1 ἔγραψέ μοι γάρ ... τὰ νῦν οὖν γράφω σοι

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

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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’. This constitutes, of course, an overgeneralisation: 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 and Blomqvist, 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). 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, Heckert, and most recently

1 P.Petaus, ll. 7-10 (II AD).
3 THRALL, 1962.
4 BLOMQVIST, 1969.
5 For some more recent observations, see WAHLGREN, 1995, p. 89-123.
7 HECKERT, 1996.
Documentary sources, on the other hand, which, thanks to their long time-span and potentially low-level language provide a key witness, have received almost no scholarly attention. Mayser briefly discusses the Ptolemaic papyri, but, as is well known, there is no syntax of the Roman and Byzantine papyri.

In the present article, I intend to analyse the use of οὖν and γάρ in documentary sources, letters in particular. Most studies agree that both particles remained in use during the entire Post-classical period, although some scholars have noted that οὖν was used less frequently in the New Testament (with the exception of John’s gospel). 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: Black, for example, argues that ‘both are concerned with inferential relationships in discourse’. 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 there ‘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, for example, note with regard to οὖν 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 οὖν and γάρ as ‘inferential’ (§4.1) and ‘elaborative’ (§4.2) discourse markers. In §5, I briefly

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8 Black, 2002.
9 For further considerations, see Bentein, 2015b.
10 Mayser, 1934.
11 For some recent observations with regard to the Ptolemaic papyri, see Clarysse, 2010; Evans, 2010.
12 See further §3.
14 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).
16 See further §2.
17 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. Older studies – Denniston being the most well-known example – tend to subcategorise particles for very specific meanings. Moulton & Geden recognise as much as eight different uses for οὖν: (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. This approach was particularly stimulated by scholars working within the Dutch school of linguistics, such as Sicking & van Ophuijsen, Wakker, and Bakker & Wakker. For example, define οὖν as follows:

‘οὖν 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

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18 Compare e.g. Bentein, 2014 on the perfect.
19 Denniston, 1954.
20 What is called the ‘maximalist’ view, see e.g. Black, 2002, p. 51.
21 Moulton & Geden, 1978, p. 1104.
22 I borrow this reference from Larsen, 1991, p. 38.
23 What is called the ‘minimalist’ view, see e.g. Black, 2002, p. 51.
25 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 Loudová26 and Soltic27 on Post-classical and Byzantine Greek. Research on so-called ‘discourse markers’28 goes back to the 1980s, at which time it was mainly concentrated on English.29 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.30

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’.31 He furthermore specifies three necessary and sufficient conditions that a discourse marker must meet:32

(i) ‘a DM is a lexical expression, for example, but, so, and in addition’;33

(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,34 among others, recognises three general groups – inferential, el-

26 L OUDOVÁ, 2009a, 2009b.
28 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.
29 See e.g. the foundational study by SCHIFFRIN, 1987.
30 For further bibliography, see e.g. http://people.bu.edu/bfraser/Guidelines%-20for%20DM%20Research/Guidelines%20for%20Research%20in%20Discourse%20Markers.doc.
31 FRASER, 2009, p. 5. Note that for Ancient Greek, this excludes focus particles such as γε and modal particles such as ἄν.
33 Thus excluding syntactic structures and prosodic features.
34 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

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

Applying this typology to the particles under investigation in this article, οὖν 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-

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35 Based on Fraser, 1999, 2009.
mental value.\textsuperscript{36} 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.\textsuperscript{37} Scholars commonly recognise a number of epistolary types: official letters, business letters, private letters, letters of recommendation, etc.\textsuperscript{38} Three main purposes can be identified in these letters:\textsuperscript{39} (1) to convey information, (2) to make requests, (3) to enhance/maintain personal contact.

Ancient letters constitute what Kuiper\textsuperscript{40} 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.).\textsuperscript{41} Scholars generally distinguish between three main structural parts, that is, an ‘opening’, a ‘body’, and a ‘closing’.\textsuperscript{42} Each of these general parts can be further subdivided. Below, an overview is given of the structural make-up of the Ancient letter.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{36} VANDORPE, 2009, p. 238-240. For a list of these archives, see appendix.
\textsuperscript{37} WHITE, 1988, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{38} 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.
\textsuperscript{39} Cf. WHITE, 1988, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{40} KUIPER, 2009.
\textsuperscript{41} On these formulaic phrases, see e.g. EXLER, 1923; WHITE, 1972, 1978; NACHTERGAELLE, 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’.
\textsuperscript{42} 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.
\end{flushright}
### Table 2: Structural parts of the Ancient letter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>Letter opening</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Prescript (e.g. A to B χαίρειν)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Proem (e.g. εὔχομαι σε υγιαίνειν)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II.</th>
<th>Letter body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Body opening (e.g. θέλω σε γινώσκειν)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Body middle (e.g. καλῶς ἂν ποιήσαις)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Body closing (e.g. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας εὐχαριστήσεις ἠμῖν)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III.</th>
<th>Letter closing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Epilogue (μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσης)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Postscript (e.g. ἀσπάζου τὰ τέκνα σου, ἔρρωσο)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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. 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:

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"Didymus to his most honoured Apollônios, greetings. You will do well to accompany Ailuriôn, who brings you this letter, so that he can buy us pidgeons 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 Apollônios] the most honoured one."

This letter presents most of the structural parts mentioned above. In the letter opening, we have a prescript (Δίδυμος Ἀπολλωνίωι 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 ἔσῃ

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43 Based on KLÄUCK, 2006, p. 42. Cf. also WHITE, 1988, p. 97.
44 See WHITE, 1988, p. 96.
45 Translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated.
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. 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)](image)

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, 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. Bearth 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 inference), and (3) the closing phase (the final closing formula).

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46 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).

47 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.

48 For the ‘original’ meaning of γάρ and οὖν, see DE S Places, 1929, p. 5-10; DE NISTON, 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).

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). This can be represented as follows:

(2) trigger – [οὖν – target]

(3) target – [γάρ – trigger]

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

(4) ἔγραψά 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))

"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]


"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 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:

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50 Compare ALTENBERG, 1984, p. 24, and LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, p. 298, with regard to Ancient Greek.
51 Note that the two particles always accompany the second part of the inferential process, which is indicated by the square brackets.
52 For the sake of clarity, instances of οὖν and γάρ are indicated in bold.
In example (6), abba Miôs 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 Miôs 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. οὖν is used to indicate the answer, but accompanies μετηνέχθη directly, rather than an introductory statement of the type γίνωσκε [οὖν] ὅτι.

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

In (8), Arsis writes to Apollonius the strategus and mentions the fact that she heard that the lines cloths are cheap where Apollonius resides. Whereas γάρ normally introduces a
trigger, in this particular example it mediates the target proposition, that is, that Arsis has bought linen cloths for an amount of 300 drachmae.\footnote{Compare \textsc{Denniston}, 1954, p. 68-70 on ‘anticipatory’ γάρ in the Classical period.} 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, Choüs’ foster-son Akoris coming up with Dorotheus. Note, however, that οὖν is not used with the semantics of γάρ: rather, it is the entire target proposition that is preposed, including οὖν. This moveability can be attributed to the fact that οὖν is embedded within a subordinate purpose clause, which can be more easily preposed.

As Verstraete\footnote{\textsc{Verstraete}, 1997, p. 180.} 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 \textit{level} on which the relation holds. Consider the following two English examples:

(10)  \textit{John is ill because he has been out in the rain too long.}

(11)  \textit{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 \textit{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.\footnote{For further discussion, see e.g. \textsc{Halliday & Hasan}, 1976, p. 240-241; \textsc{Martin & Rose}, 2007, p. 122-141.} In our corpus, οὖν 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 οὖν. Consider the following examples:\footnote{For similar examples, see e.g. \textsc{P.Brem.6}, l. 6 (II AD); \textsc{BGU.1.33}, l. 6 (II/III AD); \textsc{P.Flor.2.171}, l. 12 (255 AD); \textsc{P.Sakaon.55}, l. 12 (IV AD).}

(12)  \textit{εἴη δὲ σε, κύριε ἀδελφε, κατορθώσας τὸν ὑγιὴς κατελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα· με[θ’ ἡδονῆς καὶ χαρᾶς γάρ [ἡ]μου ἐπὶ τῆν πατρίδα ἡμῖν καταβήσει (P.Herm.6, ll. 2-25 (ca. 317-323))}
“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 συντυχὼν Πε[θ]ε̣υ ̣͂ τῶι διάκωνι, ἵνα βάληι τόν μόσχον πρὸ τῶι προβάτων πεσαίει υψω. Πετεσουχ( ) Πασείτους καὶ ἕαν εἰσεσοῦ ὅτι ἕνεκε αὐτ[ὸν], πέμψον Ἀτρῆν ἔχοντα αὐτ[ὸν] εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν καὶ μετρη[ὰ]τωι Ἀτρῆς τὸν σὰκκον τοῦ πυροῦ καὶ ἐπένεκε αὐτὸν εἰς Ἡφαιστία[δα]ν καὶ ἀλλαξέτω σε αὐτὸν Πασίων καλοῖς σπέρμασει. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποιήσε[ις] (BGU.2.597, ll. 3-12 (75 AD))


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 ποιή̣ς συντυχὼν, 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, Verstraete (1997, esp. 199-206) recognises a second type of internal use, which he calls ‘epistemic’. With this second type, which occurs less frequently in our corpus, the clause gives grounds for reasoning or knowledge. Consider the following example:


“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]

59 Compare DENNISTON, 1954, p. 62, with regard to γάρ.
60 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’.

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).

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: οὔπω 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 φιλής εὐθέως ἐργασίαν δῶσις 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.

γάρ can also be used with wide(r) scope, as shown in (15):

(15) γράψον Κουπανηοῦτι περὶ τῆς οἰκίας· ἐπὶ γὰρ λέγει Ταῆσις· οὐ δίδωμι ἐνοικίον· οὗ οὐκ ἀντεχεῖ γάρ μοι χαλκὸν ἀντί 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 Apolinarious, 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
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.66

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

(16) παρακαλοῦμέν σε, δέσποτα πάτερ, μή θελήσῃς ἐντυχίν διὰ τὸν θεόν καὶ διὰ ὅλην τὴν κόμην, ἵνα μὴ οὕτωι ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐρημώσωσιν, ἀλλὰ καταξίωσον οὖν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ εἰ 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 πατὴρ Ἱέραξ χάριν ἔχω τῇ διαθέσι σου, ἀδελφέ κύριε, ὅτι τὸ σφάλμα ἐβουλήθης διορθώσασθαι. δέον γάρ σε ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ τῆς ἐργασίας τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν πρώτοις ποιῆσαι γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ προκρίνειν ἄλλους ἡμῶν ἣμελήσας (CPR.8.28, ll. 3-9 (IV AD))


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 θελήσῃς ἐντυχίν. 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

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66 Compare Denniston, 1954, p. 64-65, with regard to Archaic/Classical Greek.
68 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.
69 For a similar example, see e.g. P.Herm.2, l. 9 (317 AD).
participle, the preposition and its noun, etc.\textsuperscript{70} It is to be noted, however, that this syntactic rule is not always upheld:\textsuperscript{71} we also find our particles in third, fourth, fifth, and in one exceptional case even seventh position.\textsuperscript{72} In these cases, the particles are placed after word groups that have a strict semantic connection,\textsuperscript{73} such as the ones mentioned above.\textsuperscript{74}

The repeated use of οὖν in one and the same sentence is another syntactic peculiarity worth mentioning:\textsuperscript{75}

(18) καθ’ αὐτὴν οὖν τὴν ὁϕιν μὴ πισθεὶς οὖν τοῖς καρπώναις τὴν τρύγην ποίησε καὶ οὖτως μοι ἐπιστεύειν (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 phrontistès (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’ αὐτὴν τὴν ὁϕιν and μὴ πισθεὶς τοῖς καρπώναις.

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

(19) ἐν ἑτύμωσι δὲ ἔχε τὰς σιππία, φέρω γάρ τοὺς κουνηγοὺς ἐρχόμενος, ἵνα τὰ λίνα 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.]

\textsuperscript{70} See e.g. τὰ γάρ εργατικὰ μου κτήην (P.Flor.2.127, ll. 20-21 (256 AD)); ἔμελλον γάρ ἀνελθίν (P.Abinn.28, l. 20 (342-351 AD)); θεοῦ γάρ θέλοντος (P.Oxy.48.3418, l. 7 (IV AD)); διὰ γάρ τὴν [σή]ν πρόνοιαν (BGU.1.248, l. 9 (ca. 75-76 AD)).

\textsuperscript{71} 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.

\textsuperscript{72} In P.Ammon.1.3, 4, l. 10 (348 AD), γάρ seems to be used in sentence-initial position.

\textsuperscript{73} See e.g. ἵνα τὸν αὐτὸν (?) Ισίδωρον πρῶτος ἐρχόμενος οὖν (?) (SB.24.15909, ll. 3-4 (6 AD)); ἀπὸ Πιλοσείου γάρ (P.Mich.8.466, l. 36 (107 AD)); παρακαλῶ σε οὖν (P.Giss.Apoll.8, l. 14 (115 AD)); ἤτοι δὲ ἄρτι γάρ τὸν αὐτὸν άνελθε (BGU.11.2129, ll. 10-11 (II AD)); ής ὥρας οὖν λαμβάνεις (P.Flur.2.127, l. 3 (256 AD)); διὰ τὸ φόβος γάρ (P.Abinn.7, l. 5 (342-351 AD)).

\textsuperscript{74} Also note that γάρ always comes after μὲν, 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).

\textsuperscript{75} For a somewhat similar example from the same archive, see P.Flor.2.189, ll. 6-9 (267 AD).

\textsuperscript{76} For similar examples, see e.g. P.Mich.8.477, l. 36 (II AD); P.Sarap.92, l. 9 (II AD); P.Flur.2.185, l. 9 (254 AD); P.Cair.Isid.133, l. 9 (III AD); P.Ryl.2.239, ll. 10, 12 (III AD).

\textsuperscript{77} 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) preposed subordinate clauses, obeying the second-position rule. Much less frequently, we find the particles in postposed subordinate clauses. Consider the following two examples:

(20) ἀλλ' δρα μὴ ἁμελήσῃς καὶ οὐ συνοίσει σοι· ὅταν γάρ δεήσει τὰ παρὰ σοι θέρη συνκομισθῆναι πλείονα ἔξει βοήθειαν καὶ ἀπὸ ἄλλων τόπων βουδίων σοι φερομένων (P.Flor.2.150, l. 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 giovonchi anche a te da altri luoghi vengan recati." [tr. Comparetti]

(21) ἐρωτῶ σε ἐὰν δυνασθῇς πέμψον μοι ἐὰν ἔξεις ἤ μονόν ὅτι γάρ χρίαν ἐξω ἵνα ἐκδικός 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.

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78 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).

79 For a similar example, see P.Flor.2.271, l. 2 (III AD).

80 For similar 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).
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, in formulaic phrases of the type εὖ (οὖν) ποιήσεις “you will do well”, ἐρωτῶ (οὖν) “I ask”, καλῶς (οὖν) ποιήσεις “you will do well”, καταξίωσον (οὖν) “deem it worthy”, παρακαλῶ σε (οὖν) “I ask you”, πᾶν (οὖν) ποιήσον “do everything”, and παρακαλοῦμεν (οὖν) “we request”.82 Consider the following example:

(22) θαυμάζω πῶς ἀναπλεύσας οὐκ ἀντέγραψάς μοι περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου, ἀλλὰ ἐως σήμερον ἔμεθα ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐξῆλθες. 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.83 Especially after longer stretches of text, οὖν can be seen as a marker of central information:84 the trigger-target sequence can be seen as a subsidiary - central pair.85 In (22), for example, οὖν announces the actual request. What precedes the request is known to both parties, and can therefore be considered background.

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81 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).
82 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.B.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).
83 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).
84 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.
85 For this rhetorical relation, see e.g. KROON, 1997, p. 21-22.
The use of γάρ parallels that of οὖν quite closely:86 γάρ is used following the request in the body middle.87 Consider the following example:88

(23) ἡμι τῶ λαβεῖν μου τὴν ἐπιστολῆν αὐτῆ ὀρα ἤνελθε, ὁ γάρ κράτιστος ἐπιστράτηγος ἰκανῶς σε ἑπεξήντασε (P.Tebt.2.411, ll. 3-7 (II AD))

"Immediately upon receiving my letter come up instantly, for his highness the epistrategus 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 information89 with regard to the preceding text.90 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:91


"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 hard92 to consider ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀπο-

86 Compare BLA], 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.
87 Alternatively, the particle follows a regular statement in the body middle (compare fn. 81). See e.g. SB.14.12082, l. 5 (III AD).
88 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).
89 Explanation, elaboration, comment, etc. (cf. KROON, 1995, p. 147-148).
90 On the backgrounding function of γάρ, see further LARSEN, 1991, p. 36; SICKING, 1993, p. 20 ff.
91 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?).
92 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 in formulaic phrases of the type μὴ ἀμελήσῃς (οὖν) "do not neglect", μὴ (οὖν) ἄλλως ποιήσῃς "do not act otherwise", ὅρα (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 request93 made in the letter body.94 γάρ, on the other hand, also occurs after the disclosure formula in the body opening, after phrases such as γινώσκειν σε θέλω “I want you to know”:95 exceptionally, it even accompanies the disclosure formula.96 For an illustration, consider (25):

(25) γεινω[σ]καν σε [θ]έλω ὅτι ἡ θυγάτηρ μου κάκη παραχλήταται υπὸ τῆς μητρός σου. ἔγραψέ μοι γάρ λέγουσα ὅτι ἐὰν ἔτι μῆνα οὖν ὁποῖα ποιήσης ἔχονμα μου βάλλω ἐματ[ή]ν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρός σου. (P.Petaus.29, ll. 6-10 (II AD))


In this letter, Didymarion uses the γινώσκειν 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:97


93 Compare WHITÉ, 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.’
94 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 (53 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).
95 For a similar example, see e.g. BGU.1.261, l. 6 (105 AD).
96 See e.g. P.Tebt.2.315, l. 10 (II AD).
97 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 (ἕρωσο), then adds the dating, and in final instance the formula μη οὖν ἀλλος ποιήσῃς, 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.\(^98\) As Altenberg notes ‘natural ordering always results in CR [cause-result] order’,\(^99\) or, in other words, trigger [οὖν – target]. To explain the existence and usage of both particles, one must look at other ordering principles,\(^100\) 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:\(^101\) if it is information that is known to or agreed upon by both parties or that can be easily deducted, 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,\(^102\) 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 phrontistēs (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

\(^{98}\) I define a ‘sequence’ as a combination of a trigger, the particle οὖν or γάρ, and a target.

\(^{99}\) ALTEMBERG, 1984, 58.

\(^{100}\) ALTEMBERG, 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.

\(^{101}\) Cf. EDWARDS, 1990.

\(^{102}\) For further information, see e.g. RATHBONE, 1991; VERRETH & VANDORPE, 2013.
occurs, for example, in sentences that express the addressee’s benevolence, or the fact that he has neglected to do something that was agreed upon. On various occasions, it is even explicitly mentioned that the information in the γάρ-clause is well known to the addressee. On other occasions, γάρ occurs in sentences that express general truths, or contain information that can be easily deduced, of the type '[do this for] the master has ordered this' only in a few cases, the sentence containing γάρ presents information that can be considered unknown to the addressee. 

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, or the future arrival of persons. 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

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103 Eg. οἶδα γάρ σου τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην (P.Gron.16, ll. 23-24 (III AD)) “for I know your courtesy”; οἶδα γάρ ὅτι συνειδήσεις πουδαξές ἐμοί (P.Flor.3.338, ll. 17-18 (III AD)) “for I know that you are exerting yourself for me conscientiously” [tr. Hunt & Edgar].

104 Eg. ταξάμενος γάρ ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν τριῶν τούτο ποιῆσα 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 [καὶ] τοσοῦτον ἡμέρων ἀκούσας γὰρ τούτῳ, 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”; τοσαυτάκις γάρ ἔγραψα περὶ τούτου (SB.14.12003, ll. 10-11 (III AD)) “for I have written so many times about this”.

105 Eg. ἐπίστασε γάρ τὰ τῶν κτημάτων ὅτι πολὺν κάλαμον 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]; οὐ καὶ ἀγνοεῖς γάρ τὰ κατεπείγοντα 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 ἐστι κρύμωτερος (P.Fay.133, ll. 8-9 (260 AD)) “for you know that the season is now rather late” [tr. Hunt et al].

106 Eg. πᾶν γάρ αὐτοῦ χρῄζει ἐνθάδε (P.Flor.2.252, ll. 11-12 (257 AD)) “for he has great need of it here”; ἔστιν γάρ ἀνάγκη (P.Prag.Varl.NS.30, l. 20 (III AD)) “for there is need”.

107 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 κτήσαντες ἀποστέλλω ἐπὶ αὐτᾶς (SB.6.9470, ll. 14-16 (265 AD)) “for tomorrow I will send beasts for these [artabs]”; ὅδε γάρ ἀνήλθεν πρὸς [ἐμ]έ (SB.16.12577, ll. 21-22 (III AD)) “for he did not come to me”.

108 Eg. ἔπεμψα 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 τεκτονίς Ὀλυμπίαδωρον 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”.

109 E.g. τῇ κ διέρχομαι τὰ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἀνερχομένα 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 σε γενομένους (P.Flor.2.127, ll. 2-3 (256 AD)) “expect that we will be coming to you”; οἱ εὐσχημονεῖς προαιρέσιν 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”.

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something. Rather infrequently, it also occurs after information that can be easily deduced, of the type ‘the master has ordered this’. That οὖν should also occur after this type of information can be attributed to reasons of emphasis: the addressee 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):

(27) Τῶι κυρίῳ μου Ἀλυπίῳ [π(αρά)] [Ἡρωνέινου φροντιστοῦ Θεαδελφ[[(είς]) ] [Ἐπέστιλας δηλωθῆναι σοι τὸν ἀρι[θμὸν]τού καλάμου τοῦ μετενεχθέν[τοι] ἀπὸ τῆς κτήσεως. Μετηνέχη οὖν [μι]ράδος θ φορτία ἑβ (SB.24.16323, ll. 1-6 (249-69 AD))

“To my lord Alypios 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 [Ἐπέστιλας δηλωθῆναι σοι κτλ. is known by both parties, so it could be expected to be postposed and introduced by γάρ. However, in this letter [Ἐπέστιλας δηλωθῆναι 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, and for Post-classical Greek St. Mark. 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-

112 E.g. ἐθαύμασα πῶς μέχρι σήμερον οὐκ ἀνῆλθε/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 ἐγράφη ἀναπέμψαι τὰ ... καὶ ἔπεμψας (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”.
113 E.g. [ὁ] κύριός μου Ἀλύπιος [ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς ἀπο[στα]λέντας καμήλους [εἰς Ἀ]λωτερίδα ἐπὶ ξό[λον πα]ρα σοι ἀναπώ[σα]θα] (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”.
114 For a similar example, see e.g. P.Flor.2.208v, ll. 3-6 (259-68 AD).
115 Cf. BROSCHEMANN, 1881, p. 4-6; DENNISTON, 1954, p. 58.
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.”

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 in a recent article:

(28) Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Πετενούρις Σαμῶυς ὑοφορβοί δεόμεθα οὖν σου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· ὥν γὰρ ἡμάρτομεν τετιμωρήμεθα (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.’ 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, meaning that it comes to signal ‘the expansion of the previous discourse segment in another item’. 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. Loudová 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

117 THRALL, 1962, p. 47.
118 EVANS, 2010, p. 204.
119 EVANS, 2010, p. 204.
120 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).
121 LOUDOVÁ, 2009b, p. 192, referring to FRASER, 1999, p. 946ff.
122 There is relatively little literature about the diachronic development of discourse markers. For some observations, see e.g. BRINTON, 1990; FANEGO, 2010.
123 LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, 2009b.
imagine, since it already marks the next step from trigger to target. By the sixth century, Loudová claims,\textsuperscript{124} 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:\textsuperscript{125}

\begin{quote}
(29) [Ἡρακλείδης Νεμεσίωι τωι φιλτάτωι χαίρειν. καλῶς (οὖν) ποιήσεις ὑφέξεις τοῖς περὶ Πανετβηοῦειν καὶ Πετεσοῦχον Ἐσούριος καὶ Πετεσοῦχον τὸν ἀδελ[φὸ(ν)] αὐτοῦ καὶ Νεφερᾶς ταυρ[ο]τάφο(ν) καὶ τὸς περὶ Νικάνωρος του πολιτοῦ καὶ Ὀννόφριον (SB.14.12143, ll. 1-10 (41-54 AD))

“Herakleides 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, Nepheras the bull-burier, the associates of the citizen Nikanor, and Onnorphris.” [tr. Youtie]
\end{quote}

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):\textsuperscript{126}

\begin{quote}
(30) Πανίσκο[ς] τῇ σοιμβίῳ μου Πλουτογενίᾳ μητρὶ τῆς θυγατρός μου πλῖστα χαίρειν. πρὸ μὲν <πάντων> εὐχόμε σοι τὴν ὁλοκληρία καθʹ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς πᾶσι/ γινώσκειν σε οὖν θέλω, ἀδελφή, ὅτι ἐν Κόπτωι αἰμίναμεν ἐνγὺς τῆς ἀδελφῆς [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]
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{124} L\textsc{oudová}, 2009a, 302. Based on John Malalas' \textit{Chronicle}.
\textsuperscript{125} For a similar example, see e.g. P.Fay.116, l. 3 (104 AD).
\textsuperscript{126} 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 opens 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:


"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 Xenobosokia 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, µεταπέµψασθαι. 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:


127 For similar examples, see e.g. P.Mich.3.201, II. 4-5 (99 AD); SB.6.9636, l. 7 (136 AD); P.Giss.97, II. 7-8 (II AD); P.Hamb.1.54, l. 6 (III AD); P.Neph.11, II. 16-17 (IV AD).
128 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]

Σύρος Ἡρωείνῳ τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χαίρειν. πολλάκις σοι ἐνετειλάμην περὶ τῶν παιδίων Ποντικοῦ, τού ἐν παρακαταθήκην ἔχειν, οὐ γάρ εἰσιν τῆς οἰκίας ἀλλότριοι, ὡς καὶ σὺ ἐπίστασαι. ὁ οὖν Διόσκορος ἠξίωσεν γράμματά σοι κομισθῆναι, ἵνα ἐν [ὁ]ίς σου ἐὰν δεηθῇ, ἐπιδῶσις σεαυτόν (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 introducted, the request [ἀξί]ωσον. (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. In his study of οὖν in Plato’s works, for example, Des Places 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.

‘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 réponse 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.’

130 Des Places, 1929, p. 3-88.
131 One can speak of thematic discontinuity when there is a change of character, location, time, etc. On this topic, see esp. Levensohn, 1987, with regard to Ancient Greek.
132 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.133 However, this is not always the case. Consider the following example:134

(34) οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς, κύριε, πῶς ἐμισθῶσαμέν τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς κέλλις πρὸς ἑνιαυτόν ἐνιαυτός πεπληρωται ὡς ἐνιαυτός Φαρμοῦθι (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 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 ἑνιαυτός.

That γάρ should also be used as an elaborative discourse marker135 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.136 For an intriguing example from our corpus, consider (35):137

(35) Ἀρποκρατίων Βελλήνωι Σαβείνωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν καὶ ἐκθές σοι ἔγραψα διὰ Μάρδωνος τοῦ σοῦ γνῶναι σε θέλων ὥστε ἐπηρεάσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθην κατελθεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἔχωι ὧδε ἡμέρας ἐὰν δοκῇ σοι πέμψαι τὸ ἀποκορονάς θεῶς καὶ παραλάβωμεν τὸ ἔλαιον ἱππόμενον τὸν δόξη σοι. ἐλήλυθεν γάρ Τευφιλὸς Ἰουδαῖος λέγων ὅτι ἤχθην ἵνα ἔσω τὸν ἰμαντᾶς καὶ ἀρωγαίς Katie ἔσω τὸν ἡμέρας ἕκαστος γάρ καὶ ἀρωγαίς ζωῆς τιμήν οὔτε γάρ εἴρηχε ἡμῖν σημεῖον γνώσομαι γὰρ ἔσω τὸν ἰμαντᾶς λέγει (P.Fay.123, ll. 1-24 (ca. 100 AD?))

133 For a comparison, see esp. BUTH, 1991, p. 157.
134 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.Flory.2.145, l. 7 (264 AD); P.Flory.2.226, l. 21 (III AD); P.Abinn.19, l. 16 (342-351 AD).
135 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.
137 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).
Harpocration writes to his brother Bellenus Sabinus, informing him that he was unable to come down. Harpocration also informs his brother that a certain Teuphilus 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 Teuphilus was impressed. Observe how γάρ is used three times to add new information: (i) Teuphilus 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'. 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 ἄδελφον Ἱερακίωνος τῷ πλοῖῳ, ἀς ἄλλῳ γὰρ καὶ ρῶι οὐ δυνήσομαι πεζεύειν τοὺς τοποὺς [ . . . ] διὰ τὴν ἐκπόρθησιν τῶν τόπων καὶ τὴν σπανίν [ -ca.? - ] - ca.? - ] γων [μετακεκλη] μετακεκλημένων ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Μέμφιν πραγματικῶς πρὸς τὸν διαλογισμόν, ἵνα εὐκαιρίαν λαβῶν ἐπιγνῶ, τί πράσσει Ἱερακίων. δύο γάρ 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 devestation 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

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138 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,\textsuperscript{139} 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:

\begin{quote}
‘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.’\textsuperscript{140}
\end{quote}

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,\textsuperscript{141} for example, shows that in the Vulgate nam is used where the Greek original has δέ. One of his examples is the following:

\begin{quote}
οἱ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούσαντες, εἶτα ἔρχεται ὁ διάβολος καὶ αἴρει τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας οἳ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν μετὰ χαρᾶς δέχονται τὸν λόγον, καὶ οὐ τοῖς ῥίζας ἐχοῦσιν, οἳ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύσωσιν καὶ ἐν καιρῷ πειρασμοῦ ἀφίστανται (Lc. 8.12-3)
\end{quote}

\textit{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 gudio 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."

\begin{quote}
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
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{139}THRALL, 1962, p. 49-50.
\textsuperscript{140}THRALL, 1962, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{141}SCHIY, 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\footnote{SCHIWIY, 1932, p. 68-75.} 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.’\footnote{SCHIWIY, 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.’}

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\footnote{For some preliminary observations on John Malalas’ Chronicle, see LOUDOVÁ, 2009a, p. 302-303.} 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:\footnote{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).} as Rijksbaron\footnote{RIJKSBARON, 1976, p. 4.} 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 in English is given by Altenberg.\footnote{ALTENBERG, 1984.} Altenberg\footnote{ALTENBERG, 1984, p. 22.} argues that there are four main types of inferential expressions: (i)
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:¹⁴⁹ (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:¹⁵⁰ (i) e.g. γάρ, διό, διόπερ, δόθην, οὖν, τοιγαροῦν, τοίνυν; (ii) e.g. διά or ἐνεκα with a (pro)noun; fixed combinations of the type ἀνθ’ ὧν, διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκ τούτου, ὁθούνεκα, οὖνεκα, τούτου χάριν (iii) e.g. ἄτε, διότι, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ἵνα, ὅπου, οἷα , οἷον, ὅτι, ὅτε , ὁπότε, ὡς, ὥστε; (iv) e.g. ἀποτελέω/τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, dative of reason, genitive of cause (with infinitive), conjunct participle.¹⁵¹ 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.¹⁵² 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,¹⁵³ for example, compares, to some extent, the use of οὖν, ἄρα and τοίνυν. More recently, Wakker¹⁵⁴ has compared the use of οὖν and τοίνυν in Lysias, and Bakker¹⁵⁵ has

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¹⁵⁰ Compare also RIJKSBARON, 1976, p. 20-26.
¹⁵¹ 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. POTHRESS, 1984; BLACK, 2002, p. 179-217.
¹⁵² For Latin, more work has been done. See a.o. BARENDT, 1902; FUGIER, 1987; BOLKESTEIN, 1991; KROON, 1995, p. 129-209.
¹⁵³ DES PLACES, 1929.
¹⁵⁴ WAKKER, 2009.
¹⁵⁵ BAKKER, 2009.
studied the combination of the particles γάρ and οὖν. In the area of subordination, Zycha, Zycha,156 Nilsson,157 and Rijksbaron,158 have compared various subordinating conjunctions (e.g. ἐπεί, ἐπειδή, ὡς, ὅτι) from a semantic and syntactic point of view. More recently, Buijs159 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.160 Rijksbaron161 discusses, among others, to what extent ἐπεί and γάρ are interchangeable.

With regard to Post-classical Greek, too, little work has been done. In his recent PhD-thesis, Pennington162 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.163 Loudová164 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, Bentein165 presents a brief discussion of the pragmatic value of τοίνυν and τοιγαροῦν in Greek letters and petitions.

Post-classcial 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

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156 Zycha, 1885.
157 Nilsson, 1907.
158 Rijksbaron, 1976.
159 Buijs, 2005.
160 Rijksbaron, 1976. For some observations with regard to Herodotus, see also Broschmann, 1881, p. 4-6.
161 Rijksbaron, 1976, p. 81-84.
162 Pennington, 2010, p. 74-133.
164 Loudová, 2009a, p. 303.
165 Bentein, 2015a.
subordinating conjunctions such as διό, ἐπεί, ἵνα, λοιπόν, ὅτι, τούτου χάριν, and ὡς;\(^{166}\)

(ii) the mixing of subordination and coordination. For an illustration of the latter point, consider the following example:\(^{167}\)


“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 εὕρηκα ... καλῶς ποιῆσεις [subordination of the trigger] or οὐχ εὕρηκα ... . καλῶς οὖν ποιῆσεις ... [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.

\(^{166}\) 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).

\(^{167}\) 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’: 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 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.

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168 For this term, see Altenberg, 1984.
170 My work was funded by the Fund for Scientific Research – Flanders (grant no. FWO13/PDO/008).
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## Appendix: Overview of the corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Archive</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Letters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Apollonius of Bacchias</td>
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<td>Flavius Abinnaeus <em>praefectus alae</em></td>
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<td>Ptolemaeus son of Diodoros</td>
<td>II AD (138-162)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacaon</td>
<td>III - IV AD (254-343)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep-lessees of Theadelphia</td>
<td>III - IV AD (260-306)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soterichus and Didymus</td>
<td>I - II AD (65 - 135)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>