stressed is studying these particles in their larger context: Ancient Greek is very rich in inferential expressions. A large, comparative study of these expressions, as has been done by Altenberg<sup>169</sup> for English, remains a *desideratum*. If such a study would also take a diachronic perspective, it would shed an interesting light on the disappearance of expressions such as οὖν.<sup>170</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> For this term, see ALTENBERG, 1984.

<sup>169</sup> ALTENBERG, 1984.

<sup>170</sup> My work was funded by *the Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders* (grant no. FW013/PDO/008).

## REFERENCES

- ALTENBERG, 1984= B. Altenberg, *Causal linking in spoken and written English* in *SL*, 38, 1984, p. 20-69.
- BAKKER, 2009= S.J. Bakker, *On the curious combination of the particles γάρ and οὐν* in S.J. Bakker & G.C. Wakker (eds.) *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, Leiden, p. 41-61.
- BAKKER & WAKKER, 2009= S.J. Bakker & G.C. Wakker, *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, Leiden, 2009.
- BARENDT, 1902= P.O. Barendt, *Ciceronian use of nam and enim* in *CR*, 16, 1902, p. 203-209.
- BEARTH, 1997= T. Bearth, *Inferential and counter-inferential grammatical markers in Swahili dialogue* in *AAP*, 51, 1997, p. 1-22.
- BENTEIN, 2014= K. Bentein, *Perfect* in G. Giannakis, V. Bubenik, E. Crespo, C. Golston, A. Lianeri, S. Luraghi & S. Matthaios (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek language and linguistics*, Leiden, 2014.
- BENTEIN, 2015a= K. Bentein, *Particle-usage in documentary papyri (I – IV AD). An integrated, sociolinguistically-informed approach* in *GRBS*, 55, 2015, p. 721-53.
- BENTEIN, 2015b= K. Bentein, *The Greek documentary papyri as a linguistically heterogeneous corpus: The case of the katochoi of the Sarapeion-archive* in *CW*, 108, 2015, p. 461-484.
- BIRD, 1953= C.H. Bird, *Some γάρ clauses in St. Mark's Gospel* in *JThS*, 4, 1953, p. 171-87.
- BLACK, 2002= S.L. Black, *Sentence conjunctions in the gospel of Matthew*, London, 2002.
- BLASS & DEBRUNNER, 1979= F. Blass & A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch. Bearbeitet van Friedrich Rehkopf*, Göttingen, 1979<sup>15</sup>.
- BLOMQUIST, 1969= J. Blomqvist, *Greek particles in Hellenistic prose*, Lund, 1969.
- BOLKESTEIN, 1991= M. Bolkestein, *Causally related predications and the choice between parataxis and hypotaxis* in R. Coleman (ed.) *New Studies in Latin Linguistics*, Amsterdam, 1991, p. 427-451.
- BRINTON, 1990= L.J. Brinton, *The development of discourse markers in english* in J. Fisiak (ed.) *Historical linguistics and philology*, Berlin & New York, 1990, p. 45-71.
- BRINTON, 1996= L.J. Brinton, *Pragmatic markers in English: Grammaticalization and discourse functions*, Berlin, 1996.
- BROSCHMANN, 1882= M. Broschmann, *De γάρ particulae usu Herodoteo*, Leipzig, 1882.
- BUIJS, 2005= M. Buijs, *Clause combining in Ancient Greek narrative discourse. The distribution of subclauses and participial clauses in Xenophon's Hellenica and Anabasis*, Leiden, 2005.
- BUTH, 1992= R. Buth, *οὐν, δέ, καί, and asyndeton in John's gospel* in D.A. Black & S.H. Levinsohn (eds.) *Linguistics and New Testament interpretation*, Nashville, 1992, p. 144-161.
- CLARYSSE, 2010= W. Clarysse, *Linguistic diversity in the archive of the engineers Kleon and Theodoros* in T.V. Evans & D. Obbink (eds.) *The language of the papyri*, Oxford, 2010, p. 35-50.
- CRYSTAL, 2008= D. Crystal, *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*, Oxford, 2008<sup>6</sup>.
- DENNISTON, 1954= J.D. Denniston, *The Greek particles*, Oxford, 1954<sup>2</sup>.
- DES PLACES, 1929= E. Des Places, *Études sur quelques particules de liaison chez Platon*, Paris, 1929.
- EDWARDS, 1990= R.A. Edwards, *Narrative implications of γάρ in Matthew* in *CBQ* 52, 1990, p. 636-655.

- EGEA, 1993= J.M. Egea, *Les particules en grec médiéval* in N.M. Panayotakis (ed.) *Origini della letteratura neogreca*, vol. I, Venice, 1993, p. 109-117.
- EVANS, 2010= T.V. Evans, *Standard Koine Greek in third century BC papyri* in T. Gagos & A. Hyatt (eds.) *Proceedings of the twenty-fifth International Congress of Papyrology*, Ann Arbor, 2010, 197-206.
- EXLER, 1923= F.X.J. Exler, *The form of the ancient Greek letter*, PhD thesis, Catholic University of America, 1923.
- FANEGO, 2010= T. Fanego, *Paths in the development of elaborative discourse markers: Evidence from Spanish* in K. Davidse, L. Vandelanotte & H. Cuyckens (eds.) *Subjectification, intersubjectification and grammaticalization*, Berlin & New York, 2010, p. 197-237.
- FRASER, 1999= B. Fraser, *What are discourse markers?* in *J. Pragmat.*, 31, 1999, p. 931-952.
- FRASER, 2009= B. Fraser, *An account of discourse markers* in *IRP*, 1, 2009, p. 1-28.
- FUGIER, 1987= H. Fugier, *Les connecteurs de 'cause' en Latin* in *MLing*, 9, 1987, p. 9-17.
- HALLIDAY & HASAN, 1976= M.A.K. Halliday & R. Hasan, *Cohesion in English*, London, 1976.
- HECKERT, 1996= J.K. Heckert, *Discourse function of conjoiners in the Pastoral Epistles*, Dallas, TX, 1996.
- HORROCKS, 2010= G.C. Horrocks, *Greek: A history of the language and its speakers*, Malden (Mass.), 2010.
- KLAUCK, 2006= H.-J. Klauck, *Ancient letters and the New Testament*, Waco, TX, 2006.
- KROON, 1995= C. Kroon, *Discourse particles in Latin: A study of nam, enim, autem, vero and at*, Amsterdam, 1995.
- KROON, 1997= C. Kroon, *Discourse markers, discourse structure and functional grammar* in J.H. Connolly (ed.) *Discourse and pragmatics in Functional Grammar*, Berlin & New York, 1997, p. 17-32.
- KUIPER, 2009= K. Kuiper, *Formulaic genres*, Houndmills 2009.
- LARSEN, 1991= I.A. Larsen, *Notes on the function of γάρ, μὲν, δέ, καί and τε in the Greek New Testament* in *Notes on Translation*, 5, 1991, p. 35-47.
- LEVINSOHN, 1987= S.H. Levinsohn, *Textual connections in Acts*, Atlanta, 1987.
- LOUDOVÁ, 2009a= K. Loudová, *Discourse markers in Early Byzantine narrative prose* in *Studies in Greek Linguistics*, 29, 2009, p. 296-312.
- LOUDOVÁ, 2009b= K. Loudová, *Cohesive textual means in Early Byzantine chronicles as a mirror of the language register* in K. Loudová & M. Žáková (eds.) *Early European languages in the eyes of modern linguistics*, Brno, 2009, p. 189-202.
- LOUDOVÁ, 2014= K. Loudová, *On the category of particles in Byzantium* in M. Hinterberger (ed.) *The language of Byzantine learned literature*, Turnhout, 2014, 147-169.
- MARTIN & ROSE, 2007= J.R. Martin, & D. Rose, *Working with discourse: Meaning beyond the clause*, London 2007.
- MAYSER, 1934= E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit. Band II.3: Satzlehre*, Berlin & Leipzig, 1934.

- MOULTON & GEDEN, 1978= W. Moulton, & A.S. Geden, *A concordance to the Greek New Testament*, Edinburgh, 1978<sup>5</sup>.
- NACHTERGAELE, 2015= D. Nachtergaele, *The formulaic language of the Greek private papyrus letters*, PhD Thesis, Ghent University, 2015.
- NILSSON, 1907= M.P. Nilsson, *Die Kausalsätze im Griechischen bis Aristoteles. Vol. I. die Poesie*, Würzburg, 1907.
- VAN OPHUIJSEN, 1993= J.M. van Ophuijsen, *Οὐν, ἄρα, δή, τοιούτων. The linguistic articulation of arguments in Plato's Phaedo* in C.M.J. Sicking & J.M. van Ophuijsen (eds.) *Two studies in Attic particle usage*, Leiden, 1993, p. 89-100.
- PENNINGTON, 2010= J.A. Pennington, *A study of purpose, result, and causal hypotaxis in Early Indo-European gospel versions*, PhD Dissertation, The University of Georgia, 2010.
- PORTER & O'DONNELL, 2007= S.E. Porter, & M.B. O'Donnell, *Conjunctions, clines, and levels of discourse in FilNeot*, 20, 2007, p. 3-14.
- POYTHRESS, 1984= V.S. Poythress, *The use of the intersentence conjunctions δέ, οὐν, καί, and asyndeton in the Gospel of John* in *NT*, 26, 1984, p. 312-340.
- RATHBONE, 1991= D. Rathbone, *Economic rationalism and rural society in 3rd century AD Egypt: The Heroninos archive and the Appianus Estate*, Cambridge, 1991.
- REIMER, 1985= M. Reimer, *The functions of οὐν in the gospel of John* in *START*, 13, 1985, p. 28-36.
- RIJKSBARON, 1976= A. Rijksbaron, *Temporal and causal conjunctions in Ancient Greek*, Amsterdam, 1976.
- SCHIFFRIN, 1987= D. Schiffrin, *Discourse markers*, Cambridge, 1987.
- SCHIWY, 1932= P. Schiwy, *Die syntaktischen Funktionen der Partikel nam*, Diss. Breslau, 1932.
- SICKING & VAN OPHUIJSEN, 1993= C.M.J. Sicking & J.M. van Ophuijsen, *Two studies in Attic particle usage*, Leiden, 1993.
- SICKING, 1993= C.M.J. Sicking, *Devices for text articulation in Lysias I and XII* in C.M.J. Sicking & J.M. van Ophuijsen (eds.) *Two studies in Attic particle usage*, Leiden, 1993, p. 1-66.
- SOLTIC, 2013= J. Soltic, *Late Medieval Greek πάλιν: A discourse marker signaling topic switch* in *GRBS*, 53, 2013, p. 390-419
- SOLTIC, 2014= J. Soltic, *The Particle γάρ: From Ancient Greek sentence connector to blatant line filler? A case-study on the Late Medieval Greek Chronicle of Morea* in *SO*, 88, 2014, p. 136-147.
- SOLTIC, 2015= J. Soltic, *Parenthetical "I say (you)" in Late Medieval Greek Vernacular: A message structuring discourse marker rather than a message conveying verb* in *JHP*, 16, 2015, p. 187-217.
- STEEN, 1938= H.A. Steen, *Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques* in *C & M*, 1, 1938, p. 119-176.
- THRALL, 1962= M.E. Thrall, *Greek particles in the New Testament: Linguistic and exegetical studies*, Leiden, 1962.
- TONNET, 1987= H. Tonnet, *Aperçu sur l'évolution historique des particules de liaison (joncteurs) en grec* in *CB*, 12, 1987, p. 135-150.
- VANDORPE, 2009= K. Vandorpe, *Archives and dossiers* in R. Bagnall (ed.) *Oxford handbook of papyrology*, Oxford, 2009, p. 216-255.

- VERRETH & VANDORPE, 2013= H. Verreth, & K. Vandorpe, *Heroninos, estate manager*, Published online at <http://www.trismegistos.org/arch/archives/pdf/103.pdf>, 2013 [last accessed May 28, 2015].
- VERSTRAETE, 1997= J.C. Verstraete, *A semiotic model for the description of levels in conjunction* in *FOL*, 5, 1997, p. 179-211.
- WAHLGREN, 1995= S. Wahlgren, *Sprachwandel im Griechisch der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit*, Göteborg, 1995.
- WAKKER, 1994= G.C. Wakker, *Conditions and conditionals. An investigation of Ancient Greek*, Amsterdam, 1994.
- WAKKER, 2009= G.C. Wakker, 'Well I will now present my arguments'. *Discourse cohesion marked by οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias* in S.J. Bakker & G.C. Wakker (eds.) *Discourse cohesion in Ancient Greek*, Leiden, 2009, p. 63-81.
- WHITE, 1972= J.L. White, *The form and function of the body of the Greek letter*, Missoula, MT, 1972.
- WHITE, 1978= J.L. White, *Epistolary formulas and cliches in greek papyrus letters* in *SBL Seminar Papers*, 14, 1978, p. 289-319.
- WHITE, 1988= J.L. White, *Ancient Greek letters* in D.E. Aune (ed.) *Greco-Roman literature and the New Testament*, Atlanta, 1988, p. 85-105.
- ZYCHA, 1885= F. Zycha, *Der Gebrauch von ἐπεὶ, ἐπεὶπερ; ἐπειδή, ἐπειδήπερ* in *WS*, 7, 1885, p. 82-115.

## Appendix: Overview of the corpus

<i>Location</i>	<i>Archive</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Letters</i>	
Arsinoites	Aphrodisius	I AD (38-40)	4	
	Nilus	II AD (100-199)	5	
	Pompeius Niger	I AD (31-64)	6	
Bacchias	Apollonius of Bacchias	I AD (50-99)	15	
	Horus and Tapeecysis	I – II AD (71-131)	1	
	Temple of Socnobrais	II – III AD (116-216)	13	
Dionysias	Flavius Abinnaeus <i>praefectus alae</i>	IV AD (325-75)	39	
Euhemeria	Epagathus estate manager	I - II AD (94-110)	18	
Hermopolis	Apollonius strategus	I - II AD (58-150)	140	
	Aurelius Adelphius	IV AD (300-399)	2	
	Aurelius Asclepiades, Adelphius, Aurelia Charite and Demetria alias Ammonia	III-IV AD (200-325)	4	
	Boule of Hermopolis	III AD (200-299)	7	
	Theophanes	IV AD (300-399)	10	
	Hermopolites	Apa Iohannes	IV AD (375-399)	15
		Aurelius Nikon alias Anicetus	III AD (200-299)	2
Hermias and Maximus		IV AD (300-350)	1	
Nearchides		IV AD (300-399)	5	
Tryphon Phibas		III AD (200-250)	4	
Karanis	Aurelius Isidorus	III-IV AD (267-324)	6	
	Aeon son of Sarapion and Valerius son of Antiourius	III-IV AD (299-399)	3	
	Claudius Tiberianus	II AD (100-125)	11	
	Gaius Iulius Agrippinus	II AD (103-148)	4	
	Gemellus Horion	I - III AD (93-214)	1	
	Iulius Sabinus and Iulius Apollinaris	I - II AD (96-147)	14	
	Iulius Serenus	II - III AD (179-219)	1	
	Saturnila and her sons	II-III AD (175-199)	9	
	Socrates tax collector and family	II AD (107-185)	8	
	Magdola Mire	Eutychemes son of Sarapion	I - II AD (90-195)	32
Oxyrynchus	Applications to join the gerousia	III AD (225-226)	1	
	Aurelia Diogenis alias Tourbiaina	III AD (200-299)	1	
	Aurelius Heras <i>praepositus pagi</i>	IV AD (316-324)	4	
	Boule of Oxyrynchus	III - IV AD (200-375)	5	
	Claudia Isidora alias Apias	III AD	1	
	Comon son of Mnesitheus	I AD (25-99)	4	
	Corn dole of Oxyrynchus	III AD (200-299)	1	
	Dius strategus	I - II AD (99-100)	2	
	Logistae of Oxyrynchus	IV AD (303-360)	1	
	Papnouthis and Dorotheus	IV AD (330-390)	29	
	Sarapion alias Apollonianus and sons	II-III AD (120-299)	18	
	Tryphon weaver	I AD (15 - 83)	2	
	Panopolis	Aurelius Ammon <i>scholasticus</i>	III-IV AD (281-399)	1
Panopolites	Correspondence of Asclas	I-II AD (1-199)	4	

Phathor	Apa Paieous	IV AD (330-340)	6
	Nepherus	III-IV AD (200-399)	18
Philadelpheia	Aurelius Ol	IV AD (372-386)	1
	Casius	II AD (155-175)	1
	Lawsuit of Isidoros vs. Tryphon	I AD (5-6 AD)	5
	Nemesion	I AD (30-61)	9
	Ploutogeneia	III AD (297)	8
	Tesenouphis wine merchant	III AD (211)	1
	Valerias' family	I - II AD (99-105)	6
Ptolemais			
Hormou	Petaus <i>comogrammateus</i>	II AD (135-187)	42
Socnopaïou			
Nesos	Satabus son of Herieus	II AD (167)	5
Tebtynis	Cronion and Isidora	II AD (100-199)	5
	Cronion son of Apion head of the <i>grapheion</i> of Tebtynis	I BC - I AD (20 BC - 56 AD)	1
	Cronion son of Cheos	II AD (106-153)	3
	Diogenis	II AD (138-147)	3
	Patron's decendants	II AD (108-176)	21
	Philosarapis	I - III AD (89 - 224)	3
	Sarapias and Sarapammon	II - III AD (165-270)	1
	Turbo	II - IV AD (100-299)	4
	Administrative archive of		
Theadelpheia	Theadelpheia	I-III AD (98-225)	1
	Harthotes priest and public farmer	I BC - I AD (5 BC - 61 AD)	1
	Heroninus	II - III AD (199-275)	292
	Ptolemaeus son of Diodoros	II AD (138-162)	1
	Sacaon	III - IV AD (254-343)	5
	Sheep-lessees of Theadelpheia	III - IV AD (260-306)	2
	Soterichus and Didymus	I - II AD (65 - 135)	1