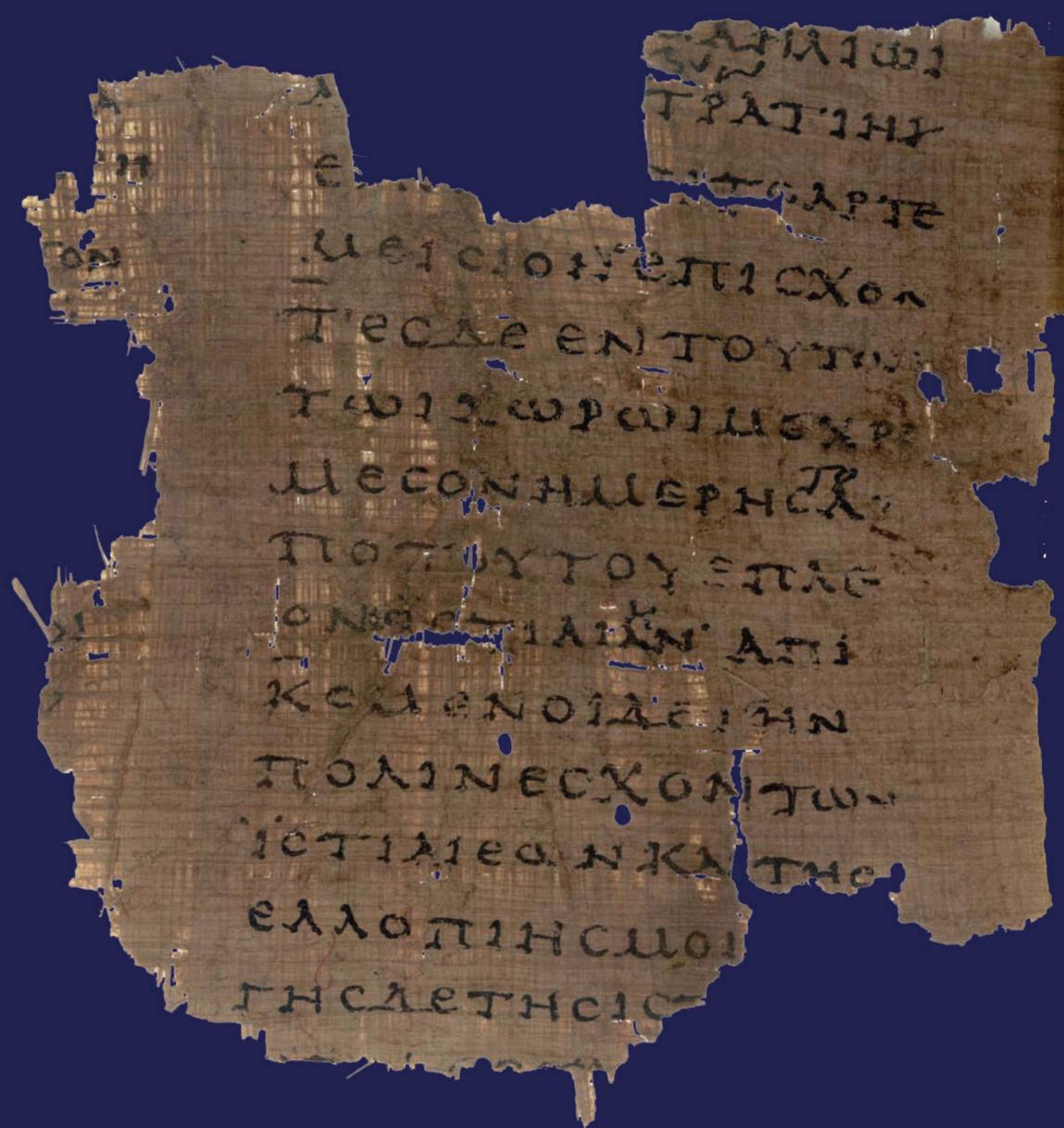


# Classical Greek Syntax

*Wackernagel's Law in Herodotus*

David Goldstein



## Classical Greek Syntax

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*By*

David Goldstein



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Cover illustration: Fragment from Herodotus' *Histories*, Book VIII on Papyrus Oxyrhynchus 2099, dated to early 2nd century AD.

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*For Abby, sine qua non*





# Contents

Preface	XI
List of Tables	XII
Abbreviations	XIII
Transliteration Scheme	XVI

<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Dionysius' Rut	1
1.2 Why are Second-Position Clitics Interesting?	2
1.3 Wackernagel's Law: A Descriptive Generalization	4
1.4 The Clitic Lexicon in Ancient Greek	6
1.5 Overview of Claims	9

## PART 1

### *Foundations*

<b>2 Greek Syntax and Surface Word Order</b>	<b>17</b>
2.1 Clause Structure	17
2.2 The Absence of a Verb Phrase	20
2.3 Alternative Semantics	27
2.4 The Question under Discussion Framework	29
2.5 Greek as a Discourse-Configurational Language	35
2.6 Monotonic Focus in the Greek Clause	38
2.7 Summing Up	42
<b>3 The Prosody of Greek Clitics</b>	<b>44</b>
3.1 The Prosodic Hierarchy	44
3.2 Stray Adjunction	47
3.3 Clitic Incorporation in Greek	49
3.3.1 <i>Porson's Bridge</i>	52
3.3.2 <i>Secondary Accentuation</i>	53
3.3.3 <i>Evanescent High Tones</i>	56
3.3.4 <i>Lulling and Antihomophony</i>	57
3.3.5 <i>Tonal Spreading</i>	59
3.4 Clitic Polarity	60
3.4.1 <i>Resolution Bridges</i>	61
3.4.2 <i>Porson's Bridge</i>	64

- 3.4.3 *Post-Caesural Clitic Placement* 65
- 3.4.4 *Inscriptional Evidence* 67
- 3.5 Greek Clausal Clitics: 2W 68
- 3.6 Function Words as Hosts of Clausal Clitics 75
- 3.7 Beyond Clausal Clitics 80
- 3.8 Summing Up 84
- 4 **The Syntax of Clitics** 85
  - 4.1 Clitic Deficiencies 86
  - 4.2 Clitic Domains and Clusters 86
  - 4.3 Ordering Deviations 89
  - 4.4 Scope and Clitic Distribution 91
    - 4.4.1 *Modal Particle and Domain-Widener* 92
    - 4.4.2 *Narrow-Scope Operators* 96
    - 4.4.3 *Wide-Scope Adverbials* 106
  - 4.5 Head-Adjacent Datives 113
  - 4.6 Summing Up 118

## PART 2

### *The Left Periphery*

- 5 **Topicalization** 121
  - 5.1 Contrastive Topics 123
  - 5.2 A Typology of Contrastive Topics 125
    - 5.2.1 *Evoked QUD* 126
    - 5.2.2 *Partial Topic* 132
    - 5.2.3 *Entailed QUD* 134
    - 5.2.4 *Entailed QUD versus High Adverbials* 136
    - 5.2.5 *Verb Preposing* 138
  - 5.3 QUD Termination 140
  - 5.4 Licensing Subjects 144
    - 5.4.1 *Discourse-New Subjects* 144
    - 5.4.2 *Subject Switch* 149
  - 5.5 Syntax 165
  - 5.6 Summing Up 172
- 6 **Focus Preposing** 174
  - 6.1 Monotonic and Non-Monotonic Focus 176
    - 6.1.1 *Counterassertive Focus* 177

- 6.1.2 *Counter-expectational Focus* 180
- 6.1.3 *Unclassified Examples* 187
- 6.2 Verb Preposing 193
- 6.3 Emphatic Negation 196
- 6.4 Interrogative Clefts 200
- 6.5 Multiple Preposing 204
- 6.6 Syntax 209
- 6.7 Summing Up 216

### **PART 3**

## ***Clause Combining***

- 7 **Participles** 221
  - 7.1 Participial Clauses 226
  - 7.2 VP-Participial Phrases 234
  - 7.3 Further Evidence from Negation and Modality 241
  - 7.4 Supplementary Participles 247
  - 7.5 Genitives Absolute 249
  - 7.6 Participial Chaining 251
  - 7.7 Problematic Cases 257
  - 7.8 Summing Up 259
  
- 8 **Infinitive Complements** 260
  - 8.1 Control Predicates 263
  - 8.2 Raising Predicates 268
  - 8.3 Infinitive Clauses 272
  - 8.4 Embedded VP-Infinitives versus Embedded S-Infinitives 281
  - 8.5 Problematic Examples 285
  - 8.6 Summing Up 289
  
- 9 **Conclusion and Prospects** 290
  - 9.1 Open Questions 290
  - 9.2 New Vistas 292
  
- Bibliography** 295
- Index Locorum** 325
- General Index** 330



# Preface

This book is a complete revision of my dissertation (Goldstein 2010), which was submitted in May 2010 at the University of California, Berkeley. While the structure of the two works shares many similarities, the content of nearly every page differs.

In terms of the argument, perhaps the most significant difference is that I no longer pursue the claim that clausal clitics are hosted at the left edge of an intonational phrase. Chapter 2 is new and offers a broad overview of Greek syntax and word order. The literature review of the dissertation has been excised. Information structure is now handled within the Question under Discussion model of C. Roberts ([1996] 2012) in conjunction with the Alternative Semantics of Rooth (1992, 1996). At a more fine-grained level, the interpretation of every example has been reconsidered, which has led to many differences between this book and the dissertation.

The critical acumen of Donald Mastrorarde, Line Mikkelsen, and Dag Haug improved this book in countless ways and saved me from an inordinate number of blunders. Dieter Gunkel and Tony Yates read many of the chapters and spent long hours discussing Greek prosodic phonology and syntax with me. Those conversations played no small role in shaping the ideas in this book.

I remain both extraordinarily grateful for and in awe of the patience and care that Dimitri Robl exhibited in transliterating and glossing the Greek examples, a task that I could never have managed on my own. I also owe an immense debt to Justin Hudak and Zachary Rothstein-Dowden for helping me proofread the examples when my stamina was flagging. It has been a pleasure to work with my editor, Pamela Morgan. All remaining errors and infelicities are of course mine alone.

For discussion of a host of issues concerning clitics and beyond, I am extremely grateful to Rutger Allen, Yelena Baraz, Anna Bonifazi, Chiara Bozzone, Giuseppe Celano, Andrew Garrett, Adam Gitner, Chris Golston, Laura Grestenberger, Mark Hale, Dalina Kallulli, Athena Kirk, Bernhard Koller, Adam Ledge-way, John Lowe, Jesse Lundquist, Hayden Pelliccia, Philomen Probert, Eric Schmidt, Daniel Tober, Jeremy Rau, Tom Recht, Felipe Rojas, and Carlotta Viti. I apologize in advance to anyone whose help I have failed to acknowledge.

Last but not least, Abby, without whose support and love, this book, like so many other things, would simply not have been possible: this is for you.

Vienna, July 2015

# List of Tables

1	Transliteration Scheme	xvi
1.1	Enclitic Pronouns	6
1.2	Non-Pronominal Enclitics	7
4.1	Clitic Domains and Clusters	87
5.1	The Frequency of Non-Canonical Examples of ἄν and μιν	122
5.2	Typology of Topic Marking	126
5.3	Properties of Topicalization Constructions	169
6.1	The Frequency of Non-Canonical Examples of ἄν and μιν	175
7.1	The Frequency of Non-Canonical Examples of ἄν and μιν	226
7.2	Summary of Participial Phrases	259
8.1	Properties of Embedded Infinitives	289

# Abbreviations

## Abbreviations Used in the Text

2D	second after the first syntactic constituent
2W	second after the first prosodic word
C	complementizer
CP	complementizer phrase
D	determiner
DP	determiner phrase
IP	inflectional phrase
LF	logical form
NegP	negation phrase
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
PF	phonetic form
PP	prepositional phrase
S	sentence
Spec	specifier position
TP	tense phrase
X'	specifier of XP
XP	a phrase of any syntactic category
VP	verb phrase
<i>ι</i>	intonational phrase
<i>ω</i>	prosodic word
<i>σ</i>	syllable
<i>φ</i>	phonological phrase

## Symbols Used in the Text

*	reconstructed form
†	corrupt text
[ ]	syntactic constituent; (in Greek text) text should be deleted
( )	prosodic constituent
{ }	set
[[ $\alpha$ ]]	denotation of $\alpha$
$\rightsquigarrow$	translates as
H*	high tone
L*+H	rising tone

### Abbreviations Used in Glosses and Examples

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADV	adverb
AOR	aorist
ART	definite article
C	common gender (= non-neuter)
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuity marker
CT	contrastive topic
DAT	dative
DISJ	disjunction
DIST	distal demonstrative
EXPL	explanatory particle 'for'
F	feminine
F	focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMPF	imperfect
IMPV	imperative
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
M	masculine
MED	medial demonstrative
MID	middle
MOD	modal particle
MP	middle-passive
N	neuter
NEG	negation
O	object clitic
OPT	optative
PERF	perfect
PL	plural
PLPF	pluperfect
PRES	present

PROX	proximal demonstrative
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PURP	purpose clause marker
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative pronoun
RES	result clause marker
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
<sup>Top</sup>	topicalized
WH	interrogative pronoun

# Transliteration Scheme

TABLE 1 *Transliteration Scheme*

Greek	Roman transcription
α	a
β	b
γ	g, n (before a following velar)
δ	d
ε	ε
ζ	zd <sup>1</sup>
η	ε:
θ	t <sup>h</sup>
ι	i
κ	k
λ	l
μ	m
ν	n
ξ	ks
ο	o
π	p
ρ	r
σ, ς	s
τ	t
υ	y
φ	p <sup>h</sup>
χ	k <sup>h</sup>
ψ	ps
ω	o:
ϛ	h

Diphthongs appear as <Vi> and <Vu> (V stands for ‘vowel’ here), but not all <Vi> and <Vu> digraphs represent diphthongs. For Herodotus’ dialect, see Rosén (1962), Stüber (1996), and Miller (2013: 169–182).

<sup>1</sup> See Allen (1987: 57) for discussion of <ζ>.

# Introduction

## 1.1 Dionysius' Rut

We know very little about the clause structure of Ancient Greek. This may come as a surprise to some, given how intensely the classical languages have been investigated. We are in no short supply of monographs, rich commentaries, and monumental grammars, all of which brim with fine-grained observations on seemingly every aspect of the language. Despite this opulent research tradition, the factors that determine the sequence of words in the Greek sentence remain by and large a mystery. Even more remarkable is that this puzzle has been around for roughly two millennia. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a first-century BCE grammarian, was candid about the challenges of surface word order:

- (1.1) Well, it seemed to me that we should follow nature as much as possible, and to fit together the parts of speech as she demands. For example, I thought I should place nouns before verbs (since the former indicate the substance, and the latter the accident, and in the nature of things the substance is prior to its accidents). [...] The theory is persuasive, but I decided that it was not valid. [...] Again, I thought it was better to place verbs in front of adverbs, since that which acts or is acted upon is prior to those auxiliaries indicating manner, place, time and the like, which we call adverbs. [...] This principle, like the first one, is attractive, but it is equally unsound. [...] Yet again, I thought that I should never relax my efforts to see that things which were prior in time should also be taken prior in order. [...] And still further, I thought it right to put my nouns before my adjectives, common before proper nouns, and pronouns before common nouns; and with verbs, to take care that the indicative should precede the other moods, and finite verbs infinitives, and so on. But experience upset all those assumptions and showed them to be completely worthless. Sometimes the composition was rendered pleasing by these and similar arrangements, but at other times not by these but by the opposite sort. So for these reasons I abandoned such theories.

DION. HAL. *De Comp. Verb.* 5 (trans. USHER; cf. W. R. ROBERTS 1910)

In the two thousand odd years since Dionysius, prospects have not improved much. Denniston (1952: 8) went so far as to claim: “Except in its cruder forms, Greek word order cannot be analysed.”

The central claim of this book is that Greek word order, far from being random or unanalyzable, is extraordinarily sensitive to distinctions in meaning. It is this sensitivity that lies behind the notorious word order variation of the language.

The starting point of my argument is a long-known word order generalization of the archaic Indo-European languages (Bergaigne 1877, Delbrück and Windisch 1878, Wackernagel 1892), which has been codified as Wackernagel’s Law: enclitics and postpositives occur “second” in their clause. The following example illustrates this generalization (‘*ε*’ marks the host-clitic relationship):<sup>1</sup>

(1.2) *Canonical 2P Distribution*

Κροῖσος<sup>ε</sup>δέ<sup>ε</sup>μιν ἐκάθηρε.

*Kroĩsɔs<sup>ε</sup>dé<sup>ε</sup>min*

*ekát<sup>h</sup>ε:re*

Croesus.M.NOM.SG=PTCL=3SG.ACC purify.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

‘Croesus purified **him**.’

1.35.1

The discourse particle δέ and accusative pronoun μιν ‘him’ occur directly after the first word of the sentence, Κροῖσος ‘Croesus.’

## 1.2 Why are Second-Position Clitics Interesting?

While Wackernagel’s Law targets only a tiny fraction of the Greek lexicon (as it applies only to enclitics and postpositives), its importance cannot be overemphasized, as it provides a stable base from which to investigate variation in the rest of the clause. There is an extraordinary amount that one can deduce

1 Readers who are consulting the glosses should be aware of two things. First, word forms that are identical across all three genders, such as the genitive plural of the definite article τῶν (*tō:n*), are glossed with the gender of the noun that they agree with, although strictly speaking gender is a not overtly realized on such forms. Second, it can be difficult to decide with certain words in the neuter singular or plural whether the word should be glossed as such or as an adverb (e.g., the neuter accusative singular of πρῶτον (*prō:tɔn*) ‘first’). I typically gloss these according to their case form, and reserve the gloss ADV for forms with devoted adverbial suffixes. As for the translations, they are my own, although some have been adapted from Godley (1920).

about the semantics, syntax, and even prosody of a sentence on the basis of clitic distribution (Condoravdi and Kiparsky 2002: 1). These are insights that we would otherwise have no access to (or at least, far less access to).

It is on the basis of clitic distribution that this study identifies a handful of constructions (such as topicalization, focus preposing, participial chaining) that have never been registered in the standard handbooks. All of these constructions bring with them interpretive effects, so to investigate clause structure in Greek is essentially to investigate how Greek clause structure encodes meaning. The upshot is that through the study of clitic distribution we begin to see a way out of Dionysius' rut.

Second-position phenomena are of equal if not greater significance for linguistic theory, both synchronic and diachronic (see, e.g., the overviews of Gerlach and Grijzenhout 2000, King 2005, Spencer and Luís 2012, Salvesen and Helland 2013, Luraghi 2013), not least because answers to basic questions such as their lexical category and constituency do not yield ready answers (see, e.g., Rizzi 2000). First and foremost, how exactly a clitic should be defined—beyond the standard doctrine that it is something between an affix and a word—is far from clear. Indeed, this investigation reveals that the category of clitic is itself gradient, as some second-position clitics exhibit more affix-like behavior than others in that they are sensitive to the category of their host (see in particular section 4.4.1). Second, there is the notorious question of what sort of generalizations are needed to accurately capture their distribution. Clitics are the ultimate interface phenomenon, as their position results from the interaction of the phonological and syntactic components of grammar. They thus raise a fundamental question for any theory of natural language: how do the components of grammar, such as syntax and phonology, interact?

Ancient Greek is one of the best languages in which to investigate these issues, because it boasts what is by far the richest and most complex system of second-position phenomena in any Indo-European language. The basis of my study is Herodotus' *Histories*, a fifth-century BCE text of ca. 188,809 tokens composed in the Ionic dialect (for Herodotus' dialect, see Rosén 1962 and Miller 2013: 169–182).<sup>2</sup> For historical linguistics, Greek is a key witness for our under-

2 I use the edition of Rosén (1987–1997), but depart often from his punctuation. Note also the following divergences from his text: 1.3.2 (ex. 5.29.c), *προΐσχομένων*; 1.53.3 (exx. 6.9.b and 6.24.a), *καταλύσειν*; 1.189.1 (ex. 5.34.a), *Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι* and *νηυσιπέρητον*; 2.11.4 (ex. 6.16.a), *μέζων*; 2.22.1–2 (ex. 6.16.b), *δῆτα* and *ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά*; 2.89.1 (ex. 4.11.b), *ὦσιν* is retained; 3.23.3 (ex. 5.47), *οἶόν τι λέγεται*; 3.49.1 (ex. 5.31), *τοῖσι Κορινθίοσι φίλια ἦν*; 3.49.2 (ex. 2.17.b), *ὦν*; 3.108.1 (ex. 4.4.b), *οἶόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχίδνας ἠπιστάμην γίνεσθαι*; 3.119.6 (ex. 7.7), *μοι*; 3.129.3 (ex. 5.29.a), *ἐκέλευσε*; 3.151.2 (ex. 6.14.f), *οὐδαμὰ*; 4.42.3 (ex. 7.33.b), *προσσχόντες*; 4.46.3 (ex. 6.16.c),

standing of Proto-Indo-European (see, e.g., Garrett 2006). Its extraordinary textual history also enables us to understand how clitic systems change over time, both endogenously and through language contact.

Given the crucial and wide-ranging importance of this phenomenon, it needs the attention of scholars from a range of fields, namely classics, Indo-European studies, phonology, syntax, and semantics. Accordingly, my goal throughout this book has been to make both the data and my claims as accessible to these various audiences as possible. It is consequently not cast in a particular syntactic framework, and its conclusions are by and large descriptive. For the description of information structure, I do, however, adopt the Question under Discussion (= QUD) approach of C. Roberts ([1996] 2012) in concert with Alternative Semantics, and chapter 3 does make use of the Prosodic Hierarchy.

### 1.3 Wackernagel's Law: A Descriptive Generalization

In his 1892 article, Wackernagel observed that enclitics and postpositives throughout archaic Indo-European (Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Latin, Gothic, etc.) tend to occur in clause-second position (Wackernagel 1892; see Krasukhin 1997, Veksina 2008, and Goldstein 2014b for overviews).<sup>3</sup> Watkins (1964: 1036) famously declared Wackernagel's Law to be one of the few generalizations that

---

έόντες πάντες ἔωσι; 4.75.1 (ex. 6.24.b), τὸ δὲ θυμιάται; 5.22.2 (ex. 6.11.e), Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου; 6.69.2 (ex. 6.17), τίς εἴη μοι ὁ δούς; 6.98.3 (ex. 5.20.e), Δαρείος ἐρξίτης, Ξέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἄρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος; 7.126 (ex. 6.10), λέοντα, οὔτε; and 9.109.3 (ex. 5.32.b), περιχαρῆς. Of these, only the decision pertaining to 2.22.1–2 has any bearing on my investigation. Were one to follow Rosén's text here, this example would simply have to be removed.

3 For Wackernagel's Law in early Indo-European generally, see Collinge (1985), Krisch (1990), Luraghi (1990b), Clackson (2007: 165–171), Lühr (2009), Agbayani and Golston (2010b). For second-position clitics in Anatolian, see Carruba (1969), Hoffner (1973), Garrett (1990), Luraghi (1990a), Garrett (1996); in Indo-Iranian, M. Hale (1987a, 1987b); in Indic specifically, Banti (1980), Hock (1982, 1989), M. Hale (1995, 1996), Hock (1996), Schäufele (1996), Hock (1997), Inslar (1997), M. Hale (2007), Keydana (2011), Lowe (2011), Wenthe (2012), Lowe (2013); in Old Persian, Schmitt (1995); in Avestan, Bartholomae (1886), Caland (1891); in Middle Iranian, Bubeník (1994); in Latin, Adams (1994a, 1994b), Kruschwitz (2004), and Salvi (2004); in Classical Armenian, Vaux (1995); in Tocharian, Malzahn (2012), Koller (2015); in Gothic, Ivanov (1999), Ferraresi (2005); in Slavic, Ślawski (1946), Radanović-Kocić (1988), Franks and King (2000), Pancheva (2005), Migdalski (2006), Werle (2009), Zimmerling and Kosta (2013); in Baltic, Nevis and Joseph (1992), Petit (2010). For Greek, Fraenkel ([1933] 1964), Marshall (1987), Hajdú (1989), Taylor (1990), Janse (1993a, 1993b), Veksina (2012). For bibliography of clitics generally up to 1991, see Nevins et al. (1994).

we can reconstruct for the protolanguage (cf. Friedrich 1975: 32).<sup>4</sup> Since then similar behavior has been found in many languages throughout the world, such as Luiseño (Uto-Aztecan; Southern California) and Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungen; Northern Territory, Australia); for further examples, see Kaisse (1985) and Spencer and Luís (2012).

Prefatory remarks on how I understand the term *Wackernagel's Law* are in order. First, Wackernagel's Law has no explanatory power. That is, a clitic is never in second position because of Wackernagel's Law (despite what one may read in the literature). "Second" is not a linguistic category: it has no status in any syntactic, morphological, or phonological ontology. As a result, Wackernagel's Law—that is, what we pretheoretically refer to as second-position distribution—is an epiphenomenon that results from the syntactic and prosodic organization of the clause (M. Hale 2008: 119; Fortson 2009: 3–4 makes this point nicely in reference to metrical laws). From this perspective, this book is not about Wackernagel's Law per se. It is about the morphosyntactic and prosodic structures that give rise to the distributional patterns collectively referred to as "Wackernagel's Law."

Second, Wackernagel's Law is not a monolithic mechanism that orders every clitic in the language. There are many clitics in Greek that can legitimately be described as occurring in "second position," but they do not all occupy the same "second" position. Thus, there is no single "second" position, but rather (as laid out in more detail in section 4.2 below) multiple "second" positions within the clause (M. Hale 1987a, 1987b, 2007: 261–262). Thus the term Wackernagel's Law refers not to a single generalization, but rather to a set of generalizations about individual second-position items. To assert that "Enclitics in Greek occur in second position" is too vague to mean anything. Second after what—the first prosodic word, the first lexical item, the first constituent? This generalization also tells us nothing about how clitics are ordered when they cluster together.

Regarding the term *Law*, I would like to make three things clear. First, it is not a "law" in the sense of a prescriptive linguistic convention. It is an honorary designation for a descriptive generalization about the surface position of a class of words, which is sometimes divided into subclasses of enclitics and postpositives. Second, surface "violations" of Wackernagel's Law do not falsify the idea of second-position clisis, but rather reveal the existence of something else going

---

4 While I do not necessarily disagree, it is not clear what this claim amounts to. It has not been adequately appreciated how different the various second-position systems of archaic Indo-European are. The Greek data, for instance, show little resemblance to the six-slot clitic chain of Hittite. One then wonders whether the PIE system resembled Anatolian, Greek, or neither.

on—in this respect they are not unlike violations of the Gricean Maxims (Grice 1975). Finally, despite Wackernagel's own use of the term *Gesetz* in the title of his 1892 article, he often refers to second-position behavior simply as a *Tendenz* (see further Janse 1994 and Kisilier 2003: 122 n. 3). Eduard Fraenkel later referred to Wackernagel's Law as a *Beobachtung* ('observation'), which in my view is the most accurate description of the accomplishment of the 1892 article.

#### 1.4 The Clitic Lexicon in Ancient Greek

The clitic lexicon of Ancient Greek is notoriously large: it comprises pronominal clitics, discourse particles, modal particles, and connectives (cf. Smyth 1956: §181; H. Dik 1995: 32). The following clitic<sup>5</sup> pronouns<sup>6</sup> are attested in Herodotus (cf. Smyth 1956: §325):

TABLE 1.1 *Enclitic Pronouns*

GEN		DAT	ACC
1SG	μεο, μευ, μου ( <i>μεο, meu, mou</i> )	μοι ( <i>μοι</i> )	με ( <i>με</i> )
2SG	σεο, σευ, σου, τευ <sup>7</sup> ( <i>σεο, seu, sou, teu</i> )	σοι, τοι ( <i>σοι, τοι</i> )	σε ( <i>σε</i> )
3SG	εὐ ( <i>heu</i> )	οἱ ( <i>hoi</i> )	ξ, <sup>8</sup> μιν, νιν, αὐτόν <sup>9</sup> ( <i>hé, min, nin, autón</i> )
1PL			
2PL			
3PL	σφεων ( <i>sp<sup>h</sup>eo:n</i> )	σφι(ν), σφισι(ν) ( <i>sp<sup>h</sup>i(n), sp<sup>h</sup>isi(n)</i> )	non-neuter σφεας ( <i>sp<sup>h</sup>eas</i> ) neuter σφε(α) ( <i>sp<sup>h</sup>e(a)</i> )

5 Sevdali (in press) states that while Ancient Greek has strong and weak pronouns it does not have clitic pronouns per se, such as the ones found in Modern Greek. As she does not pursue this idea in any detail, I am not sure what distinction she is attempting to draw. So I follow the *communis opinio* in treating the pronouns in Table 1.1 as enclitics.

6 Kiparsky (2012) argues that the third-person forms are actually discourse anaphors, which is to say that they are referentially dependent (like reflexives and unlike pronominals), but do not require a structural antecedent (unlike reflexives, but like pronominals). As this distinction will not play a role in the discussion of clitic distribution, I will simply use the term *pronoun* to refer to the forms in Table 1.1.

7 Given as an alternate reading by Rosén at 7.38.1.

8 Only attested once (7.220.4), in an oracle (Powell 1938: s.v.).

9 This pronoun appears to be used both as a second-position clitic and as a prosodic word. I

As the table reveals, the system of pronominal enclitics is more robust in the singular (the token frequency of singular forms is also higher than that of plural forms). My study concentrates on pronominal verbal arguments, to the almost total exclusion of the use of clitics to mark possessors.<sup>10</sup>

The collection of non-pronominal clitics is even richer:

TABLE 1.2 *Non-Pronominal Enclitics*

Discourse Particle	Indefinite	Miscellaneous
ἄρα ( <i>ára</i> )	που, κου ( <i>puu, kou</i> ) (Koier 2013)	ἄν ( <i>án</i> ) Modal Particle
αὖ ( <i>aũ</i> )	τις, τι ( <i>tis, ti</i> )	γάρ ( <i>gár</i> ) Sentential Connective ‘for’
δέ ( <i>dé</i> ) <sup>11</sup>	ποτε, κοτε ( <i>po-te, ko-te</i> )	γε ( <i>ge</i> ) Focus Particle
δή ( <i>dé:</i> )	κως ( <i>kw:s</i> )	περ ( <i>per</i> ) Scalar Particle (E.J. Bakker 1988)
μέν ( <i>mén</i> )		τε ( <i>te</i> ) Conjunction
μέντοι ( <i>méntoi</i> )		
μήν ( <i>mé:n</i> )		
νυν ( <i>nyn</i> )		
οὖν, ὦν ( <i>ou:n, o:n</i> )		
τοι ( <i>toi</i> )		
τοίνυν ( <i>toínyn</i> )		

have not investigated its distribution here, as the differing prosodic realizations are neither graphically nor morphologically marked. See further Chandler (1881: §§945–946, 957). Despite Powell (1938: 347), the form *σφε* is not attested in Herodotus (Rosén 1962: 107).

- 10 According to H. Dik (2003), the nominative singular personal pronouns *ἐγώ* and *σύ* should be added to this list. This claim has not met with acceptance (Pardal 2012), and I therefore do not classify these forms as enclitics (or, rather, “postpositives”).
- 11 Agbayani and Golston (2010a, 2010b) and Lowe (2015a) incorrectly label *δέ* a conjunction (cf. Dunkel 2014: II.131). It cannot be equated outright with ‘and’-conjunction because its truth conditions differ. For a conjoined clause to be true, each of its conjuncts must be true, which is not the case with *δέ*. (It may well have other truth-conditional effects, however.) Furthermore, doubling of conjunctions in Greek (i.e., *χ τε γ τε, καί χ καί γ*) yields a ‘both *x* and *y*’-reading. Multiple tokens of *δέ* never produce this effect (nor does it arise when *δέ* is paired with *μέν*). The analysis of chapter 5 supports a view of these particles as topic markers. For the synchronic function of *δέ*, see E.J. Bakker (1993); for the diachronic-comparative aspect, Leumann (1949).

The heading “Discourse Particle” is deliberately vague, as the function of most of these words is not well understood (cf. Spencer and Luís 2012: 34–36).<sup>12</sup> The boundary between discourse particle and indefinite adverbial is not as sharp as Table 1.2 suggests. The words above that bear an accent are standardly classified as “postpositives” in the secondary literature, and not true clitics. I depart from this practice because there are no distributional properties that correlate with this distinction (this issue is taken up in detail below in section 3.3).

Zwicky (1977) introduced the distinction between simple and special clitics. On his original formulation (cf. the revisions in Zwicky and Pullum 1983), simple clitics were prosodically deficient counterparts of stressed lexical items:

- (1.3) a. *Full Pronoun*  
           She met him (= [mɛt hɪm]).
- b. *Simple Clitic*  
           She met him (= [mɛt ɪm]).

In (1.3.a), the pronoun *him* is not a clitic, while in (1.3.b), where it is phonetically reduced through deletion of the glottal transition, it is. Despite the difference in phonetic realization, the distribution of the two forms is identical in that they are both positioned directly after the verb.

This contrasts with the behavior of special clitics, whose distribution diverges from that of their non-clitic counterparts, as we see in the following example from Spanish:

- (1.4) a. *Noun Phrase*  
           *Maria compró un libro con poemas.*  
           Maria bought a book with poems  
           ‘Maria bought a book of poetry.’

12 The standard reference work for Greek particles is Denniston (1954), although it is now woefully out of date; for more recent bibliography, see Páez (2012). Further investigations of Greek particles include Hoogeveen (1788, 1829), Hartung (1832–1833), Bäumlein (1861), Sicking and Ophuijsen (1993), Rijksbaron (1997), Bonifazi (2009a, 2009b), Puigdollers (2009), Bonifazi (2012). Powell (1938) offers glosses specifically for Herodotus’ use of the particles. Kroon (1995), though devoted to Latin, is an influential treatment. Dunkel (2014) is an encyclopedia of particles from an Indo-European perspective.

b. *Special Clitic*

*Maria lo compró.*

Maria 3SG.M.ACC bought

'Maria bought it.'

Example (1.4.a), which has a non-clitic object, exhibits SVO order, while in (1.4.b) we find SOV order with the clitic pronoun *lo*.

Special clitics are often said to require some “special” mechanism of placement—that is, one that differs from that positioning non-deficient lexical items. Under this typology, the entire stock of pronominal clitics in Table 1.1 would be classified as special, in that the distributional constraints on clitic pronouns are distinct from those on stressed pronouns. While the non-pronominal clitics often lack a non-deficient counterpart, they too qualify as special.

Despite the prominence of this taxonomy in the literature, it has been called into question (e.g., Billings 2002). It runs into problems with accented words that are also subject to “special” mechanisms of placement, such as Italian *loro*. (This is a topic that we will return to in chapter 3 when considering the status of postpositives.) Bermúdez-Otero and Payne (2011) go so far as to deny the existence of special clitics altogether by arguing that their distribution can either be handled in morphology as affixation or within syntax as morphosyntactic words. For further discussion of the Zwicky typology, see Spencer and Luís (2012: 41–44).

## 1.5 Overview of Claims

My investigation focuses on what I refer to as clausal clitics, which occur second in the clausal domain (for clitic domains, see section 4.2 below). In practice this means the pronominal clitics that serve as verbal arguments and the modal particle *ǎv*. The overarching claim of this study is that deviations from canonical second-position clitic distribution result from different morphosyntactic configurations, and that these configurations bring with them interpretive effects.<sup>13</sup> This claim is thus in line with the thrust of recent scholarship that rejects the centuries-old intuition that Greek word order is “free.” The word order variation that we find in Greek is due to the fact that it uses surface syntax

13 A similar idea is put forth by Devine and Stephens (1994: 422–423, 478–479), but with nothing in the way of the detail that I present here. Aissen (1992) pursues a related program in Mayan.

to encode meaning (in the broadest sense of the term encompassing semantics, pragmatics, and discourse) to an extent that English and many other languages simply do not.

The investigation is divided into three parts. Part 1 lays the groundwork for the analysis of Greek clause structure in Parts 2 and 3. Following the Introduction, chapter 2 presents an overview of Ancient Greek syntax and word order. I argue that Greek is a discourse-configurational language and introduce the Question under Discussion (= QUD) approach to information structure. Readers who are familiar with Greek will still profit from this chapter as it complements the treatment of Greek syntax in the standard handbooks.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the prosodic and syntactic aspects of clitic distribution, respectively. I establish first that pronominal clitics and the modal particle *ἄν* exhibit 2*W* distribution, which is to say that they are hosted by a prosodic word. From here I argue that the distinction between postpositives and enclitics is due to the nature of their prosodic incorporation: enclitics project a recursive prosodic word with their hosts, while postpositives project a prosodic phrase. While there is thus a prosodic difference between enclitics and postpositives, I claim—in contrast to standard doctrine—that this has no bearing per se on their distribution. There is no distributional generalization that falls out according to the postpositive/enclitic distinction. Syntactically, the Greek clitic lexicon can be divided into three classes: sentential, clausal, and phrasal. These domains define second position for their respective members. The pronominal clitics and the modal particle *ἄν* are clausal clitics, which means that their domain is the S/CP constituent.

Against this backdrop, Part 2 presents two constructions at the left periphery of the Greek clause: topicalization (chapter 5) and focus preposing (chapter 6). In both constructions, material appears to the left of the host of a second-position clitic (subscript CT stands for ‘contrastive topic,’ while subscript F abbreviates ‘focus’):

(1.5) *Preposing Constructions*

a. *Topicalization*

[ἀπὸ Βαβυλωνῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης]<sub>CT</sub> χίλια σοὶ προσῆμε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι.

[apò *Babylō:nōs=dē* kai *tēs* *loipēs*

from Babylon.F.GEN.SG=PTCL CONJ ART.F.GEN.SG rest.F.GEN.SG

*Assyríe:s*]<sub>CT</sub> *khíliá=hoi*

Assyria.F.GEN.SG thousand.N.NOM.PL=3SG.DAT

*proshē:ie* *tálanta* *argyríou*

come.in.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG talent.N.NOM.PL silver.N.GEN.SG

*kai paides ektomiai*  
 CONJ boy.M.NOM.PL castrated.M.NOM.PL  
*pentakosiōi.*  
 five.hundred.M.NOM.PL  
 ‘[From Babylon and the rest of Assyria]<sub>CT</sub>, a thousand talents of silver  
 and five hundred castrated boys came in to him.’  
 3.92.1

b. *Focus Preposing*

εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξις συλλογίσαιτο,  
 [ἐλάσσονος]<sub>F</sub> πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανεῖη ἐόντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου  
 τούτου.  
*ei gar tis ta ex Hellēnōn teikhēa te kai ergōn apodeksin syllōgīsaito,*  
 if.COMP EXPL INDF.C.NOM.SG ART.N.ACC.PL from  
*Hellēnō:n teikhēa te kai ergō:n*  
 Greek.M.GEN.PL wall.N.ACC.PL CONJ CONJ work.N.GEN.PL  
*apodeksin syllōgīsaito,* [elássonōs]<sub>F</sub>  
 display.F.ACC.SG add.up.AOR.OPT.MID.3SG less.C.GEN.SG  
*ponou te an kai dapanē:s*  
 toil.M.GEN.SG=CONJ=MOD CONJ expense.F.GEN.SG  
*phanēie: éonta*  
 be.clear.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.PL  
*toū labyrinthou tōuto*  
 ART.M.GEN.SG labyrinth.M.GEN.SG MED.M.GEN.SG  
 ‘For if someone should add up the walls (built) by the Greeks and  
 the display of (their) works, they would clearly be of [less]<sub>F</sub> toil and  
 expense than this labyrinth.’  
 2.148.2

In example (1.5.a), the prepositional phrase ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης occurs before χίλια, which is both the host of the second-position clitic οἱ and the onset of the clause proper. Topicalization is used when a hierarchical question is active in the discourse. So above Herodotus is answering two questions, the first of which crucially entails the second: *Who paid what tribute?* and *What did the ninth satrapy contribute?* Topicalization is used to shift between sub-questions.

The second preposing construction, focus preposing, is illustrated in example (1.5.b), where the adjective ἐλάσσονος again precedes both the host of the second-position clitic (πόνου) and the clause start. The preposed element in this construction is the focus of the clause (this is in fact what distinguishes

it from topicalization, whose preposed constituent is never the focus). One of the uses of focus preposing is to counter an assertion in the Common Ground of the discourse. That is, one asserts a value for a proposition that already has a value. So here preposing ‘less’ counters the expectation that the buildings of the entire Greek world would cost more than a single Egyptian structure.

Part 3 investigates the distribution of clausal clitics in participial phrases and infinitive clauses. Chapter 7 argues for a distinction between participial phrases and participial clauses (the relevant participial phrase is in square brackets):

(1.6) *VP-Participial Phrase*

[<sub>VP</sub>ἔχων=δ' ἄν ταύτην] ἠγόραζε οὔτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὔτε λαοῦ οὐδενός.

[<sub>VP</sub>ékʰɔ:n=d' àn taúte:n]

wear.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG=PTCL=MOD MED.F.ACC.SG

ε:γόραзде ού-τε

hang.out.in.agora.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG NEG-CONJ

δωρυφῶν:ν ἑπομένω:ν ού-τε

spearman.M.GEN.PL follow.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL NEG-CONJ

λαοῦ οὐδενός.

entourage.M.GEN.SG none.M.GEN.SG

‘[Wearing this] (Scyles) used to hang out in the agora with neither spearmen nor any entourage following him.’

4.78.4

(1.7) *Participial Clause*

[<sub>S</sub>γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος] ἐπιτροπεύει=ἄν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθους.

[<sub>S</sub>gnó:mé:i gâr toiaúte:i

judgment.F.DAT.SG EXPL such.F.DAT.SG

kʰrɛ́s:ménɔs] epitropéúei=àn

use.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG govern.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG=MOD

αμωμέ:τω:s τῷ plé:tʰɛɔs.

without.fault.ADV ART.N.GEN.SG crowd.N.GEN.SG

‘[For since (the monarch) uses such (good) judgment], he would govern the masses without fault.’

3.82.2

In (1.6), the participial phrase and finite clause together form one domain for clausal clitics. The modal particle ἄν has scope over both the participial phrase and finite clause and therefore occurs second in the sentence as a whole. In (1.7), by contrast, the participial phrase functions syntactically and

semantically as a clause (hence the label ‘S’). As a result, the participial phrase and finite clause each constitute a domain for clausal clitics. Since the modal particle only has scope over the finite clause, but not the participial phrase, it occurs second in the former domain.

Chapter 8 complements the preceding discussion with an examination of clitic distribution in the presence of infinitives. Just as participial phrases function as VPs and Ss, so too do infinitive complements:

(1.8) *Infinitive Phrase*

ἐπιζωνδέμιν [VP ἀποθανέσθαι] ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχηι τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳι πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας.

*epízdo:n-dé=mn* [VP *apothanésthai*]

expect.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG=PTCL=3SG.ACC die.INF.FUT.MID

*hō adelph<sup>h</sup>éōs, tō:i oúnoma*

ART.M.NOM.SG brother.M.NOM.SG REL.M.DAT.SG name.N.NOM.SG

*ē:n Lykárē:tos, hína*

be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG Lycaretus.M.NOM.SG PURP

*eupetéstérō:s katásk<sup>h</sup>ē:i tà en*

more.smoothly.ADV control.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG ART.N.ACC.PL on

*tē:i Sámō:i pré:gmata,*

ART.F.DAT.SG Samos.F.DAT.SG affair.N.ACC.PL

*katakteínei tous desmō:tas*

kill.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.ACC.PL prisoner.M.ACC.PL

*pántas.*

all.M.ACC.PL

‘Expecting him [to die], his brother, whose name was Lycaretus, killed all the prisoners in order that he might control the affairs on Samos with less resistance.’

3-143.2

(1.9) *Infinitive Clause*

οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐπύθοντο, Ποσειδέωνι Σωτήρι εὐξάμενοι καὶ σπονδὰς προχέαντες τὴν ταχίστην ὁπίσω ἠπειγόντο ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον, ἐλπίσαντες [S ὀλίγας=τινάς=σφι ἀντιξόους ἔσεσθαι νέας].

*hōi dē hō:s epýt<sup>h</sup>ontō,*

3PL.M.NOM PTCL when.COMP find.out.AOR.IND.MID.3PL

*Pōseidō:ni Sō:tē:ri euksámēnōi*

Poseidon.M.DAT.SG Savior.M.DAT.SG pray.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL

*kai spōndàs prōk<sup>h</sup>éantes*  
 CONJ libation.F.ACC.PL pour.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
*tèn tak<sup>h</sup>ístē:n opísō: epéigōntō*  
 ART.F.ACC.SG quickest.F.ACC.SG back.ADV rush.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL  
*epì tō Artemísion,*  
 to ART.N.ACC.SG Artemision.N.ACC.SG  
*elpísantes*  
 hope.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
*[sōlígas=tinás=sp<sup>h</sup>i antiksóous*  
 few.F.ACC.PL=INDF.C.ACC.PL=3PL.DAT opposing.C.ACC.PL  
*ésest<sup>h</sup>ai néas].*  
 be.INF.FUT.MID ship.F.ACC.PL

‘When (the Greeks) found out, they prayed to Poseidon the Savior and poured libations, (and then) rushed back to Artemision as quickly as possible, hoping [that there would be only a few ships opposing them].’

7.192.2

In (1.8), the calculation of second position includes both the matrix participle ἐλπίζων and the embedded infinitive ἀποθανέεσθαι. The pronominal clitic μιν is accordingly hosted by the participle. In (1.9), however, the infinitive complement constitutes its own domain for the calculation of second position. The clitic pronoun σφι is consequently hosted second within this domain, and not by the matrix participle ἐλπίσαντες. This alternation is conditioned by the semantics of the matrix predicate, specifically whether or not it can select for a proposition as its complement.

Chapter 9 brings the investigation to a close with a summary of its results and a conspectus of questions for future research.

**PART 1**

*Foundations*





## Greek Syntax and Surface Word Order

In this chapter I outline some characteristics of Greek word order and syntax. I begin first (section 2.1) with attempts to categorize Greek word order according to grammatical function, an approach that has yielded no *communis opinio*. H. Dik (1995) ushered in a new era in the investigation of surface word order with the claim that Greek is a discourse-configurational language, in the sense of É. Kiss (1995a, 2001).<sup>1</sup> Her approach along with its refinements are presented in section 2.5. In section 2.4, I present the model that I adopt for diagnosing information structure, the Question under Discussion (= QUD) framework of C. Roberts ([1996] 2012). Finally, in section 2.6, I adduce further evidence for the claim of a preverbal narrow (informational) focus in Greek, and broad focus verb-complement sequence.

### 2.1 Clause Structure

Various proposals have been put forth for a basic word order in Greek, but none has attained the status of a consensus (for a review of earlier literature, see Hübner 1883, Dover 1960, Dunn 1981, H. Dik 1995: 259–281, Bertrand 2010, and Scheppers 2011). Although all surface permutations of S, V, and O are attested (see, e.g., Agbayani and Golston 2010a: 133–134), the two main contenders for a basic word order have been verb final (e.g., Ebeling 1902, Kühner and Gerth 1898–1904: II.594–596, Devine and Stephens 1994: 382, Frischer et al. 1999, Hock 2013b) and verb medial (Kieckers 1911, Meier-Brügger 1992: I.112). Delbrück and Windisch (1879: 154) are agnostic, while Taylor (1994) and Celano (2014) argue that a shift from a verb-final to a verb-medial configuration takes place between Archaic Greek and Koine (for word order in Modern Greek, see, e.g., Philippaki-

1 Strictly speaking, Dik characterizes her approach to Greek word order as pragmatic, and does not engage with the work of É. Kiss at all. Taken in this form, however, her claim cannot be right, because word-order variation in Greek brings with it semantic as well as pragmatic effects. In order to allow for this possibility, I have replaced her term with *discourse-configurational*. This view of Greek word order goes back to at least Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who states in *De Comp. Verb.* §5 (ex. 1.1 above) that Greek word order is not conditioned by grammatical function.

Warburton 1985). Lehmann (1974), Aitchison (1976), and Holland (1976) all argue for a change from head-final to head-initial syntax in Greek. At least one difficulty with these various studies is that they rely on very different methods and assumptions, e.g., in terms of what constitutes “basic word order” (for discussion of which see Siewierska 1988, 2006).

Among the archaic Indo-European languages, Greek is unique in its degree of word-order variation: Hittite<sup>2</sup> (Luraghi 1990a, Hoffner and Melchert 2008: 406), Vedic Sanskrit (Delbrück 1888, Keydana 2011), Latin (Bauer 1995, Frischer et al. 1999, Devine and Stephens 2006), and early Germanic (Eyþórsson 1995) all seem to have a basic verb-final configuration. As a result, the general consensus is that PIE itself was a verb-final and more generally a head-final language (Delbrück and Windisch 1879: 154–155, Lehmann 1974, 1993, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, Krisch 1997, 2001, Keydana, forthcoming; Friedrich 1975 argues for SVO, and Luraghi 2010 argues that PIE was non-configurational; Clackson 2007: 165–171 provides a balanced discussion of the issues).

Despite this “freedom,” certain aspects of Greek word order have been syntacticized. For instance, interrogative and relative pronouns standardly occur clause initially, and prepositions routinely precede their complements.<sup>3</sup> The organization of NPs and DPs is not as clear-cut. Definite articles do precede their complements, but the ordering of adjectives in relation to their head nouns exhibits more variation. The order noun-adjective has been claimed to be pragmatically unmarked (H. Dik 1995, 2007, S.J. Bakker 2009; for a critical review of the last work, see Goldstein 2012). Ancient Greek is thus disharmonic, in that the position of a syntactic head across lexical categories is not consistent (see further Biberauer and Sheehan 2013).

The correlation between “free” word order and second-position clitic phenomena is actually not unusual (I. G. Roberts 2010: 68, Spencer and Luís 2012: 26): other examples include Czech, Serbian/Croatian, Romanian, Shuswap (Salish, British Columbia; Gardiner 1993), Karuk (isolate within the Hokan group; Northwest California), Tagalog, and Warlpiri (Pama-Nyungan; Northern Territory, Australia). I am not aware of any typological work that has investigated this correlation (an immediate question is the direction in which the

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2 There is of course the possibility that the strong configurationality of Hittite results from areal convergence, as Akkadian, Sumerian, Hurrian, and Hattic are all verb-final.

3 Exceptions to this—that is, the order complement-adposition—are relics of an earlier stage, which are matched by similar patterns in Hittite and Vedic Sanskrit. The shift from head-final to head-initial configuration in the prepositional phrase has been interpreted as evidence for the head-finality of PIE.

generalization should be stated: i.e., does free word order lead to second-position phenomena or vice versa?).<sup>4</sup> Hittite is an exception to this generalization.

While word order has received the most attention, this only scratches the surface of the morphosyntax of Greek. It is also characterized by null anaphora (Luraghi 2003a, 2004), discontinuous constituents (Lindhamer 1908, Devine and Stephens 1999, Markovic 2006, Welo 2008, Agbayani and Golston 2010a<sup>5</sup>), including left branch extraction (despite the fact that Classical Greek at least has definite articles),<sup>6</sup> and a weak distinction between nouns and adjectives.

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4 Bošković (2012: 196) argues for a correlation between second-position clitics and an absence of a definite article: “Second-position clitic systems are found only in NP languages.” While he mentions Ancient Greek as obeying this generalization, he does not point out that only Homeric Greek obeys it; Classical Greek does not.

5 Agbayani and Golston argue that discontinuity (also known as hyperbaton) in Greek does not involve syntax at all, but rather phonology. Were discontinuous structures produced in syntax, they would violate constraints assumed to be part of Universal Grammar. Discussion of their claims would take us too far afield, so I will mention here only two problems. First, they use an idiosyncratic definition of hyperbaton, which considerably expands the extent of the phenomenon. To take one example, the structure [<sub>PP</sub> DP P] involves no discontinuity and yet is classified as hyperbaton (e.g., their example 25b). So the analysis that they offer captures more than traditional hyperbaton, with the result that it is not clear what class of data their account is meant to cover. Second, they assume (p. 142) that hyperbaton is “semantically neutral *sensu stricto* and never affects grammatical relationships or logical entailments,” but is rather restricted to surface interpretive effects such as topic and focus. While this may often be true (this aspect of their argument receives minimal attention), discontinuity often involves quantifiers, and here it is hasty to assume that hyperbaton is not motivated by scope relations.

6 Ross (1967: 127) formulated the Left Branch Condition, which blocks movement of the left-most constituent of a noun phrase (the asterisk here denotes ungrammaticality):

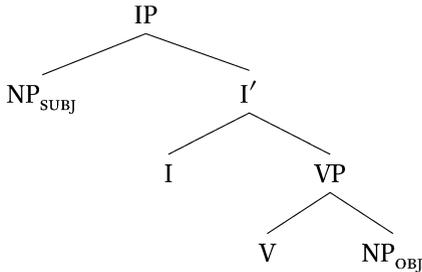
- (2.i)      a. Which car did you buy?  
               b. \*Which did you buy car?

As *which* and *car* form a noun phrase, any separation yields ungrammaticality. Left branch extraction is, however, licit in Latin and most Slavic languages, notable exceptions being Bulgarian and Macedonian. As these two languages have definite articles, Uriagereka (1988) postulated a connection between left branch extraction and the absence of definite articles (see further Corver 1990 and Bošković 2005). Classical Greek upsets this generalization as it allows left branch extraction and has definite articles:

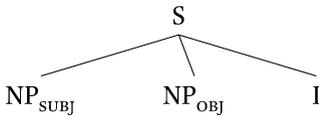
## 2.2 The Absence of a Verb Phrase

Three of the properties mentioned above (free word order, discontinuous constituency, and null anaphora) are important because they have been claimed to reflect non-configurational syntax (K. Hale 1982, 1983). Consider the following two structures:

### (2.1) Clause Structure with VP



### (2.2) Clause Structure without VP



In the configurational structure in (2.1), the subject and object are distinguished structurally: the verb and its object (also known as its internal argument) together form the VP, while the subject stands outside of this unit. As (2.2) lacks a VP constituent, there is no such structural distinction between subject and object.

Evidence from various directions suggests that Greek lacks a VP constituent. To start with simplest, the language has no proform expressions to refer to a verb plus its internal argument (compare English *he did*, where the verb here can refer to just such a combination, e.g., *washed the car*). My corpus

- 
- (2.ii) τίνα ἔχει δύναμιν  
*tína ék<sup>h</sup>ei dýnamin*  
 WH.C.ACC.SG have.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG power.F.ACC.SG  
 '(I want to hear) what power it has.'  
 PLAT. *Rep.* 358b

The interrogative adjective τίνα and its modified noun δύναμιν straddle the verb. Left branch extraction is not possible in Modern Greek (for the change, see Mathieu and Sitaridou 2005).

furthermore attests no example of the preposing of a verb plus object.<sup>7</sup> We can contrast this with the following example from German:

- (2.3) *Den Hans geschlagen habe ich*  
 ART.M.ACC.SG Hans hit have 1SG.NOM  
 ‘Hans I hit.’

German is a verb-second language, according to which the finite verb in a matrix clause occurs after the first syntactic constituent, which here is the object and participle (*den Hans geschlagen*). Second-position clitics offer a diagnostic similar to that of the verb-second phenomenon, but no construction corresponding to (2.3) is known from my corpus.

Greek also lacks superiority effects in constituent questions. Superiority effects refer to the difference in grammaticality between examples such as the following:

- (2.4) *Superiority Effects*  
 a. Who<sub>i</sub>    <sub>i</sub> bought what?  
 b. \*What<sub>i</sub> bought who    <sub>i</sub>?

In each case there is a relationship between an indexed interrogative pronoun and a gap, which indicates the grammatical role the pronoun plays in relation to the verb (so in 2.4.a, *who* is the subject of *bought*). Example (2.4.b) is claimed to be ungrammatical because the dependency between *what* and its gap is interrupted by an interrogative pronoun (here *who*) that is syntactically superior to the gap (Chomsky 1973, 1995, Pesetsky 2000). Superiority effects are said to reflect the hierarchical relationship between subjects and objects, as the former c-command the latter.<sup>8</sup>

Multiple *wh*-questions in Greek lack such superiority effects, as we find the subject question word preceding (2.5.a and 2.6.a) as well as following (2.5.b and 2.6.b) oblique question words:

7 It is possible to focus the verb and its internal argument (this is termed *broad focus* below). While the combination of verb plus object can thus serve as an informational structural unit, this is not in itself evidence of syntactic constituency, as mismatches between syntactic and information-structural constituents are well known (Fanselow and Lenertová 2011).

8 C-command, which stands for ‘constituent command,’ is a structural relationship between nodes in a syntactic tree (the term goes back to Reinhart 1976). Roughly, any node in a tree c-commands its sisters and any nodes that its sisters dominate (Carnie 2013: 127). Consider the following tree:

(2.5) *Multiple Constituent Questions*a. *Nominative-Accusative*

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔλθὼν παρὰ Μούσας ἀπαγγέλλειν τίς τίνα αὐτῶν τιμαῖ τῶν ἐνθάδε.

*kai metà taūta elthōn parà*

CONJ after MED.N.ACC.PL go.PTCP.AOR.ACT.N.NOM.SG to

*Móusas apangéllein tíς*

Muse.F.ACC.PL announce.INF.PRES.ACT WH.C.NOM.SG

*tína autō:n timāi*

WH.C.ACC.SG 3PL.F.GEN honor.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

*tō:n entháde.*

ART.M.GEN.PL here.ADV

'And afterward they go to the Muses to announce who honors which of them on earth.'

PLAT. *Phaedr.* 259c6

b. *Accusative-Nominative*

τίνα τίς ἄγγελον πέμψει;

*tína tíς ángelōn*

WH.C.ACC.SG WH.C.NOM.SG messenger.M.ACC.SG

*pémpsei?*

send.FUT.IND.ACT.3SG

'Who'll send which messenger?'

CHAR. *Call.* 1.8.4

(2.6) a. *Nominative-Genitive*

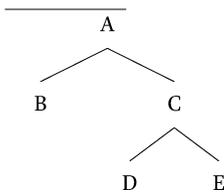
ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τίς τίνος αἰτιός ἐστι γενήσεται φανερόν.

*apò gàr tóutō:n tíς tínos aítíōs*

from EXPL MED.GEN.PL WH.C.NOM.SG WH.C.GEN.SG

*aítíōs esti*

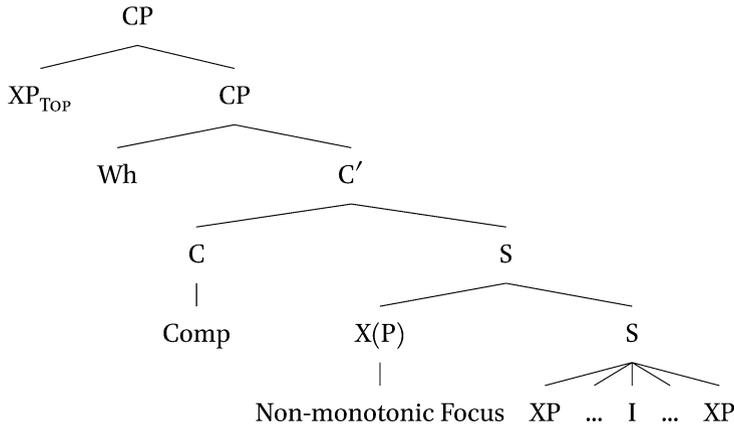
responsible.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG



B and C c-command one another since they are sisters. As C dominates D and E, B also c-commands D and E. The root node A c-commands nothing; it dominates B and C.





(2.8) *Herodotean Clause Structure*

Beginning at the bottom of the tree, *I* represents the finite verb (which corresponds to what others label a VP, not a TP). Its complement is not limited to its internal argument (i.e., the direct object), but rather it has as many complements as it has arguments. Together they project *S*. The order of elements in this domain is determined by discourse factors (which are discussed below).

Moving up from *S*, non-monotonic focus (chapter 6) is adjoined to *S*. Elements in this position typically contravene information in the Common Ground of the discourse. Complementizers occupy *C*, while interrogative pronouns (here abbreviated with *Wh*) occur in the specifier of *CP*. Topicalized phrases (chapter 5) adjoin to the highest occupied projection, whether that means *CP* (as above in example 2.8) or *S*. There is no TP projection.<sup>11</sup> While the organization of the clause is flat, this is not the case at the sub-clausal level. For instance, determiner phrases and prepositional phrases do exhibit hierarchical grouping.<sup>12</sup> Greek can thus be said to be split-configurational.

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for such a constituent. I am aware of no such cases, but as this question would require a separate study, it will have to remain an open question for the moment.

11 While there are auxiliary verbs in Classical Greek (see Smyth 1956: §599), they have not been morphologized in Herodotus the way they have in the later language or in Latin, where a TP constituent finds more motivation (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 45–47, Embick 2000).

12 At an earlier stage of Greek the PP looks less configurational, however: see Holland (1976), Horrocks (1980), Golston (1989), Luraghi (2003b), Hewson and Bubeník (2006), Luraghi (2010). Cf. LeSourd (2014) on the PP in Maliseet-Passamaquoddy (Algonquian; New Brunswick and Maine).

A central argument of this book is that second-position clitics reveal a split in the clause, between the S node and the preposed topic (adjoined to CP in the tree above) and non-monotonic focus projections (adjoined to S in the tree above). Clausal clitics are standardly hosted by the first prosodic word of the highest occupied projection (i.e., CP or S).<sup>13</sup> What this predicts is that the host of a clausal clitic will never precede an interrogative pronoun; there are in fact no exceptions to this generalization in Herodotus. In the presence of a preposed phrase (whether an adjoined topicalized phrase or non-monotonic focus), a clausal clitic is hosted by the first prosodic word of S. So even when higher projections in the clause are occupied (such as Spec,CP) the presence of a non-monotonic focus blocks a clausal clitic from being hosted by a prosodic word in a projection higher than the original S.<sup>14</sup>

Although I endorse the split-configurational view of the Greek clause, I see nothing that supports a view of Greek words as maximal projections (i.e., phrases), as, e.g., Krisch (1998: 375) seems to have in mind. Second-position clitics have been used to argue for this analysis, as they are able to intervene between syntactic constituents. Take, for example, a constituent such as [*the great destruction*]. It is not immediately clear how or why a clitic pronoun (often assumed to be of category D) should be able to occur inside this unit. If each word is analyzed as a phrase, however—i.e., [<sub>DP</sub> *the*] [<sub>AdjP</sub> *great*] [<sub>NP</sub> *destruction*]<sup>15</sup>—then the ability of a clitic to intervene is less remarkable, as the clitic would no longer occur inside a phrase, but rather at the right edge of one. The view of Greek that we end up with then is that of a dependent-marking non-configurational language like Jiwari (Pama Nyungan; once spoken in Western Australia).

In contrast to languages such as English, in which phrase structure encodes grammatical functions such as subject and object, in Greek the situation is

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13 There is actually a fair amount of variation when it comes to complementizers and clausal clitics (sometimes they host, and sometimes they do not), which has thus far resisted explanation. This issue is discussed in section 9.1 of chapter 9. Thus, for the moment the distributional generalization is that clausal clitics are hosted by the first prosodic word in CP or S.

14 While these distributional patterns are relatively straightforward in descriptive terms, theoretically they present considerable challenges. The models currently on offer (such as Taylor 1990, Condoravdi and Kiparsky 2004, Agbayani and Golston 2010b, Beck, Malamud, and Osadcha 2012, and Lowe 2015a) capture only portions of the Greek data. As engagement with these analyses would require going into considerable theoretical detail, I will take up this issue in another venue. Some of the proposals are reviewed in Goldstein (2010: 8–36).

very different. Clause structure encodes the status of referents in discourse. Following Nordlinger (1998), it is in this restricted sense that I consider Greek non-configurational (see further Luraghi 2010). Before we consider the organizing factors of the clause in section 2.5, I present a discussion of focus (section 2.3) and a framework for discussing information structure in discourse, namely the QUD (Question under Discussion) model of C. Roberts ([1996] 2012).

### 2.3 Alternative Semantics

Research on Greek (as well as Latin) syntax and word order in the last two or so decades has made clear the importance of information structure in determining the surface order of elements (for an overview of information structure, see Féry and Krifka 2008 and Krifka 2008). Any account of word order variation is therefore going to need a theory of focus and discourse structure. In this section, I present the former; in the next section, the latter.

There are two main approaches to the semantics of focus, the Alternative Semantics approach of Rooth (1985, 1992, 1996; see also Büring 2011, 2012) and the Structured Meaning approach (Jacobs 1983, Stechow 1991, Krifka 1991; É. Kiss 1995b: 18 offers a bibliography, while Kadmon 2001 and Devine and Stephens 2006 provide overviews). While both analyze focus within a question-answer framework, Alternative Semantics offers advantages for discussing information structure in discourse (Beaver and Clark 2008: 94).

The interpretation of focus divides the content of an utterance into two parts (Altmann 1993, Good 2010), the meaning of the focus and the meaning of the background (Beaver and Clark 2008: 25):

#### (2.9) *Focus and Background*

- a. [Mary]<sub>F</sub> likes Sandy.  $\sim \langle \lambda x.x \text{ likes Sandy, Mary} \rangle$
- b. Mary [likes]<sub>F</sub> Sandy.  $\sim \langle \lambda R.R \text{ Mary } R \text{ Sandy, likes} \rangle$
- c. Mary likes [Sandy]<sub>F</sub>.  $\sim \langle \lambda x.Mary \text{ likes } x, \text{ Sandy} \rangle$

To the right of each sentence we have a semantic representation of the sentence in which the background appears on the left (as a lambda term) and the focus on the right. The background is thus a function that maps a value onto the variable that it abstracts over; this value is the focus of the utterance. We can think of the focus as indicating the type of question that the utterance answers:

- (2.10) a. Who likes Sandy?  
 b. How does Mary feel about Sandy?  
 c. Who does Mary like?

There is thus a crucial relationship between the interpretation of focus and the semantics of questions.

C. Roberts ([1996] 2012) in modelling the interpretation of focus in discourse begins from the semantics of questions proposed by Hamblin (1958, 1973) and Groenendijk and Stokhof (1984), according to which questions denote sets of propositions. If we assume that to know the meaning of a sentence is to know the conditions under which it is true (Tarski 1944), we can extend this to questions by seeing the meaning of a question as its set of possible answers (others restrict this to the set of all true answers, e.g., Karttunen 1977):

- (2.11) *Propositional Approach to Questions*  
 $[[\text{Who likes Sandy?}]] \sim \{[[\text{Mary likes Sandy}]], [[\text{Isaac likes Sandy}]], [[\text{Simon likes Sandy}]], [[\text{Sonya likes Sandy}]], \dots\} = \lambda q \exists x [\text{person}(x) \wedge q = \lambda w. \text{likes Sandy}'(x) \text{ in } w]$

Focus is the relationship between an unsaturated background proposition and the variable that fills in that information.<sup>15</sup> In (2.11), focus is the variable that is lambda-abstracted over, as in (2.9). Information that is simply added to the discourse model I refer to as monotonic focus; that which triggers a revision of the discourse model is here called non-monotonic focus (which is discussed in detail in chapter 6).

A question then can be interpreted as a set of propositions. Under the Alternative Semantics view of focus advocated by Rooth (1985, 1992, 1996), this set of propositions is in fact the focus semantic value of an utterance. To take a concrete example, the focal meaning of (2.9.a) is the set of propositions in (2.11):

- (2.12)  $[[\text{Mary}]_F \text{ likes Sandy.}] \sim \lambda q \exists x [x \in \text{ALT}(\text{Mary}) \wedge q = \lambda w. \text{likes Sandy}(x) \text{ in } w]$

This formula represents the set of sentences of the form  $x \text{ likes Sandy}$ , where the variable  $x$  is drawn from the focus domain, which in this case would be the

15 The variable-filling approach to focus goes back a long way: it is found in Kvičala (1870) and Paul (1920); within Generative Grammar, the *locus classicus* is Jackendoff (1972).

contextually-determined set of individuals who have positive feelings toward Sandy. Focus is thus the element that determines the nature of the alternatives (Kim 2012), and we end up with a semantics for focus that parallels that of questions.

Before considering how questions structure discourse, it is worth calling attention to the distinction between focus semantics and focus marking. Chafe (1976) refers to the use of linguistic resources to mark information structure as “packaging.” Packaging appears to consist maximally of prosodic, morphosyntactic, morphological, and lexical resources (for a cross-linguistic survey, see, e.g., Lee, Gordon, and Büring 2008, Wedgwood 2009). There is reason to believe that Greek was like Hungarian and Finnish in that information structure was marked both prosodically (see Devine and Stephens 1994) and morphosyntactically (discussed further below in section 2.6), and not like Chadic languages (Hartmann and Veenstra 2013), in which there is no prosodic realization of focus, or Thomson River Salish, in which focus is not marked with the main sentence accent (Koch 2007, 2008a, 2008b). Access to this aspect of Greek is obviously difficult, and little can be said with certainty (Bornemann and Risch 1974: 162). Nevertheless, Devine and Stephens (1994: 478–479) argue on the basis of metrical data and inscriptional punctuation that focus affects prosodic phrasing. Dunn (1989) argues specifically that clitic distribution in Greek reflects sentence intonation (an interesting claim, but one that is nevertheless too difficult to substantiate). The lexical resources used to mark focus are no doubt rich, but this question has been given almost no attention (at a minimum, it would include operators such as *μόνος* ‘only’). Also in need of investigation is the question of whether any of the clitics listed above in Table 1.2 are used to mark focus. The particle *δή* is typically said to mark emphasis (Denniston 1954: 203–204), but this description seems off: *δή* appears to function not unlike German *ja* in marking information assumed to be known to the addressee.

## 2.4 The Question under Discussion Framework

This section presents the descriptive and theoretical apparatus—the Question under Discussion (= QUD) framework—for discourse structure that will be used in Part I of this book. The central idea of the framework is that discourse is organized around questions. C. Roberts ([1996] 2012, 2004) officially developed this program, but the central insight has been around for well over a century (e.g., Kvíčala 1870: 83, Paul 1920; Carlson 1983 and Ginzburg 1995a, 1995b are more immediate precursors). Important refinements to the model have been proposed by Büring (1997, 1999, 2003, 2006).

The QUD framework views communication and discourse as a kind of game to answer explicit and implicit questions. These are the question(s) under discussion. Each utterance is conceived of as a *move* (cf. Carlson 1983) within discourse strategies or discourse plans that interlocutors conceive for answering questions. Utterances typically serve as (at least) partial answers to the (or a) current QUD, so that as the discourse progresses the Common Ground of the discourse is increased.

C. Roberts ([1996] 2012) builds on this framework to argue that the structure of discourse is best understood as consisting of a set of questions under discussion (QUDs) that participants attempt to answer. QUDs come in all levels of generality, from the maximally general question *What is the way things are?* to highly specific questions, and they can be nested in the sense that establishing the answer to a more general QUD can require first answering a set of more specific ones. In short, QUDs have a hierarchical structure (Büring 2003). The QUD “stack” is a partially-ordered set of questions under discussion, which includes one maximal QUD (Ginzburg 1996a). In terms of Herodotus’ *Histories*, the first two sentences (discussed further below) establish the root QUD that structures the entire work, namely why the Persians and Greeks went to war.

Roberts’ discourse ontology includes not simply questions but also the Common Ground and Context Set (Stalnaker 1978). The Common Ground is the set of propositions that are taken for granted by a speaker at a given point in the discourse (Clark and Brennan 1990, Clark 1996). The Context Set is the set of worlds or situations compatible with what is assumed by a speaker. Under the interpretation of a proposition as a set of worlds, the Common Ground denotes sets of sets of worlds. The Context Set is the intersection of this set of sets of worlds, that is, all the worlds that are found in each set of worlds. As a discourse unfolds, the Context Set is reduced. When an assertion is accepted into the Common Ground, the Context Set is altered. This update takes place by intersecting the old Context Set with the denotation (that is, the set of worlds) that the new assertion denotes. This view of discourse is amenable to a game metaphor: the goal of participants in a discourse is to reduce the Context Set (Stalnaker 1978).

Participants do this by making two types of conversational moves: *set-up moves*, which introduce a new question into the discourse, and *payoff moves*, which assert something about such a question. The interpretation of any move involves two aspects, namely presupposed content and proffered content. Proffered content encompasses the asserted content of assertions and the non-presupposed content of questions and directives. As discourse goals such as that of the *Histories* (*Why did East and West go to war?*) are complex, they have

to be broken down into sub-questions. This feature of Herodotus' work has long been known to scholars, if not quite in this way: in order to answer the big question, he has to introduce and answer an extensive set of sub-questions. Thus sequences of questions in discourse reflect speakers' strategies for reducing the Context Set, and any given point of a discourse can be characterized by its unanswered questions.

Following, e.g., Ginzburg (1996a, 1996b, 1997), I assume that every declarative proposition invokes a question. Crucially, the focus marking of an utterance (whether prosodic, morphological, or morphosyntactic) expresses presuppositions about the structure of the discourse, specifically the QUD (C. Roberts [1996] 2012). Determining the QUD for each example is where philological analysis plays a crucial role. The use of implicit questions is not some kind of trick, but rather amounts to a claim about the structure of discourse at that point in the text. Without being able to accurately describe textual structure, we cannot even begin the linguistic analysis. What this means is that the study of Greek word order is the study of Greek discourse, and the goal is to understand how QUDs correlate with patterns of surface word order.

The discourse structure of the *Histories* opens with a statement about the entity or enterprise itself:

(2.13) QUD: *What is this?*

[Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις]<sub>F</sub> ἦδε.

[*Herodótou Halikarné:sséws*

Herodotus.M.GEN.SG Halicarnassus.F.GEN.SG

*historíe:s apódexis]<sub>F</sub> hédε.*

investigation.F.GEN.SG presentation.F.NOM.SG PROX.F.NOM.SG

'The following is [a presentation of an investigation of Herodotus of Halicarnassus]<sub>F</sub>.'

Prooem.

This is an identificational copular clause (Higgins 1979, Mikkelsen 2011), in which the referent of ἦδε<sup>16</sup> is the background and Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις the focus. The first QUD is immediately resolved and leads to the question of the motivation and goal of the investigation:

16 It is not entirely clear what the referent of ἦδε is. Does it, for instance, refer to the text as a physical object, or does it refer to the endeavor of inquiry? Or even the performance of the text? How one resolves the reference does not, however, affect the analysis.

(2.14) QUD: *Why did he undertake it?*

a. *Reason 1*

ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων [τῶι χρόνῳι ἐξίτηλα]<sub>F</sub> γένηται.

*hō:s mé:-te tà*

PURP NEG-CONJ ART.N.NOM.PL

*genómēna* *eks anthrṓ:pon*

happen.PTCP.AOR.MID.N.NOM.PL from people.M.GEN.PL

[*tō:i* *khró:nō:i* *eksíte:la*]<sub>F</sub>

ART.M.DAT.SG time.M.DAT.SG extinguished.N.NOM.PL

*géne:tai*

become.AOR.SBJV.MID.3SG

‘so that the events of people not be extinguished by time’

Prooem.

b. *Reason 2*

μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωυμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάρῳσι ἀποδεχθέντα, [ἀκλεᾶ]<sub>F</sub> γένηται.

*mé:-te érga megála te kai*

NEG-CONJ work.N.NOM.PL great.N.NOM.PL CONJ CONJ

*thṓ:umastá, tà mèn Hállē:si,*

marvelous.N.NOM.PL ART.N.NOM.PL PTCL Greek.M.DAT.PL

*tà dē barbá:rsi*

ART.N.NOM.PL PTCL barbarian.M.DAT.PL

*apodekthénta,* [*akleā*]<sub>F</sub>

display.PTCP.AOR.PASS.N.NOM.PL without.glory.N.NOM.PL

*géne:tai*

become.AOR.SBJV.MID.3SG

‘and that great and marvelous deeds, some displayed by the Greeks, some by the barbarians, not be without their glory’<sup>17</sup>

Prooem.

17 “In the second purpose clause of the *Histories*’ first sentence, however, the language changes; Herodotus abandons his investigatory spelunker’s hat and assayer’s tools and dons bardic, even Homeric, robes instead.” So Dewald (2012: 64). This view conflates register (in the sense of Halliday 1978, i.e., a subset of a language used in a particular context or for a particular purpose) with discourse: the reason that Herodotus offers in the purpose clause evokes themes of Homeric epic, but what he is doing discourse-wise remains through and through investigative.

c. *Reason* 3

τά τε ἄλλα καὶ [δι' ἣν αἰτίην]<sub>F</sub> ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

tá te állassi kai [di'

ART.N.NOM.PL CONJ ART.N.NOM.PL CONJ on.account.of

hè:n aitiè:n]<sub>F</sub> epolémè:san

REL.F.ACC.SG reason.F.ACC.SG fight.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL

allé:lóisi

RECP.3PL.M.DAT

'as well as why they fought against one another'

Proem.

The most important of these answers is (2.14.c), as this is the root question of the rest of the *Histories*. Every QUD that appears in the examples in the rest of the book are subordinate to the question *Why did they go war?* In order to simplify the presentation of examples, however, I do not present the genealogy of QUDs in the examples below unless it is relevant to the discussion.

The relationship between the QUD and answers in (2.14) illustrates a further principle of discourse coherence and relevance.<sup>18</sup> Roberts argues that declarative statements are congruent when the set of focal alternatives is identical to the denotation of the QUD. To take example (2.14.a) as illustrative, if the focus of the utterance has been correctly identified, the purpose clause should answer a question such as *He wrote this work in order that the deeds of people not become what?* The focal alternatives of the answer and the denotation of the question would then be identical. I consider this too strong, and follow instead the looser alternative of Beaver and Clark (2008: 37), according to which the set of focal alternatives need only be a subset of the QUD-denotation, and only part of a declarative needs to meet this requirement. To return to (2.14.a), the set of

18 Relevance will not play a role in the ensuing chapter, but this is an important topic in the study of Herodotean discourse, as Herodotus is famously said to have a discursive style (e.g., Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007: 12). This claim is based on an intuitive definition of relevance, and it would be worthwhile to see what exactly makes Herodotean discourse “discursive,” and to what extent the concept of relevance (or the practice of relevant discourse) varies cross-culturally. I suspect that there are at least two ways in which the standard view should be modified. First, on a more explicit definition of relevance, Herodotus’ discourse strategy may not turn out to be so discursive, inasmuch as the digressions form part of a strategy for answering a higher-order QUD. Second, violations of relevance may well be intentional, and meant to trigger implicatures, which is often the result of flouting Gricean maxims (for an example of which from oracular discourse, see Goldstein 2013b).

focal alternatives in the answer (all the possible values that could be substituted for τῶι χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα) is a subset of the denotation of the QUD *Why did he write?*, which includes a much broader range of possible answers. To take a simpler example from English, this looser approach to discourse coherence is important for allowing *I think [Mary]<sub>F</sub> laughed* to answer both *Who do you think laughed?* as well as *Who laughed?*

Topic and focus as defined above are not to be equated with activation status (Kadmon and Sevi 2011: 18), that is, whether, e.g., a referent is new to the discourse or already mentioned. Following Prince (1981), I recognize four categories of activation status: discourse-new, discourse-old, hearer-new, and hearer-old. Information that is not realized in the discourse but assumed to be known I refer to as part of the Common Ground. While the focus is often discourse-new information, and the topic discourse-old information, this need not be the case. Focus is a relation between an asserted piece of information and the discourse background (Chafe 1976, Lambrecht 1994). Activation status unquestionably has an effect on how utterances are encoded, but this interacts only obliquely with topic and focus.

It has to be acknowledged that this is an insufficient model of discourse, as it is concentrated exclusively on the exchange of information (Beaver and Clark 2008: 39–40), which of course is not the sole purpose of discourse. As the phenomena in chapters 5 and 6 are rooted in the information structure of discourse, I accept these limitations. There is the further issue that the QUDs that I have presented above are only implicit in a text like the *Histories*. I follow Beaver and Clark (2008: 39) in arguing that prior discourse can implicate a QUD or a QUD can be accommodated, although the exact constraints on accommodation have yet to be worked out.

In sum, the framework that I adopt for describing information structure involves three basic information-structural categories for an utterance: QUDs, focus, and background.<sup>19</sup> Discourse is a set of QUDs. As QUDs are resolved, their answers are then added to the Common Ground. Given this general setup, we can characterize sincere, competent, and cooperative interlocutors as holding two kinds of goals at any given point in a discourse, discourse goals, that is, which QUDs they are trying to resolve and how, and domain goals, that is, what they want to accomplish in the world. Such goals would include, e.g., acquiring information, building social relationships, and attempts at persuasion. In the

19 These categories are necessary for describing the information status of elements at the left periphery of the clause. For the rest of the clause, one would need to supplement these categories with something akin to what Butt and King (1996) refer to as completive and background information.

case of the *Histories*, the question of domain goal goes to the heart of why Herodotus composed the work at all. Given the size and complexity of this topic, I will have nothing to say about it here.

## 2.5 Greek as a Discourse-Configurational Language

It is now widely accepted that surface word order in both Greek and Latin is conditioned by discourse factors. Recent work has focused in particular on the role of information structure (Panhuis 1982, Bottin 1992, Fraser 2001 and 2002, Viti 2008 and 2010, Spevak 2008, Loudová 2009, Lühr 2010, Spevak 2010; earlier works that take this approach include Wocher 1849, Weil 1879, Thomson 1939, Loepfe 1940, Dover 1960 and 1985). The claim, at least for Greek, is old, as the basic approach can be found in Demetrius, *De Elocutione* §199, who appears to be working with categories similar to topic and focus, namely τὸ περὶ οὗ, lit. ‘the about which’ and ὃ τοῦτό ἐστιν, lit. ‘(that) which is this,’ respectively. In his analysis of Thuc. 1.24.1, he notes that the topic precedes the focus:

- (2.15) Ἐπίδαμνος ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Ἴόνιον κόλπον.  
*Epidamnós*                      *esti*                                      *pólis*                      *en*  
 Epidamnus.F.NOM.SG be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG city.F.NOM.SG on  
*deksiāi*                      *espléonti*    *es*    *tōn*  
 right.F.DAT.SG sail.in.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.SG into ART.M.ACC.SG  
*Iónion*                                      *kólpon*.  
 Ionic.M.ACC.SG gulf.M.ACC.SG  
 ‘The city of Epidamnus stands on the right as one enters the Ionic gulf.’  
 THUC. 1.24.1

We are perhaps to infer from this remark that this was the unmarked pattern. That Demetrius is describing Greek word order on the basis of discourse/pragmatic categories and not grammatical functions such as subject and object is further evidence that the language was discourse-configurational.

At the vanguard of this recent wave of scholarship investigating the interaction between word order and discourse has been the work of Helma Dik, especially H. Dik (1995), which is devoted to Herodotean prose (H. Dik 2007 extends the model to Greek tragedy; see Goldstein 2008 for a review). Working more or less within Simon Dik’s Functional Grammar (S.C. Dik 1997a, 1997b), H. Dik (no relation) argues that Greek word order is conditioned by the information structure of its constituents and offers the following surface template:





of the preposition at the head of the phrase. That Greek phrase structure at the level of the clause is discourse-configurational does not mean that there is no grammaticalized word order anywhere. Simply because surface word order is sensitive to discourse structure does not mean that the only conditioning factors are pragmatic. Other factors such as, e.g., animacy or transitivity may well play a role (cf. Tonhauser and Colijn 2010) in determining surface word order. Furthermore, discourse-conditioned word order cannot be blithely equated with pragmatics, since it is well known that focus can have truth-conditional effects (that is, it can have *semantic* effects: see Szabolcsi 1981, Rooth 1985, Sgall, Hajicová, and Panevová 1986, Krifka 2008, Beaver and Clark 2008). In sum, a far richer and far more explicit model of word order determinants is needed than (2.16) can provide.

The response to shortcomings such as these has been to expand (2.16) with more refined pragmatic categories. Matic' (2003) is the most important update; one addition is discussed below, others are reserved for chapter 5. While some of this work has achieved empirically broader coverage, the general approach is still hampered by two problems. The first is the absence of phrase structure, which leads to confusion in the generalizations. The second is a reliance on vague categories such as “Continuous Topic” that do not offer a precise characterization of the constraints on usage that they bring with them.

## 2.6 Monotonic Focus in the Greek Clause

While a full account of the surface word order of Greek is well beyond the scope of this book, I adduce here further evidence in support of a correlation between surface word order and information structure. In what is perhaps the most significant revision to Dik's model above, Matic' (2003: 582–588) argues that verb-object focus (i.e., broad focus) is encoded with VO word order, while object focus (i.e., narrow focus) is encoded with OV word order. Support for this distinction comes from the following near minimal pair (Matic' 2003: 583–584; see, however, Lühr 2010: 498, who claims that Greek also has preverbal broad focus):

### (2.18) *Broad Focus*

#### a. QUD: *What was I doing?*

[έπορευόμην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας εὐθὺ Λυκείου]<sub>F</sub> τὴν ἕξω τεῖχος ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος.

[επορευόμε:ν                    mèn eks Akade:meías                    eut<sup>h</sup>y

go.IMP.F.IND.MP.1SG PTCL from Academy.F.GEN.SG straight.ADV

*Lykeíou*]<sub>F</sub>                    *tè:n*                    *έκσω:*    *τείκῳς*  
 Lyceum.N.GEN.SG ART.F.ACC.SG outside city.wall.N.GEN.SG  
*hyp' autò*                    *tò*                    *τείκῳς*.  
 under self.N.ACC.SG ART.N.ACC.SG city.wall.N.GEN.SG  
 '[I was going from the Academy straight to the Lyceum]<sub>F</sub>, by the road  
 outside the city wall, just under the wall itself.'

PLAT. *Lys.* 203a

(2.19) *Narrow Focus*

- a. *καί με προσιόντα* ὁ Ἴπποθάλης ἰδὼν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ποῖ δὴ πορεύηι καὶ πόθεν;

*καί με προσιόντα*

CONJ 1SG.ACC approach.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG

*ἡ*                    *Ἰπποθάλης*

ART.M.NOM.SG Hippothales.M.NOM.SG

*ιδόν,*                    *ῶ:*                    *Σόκρατες,*

see.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG VOC.PTCL Socrates.M.VOC.SG

*ἐπῆει:*                    *ποῖ*                    *δέ:*

say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG where.WH.ADV PTCL

*πορεύει*                    *καὶ πόθεν?*

go.PRES.IND.ACT.2SG CONJ where.from.WH.ADV

'Then once Hippothales saw me approaching, he said, "Socrates, where are you off to and where are you coming from?"'

PLAT. *Lys.* 203a–203b

- b. QUD: *Where are you coming from, and where are you going?*

[έξ Ἀκαδημείας]<sub>F</sub>, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πορεύομαι, [εὐθὺ Λυκείου]<sub>F</sub>.

[*eks Akadēmías*]<sub>F</sub>,                    *è:n*                    *d' egó:*,

from Academy.F.GEN.SG say.IMP.F.IND.1SG PTCL 1SG.NOM

*πορεύομαι,*                    [*eutḥý Lykeíou*]<sub>F</sub>.

go.PRES.IND.MP.1SG straight.ADV Lyceum.N.GEN.SG

'[From the Academy]<sub>F</sub>, I said, and [on my way to the Lyceum]<sub>F</sub>.'

PLAT. *Lys.* 203b

The dialogue opens with (2.18.a), where Socrates sets the stage by reporting on what he was doing. The QUD is something along the lines of *What was I doing?* The answer is discourse-new, so the verb and its complements are ordered with the former at the head. (One point where I diverge from Matić is in the analysis of the phrase *τὴν ἔξω τείχους ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος*, which I construe as an elaboration on the focus, and not part of the focus itself.) By contrast,

when Socrates relays the same information in his answer to Hippothales in (2.19.b) the prepositional phrase ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας now precedes the verb. This is because the QUD differs. It is part of the Common Ground that Socrates is going somewhere, the question is thus whence and whither. I take εὐθὺς Λυκείου to be the answer to the second question; here the verb has been ellipsed since it was uttered in the first answer.

There is evidence from the *Histories* as well that monotonic narrow focus occurs immediately before the verb:

(2.20) *Narrow Focus*

a. QUD: *What did the Greeks call him?*

τὸν οἱ Ἕλληγες [Μυρσίλον]<sub>F</sub> ὀνομάζουσι.

*tòn hoi Hèllēnes*

REL.M.ACC.SG ART.M.NOM.PL Greek.M.NOM.PL

[*Myrsílon*]<sub>F</sub> *onómázousi*.

Mursilus.M.ACC.SG call.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL

'whom the Greeks call [Mursilus]<sub>F</sub>.'

1.7.1

b. QUD: *What is the country like on account of the heat?*

[ἔρημος]<sub>F</sub> γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος.

[*éremos*]<sub>F</sub> *gár esti he:*

desolate.C.NOM.SG EXPL be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG ART.F.NOM.SG

*kʰý:re: haúte: hypò kaúmatos.*

country.F.NOM.SG MED.F.NOM.SG under heat.N.GEN.SG

'[Desolate]<sub>F</sub> is this country on account of the heat.'

2.31.1

c. QUD: *What did the Cimmerian host do to the cities in Ionia?*

τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στρατεύμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου ἐὸν πρεσβύτερον οὐ [καταστροφή]<sub>F</sub> ἐγένετο τῶν πόλιων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆ.

*tò gár Kimmeríō:n stráteuma*

ART.N.NOM.SG EXPL Cimmerian.M.GEN.PL host.N.NOM.SG

*tò epì tē:n Ioníē:n*

ART.N.NOM.SG against ART.F.ACC.SG Ionia.F.ACC.SG

*apikómēnō:n Kroísou*

invade.PTCP.AOR.MID.N.NOM.SG Croesus.M.GEN.SG

*ē:n presbýterō:n ou*

be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.SG older.N.NOM.SG NEG

[*katastrɔpʰɛː*]<sub>F</sub>                      *egénetɔ*                                      *tɔːn*  
 subjugation.F.NOM.SG become.AOR.IND.MID.3SG ART.F.GEN.PL  
*πόλιων,                      all' eks epidromēːs                      harpagéː.*  
 city.F.GEN.PL but from raid.F.GEN.SG seizure.F.NOM.SG  
 'For the Cimmerian host that invaded Ionia (which happened before  
 Croesus' time) brought not [a subjugation]<sub>F</sub> of the cities, but tar-  
 geted raiding.'  
 1.6.3

d. QUD: *What was Candaules' relationship to Gyges?*

τούτωι τῷ Γύγῃ [*καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων*]<sub>F</sub> ὑπερετίθετο  
 ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαίνεων.  
*τούτωːι                      τῷːι                      Gýgeːi                      [καὶ*  
 MED.M.DAT.SG ART.M.DAT.SG Gyges.M.DAT.SG even.ADV  
*τὰ                      spoudaiéstera                      τῷːn*  
 ART.N.ACC.PL more.serious.N.ACC.PL ART.N.GEN.PL  
*pre:gmátɔːn]*<sub>F</sub> *hyperetítʰetɔ*                                      *hɔ*  
 affair.N.GEN.PL entrust.IMPFF.IND.MP.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
*Kandaúleːs                      καὶ δὲː καὶ                      τὸ*  
 Candaules.M.NOM.SG in.particular.ADV ART.N.ACC.SG  
*εἶδος                      τῆːs                      gynaikòs*  
 beauty.N.ACC.SG ART.F.GEN.SG wife.F.GEN.SG  
*hyperepainéɔːn.*  
 over.praise.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG.  
 'To this Gyges Candaules also entrusted [his more serious affairs]<sub>F</sub>,  
 in particular overly praising his wife's beauty.'  
 1.8.1

e. QUD: *Where did they encamp?*

καὶ οἱ μὲν [*περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον*]<sub>F</sub> ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο.  
*καὶ hɔi                      mèn [perì τὸ*  
 CONJ 3PL.M.NOM PTCL around ART.N.ACC.SG  
*Ἡέːραϊον]*<sub>F</sub>                      *estratopedeúontɔ.*  
 Heraion.N.ACC.SG encamp.IMPFF.IND.MP.3PL  
 'And they encamped [around the Heraion]<sub>F</sub>.'  
 9-53-1

- f. QUD: *How much do they despise us?*  
 οὔτοι ὠνδρες ἡμέων [πολλόν]<sub>F</sub> καταφρονέουσι.  
*hōtci h-ō:ndres hε:μέo:n*  
 MED.M.NOM.PL ART.M.NOM.PL-man.M.NOM.PL 1PL.GEN  
 [pollōn]<sub>F</sub> kataph<sup>r</sup>onéousi.  
 much.N.ACC.SG<sub>F</sub> despise.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL  
 ‘These men [really]<sub>F</sub> despise us.’  
 4.134.2

(2.21) *Broad Focus*

- QUD: *What did Candaules do?*  
 οὔτος δὴ ὦν ὁ Κανδαύλης [ἡράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός]<sub>F</sub>.  
*hōtōs dē: ō:n hō Kandaúle:s*  
 MED.M.NOM.SG PTCL PTCL ART.M.NOM.SG Candaules.M.NOM.SG  
 [ε:rást<sup>h</sup>ε: tē:s hε:υtoῦ  
 fall.in.love.with.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG ART.F.GEN.SG REFL.3SG.M.GEN  
*gynaikós]<sub>F</sub>.*  
 wife.F.GEN.SG  
 ‘Candaules, then, [fell in love with his own wife]<sub>F</sub>.’  
 1.8.1

In the examples in (2.20) the focus is on the object of the verb, which accordingly is in preverbal position. In (2.21), by contrast, the verb and its internal argument are focused, with the latter in postverbal position.

As a closing remark, I should add that while this generalization does find empirical support, one should not take away the impression that every OV string will encode object focus, while every VO string will encode verb-object focus. I assume that there are other factors that can conspire to create these surface strings.

## 2.7 Summing Up

This chapter offered an overview of Greek syntax and word order, which I argued to be discourse configurational with a flat S constituent. Given the crucial role that discourse and information structure play in determining surface word order in the Greek clause, frameworks for both are a requisite for an investigation of Greek word order. To this end, I introduced the QUD model of discourse in conjunction with Alternative Semantics, both of which play crucial roles in chapters 5 and 6. While I will be using the former model to explicate the

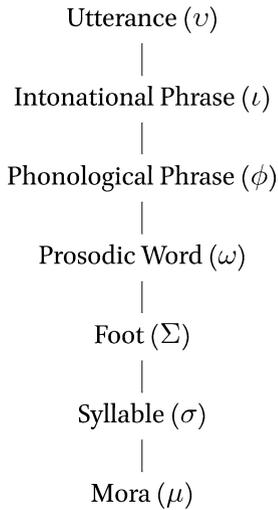
mapping between information structure and morphosyntactic form, I would like to note that it is broadly applicable to classical texts and could no doubt be used to gain new insights into the nature of Greek discourse more generally.

## The Prosody of Greek Clitics

As clitics are distinguished from non-clitics by their need for a prosodic host, our discussion begins in the prosodic domain. Section 3.1 introduces the Prosodic Hierarchy, which is a theory of prosodic constituency and organization. This is in turn followed by an overview of Stray Adjunction (section 3.2), the process by which clitics and postpositives adjoin to hosts to form larger prosodic units. Section 3.3 takes up Greek clitics specifically, where the discussion focuses on the distinction between enclitics (second-position items that bear no orthographic accent) and postpositives (second-position items that bear an orthographic accent). Section 3.4 offers evidence that suggests that the direction of association of a clitic, in metrical environments at least, is more dynamic than is standardly assumed. I argue in section 3.5 that clausal clitics in Greek exhibit 2W distribution, which is to say that they are hosted by the first prosodic word in their domain (either CP or S, depending upon whether CP is occupied). The 2W-analysis of clausal clitics has been challenged on the grounds that it requires certain function words to be prosodic words (since they can host clausal clitics). This is a problem because function words are widely believed to fall short of prosodic wordhood. In section 3.6, I provide evidence that function words in Greek and elsewhere can in fact be prosodic words. Section 3.7 casts a glance at the distribution of clitics from other domains, while section 3.8 closes out the discussion with concluding remarks.

### 3.1 The Prosodic Hierarchy

Just as the syntactic structure of a sentence exhibits hierarchical organization, so too does its prosodic structure. Prosodic phonology is a theory of phonological constituency, that is, of how units of speech are grouped together to form larger constituents (Selkirk 1981, Nespor and Vogel [1986] 2007). Two central questions in this research program are the number of prosodic constituents that have to be recognized and how they combine to form larger units. The following constituents are typically recognized in the Prosodic Hierarchy:

(3.1) *Constituents of the Prosodic Hierarchy*

Of all these units, the prosodic word (for an overview of which, see Hall 1999) will play the most important role in our discussion, as clausal clitics are canonically hosted by the first prosodic word of their clause (section 3.5).

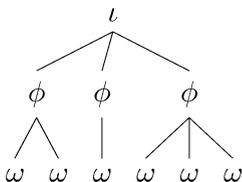
The Prosodic Hierarchy is said to be subject to various design principles, which specify how the constituents in (3.1) may and may not be built up to form larger constituents (see, e.g., Spencer and Luís 2012: 66–67). The most prominent of these is the Strict Layer Hypothesis, which stipulates that prosodic structure is strictly organized according to the hierarchy of categories above:

(3.2) *Strict Layer Hypothesis* (Selkirk 2011: 437)

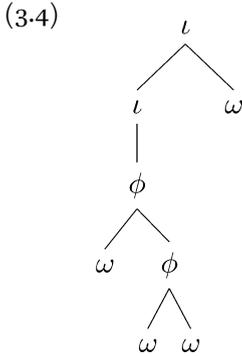
A constituent of category-level  $n$  in the Prosodic Hierarchy immediately dominates only (a sequence of) constituents at category level  $n-1$  in the hierarchy.

This principle licenses trees such as the following:

## (3.3)



Starting from root node, the tree proceeds monotonically from the intonational phrase ( $\iota$ ) to prosodic phrases ( $\phi$ ) to prosodic words ( $\omega$ ). The following tree, by contrast, violates the Strict Layer Hypothesis:



Here constituents of the same category dominate one another: the root node  $\iota$  dominates a daughter  $\iota$ , beneath which one  $\phi$  dominates another  $\phi$ . The root  $\iota$  also exhibits level skipping in that it dominates a constituent two levels lower on the hierarchy, namely  $\omega$ .

The number of constituents recognized in the hierarchy varies (Itô and Mester 2009). As concerns clitics in Greek, the most significant omission in the hierarchy in (3.1) is the clitic group constituent, which, for instance, Golston (1990: 70–71) and Devine and Stephens (1994) espouse (see most recently Revithiadou 2014 for an overview of the clitic group in Greek, and Anderson 2005: 42–44 more generally). If the Strict Layer Hypothesis is inviolable, it forces a clitic and its host to form one (non-recursive) prosodic word. Clitics in some languages do behave this way; one example is the Lucanian dialect of Italian (mentioned below in section 3.3). In other languages, however, clitics and their hosts project phonological phrases or recursive prosodic words, both of which violate the Strict Layer Hypothesis.

This problem vanishes with the assumption of a clitic group constituent between the prosodic word and the phonological phrase. Golston (1990: 70–71) motivates the assumption further with evidence from *crasis*, a process that fuses two vowels across a word boundary:

- (3.5) *Crasis*  
 a.  $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$  ‘and then’  $\rightarrow \kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$   
 $\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha \rightarrow \kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$   
 CONJ then.ADV

- b. τῆι ἡμέραι ‘on the day’ → θῆμέραι  
*t̃ɛ:i*                    *hɛ:mérai*            → *t<sup>h</sup>ɛ:mérai*  
 ART.F.DAT.SG    day.F.DAT.SG

In both cases, the two input words fuse into one. As the initial elements are prosodically weak function words, Golston (1990) argues that this process takes place within the domain of the clitic group.

Rather than assume a clitic group constituent, I instead follow Anderson (2005, 2012) in breaking up the Strict Layer Hypothesis into the following constraints (this insight actually goes back to Selkirk 1984 and Inkelas 1990):

- (3.6) a. **LAYEREDNESS**  
 No category dominates a higher level category.
- b. **HEADEDNESS**  
 Every category directly dominates (at least) one element no more than one level below it on the hierarchy.
- c. **EXHAUSTIVITY**  
 Every element of category  $C_i$  is exhaustively composed of elements of category  $C_{i-1}$ .
- d. **NON-RECURSIVITY**  
 No element of category  $C_i$  directly dominates another instance of  $C_i$ .

LAYEREDNESS and HEADEDNESS are intrinsic to the nature of the Prosodic Hierarchy and are accordingly inviolable (Selkirk 1995). EXHAUSTIVITY and NON-RECURSIVITY, however, are violable, and the way in which they are ranked plays a crucial role in determining the nature of clitic incorporation in a language (cf. Zec and Inkelas 1990, Chung 2003, Anderson 2005). In Greek, for instance, enclitics violate NON-RECURSIVITY but obey EXHAUSTIVITY, with the result that when they incorporate with a prosodic word, they project a larger, recursive prosodic word. The domain for crasis from example (3.5) above is simply the recursive prosodic word, and we need not adopt a separate clitic group constituent.

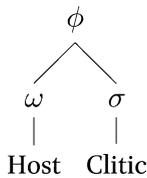
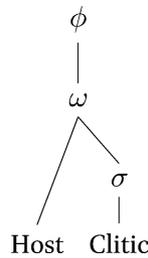
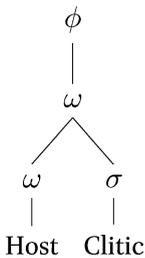
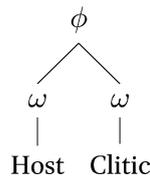
### 3.2 Stray Adjunction

Clitics are prosodically-deficient non-constituents that need to adjoin to a host (Inkelas 1990). Clitic incorporation is motivated by the following constraint:

## (3.7) FULL INTERPRETATION

All phonological material that is pronounced is integrated into the prosodic structure.

FULL INTERPRETATION is undominated, just as LAYEREDNESS and HEAD-EDNESS above are. Anderson (2005: 46), (2009), and (2012) offer the following typology for the incorporation of enclitics into the prosodic structure of their hosts:

(3.8) *Free Clitic* ( $\phi$ -incorporation)(3.9) *Internal Clitic* ( $\omega$ -incorporation)(3.10) *Affixal Clitic* ( $\omega$ -adjunction)(3.11) *Pword Clitic*

In example (3.8), the incorporation of the clitic does not interact with stress assignment; together with its host it projects a phonological phrase  $\phi$ . In (3.9), the clitic is incorporated into the prosodic word of its host, with the result that accent is calculated over both items as though they were one word. In (3.10), clitic-adjunction triggers a recursion of the prosodic word. The presence of the clitic can trigger a secondary accent, but never affects the main lexical accent, as it has already been calculated. The final structure, that of the Pword clitic in (3.11), may at first sound paradoxical, as prosodic sub-wordhood is often said to be a definitional property of clitics. This type is marginal compared to the preceding three, but nevertheless does exist (Anderson 1992: 204 and 2005: 32 cite examples from Italian and Tagalog). We will see below that this type is

represented in Ancient Greek by the class of words known as postpositives. Recognition of this type means that cliticness needs to be defined simply as the need for a host.

The first three adjunction types are illustrated in the following three dialects of Italian (data from Peperkamp 1997: 177):

(3.12) *Standard Italian (Free Clitic)*

- a. *pórta*  
bring.IMPV
- b. *pórta=mi*  
bring.IMPV=me
- c. *pórta=me=lo*  
bring.IMPV=me=it.

(3.13) *Lucanian (Internal Clitic)*

- a. *vínna*  
sell.IMPV
- b. *vánni=lla*  
sell.IMPV=it
- c. *vinná=mi=lla*  
sell.IMPV=me=it

(3.14) *Neapolitan (Affixal Clitic)*

- a. *cónta*  
tell.IMPV
- b. *cónta=lá*  
tell.IMPV=it
- c. *cónta=tí=lla*  
tell.IMPV=you.REFL=it

As will be detailed below, enclitics in Attic and Ionic Greek follow the Neapolitan pattern, whereby they form a recursive prosodic word with their host.

### 3.3 Clitic Incorporation in Greek

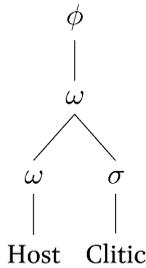
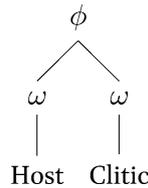
The philological literature standardly divides the inventory of second-position items into two classes: clitics and postpositives (Chandler 1881, Fraenkel [1933] 1964, Dover 1960, H. Dik 1995, Probert 2003, H. Dik 2007; from Wackernagel 1892: 377, it appears that the term *postpositive* is due to Krüger). Second-position

items without an orthographic accent are clitics, e.g.,  $\mu\upsilon\nu$ , while those with an orthographic accent are postpositives, e.g.,  $\check{\alpha}\nu$  (Hermann 1831: 7).<sup>1</sup> The idea behind this division seems to be that of true phonological clitics versus syntactic clitics, that is, words that despite bearing an accent nevertheless occur in second position (cf. Fraenkel 1966, Devine and Stephens 1994: 303, 352, H. Dik 1995: 37–38, Lowe 2013).<sup>2</sup>

This characterization suffers from at least three inaccuracies. First, whatever the orthographic accent on postpositives represents, it cannot be equated with the orthographic accent of non-postpositive words. Second, postpositives do exhibit phonological dependence on a host, so it is not accurate to refer to them as “syntactic clitics.” And finally, there is no distributional difference that breaks down according to the enclitic/postpositive divide.<sup>3</sup> In subsequent chapters, this distinction will accordingly play no role in the discussion, and I will use the term *clitic* to refer to both classes.<sup>4</sup>

Enclitics and postpositives in Greek incorporate with their prosodic hosts as follows:

- 
- 1 Among the ancient grammarians, the division was not nearly so clean. Vendryès (1929: § 119) notes that the grammarians of *Anecdota de Bekker* and Dionysius Thrax considered  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ,  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , and  $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$  enclitic, a view that receives support from manuscript evidence, where these words are sometimes found without the orthographic accent that is uniform in modern editions of texts (for further discussion, see Devine and Stephens 1994: 354–355).  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  sometimes occur with double accentuation marks. This is done to signal contrast (Groningen 1940: 51), however, and I interpret it as a reflection of intonation and not evidence for lexical accent. By contrast, however, John Philoponus 31.25–26 Dindorf makes it clear that  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  is not an enclitic (I am grateful to Philomen Probert for calling my attention to this passage). These divergences may reflect dialectal differences.
  - 2 Wackernagel (1892: 371) uses the term *Quasi-Enklitikon* for these particles, which is the term that Hajdú (1989) adopted for  $\check{\alpha}\nu$ . Collinge (1985: 217) refers to  $\check{\alpha}\nu$  as a “semi-clitic,” but offers no definition of the category.
  - 3 Whether there is any distributional difference in the modal particles  $\kappa\epsilon(\nu)$  and  $\check{\alpha}\nu$  in Homer remains to be investigated. See Wackernagel (1892: 378–381).
  - 4 Cf. Fortson (2010: 161) in his discussion of Wackernagel’s Law: “Some particles, such as Greek *gár* ‘for’ and Vedic *hí* ‘for,’ have a lexical stress but behave syntactically like true clitics, and will be considered together with them in the following discussion.” Taylor (1990: 119) notes the distributional identity of clitics and particles, but also remarks (1990: 121) that the two groups diverge over time. See further Devine and Stephens (1994: 354–355); Probert (2006: 131 n. 9) cites ancient testimony.

(3.15) *Enclitic*(3.16) *Postpositive*

Enclitics are prosodically deficient and follow the affixal pattern of Neapolitan above (ex. 3.14), which is to say that a host and its enclitic project a recursive prosodic word. Postpositives by contrast are not prosodically deficient and incorporate with their host to project a phonological phrase. The following six phenomena reveal the similarities and differences between the incorporation of enclitics and postpositives: Porson's Bridge, the secondary accentual calculus, evanescent H tones, lulling, antihomophony, and tonal spreading.

Before turning to these phenomena, two preliminary remarks are in order. I would first like to forestall a potential objection, namely that postpositives cannot be prosodic words because they are not minimal words. The minimal word in Greek is said to be bimoraic (Blumenfeld 2004, with earlier references), and most postpositives do not meet this threshold. But the minimal word requirement in Greek is category specific (cf. Smith 2011) and in particular restricted to nouns. Certain monosyllabic verb forms, such as the imperatives δός 'give' and θές 'put' also fail to meet the minimality threshold. I thus see the minimal word requirement as no obstacle to treating postpositives as prosodic words.

Second, on a general note, the distinction between enclitic and postpositive appears to correlate with chronology. Etymologies for enclitics are generally apparent, be it for the personal pronouns, γε (see *GEW*: s.v.), the conjunction τε (cf. Lat. *que*, Skt. *ca*, etc.), or the particles ῥα and νυν, as well as the recently-rediscovered ταρ (cf. Cuneiform Luvian *tar*; see Watkins 1995: 150–151, 336, Katz 2007, Reece 2009: 217–230, Yakubovich 2010). With postpositives like μέν, δέ, γάρ (< γε=ἄρ), ἄν, and δή, comparative equations are harder to establish. What this suggests is that the latter class underwent grammaticalization and reduction to cliticness more recently than the enclitics and accordingly still preserve word-like properties, such as high tone. It may have also been the case that postpositives were originally clause-

initial elements. The particle  $\delta\eta$ , for instance, is still found clause-initially in Homer.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.3.1 Porson's Bridge

Porson's Bridge is the name of a constraint forbidding a word boundary after an initial heavy syllable in the last metron of an iambic trimeter (see Devine and Stephens 1978, West 1982: 84–85, Devine and Stephens 1984, 1994). Enclitics are not subject to this constraint because they are so tightly bound to their prosodic host (the translations in the subsequent examples have been filled out with content from surrounding lines in the interest of sense):

- (3.17)     $\text{---}\text{---}\text{---} \quad \text{---}\text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---}\text{---} \quad \text{---}\text{---} \quad \text{---}\text{---}$   
 Πηλέως ἀκούσας συμφοράς, ὥς=νιν χθονὸς  
*Pe:léw:s*                      *akóusas*  
 Peleus.M.GEN.SG hear.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*symp<sup>h</sup>orás,*                      *hós=nin*                      *k<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>onòs*  
 misfortune.F.ACC.PL that.COMP=3SG.ACC land.F.GEN.SG  
 'Having heard of new calamities of Peleus, namely that Acastus ban-  
 ished him from the land.'  
 EUR. *Tro.* 1127

That  $\omega\varsigma=νιν$  projects a recursive prosodic word enables it to stand at Porson's Bridge. Postpositives also occur at Porson's Bridge:

- (3.18) a.     $\text{---}\text{---} \quad \text{---}\text{---} \quad \text{---}\text{---} \quad | \quad \text{---}\text{---} \quad \text{---}\text{---}$   
 σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἢ μισοῦσα μισεῖς=μὲν λόγῳ.  
*sý*                      *d'*                      *he:mìn*                      *he:*  
 2SG.NOM PTCL 1PL.DAT ART.F.NOM.SG  
*misóusa*    *miseĩs=mèn*  
 hate.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.SG hate.PRES.IND.ACT.2SG=PTCL  
*lógo:i.*  
 word.M.DAT.SG  
 'You, the one who hates, hate (only) in word.'  
 SOPH. *El.* 357

5 If  $\alpha\upsilon$  developed from a disjunction, then presumably it too would have been clause-initial at some point. The connection between Greek  $\alpha\upsilon$  and the *an* of Latin and Gothic is not yet clear, however: see Brugmann (1902–1904: 615), Forbes (1958), D.J.N. Lee (1967), Neuberger-Donath (1977), Dunkel (1990), Reece (2009: 73–78). Latin has a striking number of discourse particles that occur both clause-initially and in what appears to be second position, such as *demum*, *ergo*, *igitur*, *nam*, and *vero*.



secondary accent or nothing happens at all (Smyth 1956: §183, Steriade 1988: 283–284, Devine and Stephens 1994: 370, Janse 1995/1996):

(3.19) *No Secondary Accent*

a. *Oxytone+Monosyllabic Clitic*

δόξ+μοι → δόξ=μοι

*dós+mōi*

→ *dós=mōi*

give.IMPV.AOR.ACT.2SG+1SG.DAT

b. *Oxytone+Disyllabic Clitic*

καλόν+έστι → καλόν=έστι

*kalón+esti*

→ *kalón=esti*

fine.N.NOM.SG+be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

περί+τινων → περί=τινων (Plut. Cic. 29.2)

*perí+tinō:n*

→ *perí=tinō:n*

around+INDF.N.GEN.PL

c. *Paroxytone+Monosyllabic Clitic*

φίλος+μου → φίλος=μου

*phílos+mōu*

→ *phílos=mōu*

friend.M.NOM.SG+1SG.GEN

d. *Perispomenon+Monosyllabic Clitic*

φῶς+τι → φῶς=τι

*phṓ:s+ti*

→ *phṓ:s=ti*

light.N.NOM.SG+INDF.N.NOM.SG

φιλῶ+σε → φιλῶ=σε

*phílō:s+se*

→ *phílō:s=se*

love.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG+2SG.ACC

e. *Perispomenon+Disyllabic Clitic*

τιμῶν+τινων → τιμῶν=τινων (Diod. 16.13.2.8, Smyth 1956: §183.b)

*timṓ:n+tinō:n*

→ *timṓ:n=tinō:n*

privilege.F.GEN.PL+INDF.C.GEN.PL

φῶς+τινος → φῶς=τινος (Plot. Enn. 4.5.6)

*phṓ:s+tinō:s*

→ *phṓ:s=tinō:s*

light.N.NOM.SG+INDF.C.GEN.SG

The second possibility is for a secondary accent to emerge, which happens in the following contexts:

(3.20) *Secondary Accent*

a. *Proparoxytone+Monosyllabic Clitic*

ἄνθρωπος+τις → ἄνθρωπός=τις

ántʰrɔ:pɔs+tis

→ ántʰrɔ:pɔs=tis

man.M.NOM.SG+INDF.C.NOM.SG

b. *Paroxytone+Disyllabic Clitic*

φίλοι+τινες → φίλοι=τινές

pʰíloi+tines

→ pʰíloi=tinés

friend.M.NOM.PL+INDF.C.NOM.PL

φίλοι+τινων → φίλοι=τινῶν

pʰíloi+tinɔ:n

→ pʰíloi=tinō:n

friend.M.NOM.PL+INDF.C.GEN.PL

c. *Proparoxytone+Disyllabic Clitic*

ἄνθρωποι+τινες → ἄνθρωποί=τινες

ántʰrɔ:pɔi+tines

→ ántʰrɔ:pɔi=tines

man.M.NOM.PL+INDF.C.NOM.PL

d. *Properispomenon+Monosyllabic Clitic*

σῶσον+με → σῶσόν=με

sō:sɔn+mɛ

→ sō:són=mɛ

save.IMPV.AOR.ACT.2SG+1SG.ACC

e. *Properispomenon+Disyllabic Clitic*

παῖδες+τινες → παῖδές=τινες

paĩdes+tines

→ paĩdés=tines

child.M.NOM.PL+INDF.C.NOM.PL

f. *Properispomenon+Disyllabic Clitic*

κήρυξ+ἐστι → κήρυξ=ἐστί<sup>7</sup>

kē:ryks+esti

→ kē:ryks=estí

herald.M.NOM.SG+be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

7 The host has to end in ψ (*ps*) or ξ (*ks*): see Smyth (1956: §183), Devine and Stephens (1994: 370), Probert (2006: 70).

The calculus that determines secondary accentuation is a matter of some complexity whose details do not concern us here. We need only register a few relevant facts. First, the principles that assign secondary accents to recursive prosodic words are not the same as those that govern the distribution of the accent on the host (cf. Hurch 1996: 86). A string such as φίλος<sub>μ</sub>μου, for instance, would not be licit for primary (i.e., non-recursive) prosodic words, as the long vowel of the final syllable would dictate that the accent occur no farther back than the penult. Second, postpositives never trigger a secondary accent on a host.

### 3.3.3 *Evanescent High Tones*

When the vowel that hosts a high tone is deleted, the tone docks on the next vowel to the left:

#### (3.21) *Non-Clitic Oxytone*

πολλά ἔπαθον → πόλλ' ἔπαθον  
*póllà*                    *épat<sup>h</sup>on*                    → *póll' épat<sup>h</sup>on*  
 many.N.ACC.PL suffer.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL

The final vowel of πολλά is deleted and the accent migrates to the first vowel to its left. The secondary high tone that enclitics can trigger and the high tone of postpositives do not behave this way. When a vowel hosting a high tone in one of these contexts is deleted, the high tone vanishes with it (see further Chandler 1881: 255, Lupaş 1972: 174 and Probert 2003: 133–142, 2006: 69 n. 35; cf. the remarks of Pappas 2001: 94 on Modern Greek):

#### (3.22) a. *Enclitic with Deleted Secondary Accent*

τῶν οὐχὶ δούλων ἐστ' ἐλευθερωτέρα.  
*tṓ:n*                    *ouk<sup>h</sup>i doúlon:est'*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL NEG slave.M.GEN.PL=be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
*eleut<sup>h</sup>ero:téra.*  
 freer.F.NOM.SG  
 '(Their mind) is freer than (that of) non-slaves.'  
 EUR. Fr. 831.2 (= Stob. 4.19.39)

#### b. *Postpositive High Tone*

εἶησαν δὲ ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες → εἶησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες (not εἶησάν)  
*éi:san*                    *dè àn hou̯tci*  
 be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL PTCL MOD MED.M.NOM.PL



(3.24) *Enclitic Host: No Lulling*

a. ἐγώ=σε μετεπεμψάμην

*egó:=se metepempsáme:n*

1SG.NOM=2SG.ACC summon.AOR.IND.MID.1SG

5.24.3

b. τίσωνταί=σε

*tíson:ntái=se*

take.revenge.AOR.SBJV.MID.3PL=2SG.ACC

1.27.4

c. σώσον=μέν=μιν

*sō:sōn=mén=min*

save.IMPV.AOR.ACT.2SG=PTCL=3SG.ACC

(3.25) *Lulling of Oxytone Enclitic*

ὀλίγοι=τινὲς αὐτῶν

*olígoi=tinès**autō:n*

few.M.NOM.PL=INDF.C.NOM.PL 3SG.GEN.PL

4.159.6

The first two examples show that lulling of a word-final acute does not occur before an enclitic, regardless of whether the acute is primary as in (3.24.a), secondary as in (3.24.b), or belongs to a postpositive as in (3.24.c). Example (3.25) shows that when an enclitic bears a secondary high tone, it can undergo lulling. The difference between (3.23) and (3.24) results from a difference in prosodic structure: as both host and postpositive are prosodic words, they are both subject to lulling. Since there is no prosodic word boundary between an enclitic and its host, in this context lulling only affects secondary accents at the right edge of the recursive prosodic word.

We find similar behavior when it comes to the ban on adjacent homophones within a prosodic word (Golston 1995). Adjacent homophonous forms of the definite article, such as the accusative singular masculine τόν τόν (*tón tón*), are unattested, although other strings of definite (non-homophonous) articles are attested (see Smyth 1956: §1162). Crucially, the string τάδε=δέ (*táde=dé*), comprised of a demonstrative pronoun host and discourse particle, is also attested. Under the analysis here the homophonous sequence is separated by a prosodic word boundary and therefore licit.

### 3.3.5 Tonal Spreading

The final phenomenon is the least well understood. In sequences of multiple enclitics, we do not find the patterns of secondary accentuation detailed in section 3.3.2 above. Instead, every enclitic except the last carries high tone:

- (3.26) εἴ=ποῦ=τις=τινα ἴδοι ἐχθρόν ...  
*εἴ=πού=τίς=τίνα*  
 if.COMP=PTCL=INDF.C.NOM.SG=INDF.C.ACC.SG  
*ἴδοι* *εἰκ<sup>h</sup>τήρ<sup>ón</sup>*  
 see.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG enemy.M.ACC.SG  
 'If perhaps anyone were to see an enemy ...'  
 THUC. 4.47.3

On the assumption that the orthographic accentuation represents something prosodically real (it has been called into question, see, e.g., Probert 2003: § 297 for a discussion), this is tonal spreading. That is, the high tone of the host is being distributed to each enclitic except the last. Tonal spreading is a well-known phenomenon cross-linguistically, and typically occurs within a particular prosodic domain. In the example above, the domain is the recursive prosodic word:

- (3.27)
- 
- ```

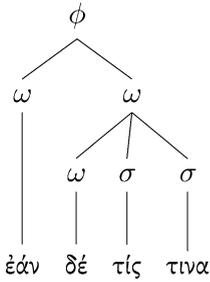
      ω₂
     / | | \
    ω₁ σ  σ  σ
    |  |  |  |
    εἴ πού τις τινα
  
```

The high tone of εἴ spreads as far as the penultimate clitic in the recursive prosodic word ( $\omega_2$ ). The behavior of postpositives differs, however:

- (3.28) ἐάν=δέ=τις=τινα ...  
*ε-ἄν=δέ=τίς=τίνα*  
 if.COMP-MOD=PTCL=INDF.C.NOM.SG=INDF.C.ACC.SG  
 PLAT. *Leg.* 929d3

Here the source of the high tone that spreads is the postpositive δέ, and not the host ἐάν. That spreading extends from δέ to the penultimate clitic suggests that this domain forms its own recursive prosodic word:

(3.29)



Thus  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  constitutes the same domain as  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\varsigma\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha$  in (3.26). This prosodic structure does not, however, mean that the host of the enclitics in (3.29) is  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , as the accentual relationship between postpositives and adjacent enclitics never exhibits the patterns laid out in section 3.3.2.

In sum, postpositives do exhibit behavior characteristic of prosodic words, especially when it comes to lulling and tonal spreading. Despite this, they are nevertheless prosodically dependent, as the evidence from Porson's Bridge reveals. Whatever their orthographic accent means prosodically, its behavior differs from that of true lexical accents. In particular, its ability to be deleted aligns it with the secondary accentuation found on enclitics.

### 3.4 Clitic Polarity

We turn now to another dimension of clitic behavior, namely their direction of association, or polarity. The polarity of enclitics and postpositives is standardly presented as a static property: an element is either an enclitic or a proclitic, but not both (e.g., Probert 2003). It is not often acknowledged that clitic polarity is more dynamic than the standard classifications would suggest. Devine and Stephens (1994: 365–368) have argued that  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and the pronominal clitics can in fact associate rightward; Pardal (2015), evidently unaware of Devine and Stephens (1994), makes the case for proclitic pronouns in Attic drama (cf. Ewen 1979 and Werle 2009, who note similar possibilities with Bulgarian and Slovenian clitics, respectively). There are four sources of evidence for the proclitic behavior of enclitics.

The strongest evidence (which Devine and Stephens 1994: 368 mention only in passing) comes from resolution bridges, i.e., Ritschl's Law (for a brief description of which in Plautus, see Fortson 2009: 7–8), according to which a heavy syllable resolved into two light syllables does not admit a prosodic-word boundary between them, and Porson's Bridge; these are discussed in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, respectively. In addition to these two diagnostics, post-caesural

clitic placement provides evidence for proclisis, which is discussed in section 3.4.3. Lastly, section 3.4.4 calls attention to evidence for proclisis of pronominal clitics from inscriptional punctuation (for the use of punctuation in detecting clisis, see also Adams 1996).

### 3.4.1 Resolution Bridges

The evidence for the claim that ἄν and the pronominal clitics can associate rightward comes primarily from metrical texts (‘^’ marks a resolution bridge):

(3.30) a. — — ◡ — — | ◡ ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ ×

ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄν ὁθεὸς τιμῆν ἔχοι.

*all' oukh homoiōs an=ho=t<sup>h</sup>eōs timēn ēchoi.*

but NEG same.ADV MOD=ART.M.NOM.SG=M.NOM.SG

*timēn ék<sup>h</sup>oi.*

honor.F.ACC.SG have.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG

‘But not the same way would the god have honor.’

EUR. *Bacc.* 192

b. — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ | ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ×

καὶ νῦν τίμ’ ἄγετε; τίμ’ ἀπάγεσθε; τοῦ χάριν;

*kai nyn tim' ágete? tim' apágest<sup>h</sup>e? tou charin?*

CONJ now.ADV WH.N.ACC.SG=1SG.ACC lead.PRES.IND.ACT.2PL

*tim' apágest<sup>h</sup>e?*

WH.N.ACC.SG=1SG.ACC=lead.away.PRES.IND.MP.2PL

*tou k<sup>h</sup>arin?*

WH.N.GEN.SG sake.F.ACC.SG

‘And now—why do you take me? Why are you leading me away? For what?’

SOPH. *Phil.* 1029 (see also *Phil.* 501)

In (3.30.a) the modal particle ἄν is a proclitic hosted by ὁθεὸς, and in (3.30.b) the pronominal clitic μ’ is dependent on the verb ἀπάγεσθε to its right. In both cases, the clitic occurs in a resolved heavy syllable just after the caesura. Resolved heavy syllables are subject to resolution bridges, which means that there should be no (prosodic) word boundary between the two light syllables.<sup>8</sup>

8 See Müller (1866), Descroix (1931: 164–167, 187–193), Dodds (1944) ad loc. (whose description is awkward), West (1982: 86). Cropp and Fick (1985: 29) observe that sixth-syllable resolutions are on the whole more frequent than resolutions in any other position of the line; example (3.30.a) also illustrates the more common subtype (also known as Zielinski’s seventh law),

So we posit that (ἄν=ὁ=θεός)<sub>ω</sub> in example (3.30.a) and (τί=μ'=ἀπάγεσθε)<sub>ω</sub> in (3.30.b) each form prosodic words. Parsing ἄν and μ' as enclitics would violate the resolution bridges. Treating ἄν as an enclitic in (3.30.a) would furthermore create a medial caesura:

- (3.31) — — ◡ — — ◡ | ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ×  
 ἄλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως=ἄν ὁ=θεός τιμὴν ἔχοι.  
*all' oukh hōmoíōs=s=àn hō=t<sup>h</sup>ēds*  
 but NEG same.ADV=MOD ART.M.NOM.SG=M.NOM.SG  
*timē:n ék<sup>h</sup>oi.*  
 honor.F.ACC.SG have.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG  
 'But not the same way would the god have honor.'  
 EUR. *Bacc.* 192

The assumption of a medial caesura here is problematic, because it is widely assumed, for Euripides at least, that medial caesurae only occur in elided environments.

It is possible that further evidence for the proclisis of ἄν can be obtained from comedy:

- (3.32) a. — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — | — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ×  
 οὐκ ἄν=ἀποδοίην οὐδ' =ἄν=ὀβολὸν οὐδενί  
*ouk àn=apodōíē:n ou-d'=àn=obolōn oudení*  
 NEG MOD=give.AOR.OPT.ACT.1SG NEG-PTCL=MOD=obol.M.ACC.SG  
*oudení*  
 none.M.DAT.SG  
 'I wouldn't give even an obol to anyone.'  
 AR. *Nub.* 1250
- b. — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — | — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ×  
 ὥστ' ἄν=ἐπάνω μὲν Προξενίδης ὁ Κομπασεὺς  
*hō:st' àn=epánō: mèn Prokseníde:s*  
 RES MOD=above.ADV PTCL Proxenides.M.NOM.SG  
*hō Kompassēūs*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG braggart.M.NOM.SG  
 'so that on top Proxenides the braggart ...'  
 AR. *Av.* 1126

---

whereby the preceding anceps is filled by a heavy syllable. Cropp and Fick (1985: 44–45, 48) report seventy-three tokens of this type of resolution (where a word break occurs between the resolved syllables) in the extant plays of Euripides, and six in the fragmentary ones.

In (3.32.a), οὐκ=ἄν=ἀποδοίην and οὐδ' =ἄν=ὀβολὸν possibly form prosodic words. Likewise in (3.32.b), we may have (ὥστ' =ἄν=ἐπάνω)<sub>ω</sub>. Evidence from comic trimeters is not as probative, as its “looser” style does not so rigorously obey resolution bridges.

Devine and Stephens (1994: 365–368) do not mention discourse particles in their discussion of clitic directionality, but there is evidence to suggest the ability of δέ to associate rightward:

- (3.33)    ∪    ∪~∪    -∪    |    -∪-    ∪    -    ∪ ×  
 τὸ δέ=πλέον, ἦλθον Ἀμφιάρεώ γε πρὸς βίαν.  
*tò*                      *dè=pléon,*                      *ê:ltʰon*  
 ART.N.NOM.SG PTCL=more.N.NOM.SG come.AOR.IND.ACT.ISG  
*Amphiáreós:*                      *ge*    *pròs*    *bían.*  
 Amphiaereus.M.GEN.SG PTCL against strength.F.ACC.SG  
 ‘What is more, I went in spite of Amphiaereus.’  
 EUR. *Supp.* 158

The resolution bridge between δέ and πλέον makes it clear that prosodically they belong to the same word. Presumably τὸ also belongs to this prosodic word, and the proclisis of δέ is triggered by the definite article.

I raise this issue with δέ because I want to make it clear that in a sequence like the following, I consider σφι to be in canonical second position (that is, 2W; see section 3.5):

- (3.34)    (ἦ=δέ=Πυθίη)<sub>ω</sub>=σφι χράϊ τάδε.  
 (*he:=dè=Pythíe:*)<sub>ω</sub>=*spʰi*  
 ART.F.NOM.SG=PTCL=Pythia.F.NOM.SG=3PL.DAT  
*kʰrāi*                      *táde.*  
 prophesy.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG PROX.N.ACC.PL  
 ‘The Pythia prophesies to them the following’  
 1.66.8

I adopt this analysis under the assumption that (ἦ=δέ=Πυθίη)<sub>ω</sub> forms one prosodic word.

The use of resolution bridges as a diagnostic for proclisis is not universally accepted. Dodds, for instance, seems to think that it is not much of a problem to violate resolution bridges, and observes, as others have, that Euripides in his later plays composes under a looser set of metrical constraints compared to his earlier tragedies. He cites the following example:

- (3.35)  $\text{--}\cup\ \cup\cup\ \text{--}\text{--} \mid \text{--}\cup\text{--}\ \cup\text{--}\cup\ \times$   
 οὐδέ πάθος οὐδέ ξυμφορὰ θεήλατος  
*ou-dè páthos ou-dè ksymp<sup>h</sup>orà*  
 NEG-PTCL suffering.N.NOM.SG NEG-PTCL accident.F.NOM.SG  
*t<sup>h</sup>é:latos*  
 divinely.imposed.C.NOM.SG  
 ‘neither suffering nor divinely imposed accident’  
 EUR. *Or.* 2

The two light syllables in the initial  $\text{--}\cup\cup$  sequence exhibit resolution and yet, according to Dodds, belong to two different words. But the proclitic behavior of οὐδέ is undeniable, and there is thus no bridge violation here, as we are dealing with one prosodic word, i.e., (οὐδέ=πάθος)<sub>w</sub>. Further examples cited by Müller (1866), Zieliński (1925), Descroix (1931: 164–167, 187–193), and West (1982: 86) can be handled with the same analysis, that is, by treating the resolved material as belonging to one prosodic word. The resolution-bridge constraint is in sum prosodically real and a reliable indicator of proclisis.

### 3.4.2 Porson’s Bridge

Porson’s Bridge offers a similar diagnostic for the rightward association of enclitics (for further examples, see Devine and Stephens 1994: 368):

- (3.36)  $\cup\text{--}\cup\text{--}\ \cup \mid \text{--}\cup\text{--}\ \text{--}\hat{\text{--}}\cup\ \times$   
 κελαινόχρως δὲ πάλλεται μου=καρδία.  
*kelainókhros dè pálletai mou=kardía.*  
 black.C.NOM.SG PTCL tremble.PRES.IND.MP.3SG  
*mou=kardía.*  
 1SG.GEN=heart.F.NOM.SG  
 ‘My darkened heart trembles.’  
 AESCH. *Supp.* 785

As noted above, Porson’s Bridge forbids a word boundary between the first and second syllables of the third metron, when its first syllable is heavy, as the possessive μου is here.<sup>9</sup> Thus we conclude that μου associates rightward with its host καρδία.

9 According to Devine and Stephens (1984: 6), in tragedy, Archilochus, Semonides, and Solon, lexical monosyllables (i.e., monosyllabic content words) never occupy the third anceps.

While Devine and Stephens (1994: 365–368) do not mention μέν in their discussion of clitic directionality, it too can associate rightward, as Porson’s Bridge again shows:

- (3.37) -- -- ∪ -- ∪ | - -^ - ∪ ×  
 ἡμεῖς τοιοῖδ' ἔφουμεν, ὡς μέν=σοὶ δοκεῖ  
*he:meĩs toioĩd' ép'hymen, ho:s*  
 1PL.NOM such.M.NOM.PL be.born.AOR.IND.ACT.1PL as.COMP  
*mèn=sòì dokeĩ*  
 PTCL=2SG.DAT seem.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
 'I was born like this, as you think'  
 SOPH. OT 435–436

Here μέν associates rightward and incorporates with σοὶ to form μέν=σοὶ. Rightward association is also possible with γάρ:

- (3.38) -- ∪ -- -∪ | - -^ - ∪ ×  
 ἦρου τόδ'; αἰσχρόν γ' εἶπας. οὐ γάρ=νῦν ἀκμή;  
*é:rou tód'? aisk'hrón g'*  
 ask.AOR.IND.MID.2SG PROX.N.ACC.SG shameful.N.ACC.SG PTCL  
*eĩpas. ou gàr=nŷn akmé:?*  
 say.AOR.IND.ACT.2SG NEG EXPL=NOW.ADV right.moment.F.NOM.SG  
 'Are you asking this? You've said a shameful thing. For is it not the right moment?'  
 EUR. El. 275

While the motivation for rightward association of enclitics is by and large unknown (although see the next section for a suggestion), in (3.37) and (3.38) the reason for the change in directionality is the metrical environment. Porson’s Bridge demands a tight association between μέν and γάρ and the words to their right. The least costly way to meet this demand is simply to have them associate rightward. Rightward association is thus a decidedly local phenomenon caused by a particular metrical configuration. Nowhere else do we find proclitic behavior of μέν or γάρ (e.g., they never occur at the beginning of a clause).

### 3.4.3 Post-Caesural Clitic Placement

The final metrical diagnostic of proclisis is post-caesural clitic placement, which σοὶ in the following example illustrates (for further examples see Devine and Stephens 1994: 365–368):

- (3.39) -- ◡-- | -ˆ◡-◡ -◡×  
 οὔτοι καμῶμαί σοι=(λέγουσα)<sub>ω</sub> τὰγαθὰ  
 ού-τοι κάμωμαι  
 NEG-PTCL tire.FUT.IND.MID.1SG  
 σοί=(λέγουσα)<sub>ω</sub>  
 2SG.DAT=say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.SG  
 t-agathá  
 ART.N.ACC.PL-good.N.ACC.PL  
 ‘Indeed I will not tire of telling you the good things’  
 AESCH. *Eum.* 881

The pronoun σοι must be either proclitic, orthotonic, or enclitic. To be enclitic, we have to presuppose either a weak caesura or median diaeresis; Devine and Stephens (1994: 367–368) argue that there is no motivation for such a metrical license in cases like (3.39). Motivating σοι as orthotonic here is difficult on grounds of discourse: the emphasis of the clause appears to lie with οὔτοι and not the pronoun, so a clitic form seems to fit the context better. That leaves the last possibility, that of proclisis, whereby σοι associates rightward with λέγουσα.<sup>10</sup> If one accepts proclisis in cases like (3.39), then the existence of post-caesural enclitics, which are acknowledged in the literature (Descroix 1931: 284–287, West 1982: 83), vanishes.

Devine and Stephens motivate their claim by arguing that rightward association of enclitics is strongly correlated with rightward syntactic cohesion (i.e., the element governing the clitic is in the right caesural group in the line). So, for instance, in (3.39), σοι is governed by λέγουσα, and this, according to Devine and Stephens, is what induces the rightward association. Such a mechanism is not unlike that suggested above for (3.37)–(3.38) in that proclisis is a contextually-induced phenomenon. But rather than being motivated by the push of a preceding proclitic, rightward association for cases like (3.39) would be induced by the pull of a governing syntactic element. This “pull” is only minimal, however: for apparently it can only alter the polarity of a clitic, and not its actual position. While this is an intuitive idea, enclitics in post-caesural position are not

10 There is the further possibility of ambiclis, according to which the clitic would be both proclitic and enclitic at the same time. Devine and Stephens (1994: 366) advance Aesch. *Cho.* 766 as an example of this phenomenon, and seem to believe that it can only happen when the pronoun bears a thematic relationship with words in either caesural group of the line. Ambiclis is so poorly understood, however, that I will not consider this possibility any further.

always governed by an element in the same caesural group. In fact, in Devine and Stephens' sample (1994: 367), 73.53% of post-caesural clitics cohere with an element in the right caesural group (while 26.47% cohere to the left). Furthermore, when we are dealing with discourse particles and not pronominal clitics, it is not as easy to identify a governing syntactic element. Consider the particle *γάρ* in the following example:

- (3.40)    ∪ ∪ - ∪ -    - |    - ∪ -    - - ∪ ×  
 Ἄγαμέμνωνος μὲν γὰρ-(τύχας)<sub>ω</sub> ἠπιστάμην  
*Agamémnōnos                    mèn gâr-(týk<sup>h</sup>as)<sub>ω</sub>*  
 Agamemnon.M.GEN.SG PTCL EXPL=fate.F.ACC.PL  
*ε:πιστάμει:n*  
 learn.IMPFF.IND.MID.1SG  
 'For I learned the fate of Agamemnon'  
 EUR. *Or.* 360

Unless one is prepared to argue that *γάρ* is here governed by *ἠπιστάμην*, it is hard to find syntactic motivation for the rightward association of the particle.

#### 3.4.4 *Inscriptional Evidence*

Finally, inscriptional punctuation occasionally suggests proclisis of pronominal clitics (cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 699*):

- (3.41)    ἱεροκλειδης : μ' ανεθεκεν : γλαυκιο  
 δεκατεν : αθηναϊαι : πολιοχοι  
*hierokleides                    : m' anet<sup>h</sup>eken                    :*  
 Hierocleides.M.NOM.SG    1SG.ACC dedicate.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*glaukio*  
 Glaucius.M.GEN.SG  
*dekaten                    : at<sup>h</sup>enaiiai                    : polioch<sup>h</sup>oi*  
 tithe.F.ACC.SG    Athena.F.DAT.SG    Poliochus.C.DAT.SG  
 'Hierocleides (son of) Glaucius dedicated me,  
 as a tithe, to Athena Poliochus (city guardian).'  
*IG I<sup>3</sup> 775 (Athens; 500–480 BCE?)*

The triple punct : appears to demarcate prosodic words. If this is in fact the case, then the pronoun *μ'* is associating rightward with its host, *ανεθεκεν*.<sup>11</sup>

11 The presence of nu-ephelestikon in *ανεθεκεν* is puzzling. Its presence suggests a stronger

The evidence of the preceding sections all suggests that the directionality of clisis may not be an inherent property of individual clitics (as proposed by, e.g., Klavans 1985: 98, and implicitly asserted in the standard handbooks of Greek and Latin; see also Fried 1999), but rather determined by more general phonological constraints at work in the language (so Anderson 1992: 203, Anderson 2005). What this means is that clitics would simply be regarded as orphans that need to be incorporated into larger prosodic constituents. How clitics were incorporated would vary from language to language and possibly even from clitic to clitic. Booij (1996: 233) has taken this line of reasoning further to suggest that there is no absolute parameter within a language (e.g., ‘associate leftward’); rather, there is a preferred direction of association, but the alternate direction is also a possibility under certain prosodic circumstances.

Such a view is a good fit for the Greek data. With second-position clitics, enclisis is the default pattern, and proclisis can be induced under certain conditions. The moral is that the directionality parameter is thus not static. To actually specify what conditions induce proclisis, however, does not seem possible given the nature of the data. All that can be said at this point is that it is induced at least in metrical contexts. As the empirical basis of this study is a prose text, I will accordingly assume that second-position clitics and postpositives are uniformly enclitic.

### 3.5 Greek Clausal Clitics: 2W

Among languages with second-position clitics, a distinction is drawn between a 2W-type and a 2D-type (Halpern 1995: 48, Spencer and Luís 2012). In 2D systems, they occur after the first constituent of a particular domain:

- (3.42) *The 2D Organization of Czech*
- a. [Tohle staré kolo]<sub>2</sub>*se=ti* jednou rozpadne  
 this old bicycle<sub>REFL</sub><sub>2SG.DAT</sub> once fall.apart.3SG  
 ‘This old bicycle will fall apart on you one day.’ (Toman 1986: 124)
- b. \*[Tohle<sub>2</sub>*se=ti* staré kolo] jednou rozpadne

---

prosodic break between the verb and  $\gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon\kappa\iota\omicron$  than that of a prosodic word. But why such a break should occur here and whether this has anything to do with the rightward association of  $\mu\epsilon$  are not clear. Nu-ephelestikon is of course licensed by non-prosodic factors as well: see recently Goldstein (2014a).

As the enclitics *=se* and *=ti* are arguments of the verb (or some functional projection thereof), they belong to the clausal domain and therefore occur after the first constituent of the clause, the NP [*tohle staré kolo*] ‘this old bicycle.’ Placing the clitics inside the NP produces an ungrammatical sentence, as shown by (3.42.b).

In 2W systems, clitics occur after the first prosodic word within their domain and thus respect not syntactic constituency but prosodic constituency. Clause-domain clitics in Ancient Greek are predominantly of the 2W-type (cf. Spencer and Luís 2012: 57–59), as they are canonically hosted by the first prosodic word of the clause. This is seen most clearly in cases where a clausal clitic finds its prosodic host within a syntactic constituent such as a prepositional phrase (cf. Wackernagel 1892: 345, 360, Devine and Stephens 1994: 319–320):

(3.43) *2W Distribution*

- a. Δαρείος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρόντας εἶρετο (ἐπὶ κόσῳ)  $\omega$ = $\grave{\alpha}\nu$  χρήματι βουλοῖατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι.

*Dareĩos*                      *epì tē:s*                      *heo:utoũ*                      *arkhē:s*  
 Darius.M.NOM.SG    on ART.F.GEN.SG    3SG.M.GEN reign.F.GEN.SG  
*kalēsas*                                              *Hellē:non*                      *toũs*  
 call.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG    Greek.M.GEN.PL ART.M.ACC.PL  
*parēntas*                                              *éireto*                                              (*epì*  
 be.around.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL    ask.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG    for  
*kósw:i*)  $\omega$ = $\grave{\alpha}\nu$                                               *khré:mati*  
 how.much.WH.N.DAT.SG=MOD    money.N.DAT.SG  
*boulíato*                                              *toũs*                                              *patéras*  
 want.PRES.OPT.MP.3PL ART.M.ACC.PL    father.M.ACC.PL  
*apothné:iskontas*                                              *katasitéesthai*  
 die.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL    eat.INF.PRES.MP

‘During his reign Darius summoned the Greeks who were around and asked (them) at what price they would eat their fathers after they had died.’

3.38.3

- b. (ἀπὸ ταύτης)  $\omega$ = $\acute{\gamma}\acute{\alpha}\rho$ = $\sigma\phi\iota$  τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῆισι πεντετηρίσι γινομένης, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι.

(*apó taúte:s*)  $\omega$ = $\acute{\gamma}\acute{\alpha}\rho$ = $\sigma\phi\iota$                                               *tē:s*  
 from MED.F.GEN.SG=EXPL=3PL.DAT ART.F.GEN.SG

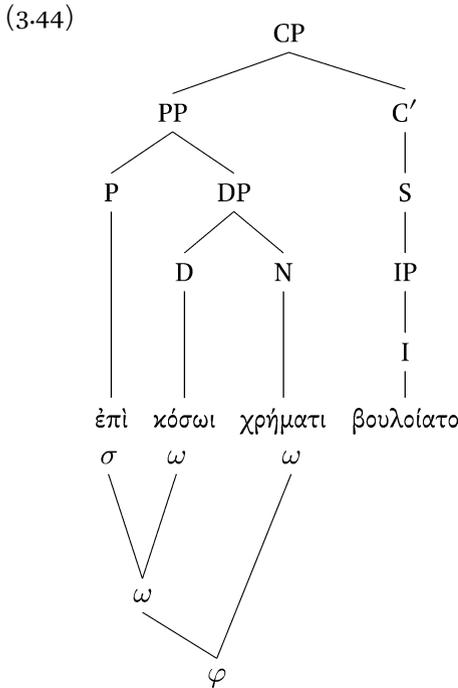
*mákhē:s, Athē:naíō:n thysías*  
 battle.F.GEN.SG Athenian.M.GEN.PL sacrifice.F.ACC.PL  
*anagóntō:n es tàs*  
 conduct.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL into ART.F.ACC.PL  
*pane:gýrias tàs en tē:isi*  
 festival.F.ACC.PL ART.F.ACC.PL in ART.F.DAT.PL  
*pentete:rísi ginóménas,*  
 every.fifth.year.F.DAT.PL happen.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.ACC.PL  
*kateúkhētai hō kēryks*  
 pray.PRES.IND.MP.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG herald.M.NOM.SG  
*hō Athē:naĩōs háma te*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG Athenian.M.NOM.SG together.ADV CONJ  
*Athē:naíōisi légō:n*  
 Athenian.M.DAT.PL speak.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*gínesthai tà agathà kai*  
 happen.INF.PRES.MP ART.N.ACC.PL good.N.ACC.PL CONJ  
*Plataieūsi.*  
 Plataean.M.DAT.PL

‘Since this battle, the Athenian herald prays that good things befall the Athenians and Plataeans together, when the Athenians conduct their sacrifices at the festivals that occur every four years.’

6.111.2

Both examples illustrate the same property, namely that the host of the clausal clitic is not a syntactic constituent.<sup>12</sup> Consider in more detail the structure of the opening of (3.43.a):

12 Lowe (2015a) argues that prosodic constraints on clitic distribution are unnecessary in Ancient Greek, but does not consider examples such as (3.43) above.



The clause begins with the prepositional phrase ἐπί κόσῳ χρημάτων, which is followed by the verb βουλοῖατο. Since there is no syntactic node that exclusively dominates ἐπί and κόσῳ, they do not form a syntactic constituent. On the assumption that prepositions can be proclitic, they do, however, form a prosodic unit, namely a prosodic word. In (3.43.b), the modal particle is hosted not by the first morphosyntactic word (i.e., ἀπόσφι) or constituent (i.e., ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς μάχηςσφι), but by the first prosodic word (Anderson 2012 makes the same point with Homeric data). Prosodic constituency is thus respected at the expense of syntactic constituency (for similar data from Chamorro, see Chung 2003). Furthermore, clausal clitics are insensitive to the grammatical function (e.g., subject, object, etc.) or lexical category of their host (with the exception of the head-adjacent examples in sections 4.5 and 8.5 below).

There are sporadic examples of multi-word sequences hosting clausal clitics, such as the expression ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα ‘equal for equal’ (on which see Dover 1960: 17; the preposing of ταῦτα is to be ignored for the moment):

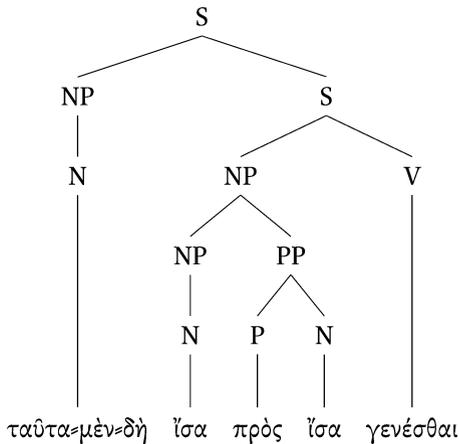
- (3.45) [ταῦταμὲνδὴ]<sub>CT</sub> (ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα)<sub>ωσφι</sub> γενέσθαι.  
 [taũta-mèn-dê]<sub>CT</sub> (ísa pròs  
 MED.N.ACC.PL=PTCL=PTCL equal.N.ACC.PL for

*ἴσα*)<sub>ω</sub> *sp<sup>h</sup>i*                      *γενέσθαι*.  
 equal.N.ACC.PL=3PL.DAT INF.AOR.MID  
 ‘These things, then, were retribution for them.’

1.2.1

Syntactically the host consists of a noun phrase with the adjoined prepositional phrase (embedded infinitive clauses are labeled S and discussed in detail in chapter 8):

(3.46)



On a syntactic analysis it is not clear why the clitic occurs after the noun ἴσα together with the prepositional phrase πρὸς ἴσα, as opposed to just the former. The host is thus bigger than a single constituent. Despite the difference in syntactic size, prosodically ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα appears to be a prosodic word just like the other hosts above. While not fully idiomatic, its meaning is not straightforwardly compositional either, as ‘equal for equal’ here specifically refers to retribution.

Less dramatically, clausal clitics occur inside sequences of a noun and a modifying adjective:

(3.47) ὁ δὲ οἱ ἠπειλήσε, ἣν σῶς ἀπονοστήσει, (πολλόν)<sub>ω</sub> μιν (χρόνον)<sub>ω</sub> παρθελεύσει-  
 σθαι.  
*hō*              *dé*    *hōi*              *εἰπέλε:σε,*  
 3SG.M.NOM PTCL 3SG.DAT threaten.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*è:n*              *sōs*              *apōnosté:sei,*  
 if.COMP-MOD safe.M.NOM.SG return.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG



b. *Determiner-Particle-Noun Host*

ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τρέπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἵππóται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζόν, (ὁ δὲ πεζός)<sub>ω</sub> ἄν ἐπεκούρει.

*he:*                    *mèn dè:*    *híppos*                    *tè:n*  
ART.F.NOM.SG PTCL PTCL cavalry.F.NOM.SG ART.F.ACC.SG

*híppon*                    *aièi*                    *trépeske*  
cavalry.F.ACC.SG always.ADV rout.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

*he:*                    *tō:n*                    *Skythéon.*  
ART.F.NOM.SG ART.M.GEN.PL Scythian.M.GEN.PL

*hōi*                    *dè*    *tō:n*                    *Perséon*  
ART.M.NOM.PL PTCL ART.M.GEN.PL Persian.M.GEN.PL

*hippótai*                    *phéugontes*  
horseman.M.NOM.PL flee.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL

*eséipton*                    *es*    *tōn*                    *pezōn,*  
attack.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL into ART.M.ACC.SG infantry.M.ACC.SG

(*hō*                    *dè*    *pezdós*)<sub>ω</sub> ἄν  
ART.M.NOM.SG PTCL infantry.M.NOM.SG=MOD

*epékouree.*  
help.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

‘The Scythian cavalry always defeated the Persian cavalry. The Persian horsemen would retreat in flight to the infantry, and the infantry would aid them.’

4.128.3

In (3.48.a) the accusative pronominal clitic *μν* occurs after the determiner-noun sequence *τὴν κεφαλήν*, while in (3.48.b) the host of *ἄν*, *ὁ δὲ πεζός*, is comprised of a determiner, particle, and noun.

While the examples in (3.48) are, strictly speaking, ambiguous between the 2W and 2D pattern, the clearly 2W data in (3.43) suggest an analysis according to which the clausal clitic is selecting a prosodic-word host. On a 2D analysis, it would be suspicious that this pattern emerges precisely in contexts where the constituent is thought to form a prosodic word, such as with determiner-noun strings. Some languages are said to exhibit both 2W and 2D patterns, such as Serbian/Croatian and Luiseño, and one could conceivably say the same for Greek. But this would misrepresent the situation. For what we find is not free alternation between 2W and 2D, at least as far as the clausal clitics are concerned: cases that are amenable to the latter interpretation are cases where we would on independent grounds expect a prosodic word. 2D distribution is found in Greek alongside the 2W pattern (see section 3.7 below for a brief discussion), but not among clausal clitics.

There is one example that I am aware of in which ἄν is hosted within a definite article–noun string:

- (3.49) οἱ ἔδε᾽ ἄν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες ἐλάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες ἐπή-  
 ροντο᾽ ἄν τῷ πεπονημένῳ.  
*hwi=dè=àn Pèrsai*  
 ART.M.NOM.PL≠PTCL≠MOD Persian.M.NOM.PL  
*epeltʰóntes elábeskōn*  
 attack.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL seize.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL  
*tà próbata kai labóntes*  
 ART.N.ACC.PL flock.N.ACC.PL CONJ seize.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
*epé:irōntō=àn tō:i*  
 encourage.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL≠MOD ART.N.DAT.SG  
*pepoiē:ménō:i*  
 do.PTCP.PERF.MP.N.DAT.SG  
 ‘The Persians would seize their flocks in an attack and, because/once  
 they seized them, would be encouraged by what they had done.’  
 4.130

There are at least three possibilities for this anomaly. Either the text is corrupt (it is worth noting that ms. M omits ἄν, and given that sentences with multiple tokens of ἄν are not that common in Herodotus, this perhaps caused some confusion); there is some semantic/pragmatic feature of οἱ δέ that sets it apart prosodically; or proper names in some way differ from common nouns in their relationship with enclitics. There is not enough data to be able to decide with any confidence.

### 3.6 Function Words as Hosts of Clausal Clitics

Agbayani and Golston (2010b) and Golston (2013) have challenged the analysis of Greek as a 2W language on the following grounds. It is well known that function words—in particular complementizers—can host clausal clitics in Greek. It is also widely believed that function words are prosodically deficient (Selkirk 1982, Golston 1995, Selkirk 1996, 2001, Anderson 2005, Vis 2014). Golston (p.c., 12 November 2014) in fact contends that function words in Greek are not prosodic words per Universal Grammar. If function words are not prosodic words but are clitic hosts, then, the reasoning goes, clausal clitics are not hosted by prosodic words.

There are several problems with this argument. First, it simply ignores large swaths of data, from both Greek and elsewhere. Regarding the former, the claim

does not take account of the evidence in section 3.5 (esp. example 3.43.a), where clitics are hosted by preposition+determiner strings, which are widely agreed to be prosodic words.<sup>14</sup> On the prosodic status of function words typologically, Muysken (2008: 40) writes: “[functional categories are] by no means all ... clitics.”

The second problem is that the dividing line between lexical items and functional items is not always clear (consider the borderline cases mentioned by Fintel 1995). On a standard definition, lexical items are equated with open word classes, such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs (see, e.g., Devine and Stephens 1994: 291–292). There are various ways in which new lexemes can be added to these classes, via, e.g., derivation, compounding, or borrowing. Functional classes are by contrast standardly said to be closed: languages do not as easily acquire new prepositions, conjunctions, determiners, auxiliary verbs, pronouns, or discourse particles. On Golston’s analysis, none of the words in these classes should be prosodic words. This is manifestly not the case. The determiner οὗτος ‘this,’ the auxiliary verbs μέλλω ‘be about to’ and δύναμαι ‘be able to,’ and the pronoun αὐτός are all prosodic words. The latter in fact appears to be in the process of becoming a clitic. Alternation between prosodic word and enclitic is found also in the verb εἰμί ‘be,’ the adverb ποτέ ‘at one time, some time,’ and the indefinite quantifier τινές ‘some.’

Golston (p.c., 12 November 2014) objects in particular to the idea that the presence of an enclitic after a function word can in itself promote a function word to a prosodic word. But this does in fact happen, both in Greek and elsewhere. The complementizer εἰ, for instance, is assumed to be proclitic, but in the face of an enclitic, it takes on an accent and serves as the clitic host:

- (3.50) καὶ ἔπειτα θωυμάζω (εἰ)μοὶ ἀπεστᾶσι.  
*kai épeita tʰɔ:umázɔ: (eí)moí*  
 CONJ afterwards.ADV marvel.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG if.COMP=1SG.DAT  
*apestási.*  
 rebel.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL  
 ‘And afterward I marvel that they rebel against me.’  
 1.155.2

14 Elsewhere function words also host enclitics. Zec and Inkelas (1990) note that Serbian/Croatian conjunctions *ali* and *pa* can host 2P enclitics; see further Inkelas (1990: 234), Zec (2002, 2005, 2009). Billings (2002) describes the Serbian/Croatian medial demonstrative *taj* ‘that’ as a prosodic word, although it is a function word. Within Greek itself Taylor (1996: 497–498) argues that there is a prosodic weakening of complementizers and conjunctions between Archaic Greek and the New Testament.

Were it not possible for *εἰ* to be a prosodic word, we would expect *μοι* to be hosted by *ἀπεστᾶσι*, with the complementizer surfacing as a proclitic.<sup>15</sup>

The following examples are similar in that the addition of an enclitic to a proclitic yields a prosodic word:

- (3.51) a. *εἰ τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν μηδεὶς ἦντιοῦτο Ξέρξει, (κατὰγε)ῶν τὴν ἤπειρον τοιάδε ἐγίνετο.*

*εἰ*            *τοῖνυν* *κατὰ* *τὲν*                            *θάλασσαν*            *μηδεὶς*  
 if.COMP PTCL on ART.F.ACC.SG sea.F.ACC.SG none.M.NOM.SG  
*ἐντιοῦτο*                                                    *Κσέρκσει,*                            *(κατὰγε)ῶν*  
 oppose.IMPF.IND.MP.3SG Xerxes.M.DAT.SG on>PTCL=MOD  
*τὲν*                            *ἐπειρον*                            *τοιάδε*  
 ART.F.ACC.SG mainland.F.ACC.SG such.N.NOM.PL  
*ἐγίνετο.*

happen.IMPF.IND.MID.3SG

‘If no one had resisted the king on the sea, the following would certainly have happened on the mainland.’

7.139.2

- b. *(οἱγάρ)ῶν Σελινοῦσιοι ἐπαναστάντες ἀπέκτειναν καταφυγόντα ἐπὶ Διὸς Ἀγοραίου βωμόν.*

*(οἱγάρ)ῶν*                                                    *Σελινοῦσιοι*  
 ART.M.NOM.PL>EXPL>3SG.ACC Selinus.M.NOM.PL  
*ἐπαναστάντες*                                                    *ἀπέκτειναν*  
 rise.up.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL kill.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL  
*καταφυγόντα*                                                    *ἐπὶ Διὸς*  
 flee.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.ACC.SG to Zeus.M.GEN.SG  
*Ἀγοραίου*                                                    *βωμόν.*

Agoraeus.M.GEN.SG altar.M.ACC.SG

‘For the people of Selinus rose up and killed him as he was fleeing to the altar of Zeus Agoraeus.’

5.46.2

- c. *(ὁδέ)ῶσφι ἠγόρευε ὡς εἶη τε Ζῶπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκεῖνους.*

*(ὁδέ)ῶσφι*                                                    *ἠγόρευε*                                                    *ὡς*  
 3SG.M.NOM>PTCL>3PL.DAT tell.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG that.COMP

15 I assume that the *sotera*-rule only applies to non-recursive prosodic words, and therefore *εἰ* is not accented with a circumflex.



At this point one wonders how the behavior of the complementizer εἶ in (3.50) squares with the preposition-determiner host examples from (3.43), repeated here:

(3.53) *2W Distribution*

- a. Δαρείος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρόντας εἶρετο (ἐπὶ κόσῳ)<sub>ω</sub> ἄν χρήματι βουλοῖατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι.

*Dareĩos*                      *epì tē:s*                      *heo:utoũ*  
Darius.M.NOM.SG on ART.F.GEN.SG REFL.3SG.M.GEN  
*ark<sup>h</sup>ē:s*                      *kalésas*                      *Hellé:nō:n*  
reign.F.GEN.SG call.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG Greek.M.GEN.PL  
*toùs*                      *pareóntas*

ART.M.ACC.PL be.around.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL  
*eíreto*                      (*epì kós:o:i*)<sub>ω</sub> ἄν  
ask.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG for how.much.WH.N.DAT.SG=MOD

*k<sup>h</sup>ré:mati*                      *bouloíato*                      *toùs*  
money.N.DAT.SG want.PRES.OPT.MP.3PL ART.M.ACC.PL  
*patéras*                      *apothné:iskóntas*                      *katasitéest<sup>h</sup>ai*

father.M.ACC.PL die.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL eat.INF.PRES.MP  
'During his reign Darius summoned the Greeks who were around and asked (them) at what price they would eat their fathers after they had died.'

3:38:3

- b. (ἀπὸ ταύτης)<sub>ω</sub> γάρ=σφι τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῆσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένης, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι.

(*apó taúte:s*)<sub>ω</sub> γάρ=σφι                      *tē:s*  
from MED.F.GEN.SG=EXPL=3PL.DAT ART.F.GEN.SG  
*mákhē:s,*                      *Athē:naíō:n*                      *t<sup>h</sup>ysías*  
battle.F.GEN.SG Athenian.M.GEN.PL sacrifice.F.ACC.PL  
*anagóntō:n*                      *es*                      *tàs*  
conduct.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL into ART.F.ACC.PL

*páne:gýrias*                      *tàs*                      *en tē:isi*  
festival.F.ACC.PL ART.F.ACC.PL in ART.F.DAT.PL  
*pentete:rísi*                      *gino:ménas,*  
every.fifth.year.F.DAT.PL happen.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.ACC.PL  
*kateúkh<sup>h</sup>etai*                      *hō*                      *ké:ryks*  
pray.PRES.IND.MP.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG herald.M.NOM.SG

*hō*                      *At<sup>h</sup>ε:naĩōs*                      *háma*                      *tε*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG Athenian.M.NOM.SG together.ADV CONJ  
*At<sup>h</sup>ε:naĩōisi*                      *légō:n*  
 Athenian.M.DAT.PL speak.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*gínest<sup>h</sup>ai*                      *tà*                      *agat<sup>h</sup>à*                      *kaì*  
 happen.INF.PRES.MP ART.N.ACC.PL good.N.ACC.PL CONJ  
*Plataieĩsi*.  
 Plataean.M.DAT.PL

‘Since this battle, the Athenian herald prays that good things befall the Athenians and Plataeans together, when the Athenians conduct their sacrifices at the festivals that occur every four years.’

6.111.2

Given that promotion to a prosodic word in the face of an enclitic appears to be a possibility, it is remarkable that speakers do not avail themselves of that option here. As noted above, the conditions on prosodic promotion are not yet understood, but I would suggest at this point that what speakers are avoiding is making a preposition into the host of a pronominal enclitic that is not its complement (such as we would have with a string (*ἀπό*)<sub>ω</sub>-σφι).

While there is variation in the behavior of clausal clitics in the presence of function words (see below in section 9.1 for complementizers), the evidence above reaffirms the 2W behavior of clausal clitics in Greek: the basic generalization is that they select for a host that is a prosodic word. I should add that this is not meant as an argument against the general correlation between content words and lexical stress, or the claim that function words are generally exempt from this pattern.

### 3.7 Beyond Clausal Clitics

The clitic system of Greek is diverse, and outside of clause-domain clitics, the distributional patterns differ. Consider the sentence-domain clitic *γάρ* ‘for’ and the discourse particle *δέ*, which often occur after the first morphosyntactic word of the sentence:<sup>16</sup>

16 It may be possible to analyze these and other sentence-domain clitics as head adjacent, not unlike what has been proposed for the Bulgarian definiteness marker.

- (3.54) a. τῆς=γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον.  
*tēs=gàr thalásseis hoi*  
 ART.F.GEN.SG=EXPL sea.F.GEN.SG ART.M.NOM.PL  
*Milésioi epékrateon.*  
 Milesian.M.NOM.PL rule.over.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL  
 ‘For the Milesians were in control of the sea.’  
 1.17.3
- b. τὸ=γὰρ προσκείμενόν=σφεας ἐλύπεε.  
*tò=gàr prōskéimēnón=spheas elýpee.*  
 ART.N.NOM.SG=EXPL  
*prōskéimēnón=spheas*  
 pursue.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.NOM.SG=3PL.C.ACC  
*elýpee.*  
 harass.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG  
 ‘For the pursuing (enemy) was harassing them.’  
 9.61.1
- c. (ὁ=δέ τρίτος)<sub>ω</sub>=σφι συνίππαρχος Φαρνούχης κατελέλειπτο ἐν Σάρδισι νοσέων.  
*(hō=dè trítos)<sub>ω</sub>=sp<sup>hi</sup> syníppark<sup>h</sup>os Pharnók<sup>h</sup>eis katelélēiptō en Sárdisi noséōn.*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG=PTCL third.M.NOM.SG=3PL.DAT  
*syníppark<sup>h</sup>os Pharnók<sup>h</sup>eis*  
 captain.M.NOM.SG Pharnuches.M.NOM.SG  
*katelélēiptō en Sárdisi*  
 leave.PLPF.IND.MP.3SG in Sardis.F.DAT.PL  
*noséōn.*  
 be.sick.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
 ‘Their third captain Pharnuches had been left behind in Sardis because he was sick.’  
 7.88.1

Working with a 2W view of Greek clausal clitics, σφεας in (3.54.b) and σφι in (3.54.c) are both hosted by prosodic words (ὁ τρίτος and τὸ προσκείμενον, respectively). The determiners ὁ and τό are accordingly proclitics. The sentential clitics γὰρ and δέ thus appear to select for the first morphosyntactic word of the clause without regard for its prosodic status.<sup>17</sup>

17 On the basis of examples like (3.54.b) and (3.54.c), i.e., where monomoraic words host

Sporadically, the distribution of γάρ and δέ differs:

(3.55) *After the first prosodic word (2W)*

- a. (ἐν ταύτῃ)ω=γάρ=δὴ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν.  
 (en taúte:i)ω=gàr=dè: tē:i póli  
 in MED.F.DAT.SG=EXPL=PTCL ART.F.DAT.SG town.F.DAT.SG  
 estì mégiston Ísiws  
 be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG very.large.N.NOM.SG Isis.  
 hirón.  
 temple.N.NOM.SG  
 ‘For in this town there is a very large temple of Isis.’  
 2.59.2

- b. (διὰ τοῦτον)ω=δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῆσι  
 ὄρκους ἐπέλασαν ...  
 (dià tōtōn)ω=dè tòn  
 because.of MED.M.ACC.SG=PTCL ART.M.ACC.SG  
 p<sup>h</sup>ónōn hai gynaiķes  
 murder.M.ACC.SG ART.F.NOM.PL women.F.NOM.PL  
 haũtai nómon  
 MED.F.NOM.PL custom.M.ACC.SG  
 t<sup>h</sup>émenai sp<sup>h</sup>isi autē:isi  
 establish.PTCP.AOR.MID.F.NOM.PL 3PL.DAT 3PL.F.DAT  
 hórķous epé:lasan  
 oath.M.ACC.PL force.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL  
 ‘On account of this murder these women established a custom and  
 swore an oath among themselves ...’  
 1.146.3

(3.56) *After the first constituent (2D)*

- a. [ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν]=γάρ=δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλείειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ  
 τάχῃ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.  
 [aná tòn potamōn]=gàr=dè: ouk  
 up ART.M.ACC.SG river.M.ACC.SG=EXPL=PTCL NEG

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clitics, Agbayani and Golston (2010b) claim that phonological weight is irrelevant for clitic distribution. That is to say, there is no requirement that clitics be hosted by the first stressed word or the first prosodic word of the clause. They fail to realize, however, that the distributional behavior of clitics in Greek is not uniform. Their point is well taken for clitics like δέ and γάρ, but untenable for the pronominal argument clitics.



- b. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἴνωι διαχρέωνται, ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι. οὐ σύκα-δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

*pròs*                      *dè*    *ouk*   *oĩno:i*

in.addition.ADV PTCL NEG wine.M.DAT.SG

*diak<sup>h</sup>ré:ntai,*                                              *allà*

use.habitually.PRES.IND.MP.3PL but

*hydròpotéousi.*                                              *ou*   *sýka=dè*

drink.water.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL NEG fig.N.ACC.PL≠PTCL

*ék<sup>h</sup>ousi*                                              *tró:gein,*                      *ouk*   *álla*

have.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL eat.INF.PRES.ACT NEG other.N.ACC.SG

*agath<sup>h</sup>ón*                      *oudén.*

good.N.ACC.SG nothing.N.ACC.SG

'In addition, they do not make use of wine, but drink water. They do not have figs, or any other delicacy.'

1.71.3

In (3.57.a), γάρ is hosted by the negative οὐ, while this is never the case (in Herodotus at least) with δέ. Instead we find the pattern in (3.57.b) where δέ is hosted by the word immediately to the right of negation.

### 3.8 Summing Up

This chapter has made the following claims about the prosody of clitics. Clause-domain clitics select for a prosodic word as a host, with the result that Greek is (in this respect at least) a 2W system. It is possible for underlyingly proclitic words such as complementizers to be realized as prosodic words, with the result that they become licit prosodic hosts for clausal clitics. The Greek lexicon does not divide neatly between functional and content words when it comes to prosodic status. While postpositives and enclitics do differ prosodically, they both require a prosodic host. The difference between them amounts to a difference in adjunction: enclitics are affixal clitics, while postpositives are Pword clitics. Enclitics and postpositives are standardly described as having a fixed polarity, but we need a more dynamic view of association, at least in metrical environments.

## The Syntax of Clitics

As a counterpart to the preceding chapter, I offer in this one an overview of the syntactic properties of second-position clitics. While textbook doctrine holds that clitics fall morphologically between affixes and words on the continuum of wordhood (Spencer and Luís 2012), it is not clear what this means for their syntactic category. Chomsky (1995: 249), for instance, claims that clitics share the properties of phrases (XPs) and heads (Xs) (for a summary of the properties of syntactic heads, see, e.g., Sportiche, Koopman, and Stabler 2014: 98). They behave like heads in that they occupy head positions in phrase structure, but their postulated movements skip over heads (in violation of the Head Movement Constraint<sup>1</sup>), which makes them seem phrase-like; cf. I. G. Roberts (2010: 41). Toivonen (2003: 41–52) offers a typology of clitics that is organized according to two binary parameters, phonological dependence and non-projection (cf. the clitic/weak/strong pronoun typology of Cardinaletti and Starke 1999, in which Ancient Greek second-position pronouns would be clitic and thereby syntactic heads). Non-projection means that the clitic is neither a head nor a phrase, but rather a lesser element that adjoins to a head. On her analysis, true clitics are both phonologically dependent and non-projecting.

We have already seen that second-position elements in Greek are phonologically dependent. The first goal of this chapter is to adduce evidence that they are also non-projecting. Section 4.1 provides a summary of the various syntactic deficiencies that the pronominal clitics in Greek exhibit, none of which resembles the typical behavior of heads or phrases.

The second goal of this chapter is to divide the clitic lexicon into three classes: sentence-, clause-, and phrase-level clitics (section 4.2). The membership of a clitic in a particular class is determined by semantic scope, although there are exceptions to this principle, which are outlined in section 4.3.

The final goal of this chapter is to illustrate how certain constructions can affect the basic 2W distributional pattern described in section 3.5 above. Section 4.4 illustrates in particular the role of scope in clitic distribution. Sec-

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1 The Head Movement Constraint says that a head—such as an N or V—cannot move over another head. If pronominal clitics are analyzed as heads of category D, then it seems that they would certainly violate this constraint on their way up to second position. See further I. G. Roberts (2000).

tion 4.5 presents an idiosyncratic distributional pattern found among dative pronominal clitics, while section 4.6 offers summary remarks.

#### 4.1 Clitic Deficiencies

Pronominal clitics in Greek are syntactically deficient, which is to say that the number of processes or constructions in which they can participate is a proper subset of their non-clitic counterparts. Some of these restrictions fall out directly from their need for a host. On account of this need they cannot, for instance, be used on their own to answer a question. Since a host has to appear to the their left they are also banned from the beginning of a clause. Their deficiencies are more deeply rooted than their need for a host, however. Pronominal clitics in Greek cannot be the focus of an utterance, nor can they be preposed in any way, or attributively modified (cf. Kayne 1969, 1975, Spencer and Luís 2012: 29). (It is, however, possible to predicate a property of a clitic pronoun, such as with a participial phrase.) Pronominal clitics cannot serve as the antecedent of a relative pronoun, and their ability to serve as the complement of a syntactic head is restricted. For instance, a clitic pronoun can generally not serve as the complement of a preposition (there are sporadic patches of exceptions to this restriction<sup>2</sup>). This inability extends to conjunction: pronominal clitics cannot be the complement of either *καί* or *τε*. In sum, pronominal clitics are subject to a range of limitations, with which one can contrast the behavior of the pronoun *αὐτόν* (or rather, its non-clitic realization), which exhibits none of these deficiencies. These deficiencies suggest that clitics in Greek are neither heads nor phrases, but rather non-projecting elements (cf. Legendre 1998 for a similar view of clitics in Macedonian, as well as Anderson 2005: 125–126).

#### 4.2 Clitic Domains and Clusters

The clitic lexicon of Greek can be organized into three internally-ordered clusters: sentential, clausal, and phrasal clitics, which are all illustrated in Table 4.1.<sup>3</sup>

2 For instance, in metrical texts (Smyth 1956: § 187 N. 2). In Herodotus, the dative clitic pronoun *σφι* occurs as the complement of *σύν* (2.85.2, 2.118.2, 5.121, 6.8.1, 6.22.2, 7.10.θ.2, 9.11.3). See further Rosén (1962: 105).

3 Cf. M. Hale (1987a, 1987b) and Fortson (2010: 162–163). For general discussion of clitic domains

TABLE 4.1 *Clitic Domains and Clusters*

| Domain                | Members                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Sentence <sup>4</sup> | {δέ, μέν} <sup>5</sup> —γάρ—ὦν—{δή, δῆτα} <sup>6</sup><br>{δέ, μέν}—γάρ—ῶν—{δέ:, δέ:τα}                                                                  |
| Clause <sup>7</sup>   | ἄν—{κοτε, κου, κω, κως, κη(ι)}—ἄρα—NOM—ACC—DAT—{εἰμί, φημί} <sup>2</sup><br>άν—{κοτε, κου, κω:, κω:s, κη:(ι)}—άρα—NOM—ACC—DAT—{εἰμί, φῆ:μί} <sup>2</sup> |
| Phrase <sup>8</sup>   | τε—{δέ, μέν}—γε <sup>9</sup><br>τε—{δέ, μέν}—γε                                                                                                          |

Domain membership is determined by semantic scope (cf. Rice 2000 on affix ordering in Athabaskan). Sentential clitics mark in one way or another inter-sentential (or perhaps even higher) relationships, while clausal clitics realize

and clusters, see Spencer and Luís (2012: 314–319) and Haegeman (2002). See Hoffner and Melchert (2008: §§ 30.15–30.20) for the Hittite system; Ferraresi (2005: 173) for Gothic; Rezac (2005) for Czech; for Tagalog, which resembles Greek in its large clitic lexicon, see Schachter and Otnes (1972: 411–436).

- 4 I would expect the particle αὖ to belong to this class on the basis of the functions described by Puigdollers (2009), but it is used so infrequently in Herodotus (twelve tokens) that the available data do not allow a classification. The particle νυν also belongs somewhere in this class. It is characterized by robust collocational patterns. First, it overwhelmingly occurs with a preceding μέν, which suggests the possibility that we are really dealing with lexicalized μέννυν. There are no cases where μέν νυν hosts a pronominal clitic, which suggests that phrases so marked may have always been topicalized. Finally, νυν does not co-occur with any of the other discourse particles. μέντοι and τοίνυν without a doubt belong to this class, but where is an open question.
- 5 These two particles have sentential scope when they are, for instance, hosted by complementizers.
- 6 For the chain γάρ-ὦν-δή, see 3.121.1.
- 7 I would expect σου to fall into this class, but with only three tokens the data do not permit a classification. Likewise, the discourse particle τοι (Powell 1938: 357) likely belongs to this class, since it seems that one can propose around its host (7.161.2).
- 8 One could perhaps include the particle περ, but since its properties are much more affix-like than the other members of this class I have excluded it. I leave open the question of a phrasal δή and its distribution.
- 9 There is an asymmetry in the relationship between μέν and δέ and γε: there are cases in which γε precedes μέν, but there are no examples of γε preceding δέ. Possessor clitics belong somewhere in the phrasal domain.

grammatical features of the clause itself, and phrasal clitics those of phrases (cf. Anderson 2005: 145).

As far as surface distribution is concerned, the crucial difference between sentential clitics and clausal clitics is that the former occur in preposed phrases, whereas the latter do not:

- (4.1) [τὴν=μὲν=γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην] πάντα=σφι κακὰ ἔχειν. [τὴν=δὲ τότε παρε-  
οὔσαν] πάντα ἀγαθὰ.  
[t̄ɛ:n=mèn=gàr                      prɔtéɛɛ:n                      he:méɛɛ:n]  
ART.F.ACC.SG>PTCL=EXPL previous.F.ACC.SG day.F.ACC.SG  
pánta=sp<sup>hi</sup>                                      kakà                      ék<sup>h</sup>ɛin.  
everything.N.ACC.PL>3PL.DAT bad.N.ACC.PL have.INF.PRES.ACT  
[t̄ɛ:n=dè                      tóte                      pareoúsan]  
ART.F.ACC.SG>PTCL then.ADV present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.ACC.SG  
pánta                                      agathá.  
everything.N.ACC.PL good.N.ACC.PL  
‘[For on the previous day], everything was bad for them. [During the  
present (day)], however, everything (has been) good.’

1.126.4

The bracketed constituents are in each example topicalized phrases (discussed in detail in chapter 5). The sentential clitic γὰρ ‘for’ occurs inside the topicalized phrase, while the clausal clitic σφι ‘for them’ is hosted by the first prosodic word thereafter. Situations such as this in which multiple second-position clitics do not form a chain I refer to as *splaying*. Whether a series of clitics is splayed or contiguous, their typical order in a sentence is: phrasal clitics < sentential clitics < clausal clitics. This yields the order μὲν=γὰρ ... σφι above (both μὲν and δὲ in this example are phrasal).

The internal ordering of clitics within the three domains is a difficult issue, as there are a number of divergences from the ordering in Table 4.1, some of which I sketch in the next section (for devoted discussions of this issue, see Arad and Roussou 1997, Souletis 1998, Ruijgh 1990, Golston 2013). It may be possible to account for domain-internal clitic ordering within a cartographic approach (Rizzi 1997, Aboh 2004, Belletti 2004; Arad and Roussou 1997 is a first attempt at such an endeavor) or the universal functional hierarchy of Cinque (1999). As this question is beyond the scope of the current investigation, I leave it for future research, and for the moment assume templatic ordering (cf. Perlmutter 1971 for Romance clitics).

It has been argued that clitic clusters form syntactic constituents (e.g., Halpern 1995: 191–222). The second-position clitic cluster as a syntactic constituent

is especially prominent in recent work in Lexical-Functional Grammar (Bögel et al. 2010, Cavar and Seiss 2011, Lowe 2012: 45 n. 15). I will not adopt this analysis for Greek, as it suffers from a number of problems. First, the internal structure of second-position clitic clusters is said to be linear, and not hierarchical—a property that to my mind signals that we are not dealing with a syntactic constituent, but rather a prosodic one. Second, I struggle to imagine the sort of test that would reveal syntactic constituency for clitic clusters. Third, clitics in these clitic-cluster constituents are said to be of a functional category CL (= “clitic”), but *clisis* is a prosodic category, not a functional one. Cross-linguistically the functional categories of clitics are so diverse (encompassing at least pronominal elements, connectives, discourse particles, and tense and modal auxiliaries) that a single unified category is unappealing (O’Connor 2002: 316).

### 4.3 Ordering Deviations

While Table 4.1 is generally valid, it is subject to variation. At a general level, membership in a particular class can vary according to function. As illustrated below in section 4.4.1, when the modal particle *ἄν* functions as a domain-widener, its scope is restricted to its relative pronoun host, and it behaves as a word-level clitic. When it functions as a modal quantifier (e.g., when it contributes the meaning ‘would’ or ‘would have’) it behaves as a clause-domain clitic. Likewise, *δή* sometimes appears in topicalized phrases (e.g., 1.132.3, 3.52.2), and at other times does not (e.g., 1.86.1). This particle also varies with respect to the position of *ὦν*, sometimes preceding it (e.g. 1.34.2), sometimes following it (e.g., 1.174.3). Both of these distributional facts could be accounted for on the assumption that *δή* can function both as a word-domain clitic as well as a sentence-domain one. A similar alternation occurs with pronominal clitics, according to whether they function as verbal arguments or NP-possessors:

- (4.2) a. ἐπεῖτε=με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλόν=σοι, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι ἐνορῶ πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί.  
*epéite=me*                      *thēoi*                      *édō:kan*  
 since.COMP=1SG.ACC god.M.NOM.PL give.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL  
*doûlón=soi,*                      *dikaiō,*                      *eí*  
 slave.M.ACC.SG=2SG.DAT think.it.right.PRES.IND.ACT.ISG if.COMP  
*ti*                      *enōrō:*                      *pléon,*  
 INDF.N.ACC.SG observe.PRES.IND.ACT.ISG more.N.ACC.SG

*σε:μαίνειν*                      *σσί.*  
 indicate.INF.PRES.ACT 2SG.DAT  
 ‘Since (the) gods gave me as your slave, if I have any further insight,  
 I think it right to point it out to you.’

1.89.1

- b. τότε δὴ ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης κείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους πολλά τε καὶ κακὰ  
 ἔλεγε, ἑωυτοῖσί τε ἐδήλου λόγῳ ὡς εἶη καὶ πόλις καὶ γῆ μέζω ἢ περ  
 ἐκείνοισι, ἔστ’ ἄν διηκόσῃαι νέες σφιν ἕωσι πεπληρωμένοι.  
*tóte*      *dē:*      *hō*                      *Thēmistokléē:s*  
 then.ADV PTCL ART.M.NOM.SG Themistocles.M.NOM.SG  
*keĩnōn*              *te*      *kai*      *toũs*                      *Korinthiōus*  
 DIST.M.ACC.SG CONJ CONJ ART.M.ACC.PL Corinthian.M.ACC.PL  
*pollá*                      *te*      *kai*      *kakà*                      *élege,*  
 many.N.ACC.PL CONJ CONJ bad.N.ACC.PL say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
*heō:utoĩsí*              *te*      *edē:lou*                      *lōgō:i*  
 REFL.3PL.M.DAT CONJ show.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG word.M.DAT.SG  
*hō:s*                      *éē:*                      *kai*      *pólis*                      *kai*  
 that.COMP be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG CONJ city.F.NOM.SG CONJ  
*gē:*                      *mézdō:*                      *é:*      *per*      *ekéinoisi,*  
 land.F.NOM.SG greater.C.NOM.SG than PTCL DIST.M.DAT.PL  
*ést’ ἄn*                      *die:kósīai*  
 provided.that.COMP=MOD two.hundred.F.NOM.PL  
*néēs=sp<sup>h</sup>in*                      *éō:si*  
 ship.F.NOM.PL=3PL.DAT be.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3PL  
*peplē:ro:ménai.*  
 fill.PART.PERF.MP.F.NOM.PL

‘Then Themistocles said many nasty things against him and the  
 Corinthians, and declared that they had both a city and a land  
 greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred manned ships.’

8.61.2

In both examples the clausal clitic occurs in 2W position (the direct object  $\mu\epsilon$  in 4.2.a, the modal particle  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in 4.2.b), while the possessor clitic occurs at the right edge of the possessed NP.

There are also alternations whose functional motivation, if any, are less clear. For instance, the position of  $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$  varies more than Table 4.1 allows. And the indefinite nominative pronoun  $\tau\iota\varsigma$  sometimes precedes  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ :

- (4.3) a. ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῆσι ὁδοῖσι, τῶιδε=ἄν=τις διαγνοίη εἰ ὅμοιοί  
 εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες.  
*entynk<sup>h</sup>ánontes* *d'* *allé:lōisi* *en*  
 encounter.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL PTCL RECP.M.DAT.PL on  
*tē:isi* *hōdōīsi,*  
 ART.F.DAT.PL road.F.DAT.PL  
*tō:ide=án=tis* *diagnoíē:*  
 PROX.N.DAT.SG=MOD=INDF.C.NOM.SG discern.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG  
*ei* *hómōiōi* *eisì* *hōi*  
 if.COMP equal.M.NOM.PL be.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL ART.M.NOM.PL  
*syntyнк<sup>h</sup>ánontes.*  
 meet.with.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
 'When (they) encounter one another on the streets, one would  
 discern whether they are equals by the following (custom).'

1.134.1

- b. κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι=τις=ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμούται;  
*koũ* *dē:ta,* *eípoi=tis=án,*  
 where PTCL say.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG=INDF.C.NOM.SG=MOD  
*taũta* *anaisimōũtai?*  
 MED.N.NOM.PL dispose.PRES.IND.MP.3SG  
 'Where then, one might say, are they disposed of?'

3.6.2

Further investigation of these issues would take us too far afield. I want to at least register them here as so little is known about the structure and ordering of clitic chains in Greek.

#### 4.4 Scope and Clitic Distribution

Scope plays a crucial role not only in determining the membership of a clitic in a particular class (whether phrasal, clausal, or sentential), but also at a more general level. This section illustrates how scope can affect the surface distribution of clausal clitics. The constructions in this section deviate from the canonical 2W behavior presented in section 3.5 above, but the deviations are motivated by the semantics of the words involved.



Domain-widening (Chierchia 2006) refers to the ability of expressions such as τῆν>ἄν to maximize a domain of reference, in this case that of fines. (The term *domain* here is thus distinct from the term *clitic domain* used above in section 4.2.) In English, this widening of the domain of reference is achieved with the suffix *-ever*, as in *whoever*.

When ἄν functions as a domain-widener, its scope is restricted to its host, which has a crucial effect on its distribution. In fact, the domain-widening ἄν is not a second-position clitic of the same stripe as its modal quantifier counterpart, as the former must be hosted by a relative pronoun (or complementizer), and in this respect it resembles the particle *περ* (in Homer, however, this particle still exhibits host promiscuity). The characteristic host promiscuity of second-position clitics is thus absent in this function of ἄν.

It is not, however, the case that domain-widening ἄν has to be directly hosted by a relative pronoun or complementizer, as other particles can intervene:

- (4.5) *Domain-Widening ἄν with δέ*  
 ἦ>δέ>ἄν τὰ πλείστα ἔχηι, αὐτῆ ἀρίστη.  
*hè>:dè>án tà pleísta* *tà pleísta*  
 REL.F.NOM.SG>PTCL>MOD ART.N.ACC.PL most.N.ACC.PL  
*ékʰe:i, haúte: aríste:.*  
 have.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3SG MED.F.NOM.SG best.F.NOM.SG  
 ‘Whoichever (country) has the most is the best.’  
 1.32.8

Here the discourse marker *δέ* occurs between the relative pronoun and modal particle. Were domain-widening ἄν a suffix like English *-ever*, we would expect (under a lexicalist theory, at least) combinations of relative pronoun+ἄν to be formed in the lexicon and not to be manipulatable by syntax.

When ἄν functions as a modal quantifier (on which, see, e.g., Casselmann 1854, Basset 1988, Gerö 2000, Beck, Malamud, and Osadcha 2012), it scopes over the entire clause. This difference in scope is reflected in surface syntax. In embedded clauses, ἄν is hosted by the first word of its clause after any complementizers (cf. 3.160.1, 4.161.1, 8.119.1, 9.94.1):

- (4.6) a. *Embedded Question*  
 ὀρμημένου Δαρείου ροιάς τρώγειν, ὡς ἄνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν  
 ροιέων, εἴρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρτάβανος ὅ τι βούλοιστ’>ἄν>οἱ τοσοῦτο  
 πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροιῇ κόκκοι.  
*hōrme:ménou Daréiou*  
 start.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.SG Darius.M.GEN.SG



*hwi eíkosi pròs tē:i eóuse:i*  
 3SG.DAT twenty to ART.F.DAT.SG be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.DAT.SG  
*prōsgenést<sup>h</sup>ai.*  
 accrue.INF.AOR.MID

'It is said that (Darius) often expressed the following opinion, that he would prefer Zopyrus' having no experience of injury to acquiring twenty Babylons in addition to the one he (already) had.'

3.160.1

Here the particle *ἄν* contributes the meaning 'would.' When the complementizer is a phrase, the modal particle can be hosted far into the clause (cf. M. Hale 1987b: 108–109 for cases of complex conjunctions in Avestan):

(4.7) a. *Embedded Question*

Δαρείος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἴρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, [ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι] δεξιάτα' ἄν τελευτῶντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί.

*Dareĩos dē metà taũta*  
 Darius.M.NOM.SG PTCL after MED.N.ACC.PL  
*kalésas Indō:n tōus*  
 call.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG Indian.M.GEN.PL ART.M.ACC.PL  
*kaleōménous Kallatías, hwi*  
 call.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.ACC.PL Callatiae.M.ACC.PL REL.M.NOM.PL  
*tōus gōnéas katest<sup>h</sup>iousi,*  
 ART.M.ACC.PL parent.M.ACC.PL eat.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL  
*eíreto, pareóntō:n*  
 ask.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG be.present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL  
*tō:n Hellē:nō:n kai di'*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL Greek.M.GEN.PL CONJ through  
*herme:néous mant<sup>h</sup>anóntō:n*  
 interpreter.M.GEN.SG understand.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.GEN.PL  
*tà legόμενα, [epì tīni*  
 ART.N.ACC.PL say.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.ACC.PL for WH.N.DAT.SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>ré:mati] deksaiát' ἄn*  
 money.N.DAT.SG receive.AOR.OPT.MID.3PL≠MOD  
*teleutō:ntas tōus patéras*  
 die.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL ART.M.ACC.PL father.M.ACC.PL  
*katakaíein pyrí.*  
 burn.INF.PRES.ACT fire.N.DAT.SG

'After this Darius summoned the Indians who are called Callataie, who eat their parents, and asked them (the Greeks were present and understood what was being said through interpreters) what amount of money they would accept to cremate their fathers when they died.'

3.38.4

b. *Relative Clause*

τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθηναῖοι κατέδησαν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖσι καὶ Τιμησίθεον τὸν Δελφόν, [τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος] ἔχοιμ' ἄν μέγιστα καταλέξαι.

*tòus*                    *dè*            *állous*                    *At<sup>h</sup>e:naĩoi*  
 ART.M.ACC.PL PTCL other.M.ACC.PL Athenian.M.NOM.PL  
*katéde:san*                                            *tè:n*                    *epì thanáto:i*,            *en*  
 bind.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL ART.F.ACC.SG to death.M.DAT.SG in  
*dè*    *autōisi*            *kaì*            *Time:sít<sup>h</sup>eon*  
 PTCL 3PL.M.DAT even.ADV Timesitheus.M.ACC.SG  
*tòn*                    *Delph<sup>h</sup>ón*,                    [*toũ*                    *érga*  
 ART.M.ACC.SG Delphian.M.ACC.SG REL.M.GEN.SG feat.N.ACC.PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>eirō:n*                    *te*            *kaì*            *lé:matos*]  
 hand.F.GEN.PL CONJ CONJ courage.N.GEN.SG  
*ék<sup>h</sup>oim' àn*                                            *mégista*  
 be.able.PRES.OPT.ACT.ISG>MOD greatest.N.ACC.PL  
*kataléksai*.  
 list.INF.AOR.ACT

'The rest the Athenians bound for execution, among them even Timesitheus the Delphian, whose extraordinary feats of strength and courage I could list in detail.'

5.72.4

The embedded interrogative in (4.7.a) is introduced by the phrase ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι, and the relative clause in (4.7.b) with τοῦ ἔργα χειρῶν τε καὶ λήματος. Both clauses have a modal reading and ἄν is accordingly hosted only after these phrases.

#### 4.4.2 *Narrow-Scope Operators*

This section presents data from narrow-scope negation and scalar quantifiers, in which a clitic ends up outside of surface second position. Predicate negation is typically clause initial and hosts clausal clitics:

(4.8) *Predicate Negation Hosts Clausal Clitics*

- a. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλέατο, οὐκ ἄν ἠρπάζοντο.  
*dē:la gār dē: hōti, ei mē:*  
 clear.N.NOM.PL EXPL PTCL that.COMP if.COMP NEG  
*autai ebouléato, ouk-àn*  
 self.F.NOM.PL want.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL NEG=MOD  
*hē:rpázōnto.*

rape.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL

‘For it is indeed clear that, if they themselves didn’t want it, they wouldn’t be raped.’

1.4.2

- b. σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, οὐ μὲ ἐπεισας ἀσχή-  
 μονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι.

*sū méntoi apodeksámenos*  
 2SG.NOM PTCL accept.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG

*hybrismata en tō:i lōgō:i,*  
 arrogance.N.ACC.PL in ART.M.DAT.SG speech.M.DAT.SG

*oú:me épeisas*  
 NEG=1SG.ACC persuade.AOR.IND.ACT.2SG

*ask<sup>h</sup>:mōna en tē:i amōibē:i*  
 inappropriate.C.ACC.SG in ART.F.DAT.SG response.F.DAT.SG  
*genést<sup>h</sup>ai.*

become.INF.AOR.MID

‘Although you have displayed arrogance in your speech, you haven’t persuaded me to become inappropriate in my response.’

7.160.1

- c. οὐ σὲ ἀπέστειλε Ἄρταφρένης ἐμέο πείθεσθαι καὶ πλέειν τῇ ἂν ἐγὼ κε-  
 λεύω;

*oú:se apésteile*  
 NEG=2SG.ACC dispatch.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

*Artaph<sup>h</sup>réne:s eméō peít<sup>h</sup>est<sup>h</sup>ai kai*  
 Artaphrenes.M.NOM.SG 1SG.GEN obey.INF.PRES.MP CONJ

*pléein tē:i àn egò:*  
 sail.INF.PRES.ACT REL.F.DAT.SG MOD 1SG.NOM

*keleúō:?*

order.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG

‘Didn’t Artaphrenes dispatch you to obey me and to sail wherever I order?’

5.33.4

- d. οὐκ=ᾧν=δὴ=σφεας ἔχειν ὁκότερον ἔλονται ὥστε καὶ ὁμοίων καὶ ἴσων ἐόντων.

*ουκ=ᾧν=δὴ=σφεας* *ἐκ<sup>h</sup>ein*  
 NEG=PTCL=PTCL=3PL.C.ACC have.INF.PRES.ACT  
*ἠκότερον* *ἑλόνται* *ἠόστε*  
 which.of.two.M.ACC.SG choose.PRES.SBJV.MP.3PL since.COMP  
*καὶ ἠμοίων καὶ ἴσων*  
 CONJ alike.M.GEN.PL CONJ equal.M.GEN.PL  
*ἑόντων.*  
 be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL

‘They (= the Lacedaemonians) were unable (to tell) which of the two they were to choose, seeing as they (= the two children) were identical.’

6.52.3

When negation hosts a clausal clitic, it associates with the focus of the utterance (Jackendoff 1972: 254, Beaver and Clark 2008: 45–49, with further references). When clause-initial negation does not serve as the host of a clausal clitic, then it functions as constituent negation and its scope is restricted to the immediately following word (see further 1.109.3, 1.156.1, 7.8.β.2):

(4.9) *Constituent Negation Not a Licit Host for Clausal Clitics*

- a. αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων Λεσβίους ἐς Χίον ἔπλεε καὶ Χίων φρουρῆι [οὐ προσιεμένηι]=μιν συνέβαλε ἐν Κοίλοισι καλεομένοισι τῆς Χίης χώρης.

*αὐτὸς* *δὲ* *ἐκ<sup>h</sup>ων*  
 self.M.NOM.SG PTCL have.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*Λεσβίους* *ἐς* *Χίον* *ἔπλεε*  
 Lesbian.M.ACC.PL into Chios.F.NOM.SG sail.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
*καὶ* *Κήιον* *φρουρῆι* [*οὐ*  
 CONJ Chian.M.GEN.PL guard.F.DAT.SG NEG  
*προσιεμένηι*]=*μιν* *συνέβαλε*  
 let.in.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.DAT.SG=3SG.ACC engage.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*ἐν Κοίλοισι* *καλεομένοισι* *τῆς*  
 in Hollow.N.DAT.PL call.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.DAT.PL ART.F.GEN.SG  
*Κήιης* *κῆιῶν.*  
 Chian.F.GEN.SG country.F.GEN.SG

‘He himself sailed to Chios with Lesbians and he engaged a guard of Chians, which [didn’t grant] him access, in an area of Chios called ‘Hollows.’’

6.26.1

- b. οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἔσσωθέμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον [μὴ  
οὐ δυνάμενοι]σφραε εὐρεῖν πάθωμέν τι ἀλώμενοι.  
*ου γὰρ ἔδεισά κω: μὲ:*  
NEG EXPL fear.AOR.IND.ACT.1SG yet.ADV NEG  
*hessɔ:tʰé:men hypò Skythé:n*  
defeat.AOR.SBJV.PASS.1PL by Scythian.M.GEN.PL  
*mákʰe:i, allà mállon [mè: ου*  
battle.F.DAT.SG but rather.ADV NEG NEG  
*dynámenó]σpʰeas heureĩn*  
be.able.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL≈3PL.C.ACC find.INF.AOR.ACT  
*pátʰo:mén ti*  
suffer.AOR.SBJV.ACT.1PL INDF.N.ACC.SG  
*aló:menoi.*  
wander.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL  
‘For I have never feared that we would be defeated by the Scythians  
in battle, but rather that, [not being able] to find them, we would  
suffer as we wandered around.’

4.97.4

- c. εὖ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅτι [οὐκ ὡς γυναῖκά]σμιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἔξειν ἀλλ’ ὡς  
παλλακῆν.  
*εὔ γὰρ ἐπίστατο hóti [ουκ hɔ:s*  
well.ADV EXPL know.IMPF.IND.MP.3SG that.COMP NEG as.COMP  
*gynaiká]σmin émelle*  
wife.F.ACC.SG≈3SG.ACC be.about.to.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG  
*Kambýse:s héksein all’ hɔ:s*  
Cambyses.M.NOM.SG hold.INF.FUT.ACT but as.COMP  
*pallaké:n.*  
concubine.F.ACC.SG  
‘For he knew well that it was [not as a wife] that Cambyses was about  
to take her (as has been claimed), but as a concubine.’

3.1.2

- d. [οὐκᾶν ἀμφοτέρῃ]σφι ἐχώρησε.  
*[ουκᾶ:n ampʰotére:i]σpʰi ekʰó:re:se.*  
NEG≈PTCL both.F.DAT.SG≈3PL.DAT give.way.to.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
‘(Suppose then) they were not successful in both venues (i.e., on  
land and on sea).’

7.10.β.2

In each case, the scope of negation is restricted to the immediately adjacent constituent. So in (4.9.a) and (4.9.b), only the participial phrases are negated, while the matrix predicates are affirmative. In (4.9.c) and (4.9.d), only the phrases *ὡς γυναῖκα* ‘as a woman’ and *ἀμφοτέρῃ* ‘both,’ respectively, are negated.

This phenomenon is even more pronounced in cases of so-called “οὐ adhe-  
rescent” (Smyth 1956: §§ 2691–2697), in which the scope of negation is re-  
stricted to the verb:

(4.10) *V-Internal Negation*

- a. οἶα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνίων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι  
τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, [οὐ βουλόμενός] οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναί-  
κός τέκνα ἐμίσητό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον.

*hoiā dē paídō:n té hoi*  
since.COMP PTCL child.M.GEN.PL CONJ 3SG.DAT  
*hypark<sup>h</sup>hōntō:n neē:niéō:n kai*  
be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL young.men.M.GEN.PL CONJ  
*legōménō:n enagéō:n eĩnai*  
say.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL cursed.C.GEN.PL be.INF.PRES.ACT  
*tō:n Alkmeō:nidēō:n, [ou*  
ART.M.GEN.PL Alcmeonid.M.GEN.PL NEG  
*boulómēnós]=hoi genést<sup>h</sup>ai*  
wish.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG=3SG.DAT become.INF.AOR.MID  
*ek tē:s neogámou gynaiḱs*  
from ART.F.GEN.SG newly.married.C.GEN.SG wife.F.GEN.SG  
*tékna emísgetó hoi ou*  
child.N.ACC.PL mix.AOR.IND.MID.3SG 3SG.DAT NEG  
*katà nómōn.*

according.to custom.M.ACC.SG

‘Since he had young sons and since the Alcmeonids were said to be  
cursed, he [did not want] to have children with his newly wedded  
wife and had sex with her in an unconventional way.’

1.61.1

- b. [οὐκ ἠθελήσαμέν] τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδέ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι.

*[ouk e:thelēs:amén]=toi enantiōst<sup>h</sup>ai*  
NEG be.willing.AOR.IND.ACT.1PL=2SG.DAT oppose.INF.PRES.MP  
*ou-dé ti apothýmion poiē:sai.*

NEG-PTCL INDF.N.ACC.SG displeasing.N.ACC.SG do.INF.AOR.ACT  
‘We [refused] to side against you or do anything displeasing to you.’

7.168.3

As the translations reveal, the meaning of the negation-verb sequence is not straightforwardly compositional, which suggests that these are lexicalized combinations, as in ‘refused’ for ‘not wanted’ in (4.10.b).

Other operators with narrow scope exhibit a similar behavior, including scalar negatives such as *μηδέ* ‘not even’; its affirmative counterpart, scalar *καί* ‘even’; the intensifier *αὐτός* ‘self’; and the exceptive modifier *ὁ ἄλλος* ‘else’:

(4.11) *Scalar Negation*

- a. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὥστε [μηδὲ μαθεῖν] μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ.

*arkhē:n*                      *gàr egò:*              *me:khané:somai*  
beginning.F.ACC.SG EXPL 1SG.NOM arrange.FUT.IND.MID.1SG

*hóutw:*              *hó:ste* [*me:-dè*    *mat<sup>h</sup>eîn*]=*min*

thus.ADV RES    NEG-PTCL learn.INF.AOR.ACT=3SG.ACC

*oph<sup>h</sup>ēisan*                                      *hypò seũ.*

see.PTCP.AOR.PASS.F.ACC.SG by    2SG.GEN

‘I will arrange it from the outset so that she [not even know] that she was seen by you.’

1.9.1

- b. τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραυτίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, [οὐδὲ ὅσαι] ἄν ὦσιν εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεῦνος γυναῖκες.

*tàs*                      *dè*              *gynaïkas*              *tō:n*  
ART.F.ACC.PL PTCL wife.F.ACC.PL ART.M.GEN.PL

*epiph<sup>h</sup>anéw:n*              *andrō:n,*              *epe-àn*  
notable.C.GEN.PL man.M.GEN.PL when.COMP-MOD

*teleuté:sō:si,*                      *ou*              *parautíka*  
die.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3PL NEG immediately.ADV

*didōūsi*                                      *tarik<sup>h</sup>eúein,*                      [*ou-dè*  
give.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL embalm.INF.PRES.ACT NEG-PTCL

*hósai]=àn*                                      *ō:sin*  
as.many.REL.F.NOM.PL=MOD be.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3PL

*eueidées*                                      *kárta*              *kaì*              *lógu*  
good.looking.C.NOM.PL very.ADV CONJ reputation.M.GEN.SG

*pleūnos*                                      *gynaïkes.*  
more.C.GEN.SG women.F.NOM.PL

‘The wives of notable men, when they die, they do not have them embalmed immediately, [not even all those] who are of great beauty and reputation.’

2.89.1

(4.12) *Scalar καί*

- a. *κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κύρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι καὶ οἱ ἐπηπειλήσεν οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσεν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ [καὶ γυναῖ- κάς] μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι.*

*kárta te dè: ek<sup>h</sup>alépainē tō:i*  
 very.ADV CONJ PTCL be.angry.IMPFF.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.DAT.SG  
*potamō:i hō Kýros tōūtō*  
 river.M.DAT.SG ART.M.NOM.SG Cyrus.M.NOM.SG MED.N.ACC.SG  
*hybrísanti kaí hōi*  
 behave.insolently.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.DAT.SG CONJ 3SG.DAT  
*epe:peíle:se hóútō: dé: min*  
 threaten.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG so.ADV PTCL 3SG.ACC  
*ast<sup>h</sup>enéa poié:sein hō:ste tōū*  
 feeble.C.ACC.SG make.INF.FUT.ACT RES ART.M.GEN.SG  
*loipōū [kaí gynai<sup>k</sup>ás] min*  
 remaining.M.GEN.SG even.ADV woman.F.ACC.PL≠3SG.ACC  
*eupetéō:s tō góny ou*  
 easily.ADV ART.N.ACC.SG knee.N.ACC.SG NEG  
*brek<sup>h</sup>úsas diabé:sesth<sup>h</sup>ai.*  
 get.wet.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.ACC.PL cross.INF.FUT.MID

'Cyrus was furious at the river for having perpetrated this insolence, and he threatened to make it so weak that forever after [even women] would be able to cross easily it without getting their knees wet.'

1.189.2

- b. *οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ [καὶ σιτία] σφί- ἐστι ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλήθός τι ἐκάστωι γίνεταί πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἐκάστης. δίδοται δέ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος.*

*oú-te ti gār tō:n*  
 NEG-CONJ INDF.N.ACC.SG EXPL ART.N.GEN.PL  
*oikeiō:n tríbousi ou-te*  
 own.resources.N.GEN.PL consume.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL NEG-CONJ  
*dapanō:ntai, allà [kaí*  
 spend.PRES.IND.MP.3PL but even.ADV  
*sitía] sp<sup>h</sup>ésti*  
 bread.N.NOM.PL≠3PL.DAT=be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
*hirà pessómēna kaí*  
 sacred.N.NOM.PL cook.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.NOM.PL CONJ





Finally, complex negation, when clause-initial and contiguous, also does not admit clausal clitics:

- (4.16) a. σιδήρωι δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρωι χρέωνται οὐδέν. [οὐδὲ=γὰρ οὐδὲ]=σφι ἔστι ἐν τῇ  
 χώρῃ.  
*sidé:rw:i dè ou-d' argýrw:i*  
 iron.M.DAT.SG PTCL NEG-PTCL silver.M.DAT.SG  
*kh'é:ntai oudén. [ou-dè=gàr*  
 use.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL nothing.N.ACC.SG NEG-PTCL=EXPL  
*ou-dé]=sp<sup>hi</sup> ésti en tē:i*  
 NEG-PTCL=3PL.DAT be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG in ART.F.DAT.SG  
*khó:rei.*  
 land.F.DAT.SG  
 'But (the Massagetae) do not use any iron or silver. For they have none at all in their land.'

1.215.2

- b. καὶ [οὐδέν=τι πάντως]=ἄν ἐξεῖλον Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.  
*kai [oudén=ti pántws]=án*  
 CONJ nothing.N.ACC.SG=INDF.N.ACC.SG entirely.ADV=MOD  
*ekseílon Peisistrátidas hoi*  
 take.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL Peisistratid.M.ACC.PL ART.M.NOM.PL  
*Lakedaimónioi.*  
 Lacedaemonian.M.NOM.PL  
 'and the Lacedaemonians would not at all have taken the Peisistratid stronghold.'

5.65.1

When not contiguous, the first negation hosts:

- (4.17) ... καὶ [δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα] οὐδ' ἄν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυ-  
 πτίους οὐδέν ἐπεξευρεῖν.  
*kai [dokéontes parà taûta]*  
 CONJ think.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL beside MED.N.ACC.PL  
*oud'=án tous saphótátous anthró:pon*  
 NEG=MOD ART.M.ACC.PL wisest.M.ACC.PL man.M.GEN.PL  
*Aigyptíous oudén epekseureîn.*  
 Egyptian.M.ACC.PL nothing.N.ACC.SG devise.INF.AOR.ACT  
 '... and claiming additionally that the Egyptians, the wisest of all men, could devise nothing.'

2.160.1

The data in examples (4.9)–(4.16) raise the question of why clausal clitics cannot occur inside the domain of narrow-scope operators. Given the observations in section 3.5, it would be reasonable to assume that the operators are proclitic, and that we are still in fact dealing with 2W distributional patterns. By the same token, there is no independent evidence that the operators in the above contexts are proclitic. Given that the patterns in examples (4.9)–(4.16) are only found with narrow-scope operators, I would ascribe the distributional patterns in examples (4.9)–(4.16) to a semantic constraint against clausal clitics appearing in the c-command domain of these operators.

#### 4.4.3 *Wide-Scope Adverbials*

Adverbial expressions that scope over the clause (or a larger constituent, such as the sentence or utterance) precede clausal clitics. These adverbial expressions are not topicalized (examples of non-argument topicalized phrases are presented in section 5.2.3), and are included in this chapter for two reasons: to register their existence and to distinguish them from topicalized adverbial expressions.<sup>10</sup> There have been various attempts to establish a universal hierarchy of adverbials that will predict their distribution in the clause (e.g., Jackendoff 1972, Bellert 1977, Cinque 1999, Ernst 2001, Frey 2003). I cite here *exempli gratia* that of Frey (2003):

##### (4.18) *Adverbial Hierarchy*

sentence adverbials > frame and domain adverbials > event-external adverbials (e.g., causals) > highest ranked argument > event-internal adverbials (e.g., locatives, instrumentals) > (internal arguments) > process-related adverbials (e.g., manner) > verb

While the details of these hierarchies present challenges (for an overview, see Maienborn and Schäfer 2011), for our purposes they are of use in offering a boundary between adverbial expressions that occur within S/CP or are adjoined to S/CP (or some higher projection).<sup>11</sup> Adverbial expressions that

10 The adverbial expressions considered here correspond roughly to the Setting constituent of Functional Grammar (see, e.g., H. Dik 1995, 2007: 36, Allan 2013; cf. Kuno 1975, Clark and Clark 1977: 34–35, 245–246) and to the FSTop (Frame Setting Topic) of Matic' (2003: 591).

11 I assume for the sake of simplicity that adverbials are adjoined to phrasal projections; the point would remain the same if, e.g., they were in the specifier position of a devoted functional projection.

belong to the first three categories (sentence adverbials, frame/domain adverbials, and event-external adverbials) adjoin at least as high as S/CP, and accordingly occur to the left of the host of a clausal clitic:

(4.19) *Sentence Adverbials*

- a. [καὶ γὰρ] δεινὸν ἂν εἶη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἴνδους καὶ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίους ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, ἀδικήσαντα Πέρσας οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν προσκτᾶσθαι βουλόμενοι, καταστρεψάμενοι δούλους ἔχομεν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ὑπάρξαντας ἀδικίης οὐ τιμωρησόμεθα.

[*kaì gàr*] *deinòn-àn* *éie:*  
indeed.ADV terrible.N.NOM.SG=MOD be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG  
*prē:gma, ei Sákas mèn kai*  
act.N.NOM.SG if.COMP Saca.M.ACC.PL PTCL CONJ  
*Indoús kai Ait<sup>h</sup>ioπás te kai*  
Indian.M.ACC.PL CONJ Ethiopian.M.ACC.PL CONJ CONJ  
*Assyríous álla te ét<sup>h</sup>nea*  
Assyrian.M.ACC.PL other.N.ACC.PL CONJ nation.N.ACC.PL  
*pollà kai megála,*  
many.N.ACC.PL CONJ great.N.ACC.PL  
*adiké:santa Pérsas*  
do.wrong.PTCP.AOR.ACT.N.ACC.PL Persian.M.ACC.PL  
*oudén, allà dýnamin prōsktāst<sup>h</sup>ai*  
nothing.N.ACC.SG but power.F.ACC.SG add.INF.PRES.MP  
*boulómenoi,*  
desire.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL  
*katastrepsámenoi doulous*  
subdue.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL slave.M.ACC.PL  
*ék<sup>h</sup>omen, Hállē:nas dè*  
have.PRES.IND.ACT.1PL Greek.M.ACC.PL PTCL  
*hypárksantas adikíe:s ou*  
exist.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.ACC.PL injustice.F.GEN.SG NEG  
*timō:re:sómē<sup>h</sup>a.*

take.vengeance.FUT.IND.MID.1PL

‘[Indeed], it would be strange if, after conquering and enslaving the Sacae and Indians and Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other great nations that in no way wronged the Persians, because we wanted to increase our dominion, we were not to take vengeance on the Greeks who did perpetrate injustice.’

- b. [ἡδη=ᾶν] ἄνδρες=ᾶν εἶεν ἐν αὐτοῖσι τέσσερες μυριάδες καὶ εἴκοσι.  
 [έ:de:~ḏ:n]                      *ándres=àn*  
 accordingly.ADV=PTCL man.M.NOM.PL=MOD  
*εἶεν*                                      *en autoῖsi tésseres*  
 be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL in 3PL.DAT four.M.NOM.PL  
*myriádes*                              *kaì eíkosi.*  
 ten.thousand.M.NOM.PL CONJ two.hundred.M.NOM.PL  
 ‘[Accordingly], the (number of) men in them would be two hundred  
 and forty thousand.’  
 7.184.3

(4.20) *Frame Adverbials*

- a. καὶ [οὔτω] Αἰγύπτιοί=τ’=ᾶν ἠπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται  
 καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ=ᾶν ἤκουες.  
*kaì [hóuto:] Aigýptioí=t’=àn*  
 CONJ thus.ADV Egyptian.M.NOM.PL=CONJ=MOD  
*ε:πιστέατο*                              *hɔ:s*                      *hyp’ andròs*  
 know.IMPFF.IND.MP.3PL that.COMP by man.M.GEN.SG  
*megálu*                              *árk<sup>h</sup>ontai*                      *kaì ámeinon*  
 great.M.GEN.SG rule.PRES.IND.MP.3PL CONJ better.N.ACC.SG  
*sý=àn*                              *é:koues*  
 2SG.NOM=MOD hear.IMPFF.IND.ACT.2SG  
 ‘And [in this way], the Egyptians would know that they are ruled  
 by a great man, and you would have a better (and not a worse)  
 reputation.’  
 2.173.2

- b. οἱ δὲ τινες λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν  
 λόγον, ὡς Μυκερίνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ [ἔπειτα] ἐμίγη=οἱ  
 ἀεκούση.  
*hoi dé tines légousi perì*  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL INDF.C.NOM.PL say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL about  
*tê:s*                              *boḗs*                              *taúte:s*                      *kaì*  
 ART.F.GEN.SG cow.F.GEN.SG MED.F.GEN.SG CONJ  
*tḗ:n*                              *kolossḗ:n*                              *tónde*                      *tòn*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL statue.M.GEN.PL MED.M.ACC.SG ART.M.ACC.SG  
*lógon,*                              *hɔ:s*                              *Mykerínos*  
 story.M.ACC.SG that.COMP Mycerinus.M.NOM.SG  
*ε:rást<sup>h</sup>e:*                              *tê:s*                              *he:uutoῦ*  
 fall.in.love.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG ART.F.GEN.SG REFL.3SG.M.GEN

*t<sup>h</sup>ygatrōs*                      *kai*    [*ēpeita*]  
daughter.F.GEN.SG CONJ thereafter.ADV

*emíge:hai*

sleep.with.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG=3SG.DAT

*aekóuse:i*

unwilling.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.DAT.SG

‘Certain people tell the following story about the cow and the statues, that Mycerinus fell in love with his own daughter and [thereafter] slept with her against her will.’

2.131.1 (cf. 2.129.3)

- c. τὸν δὲ ἱρέα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγουσιν ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἴκοσι σταδίου. καὶ [αὐτίς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ] ἀπάγειν=μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τῷαὐτὸ χωρίον.

*tòn*                      *dè*    *hiréa*                      *toûton*

ART.M.ACC.SG PTCL priest.M.ACC.SG MED.M.ACC.SG

*katadedeménon*                                              *toùs*                      *oph<sup>h</sup>thalmoûs*

bandage.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.ACC.SG ART.M.ACC.PL eye.M.ACC.PL

*légousin*                                              *hypò* *dýo* *lýkō:n*

say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL by two wolf.M.GEN.PL

*ágest<sup>h</sup>ai*                      *es* *tò*                      *hiròn*

lead.INF.PRES.MP into ART.N.ACC.SG temple.N.ACC.SG

*tē:s*                      *Dé:me:trōs*

ART.F.GEN.SG Demeter.F.GEN.SG

*apék<sup>h</sup>on*                                                                                              *tē:s*

be.at.a.distance.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.ACC.SG ART.F.GEN.SG

*pólis*                      *eíkosi* *stadíous*.                      *kai*    [*aútis*    *opísw:*

city.F.GEN.SG twenty stade.M.ACC.PL CONJ again.ADV back

*ek* *toû*                      *hirōũ*]

from ART.N.GEN.SG temple.N.GEN.SG

*apágein=min*                                              *toùs*                      *lýkous*                      *es*

lead.INF.PRES.ACT=3SG.ACC ART.M.ACC.PL wolf.M.ACC.PL into

*t-:utò*                                                                                              *k<sup>h</sup>:ríon*.

ART.N.ACC.SG-same.N.ACC.SG place.N.ACC.SG

‘They say that this priest, whose eyes are bandaged, is guided by two wolves to Demeter’s temple, which is twenty stades from the city. And [on the way back from the temple], the wolves lead him to the same place.’

2.122.3

- d. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κύρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι καὶ οἱ ἐπηπειλήσε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε [τοῦ λοιποῦ] καὶ γυναῖ- κάς=μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι.

*kárta te dē: ek<sup>h</sup>alépainē tō:i*  
 very.ADV CONJ PTCL be.angry.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.DAT.SG  
*potamō:i hō Kýros tōūto*  
 river.M.DAT.SG ART.M.NOM.SG Cyrus.M.NOM.SG MED.N.ACC.SG  
*hybrísanti kaí hoi*  
 behave.insolently.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.DAT.SG CONJ 3SG.DAT  
*epē:peíle:se hōútō: dé: min*  
 threaten.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG SO.ADV PTCL 3SG.ACC  
*ast<sup>h</sup>enéa poié:sein hós:te [tōū*  
 feeble.C.ACC.SG make.INF.FUT.ACT RES ART.N.GEN.SG  
*loipōū] kai gynaĩkás=min*  
 remaining.N.GEN.SG even.ADV woman.F.ACC.PL≈3SG.ACC  
*eupetéō:s tō góny ou*  
 easily.ADV ART.N.ACC.SG knee.N.ACC.SG NEG  
*brek<sup>h</sup>úsas diabé:sesth<sup>ai</sup>.*

get.wet.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.ACC.PL CROSS.INF.FUT.MID

‘Cyrus was furious at the river for having perpetrated this insolence, and he threatened to make it so weak that [forever after] even women would be able to cross it easily without getting their knees wet.’

1.189.2

(4.21) *Event-External Adverbial*

a. *Adverb*

[διὸ] ἐξήλασέ=μιν ὁ Ἱππαρχος, πρότερον χρεώμενος τὰ μάλιστα.

[di-ō] *eksé:lasé=min*  
 on.account-REL.N.ACC.SG banish.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG≈3SG.ACC  
*hō Híppark<sup>h</sup>os, próteron*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG Hipparchus.M.NOM.SG before.ADV

*k<sup>h</sup>réō:menōs tà málista.*  
 be.close.with.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG ART.N.ACC.PL most.ADV

‘[On account of this], Hipparchus<sub>i</sub> banished him, although before he<sub>i</sub> had been quite close (with him).’

7.6.4

- b. Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους ὄϊων ἀπέχονται [διὰ τάδε] λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδεσφι τεθῆναι.

*Thē:baĩoi mēn nyn kai hōsoi*  
 Theban.M.NOM.PL PTCL PTCL CONJ as.many.REL.M.NOM.PL  
*diā tōútous ói:n*  
 through ART.M.ACC.PL sheep.M.GEN.PL  
*apékʰontai [diā táde]*  
 keep.away.PRES.IND.MP.3PL on.account.of PROX.N.ACC.PL  
*légousi tōn nómōn*  
 say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL ART.M.ACC.SG custom.M.ACC.SG  
*tónde=spʰi tetʰē:nai.*  
 MED.M.ACC.SG=3PL.DAT establish.INF.AOR.PASS

‘Thebans and those who by the Theban example do not touch sheep say that this custom has been established by them [for the following reason].’

2.42.3

- c. συγχωρησάντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιητέων, [οὔτω=δῆ] πέντεσφι μαντευόμενος ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἥλιος, γενόμενος Σπαρτιήτης, συγκαταίρει.

*synkʰō:resántō:n dē kai taũta*  
 grant.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.GEN.PL PTCL even.ADV MED.N.ACC.PL  
*tō:n Sparti:tēō:n, [hōútō:=dē:] pénte=spʰi*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL Spartan.M.GEN.PL so.ADV=PTCL five=3PL.DAT  
*manteúōmenōs agō:nas*  
 divine.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG contest.M.ACC.PL  
*tōus megístous Tisamenōs*  
 ART.M.ACC.PL greatest.M.ACC.PL Tisamenus.M.NOM.SG  
*hō E:leĩōs,*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG Elean.M.NOM.SG  
*genómēnos Sparti:tē:s,*  
 become.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG Spartan.M.NOM.SG  
*synkataíreĩ.*  
 win.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

‘Once the Spartans had granted him this as well, it was [in this way] that Tisamenus the Elean, having become a Spartan, brought them five great victories by divination.’

9.35.1

(4.22) *Event-External Adverbial*a. *Prepositional Phrase*

εἰ μὲν νῦν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχῃε καὶ ἀπήγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, [ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένηι ἀμαρτάδι] ἦν=ἄν ἀνὴρ σοφός. νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος ἦε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω.

*εἰ μὲν νῦν μαθὼν ταῦτα*

if.COMP PTCL PTCL perceive.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG

*ταῦτα ἡὼ Καμβύσε:ς*

MED.N.ACC.PL ART.M.NOM.SG Cambyses.M.NOM.SG

*ἐγνω:σιμάκῃε καὶ ἀπῆ:γε ὀπίσω:*

yield.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG CONJ lead.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG back.ADV

*τὸν στρατόν, [ἐπὶ τῇ:*

ART.M.ACC.SG army.M.ACC.SG on ART.F.DAT.SG

*ἀρχῇ:θεν γενόμενῃ:*

from.beginning.ADV become.PTCP.AOR.MID.F.DAT.SG

*ἁμαρτάδι] ἦν=ἄν ἀνῆ:ρ*

fault.F.DAT.SG be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG=MOD man.M.NOM.SG

*σοφῆ:ς. νῦν δὲ οὐδένα*

wise.M.NOM.SG now.ADV PTCL none.M.ACC.SG

*λόγον ποιούμενο:ς*

account.M.ACC.SG make.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG

*ἦ:ε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ*

go.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG always.ADV into ART.N.ACC.SG

*πρόσω:.*

forward.ADV

'If, upon learning of this, Cambyses had admitted his mistake and led his army back, he would have been a wise man [despite his initial mistake]. But as it was, he forged ahead, deeming the matter of no importance.'

3-25-5

- b. [πρὸς=ἄν=δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα] οὔτε=τίς=οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε.

*[πρὸς=ἄν=δὴ: τὸῦτο τὸ*

toward=PTCL=PTCL MED.N.ACC.SG ART.N.ACC.SG

*κή:ρυγμα] οὐ=τε=τίς=οἱ*

proclamation.ART.N.ACC.SG NEG-CONJ=INDF.C.NOM.SG=3SG.DAT

*δι:αλέγεσθῃ: οὐ=τε οἰ:κίοισι*

talk.INF.PRES.MP NEG-CONJ home.M.DAT.PL

*dékest<sup>h</sup>ai*                      *é:t<sup>h</sup>ele*.  
 receive.INF.PRES.MP want.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG  
 ‘[In the face of this proclamation] no one wanted to talk to him or  
 to receive him in their homes.’

3.52.2

While the semantics of the adverbial expressions is a relatively objective matter, drawing up the above class of examples involves a degree of subjective judgment. All of these examples could in principle be classified as cases of focus preposing (which is discussed in detail in chapter 6). But there is nothing in the context to suggest that the adverbial expressions are focused.

#### 4.5 Head-Adjacent Datives

There is a cluster of examples with pronominal clitics that exhibit neither 2W nor 2D distribution. The host of these pronominal forms appears instead to be determined by lexical category. I refer to this class of clitics as *head adjacent*. While the conditions that determine head-adjacent distribution are not themselves clear, this pattern is typically found with non-argument datives, including beneficiaries, experiencers, possessors and agents of passive verbs (with infinitives we find head-adjacent distribution with verbal arguments as well; see section 8.5):

##### (4.23) *Dative Experiencer*

- a. τετραμμένωι γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνωκóτι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεται=μοι,  
 οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἐὼν ποιέειν με ταῦτα.  
*tetramménō:i*                      *gàr dē: kai*  
 turn.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.DAT.SG EXPL PTCL CONJ  
*metegnō:kóti*  
 change.mind.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.DAT.SG  
*epiph<sup>h</sup>oitō:n*                      *ónēiron*  
 come.repeatedly.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.SG dream.N.NOM.SG  
*ph<sup>h</sup>antázdetaí=moí,*                      *oudamō:s*  
 appear.PRES.IND.MP.3SG=1SG.DAT in.no.way.ADV  
*synépainōn*                      *ēōn*  
 consent.N.NOM.SG be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.SG  
*poiéein*                      *me taũta*.  
 do.INF.PRES.ACT 1SG.ACC MED.N.ACC.PL



*εδέε:τῆε: Dareίου triῶ:n*  
 ask.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG Darius.M.GEN.SG three.M.GEN.PL  
*έόντῶ:nἢῆοι paίδῶ:n καὶ*  
 be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL≠3SG.DAT child.M.GEN.PL CONJ  
*πάντῶ:n στρατευῶμένῶ:n*  
 all.M.GEN.PL be.in.the.army.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL  
*ἥενα αὐτῶ:i καταλείπῃῃ:nai.*  
 one.M.ACC.SG 3SG.M.DAT leave.behind.INF.AOR.PASS  
 ‘Then one of the Persians, Oiabazus, asked Darius to allow one (of his  
 sons) to be left behind, since he has three children, and they are all in  
 the army.’  
 4.84.1

(4.25) *Recipient Dative*

a. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον  
 οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θείναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὄρων, φὰς  
 Ἄστυάγεια εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν=μοι, πόλλ’ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα  
 ποιήσαιμι.  
*Hárpagos δὲ ῥως εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὲ:n*  
 Harpagus.M.NOM.SG PTCL when.COMP see.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*me, ἐκέλευε τὲ:n*  
 1SG.ACC order.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG ART.F.ACC.SG  
*takḥíste:n analabónta*  
 quickest.F.ACC.SG pick.up.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.ACC.SG  
*tò paidíon oíkḥestḥai*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG child.N.ACC.SG go.INF.PRES.MP  
*pḥéronta καὶ tḥeínai*  
 carry.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG CONJ put.INF.AOR.ACT  
*éntḥa tḥe:riw:déstaton εἶε:*  
 where.REL.ADV most.wild.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG  
*tῶ:n ὄρέων, pḥàs*  
 ART.N.GEN.PL mountain.N.GEN.PL say.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*Astyágēa eínai τὸν*  
 Astyages.M.ACC.SG be.INF.PRES.ACT ART.M.ACC.SG  
*taũta epitḥémenón=moι,*  
 MED.N.ACC.PL lay.upon.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.ACC.SG≠1SG.DAT  
*póll’ apeilé:sas εἰ μέ:*  
 much.N.ACC.PL threaten.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG if.COMP NEG  
*spḥea poié:saimi.*  
 3PL.N.ACC do.AOR.OPT.ACT.1SG

‘And Harpagus, when he saw me, said to pick the child up immediately and go off with it and put it where there are the most wild animals in the mountains, saying that the one who laid this command on me was Astyages, threatening over and over were I not to do these things.’

1.111.3

- b. Εὐήνιε, ταύτην δίκην Ἀπολλωνιῆται τῆς ἐκτυφλώσιος ἐκτίνουσί=τοι κατὰ θεοπρόπια τὰ γενόμενα.

*Ευέ:νιε, ταύτε:ν δίκε:ν*  
 Euenius.M.VOC.SG MED.F.ACC.SG restitution.F.ACC.SG  
*Ἀπολλο:νιῆ:ται τῆ:ς ἐκτυφλώ:σιος*  
 Apollonian.M.NOM.PL ART.F.GEN.SG blinding.F.GEN.SG  
*ἐκτίνουσί=τοι κατὰ τῆε:πρόπια*  
 pay.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL=2SG.DAT according.to oracle.N.ACC.PL  
*τὰ γενόμενα.*

ART.N.ACC.PL become.PTCP.AOR.MID.N.ACC.PL

“Euenius, this restitution the Apollonians pay to you for blinding (you), in accordance with the oracle.”

9.94.3

(4.26) *Maleficiary Dative*

ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι εἴη ταῦτα πεπονηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν=οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβῶν δὲ σφεας ἔδθησε τῆν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

*επεῖτε δὲ ἐκσέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι εἴη ταῦτα πεπονηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν=οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβῶν δὲ σφεας ἔδθησε τῆν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.*  
*επεῖτε δὲ ἐκσέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι εἴη ταῦτα πεπονηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν=οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβῶν δὲ σφεας ἔδθησε τῆν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.*  
 DIST.M.DAT.PL be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG MED.N.ACC.PL  
*πεπονηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν*  
 do.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.NOM.SG seize.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG 3SG.M.ACC  
*τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς*  
 CONJ ART.M.ACC.SG Intaphrenes.M.ACC.SG CONJ ART.M.ACC.PL  
*παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς*  
 child.M.ACC.PL 3SG.M.GEN CONJ ART.M.ACC.PL  
*οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπίδας*  
 domestic.M.ACC.PL all.M.ACC.PL suspicion.F.ACC.PL  
*πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ*  
 many.F.ACC.PL have.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG with

*tō:n*                      *syngenéō:n=̄min*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL kinsman.M.GEN.PL≠3SG.ACC  
*epibouléúein=̄hōi*                      *epanástasin,*  
 plot.INF.PRES.ACT≠3SG.DAT rebellion.F.ACC.SG  
*syllabō:n*                                      *dè*    *sp<sup>h</sup>ēas*  
 arrest.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG PTCL 3PL.C.ACC  
*éde:se*                      *tē:n*                      *epì t<sup>h</sup>anátō:i.*  
 bind.AOR.IND.3SG ART.F.ACC.SG on death.M.DAT.SG  
 ‘After (Darius<sub>i</sub>) found out that (he<sub>k</sub>) did not do this with them, he<sub>i</sub> seized  
 Intaphrenes<sub>k</sub> himself along with his<sub>k</sub> children and all his<sub>k</sub> domestic  
 staff, since he<sub>i</sub> had many suspicions that he<sub>k</sub> was plotting a rebellion  
 against him<sub>i</sub> with his<sub>k</sub> kinsmen. Having imprisoned them, (he<sub>i</sub>) sen-  
 tenced them to death.’

3.119.2

(4.27) *Dative Agent with Passive Verb*

ἢδη ὦν ὀρθῶι λόγῳι χρεωμένῳι μέχρῳι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἰρηταί=μοι.  
*é:de:*                      *ō:n*    *ort<sup>h</sup>ō:i*                      *lógo:i*  
 accordingly.ADV PTCL correct.M.DAT.SG reasoning.M.DAT.SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>reō:ménō:i*                                      *mék<sup>h</sup>ri Perséōs*  
 use.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.DAT.SG up.to Perseus.M.GEN.SG  
*ort<sup>h</sup>ō:s*                      *éire:taí=moí.*  
 correctly.ADV say.PERF.IND.MP.3SG≠1SG.DAT  
 ‘Accordingly, I did reason correctly in claiming (that the Greek record  
 is) accurate up to Perseus.’

6.53.2

In chapters 5 and 6, I argue that elements preceding the host of a clausal clitic reflect the presence of alternatives. In the examples above, the alternative semantics characteristic of preposing appears to be absent, which means that the material preceding the host of the above dative clitics does not occupy a position high in the left periphery (as preposed elements do). Their position is determined instead by the category of their host.

In the philological literature, one sometimes encounters disjunctive generalizations about clitic distribution in Greek, namely that a clausal clitic can either occur in second position or be hosted by the verb.<sup>12</sup> I do not follow this type of

12 E.g. Fraenkel ([1933] 1964: 94): “Für den genannten Sprachbereich nämlich gilt ausnahmslos die Regel dass ἄν, sofern es nicht unmittelbar neben das Verbum tritt, dessen Modal-

generalization for three reasons. First, it is too broad. The behavior observed above in examples (4.23)–(4.27) is intimately connected with datives, and not even all datives behave this way. Second, it is vague. I know of no analysis along these lines that explicitly defines when we should expect a clitic in second position or directly after the verb. Finally, it seems to me entirely possible that the dative is placed directly after the verb to ensure that it is interpreted with its host as opposed to being interpreted as an adjunct of some other constituent in the clause. To take (4.27) as illustrative, positioning  $\mu\omicron\iota$  after the verb perhaps signalled that the pronoun was to be interpreted as an agent and not as a recipient. If this is the case, it would be a contextually-restricted phenomenon that is licensed when 2W placement would yield more than one reading for the dative.

#### 4.6 Summing Up

This chapter opened with an exposition of clitic deficiencies and then offered a template for clitic domains and the internal ordering of their members. I argued that scope plays a crucial role in determining both the domain-membership and surface distribution of clitics, in particular with the distribution of the particle  $\check{\nu}$ , which cannot be captured under a single generalization. As a modal quantifier, it occurs second in its domain without regard for the lexical category of its host. As a domain-widener, however, it has to be hosted by a relative pronoun or complementizer. We have thus two separate distributional generalizations, each of which is determined by scope. As a domain-widener, the scope of  $\check{\nu}$  is restricted to its host, while as a modal quantifier it extends throughout the clause. The ability of scope to affect the basic 2W distribution of clausal clitics was also observed for certain narrow-scope operators that do not admit clausal clitics into their c-command domain as well as for wide-scope adverbials, which adjoin at least as high as S. These are systematic and semantically-motivated deviations. Less clear is the propensity of certain dative pronominal clitics to be hosted by a verb and not in second position. This is a topic that requires further research.

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ität es verdeutlicht, die zweite (beziehungsweise dritte) Stelle des Satzes einnimmt oder die entsprechende Stelle eines in sich geschlossenen Kolons." Similar is Janse (1993b: 22): "(quasi-)enclitics are either placed after the word on which they depend syntactically or they are placed after the first word of the sentence or a segment thereof, particularly if this word is a subordinating particle or if it is focalised."

**PART 2**

*The Left Periphery*





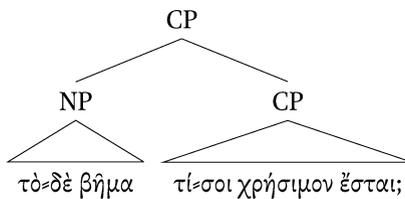
## Topicalization

With the conceptual foundations under our feet, we turn to the first of the two preposing constructions, topicalization. Topicalized phrases are characterized by two surface properties. They are accompanied by either μέν or δέ and precede the host of a clausal clitic, as illustrated by the phrase τὸδὲ βῆμα in the following example from Aristophanes:

- (5.1) [τὸδὲ βῆμα] τί σοι χρήσιμον ἔσται;  
 [tòdè bē:ma] tí σοι  
 ART.N.ACC.SG=PTCL rostrum.N.ACC.SG WH.N.NOM.SG=2SG.DAT  
 k<sup>h</sup>rḗ:simōn éstai?  
 use.N.NOM.SG be.FUT.IND.MID.3SG  
 ‘[As for the rostrum], what use will you have for it?’  
 AR. *Eccl.* 677

The interrogative pronoun τί marks the start of the clause (more precisely, the left edge of the CP), which is in turn followed by the pronominal clitic σοι in canonical second position.<sup>1</sup> The phrase τὸδὲ βῆμα occurs before both of them. I argue that the following phrase structure underlies this pattern:

- (5.2) *Topicalization*



As the NP τὸδὲ βῆμα adjoins to CP, it does not factor into the calculation of second position for the clausal clitic σοι. The particle δέ has phrasal scope (see section 4.2) and is therefore hosted inside the preposed phrase. While this chapter is not devoted to the semantics of μέν and δέ, its analysis does support

<sup>1</sup> While I focus on the diagnostic value of pronominal clitics and the modal particle ἄν in this chapter, other diagnostics offer similar insights: see, e.g., Devine and Stephens (1999: 56).

a view of these particles as topic markers (glossed as such already by Garrett 1996: 88, but without argumentation).<sup>2</sup>

I use the term *topicalization* to refer to preposed phrases that are not the focus of their utterance. This definition is thus partly morphosyntactic, partly information-structural. Topicalization as a construction serves three discourse functions: as a strategy for answering a sub-QUD (otherwise known as contrastive topicalization); to terminate a QUD; and to license new subjects.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter is organized as follows. Sections 5.1 through 5.4 present the three main functions of topicalization: contrastive topicalization, QUD-termination, and the licensing of non-accessible subjects. Section 5.5 then homes in on the syntax of topicalization and section 5.6 offers concluding thoughts.

Before turning to the analysis itself, I present in Table 5.1 a quantitative overview of constructions that lead to non-canonical clitic distribution. A TLG (stephanus.tlg.uci.edu) search of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  in Herodotus' *Histories* yields 490 tokens, 10 of which I excluded on textual grounds, and 4 because they are cases of iteration (Goldstein 2013a), which left 476 tokens. Of these, 397 tokens (.83) are in canonical second position. For the accusative singular pronoun  $\mu\iota\nu$ , a TLG search yields 328 tokens, 5 of which were excluded on textual grounds. Of these, 243 (.75) are in canonical second position. The frequency distribution of the 81 non-canonical examples is presented in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1 *The Frequency of Non-Canonical Examples of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and  $\mu\iota\nu$*

|                     | NCT $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ | F1  | F2  | NCT $\mu\iota\nu$ | F1  | F2  |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|
| Topicalization      | 20                      | .25 | .04 | 28                | .30 | .09 |
| Non-Monotonic Focus | 28                      | .34 | .06 | 21                | .22 | .07 |
| Participial Clause  | 28                      | .34 | .06 | 37                | .39 | .11 |
| Adverbial           | 7                       | .08 | .01 | 8                 | .09 | .02 |

The column headed “NCT  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ” indicates the number of sentences in which  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is not hosted by the first prosodic word of the clause (NCT stands for “non-

2 An adequate analysis would need to account for the role  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  play in discourse (e.g., in a framework such as that of Asher and Lascarides 2003), a task that is beyond the scope of this investigation.

3 For the functions of preposing in English, see, e.g., Culicover and Rochemont (1983); of topicalization specifically, Birner and Ward (1998) and Birner (2004); in archaic Indo-European, see, e.g., Garrett (1992), Ferraresi (2005), Devine and Stephens (2006).

canonical tokens”); the column headed “NCT  $\mu\nu$ ” provides the same information for  $\mu\nu$ . F1 is the frequency of the construction among the non-canonical examples (the number of tokens of the construction divided by the number of non-canonical tokens). F2 is the frequency of the construction in the *Histories* according to the evidence from clitic distribution (the number of tokens of the construction divided by the number of tokens of the enclitic).

### 5.1 Contrastive Topics

Before turning to the Greek data, it will be useful to illustrate the basic properties of contrastive topicalization with an example from English (from Büring 1997: 66–67):

- (5.3) QUD: *Who would buy what?*  
 a. [I]<sub>CT</sub> would buy [*The Hotel New Hampshire*]<sub>F</sub>.  
 b. [Fritz]<sub>CT</sub> would buy [*The World According to Garp*]<sub>F</sub>.

The QUD *Who bought what?* cannot be answered with a single proposition, as we have two buyers (the speaker and Fritz) and two purchases (*The Hotel New Hampshire* and *The World According to Garp*). As this example shows, the QUD requires a “pair-list” answer, according to which a buyer will be paired with an object that was bought. Contrastive topicalization is used to shift from one entry in the list to the next (Büring 1999: 145). Although we have only meager access to Greek prosody, it is worth noting that in the English example above each contrastive topic would be marked with a rising L-H\* tone (otherwise known as the B-contour of Jackendoff 1972). Rising tones are common in non-conclusive contexts (such as questions) and are thus appropriate here as the speaker appears to be working through a list, according to which a person—the contrastive topic—is mapped to an object—the focus (on incompleteness implicatures in topicalization, see Titov 2013).

As (5.3) illustrates, contrastive topics presuppose two QUDs, a maximal one with multiple *wh*-words and a more specific one (with only one interrogative pronoun). The former must entail the latter (e.g., Aloni et al. 2007: 140):

- (5.4) QUD-Structure  
 Who would buy what?  $\rightsquigarrow ?xy$  buy(*x*, *y*)  
 a. What would you buy?  $\rightsquigarrow ?y$  buy(**you**, *y*)  
 b. What would Fritz buy?  $\rightsquigarrow ?y$  buy(**Fritz**, *y*)

The question *Who would buy what?* presupposes a domain with more than one person and the answerhood conditions thus require offering an answer (a focus value) for each individual in the domain (for the semantics of multiple-*wh* questions, see, e.g., Wachowicz 1974, Higginbotham and May 1981, Dayal 1996, Hagstrom 1998, Bošković 2001, Grebenyova 2004, Gribanova 2009). Contrastive topicalization reflects a discourse structure such as that in (5.4), specifically that the contrastively topicalized utterances answer sub-QUDs, in this case (5.4.a) and (5.4.b), that are entailed by a higher-order QUD.

Contrastive topics induce alternatives but crucially these alternatives are separate from those of the focus domain (C. Roberts [1996] 2012: 62). The topic value of a sentence ( $[[S]]^{\text{ct}}$ ) denotes a set of a set of propositions, or a set of questions (Büring 1997: 66, 1999, 2003):

- (5.5) a. *Contrastive Topicalization as a Set of Sets of Propositions*  
 {{I would buy *War and Peace*, I would buy *The World According to Garp*, I would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, ...},  
 {Bolle would buy *War and Peace*, Bolle would buy *The World According to Garp*, Bolle would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, ...},  
 {Fritz would buy *War and Peace*, Fritz would buy *The World According to Garp*, Fritz would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, ...},  
 {Fritz' brother would buy *War and Peace*, Fritz' brother would buy *The World According to Garp*, Fritz' brother would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, ...}, ...}
- b. *Contrastive Topicalization as a Set of Questions*  
 {which book would you buy, which book would Bolle buy, which book would Fritz buy, which book would Fritz' brother buy ...}

We will see in chapter 6 that focus preposing has a similar effect of inducing alternatives, although in the focus domain.

Stepping back from the details, we see that contrastive topicalization enables speakers to group utterances together, by signaling that the answer to the immediate QUD also contributes to a higher-order QUD active in the discourse (C. Roberts [1996] 2012: 48, 59). This is a significant advantage of the construction, as discourse is an ordered linear space, in which each move forms an element in a chain ( $\langle m_i, m_j, m_k, \dots \rangle$ ). Contrastive topicalization allows a speaker to distinguish a subset of moves as related and serving a common goal.

## 5.2 A Typology of Contrastive Topics

Büring (1997: 56) offers the following three-way typology of topic types (the example for contrastive topicalization comes from pages 66–67, however):

- (5.6) a. *Contrastive Topic (CT)*  
 Who would buy what?  
 [I]<sub>CT</sub> would buy [*The Hotel New Hampshire*]<sub>F</sub>.  
 [Fritz]<sub>CT</sub> would buy [*The World According to Garp*]<sub>F</sub>.
- b. *Partial Topic (PT)*  
 What did the popstars wear?  
 The [female]<sub>PT</sub> popstars wore [caftans]<sub>F</sub>.
- c. *Implicational Topic (IT)*  
 A: Did your wife kiss other men?  
 B: [My]<sub>IT</sub> wife [didn't]<sub>F</sub> kiss other men.

The contrastive topics in example (5.6.a) have already been discussed. In (5.6.b), the setup is the same as for contrastive topics, but the answer is simply incomplete. (5.6.c) differs in that B does provide an exhaustive answer to the question but the topic accent on *my* suggests that the activity of other wives is relevant (Büring 1997: 56).

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, topicalization in Greek involves not just preposing but also the discourse particles  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . We find three patterns. The first involves the use of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  together. This construction involves multiple utterances, in the first of which a preposed XP is marked with  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ . In all subsequent utterances (which answer sub-QUDs), the preposed XP is marked with  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . The second and third patterns are truncated versions of this construction that involve singleton utterances, in which the preposed XP is marked either with  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  or  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ .

The distribution of the discourse particles in the topicalized phrase is determined by two factors: the activation status of the higher-order QUD, and the extent to which it is answered. In the  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  construction, the higher-order QUD has been explicitly evoked in the discourse, to which the sum of the  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ - and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ -marked utterances offers an exhaustive answer. This construction corresponds to Büring's contrastive topic above (as well as the strongly familiar contrastive topic strategy of Roberts and Roussou 2003). The second construction, characterized by the use of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  without a corresponding  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , is simply a truncated version of the preceding one: the status of the QUD is the same, but the answer is only partial. In the final construction, a preposed phrase is marked with  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ , without a corresponding  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ -utterance. The crucial feature of this construc-

tion is that the higher-order QUD has not been previously introduced into the Common Ground, but must be constructed on the basis of the utterance with the  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ -marked preposed phrase (it can be compared to the weakly familiar contrastive topic strategy of Roberts and Roussou 2003). The answer to the higher-order QUD is again only partial. The difference between topicalization constructions with only  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  or  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  thus lies in the status of the QUD, whether it has been evoked or is entailed.

Table 5.2 summarizes these three constructions and their properties.

TABLE 5.2 *Typology of Topic Marking*

| Discourse Particles                                   | Status of QUD | Function          |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ... $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ | Evoked        | Contrastive Topic |
| $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$                              | Evoked        | Partial Topic     |
| $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$                              | Entailed      | Partial Topic     |

This is of course a fragmentary account of topicalization in Greek because we can only diagnose these constructions in the presence of particles. How implicational topics of the type in (5.6.c) are marked in Greek is still an open question.

### 5.2.1 *Evoked QUD*

We begin with the  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  ...  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$  construction, in which the higher-order QUD is already present in the discourse when the first sub-QUD is answered. This class resembles the explicitly-evoked topicalization construction identified by Birner and Ward (1998):

#### (5.7) *Explicitly Evoked Set*

She had an idea for a project. She's going to use three groups of mice. **One<sub>i</sub>**, she'll feed them<sub>i</sub> mouse chow, just the regular stuff they make for mice. **Another<sub>k</sub>**, she'll feed them<sub>k</sub> veggies. And **the third**, she'll feed junk food. (Prince 1997: 7)

The set {3 groups of mice} is explicitly established in the first sentence. In the next three sentences, the referents of the preposed nouns (*one*, *another*, and *the third*) are each members of this set. The anaphoric relationship between the preposed elements and the preceding anchor (the phrase *three groups of mice*) is a crucial feature of this construction (see Birner and Ward 1998: 19–24).

To translate this into QUD-terms, the first topicalized phrase (*One, she'll feed them mouse chow*) is an answer to both the higher-order question *What food will she feed to which group?* and the entailed sub-QUD *What food will she feed to the first group?* In Greek, this type of contrastive topicalization is achieved with preposing and the use of the discourse particles μέν and δέ. The particle μέν signals two properties of its utterance. The first is that the higher-order QUD is already present in the discourse (the anaphoric character of μέν will be observed again in section 5.3). The second is that its content answers the first sub-QUD (which is of course a partial answer to a higher-order QUD).

Since the *Histories* as a discourse involves answering a host of multiple-*wh* questions, examples of contrastive topicalization are not difficult to find. A particularly clear example of this construction is found in Herodotus' ethnography of the Persian empire, where he records that upon ascending the throne Darius divided his kingdom into twenty satrapies:

(5.8) QUD: *What did Darius do as king?*

a. Sub-QUD: *How did Darius organize the empire?*

καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ  
προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προση-  
τάσσων καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἐκαστέρω ἄλλοισι ἄλλα ἔθνεα  
νέμων.

*katasté:sas* *dè* *tàs*  
divide.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG PTCL ART.F.ACC.PL  
*ark<sup>h</sup>às* *kaì* *árk<sup>h</sup>óntas*  
dominion.F.ACC.PL CONJ governor.M.ACC.PL  
*episté:sas,* *etáksato*  
appoint.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG instruct.AOR.IND.MID.3SG  
*p<sup>h</sup>órous* *hwi* *prosiénai* *katà*  
tribute.M.ACC.PL 3SG.DAT come.in.INF.PRES.ACT according.to  
*ét<sup>h</sup>neá* *te* *kaì* *pròs toῖsi*  
nation.N.ACC.PL CONJ CONJ near ART.N.DAT.PL  
*ét<sup>h</sup>nesi* *toùs* *ple:siókh<sup>h</sup>órous*  
nation.N.DAT.PL ART.M.ACC.PL bordering.M.ACC.PL  
*prostássō:n* *kaì*  
attach.to.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG CONJ  
*hyperbáinō:n* *toùs*  
pass.over.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.M.ACC.PL  
*prosek<sup>h</sup>éas* *tà* *hekastéro:*  
next.to.M.ACC.PL ART.N.ACC.PL farther.off.N.ACC.PL

*álloisi*                      *álla*                      *ét<sup>h</sup>nea*  
 other.N.DAT.PL other.N.ACC.PL nation.N.ACC.PL  
*némo:n*.

distribute.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG

'After arranging the provinces and setting up governors over them, (Darius) ordained that tributes be paid to him according to nation and assigned neighboring peoples to the (main) nations. And, passing over adjacent peoples (i.e., as he got further away from the center of the province), (he) distributed the more distant peoples among the provinces.'

3.89.1

b. Sub-QUD: *How were satrapies and revenue divided?*

ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσσδον τὴν ἐπέτειον [κατὰ τάδε]<sub>F</sub> διεῖλε.

*ark<sup>h</sup>às*                      *dè*                      *kaì*                      *p<sup>h</sup>óron*

province.F.ACC.PL PTCL CONJ tribute.M.GEN.PL

*prósōdon*                      *tē:n*                      *epéteion*                      [*katà*

revenue.F.ACC.SG ART.F.ACC.SG annual.F.ACC.SG according.to

*táde*]<sub>F</sub>                      *dieîle*.

PROX.N.ACC.PL divide.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

'(Darius) divided the provinces and the annual revenue of tributes [as follows]<sub>F</sub>.'

3.89.2

With the ascent of Darius to the Persian throne at 3.89, a new QUD is introduced into the discourse, namely *What did Darius do?* The king divides the empire into satrapies, each of which is required to pay a tribute. The question of what each satrapy is to pay is then evoked with (5.8.b). This is the selfsame multiple-*wh* QUD that we identified in (5.4), to which Herodotus offers a pair-list answer, as illustrated by the first entry:

(5.9) QUD: *Who paid what tribute?*

Sub-QUD: *What did the first satrapy contribute?*

[ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἴωνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων]<sub>CT</sub> (εἷς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένος οὗτος φόρος) προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου.

[*apò mèn dè: Iónon*                      *kaì*                      *Magné:ton*

from PTCL PTCL Ionian.M.GEN.PL CONJ Magnesian.M.GEN.PL

*tō:n*                      *en tē:i*                      *Así:i*                      *kaì*

ART.M.GEN.PL in ART.F.DAT.SG Asia.F.DAT.SG CONJ

*Αἰολέων*                    *καὶ* *Καρῶν*                    *καὶ* *Λυκίων*  
 Aeolian.M.GEN.PL CONJ Carian.M.GEN.PL CONJ Lycian.M.GEN.PL  
*καὶ* *Μιλυέων*                    *καὶ* *Παμφύλων*]<sub>CT</sub>  
 CONJ Milyan.M.GEN.PL CONJ Pamphylian.M.GEN.PL  
 (*ἑῖς*                    *γὰρ* *ἔν*                    *ἡοὶ*  
 one.M.NOM.SG EXPL be.IMPFF.IND.ACT.3SG 3SG.DAT  
*τεταγμένως*                    *ἡούτως*  
 assign.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.NOM.SG MED.M.NOM.SG  
*πῆρας*)                    *προσῆιε*  
 tribute.M.NOM.SG come.in.IMPFF.IND.ACT.3SG  
*τετρακόσια*                    *τάλαντα*                    *αργυρίου*.  
 four.hundred.N.NOM.PL talent.N.NOM.PL silver.N.GEN.SG  
 ‘[The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans,  
 and Pamphylians]<sub>CT</sub> (for one tribute was required of them) paid a  
 revenue of four hundred talents of silver.’

3.90.1

The sentence opens with a prepositional phrase identifying the satrapy, which is followed by the amount of the tribute. The particle μέν signals that this satrapy belongs to a set of satrapies that are under discussion. While this example has no clausal clitic to demonstrate the preposed status of the initial prepositional phrase (for other examples of this sort, see, e.g., 1.211.3, 2.82–2.84, 7.86.1–7.86.2), elsewhere we do have this evidence:

(5.10) QUD: *Who paid what tribute?*

Sub-QUD: *What did the ninth satrapy contribute?*

[ἀπὸ Βαβυλωνῶνος=δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίας]<sub>CT</sub> χίλια=οἱ προσῆιε τέλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἐκτομίαι πεντακόσιοι.

[*apò* *Babylōnōnos=de*                    *καὶ* *tēs*                    *loipēs*  
 from Babylon.F.GEN.SG=PTCL CONJ ART.F.GEN.SG rest.F.GEN.SG  
*Assyriēs*]<sub>CT</sub>                    *khiliá=hoi*

Assyria.F.GEN.SG thousand.N.NOM.PL=3SG.DAT  
*prosēie*                    *talanta*                    *argyriou*                    *καὶ*  
 come.in.IMPFF.IND.ACT.3SG talent.N.NOM.PL silver.N.GEN.SG CONJ

*paides*                    *ektomiai*                    *pentakōsioi*.  
 boy.M.NOM.PL castrated.M.NOM.PL five.hundred.M.NOM.PL

‘[From Babylon and the rest of Assyria]<sub>CT</sub>, a thousand talents of silver came in to him and five hundred castrated boys.’

3.92.1

Thus we see that topicalization combined with the discourse particles μέν and δέ semantically denotes a set of a set of propositions (the values of the tributes do not correspond to those in the actual examples above, but are merely for illustration):

- (5.11) {{Satrapy 1 contributed 1000 talents of silver, Satrapy 1 contributed 2000 talents of silver ...}, {Satrapy 2 contributed 1500 talents of silver, Satrapy 2 contributed 1700 talents of silver ...}, {Satrapy 3 contributed 500 talents of silver, Satrapy 3 contributed 2500 talents of silver ...} ...}.

It has to be noted that topicalization is not necessary to achieve this type of semantics, as it does not appear to be the case that Herodotus topicalizes the satrapy phrase in each entry.

The following two examples further illustrate μέν ... δέ contrastive topicalization. They are of particular interest because Herodotus actually reports the QUD:

- (5.12) a. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἴρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῆι προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα.  
*επείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἴρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῆι προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα.*  
 when.COMP PTCL from dinner.N.GEN.SG be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL  
*εἴρετό σφεας ὁ*  
 ask.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG 3PL.C.ACC ART.M.NOM.SG  
*Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῆι*  
 Cyrus.M.NOM.SG whether.COMP REL.N.ACC.PL ART.F.DAT.SG  
*προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἐ: τὰ*  
 previous.F.DAT.SG have.IMP.F.IND.3PL DISJ ART.N.NOM.PL  
*παρέοντα σφῆι*  
 present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.PL 3PL.DAT  
*εἶε: ἡαίρετό:τερα.*  
 be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG preferable.N.NOM.PL  
 ‘When they were done with dinner, Cyrus asked them whether what they had the day before or were having now was preferable to them.’

1.126.3

- b. QUD: *Which was preferable, yesterday's meal or today's?*

οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτέων τὸ μέσον. [τὴν=μέν=γὰρ προτέραν ἡμέραν]<sub>CT</sub> πάντα=σφι κακὰ ἔχειν. [τὴν=δὲ τότε παρεούσαν]<sub>CT</sub> πάντα ἀγαθὰ.  
*ἡοι δὲ ἐφῆσαν πολλὸν*  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL much.N.ACC.SG

*eĩnai*                      *autéw:n*      *tò*  
 be.INF.PRES.ACT 3PL.N.GEN ART.N.ACC.SG  
*méswn.*                      [*tè:n=mèn-gàr*  
 difference.ART.N.ACC.SG. ART.F.ACC.SG=PTCL=EXPL  
*prótère:n*                      *he:mérew:n*]<sub>CT</sub> *pánta=sp<sup>hi</sup>*  
 previous.F.ACC.SG day.F.ACC.SG everything.N.ACC.PL=3PL.DAT  
*kakà*                      *ék<sup>he</sup>in.*                      [*tè:n=dè*                      *tóte*  
 bad.N.ACC.PL have.INF.PRES.ACT ART.F.ACC.SG=PTCL then.ADV  
*parew̄san*]<sub>CT</sub>                      *pánta*  
 present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.ACC.SG everything.N.ACC.PL  
*agathá.*  
 good.N.ACC.PL

‘They said that the difference between them was considerable. [For on the previous day]<sub>CT</sub>, everything was bad for them. [During the present (day)]<sub>CT</sub>, however, everything (has been) good.’

1.126.4

The particle *μέν* reflects the presence of a higher-order QUD (the king’s question), which entails both sub-QUDs as well as initiates the answer sequence.

In the following example, the Lydian king Croesus asks Adrastus, who is indebted to the king, to accompany his son on a hunting expedition. Adrastus replies:

(5.13) QUD: *Will you accompany my son on this hunting expedition?*

a. QUD: *Under other circumstances?*

ὦ βασιλεῦ, [ἄλλως=μὲν]<sub>CT</sub> ἔγωγε=ἄν οὐκ ἦια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε.

ᾖ:                      *basileū*                      [*állw:s=mèn*]<sub>CT</sub>

VOC.PTCL king.M.VOC.SG otherwise.ADV=PTCL

*égw:-ge=àn*                      *ouk*      *é:ia*                      *es*

1SG.NOM.PTCL=MOD NEG go.IMP.F.IND.ACT.1SG into

*áethlon*                      *toiónde.*

arena.N.ACC.SG such.N.ACC.SG

‘O King, [under other circumstances]<sub>CT</sub>, I at least would not go into such an arena.’

1.42.1

b. QUD: *Under the current circumstances?*

[νῦν=δέ]<sub>CT</sub>, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοῖ χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἕτοιμος ταῦτα. παῖδα τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοῖ ἀπονοστήσειν.

[νῦν=δέ]<sub>CT</sub>, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις  
 now.ADV=PTCL since.COMP 2SG.NOM urge.PRES.IND.ACT.2SG  
 καὶ δεῖ τοῖ  
 CONJ be.necessary.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG 2SG.DAT  
 ἠαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε  
 please.INF.PRES.MP owe.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG EXPL 2SG.ACC  
 ἀμείβεσθαι ἡρεστοῖσι), ποιέειν  
 return.INF.PRES.MP good.N.DAT.PL do.INF.PRES.ACT  
 εἰμὶ ἕτοιμος ταῦτα.  
 be.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG ready.M.NOM.SG MED.N.ACC.PL  
 παῖδα τε σόν, τὸν  
 son.M.ACC.SG CONJ your.M.ACC.SG REL.M.ACC.SG  
 διακελεύεαι ἡυλάσειν,  
 order.PRES.IND.MP.2SG protect.INF.PRES.ACT  
 ἀπέμονα τοῦ  
 unharmed.C.ACC.SG ART.M.GEN.SG  
 ἡυλάσσοντος ἡίνεκεν  
 protect.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG because.of  
 προσδόκα τοῖ ἀπονοστήσειν.  
 expect.IMPV.PRES.ACT.2SG PTCL return.INF.FUT.ACT

'But [now]<sub>CT</sub>, since you are eager and I must please you (for I am obliged to repay you with good service), I am ready to do this, and your son, whom you order me to to protect, expect him to return unharmed, thanks to his guard.'

1.42.2

The μέν- and δέ-utterances together offer an exhaustive answer to the higher-order QUD.

5.2.2 *Partial Topic*

Contrastive topics marked exclusively with μέν (known as μέν-*solitarium*, see Denniston 1954: 381–384) are truncated versions of the construction in the preceding section. As there is no corresponding δέ utterance, the μέν-utterance offers only a partial answer to the QUD:

(5.14) QUD: *How many ships could the Aeginetans ward off?*

Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγουσι, Αἰγινήται δὲ οὐ μίῃ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους. [μίαν=μὲν=γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγωι πλεῦνας μῆς]<sub>CT</sub>, καὶ εἴ σφι μὴ ἔτυχον εἶσθαι νέες, ἀπαμύνασθαι=ἂν εὐπετέως. ἀλλὰ [πολλήισι νηυσὶ]<sub>F</sub> ἐπιπλέειν σφι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν. αὐτοὶ δὲ σφι εἶξαι καὶ οὐ διαναυμαχήσαι.

*At<sup>h</sup>ε:naĩoi mèn hούτω: genést<sup>h</sup>ai*

Athenian.M.NOM.PL PTCL thus.ADV happen.INF.AOR.MID

*légousi, Aiginē:tai dè ou*

say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL Aeginetan.M.NOM.PL PTCL NEG

*miē:i nei:i apikést<sup>h</sup>ai*

one.F.DAT.SG ship.F.DAT.SG arrive.INF.AOR.MID

*At<sup>h</sup>ε:naĩous. [mían=μέν=gàr kai olígou*

Athenian.M.ACC.PL. one.F.ACC.SG=PTCL=EXPL CONJ little.N.DAT.SG

*pleúnas miē:s]<sub>CT</sub>, kai eí sp<sup>h</sup>i mē:*

more.F.ACC.PL one.F.GEN.SG even.ADV if.COMP 3PL.DAT NEG

*étykhōn eũsai*

happen.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.PL

*nées, apamýnast<sup>h</sup>ai=àn eupetéō:s. allà*

ship.F.NOM.PL ward.off.INF.AOR.MID=MOD easily.ADV but

*[pollē:isi ne:ysi]<sub>F</sub> epipléein sp<sup>h</sup>i*

many.F.DAT.PL ship.F.DAT.PL sail.against.INF.PRES.ACT 3PL.DAT

*epi tē:n khó:re:n. autōi dè sp<sup>h</sup>i*

upon ART.F.ACC.SG land.F.ACC.SG. 3PL.M.NOM PTCL 3PL.DAT

*eĩksai kai ou dianaumakhē:sai.*

yield.INF.AOR.ACT even.ADV NEG fight.at.sea.INF.AOR.ACT

'Athenians say that it happened thus, but Aeginetans say that the Athenians did not arrive in one ship. [For one ship and somewhat more than one]<sub>CT</sub>, they could easily have warded off, even if they didn't happen to have (any) ships. In fact, they attacked their coast [with many ships]<sub>F</sub>. They yielded to them even without a sea battle.'

5.86.1

In the first sentence, the phrase *μίῃ νηὶ* evokes the set {ships}. In the following sentence, we have the contrastive topic *μίαν καὶ ὀλίγωι πλεῦνας μῆς*, which is marked with *μὲν*. This has the same semantics as the contrastive topicalization examples in the preceding section: it provides a partial answer to a question like *How many ships could the Aeginetans ward off?* Implicature obviates the need for a complement *δέ*-utterance. The scalar implicature (via the Maxim of Quantity) of this question supplies the rest of the answer: anything beyond *ὀλίγωι πλεῦνας μῆς* the Aeginetans would not have been able to ward off.

### 5.2.3 Entailed QUD

Just as a contrastive topic can be marked exclusively with μέν, so too can it be marked exclusively with δέ. Contrastive topics marked solely with δέ reflect a different discourse context: the two-tiered QUD that characterized the examples in section 5.1 has not been previously evoked in the discourse, but is rather triggered by the use of the δέ-marked contrastive topic itself.

Before considering the Greek examples, it will again be useful to begin with more familiar territory:

(5.15) *Inferred set*

This I don't call cooking, when you go in that refrigerator and get some beans and drop them in a pot. And TV dinners<sub>i</sub>, they go stick them<sub>i</sub> in a pot and she says she cooked. This is not cooking. (Prince 1997: 7)

Birner and Ward (1998) refer to this type of construction as *inferred-set topicalization*. In their framework, the preposed noun phrase *TV dinners* signals the membership of the referent in a contextually-relevant set. But since there is no explicitly evoked set, the hearer has to pair the preposed entity with a previously-mentioned referent (here, *beans*), and construct a set to which they both belong ( $\{x \mid x \text{ is a food whose preparation does not constitute cooking}\}$ ). In contrast to example (5.7), where the set containing the three groups of mice was explicitly evoked, in (5.15) the addressee has to build the set.

Another way to state this insight is to say that in the inferred-topic construction a second-order QUD has not been established at the time of topicalization, but is nevertheless entailed by the discourse. Consider the following examples from Herodotus' discussion of Egyptian religious observances:

(5.16) QUD: *What are the religious customs of the Egyptians?*

a. Sub-QUD: *What benefits do they receive?*

οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκητῶν τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφί  
ἐστι ἱρὰ πεσσόμενα. καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλῆθος τι ἐκάστωι  
γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἐκάστης. δίδονται δέ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος.

|                          |               |                            |              |              |                     |                       |      |     |       |     |
|--------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------|-----|-------|-----|
| οὔ-τε                    | τι            | γὰρ                        | τῶν          | οἰκητῶν      | οὔτε                | δαπανῶνται,           | ἀλλὰ | καὶ | σιτία | σφί |
| NEG-CONJ                 | INDF.N.ACC.SG | EXPL                       | ART.N.GEN.PL | OWN.N.GEN.PL | NEG-CONJ            | spend.PRES.IND.MP.3PL |      |     |       |     |
| <i>tríbousi</i>          |               |                            |              |              | <i>οὔ-τε</i>        | <i>dapanōntai,</i>    |      |     |       |     |
| consume.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL |               |                            |              |              | NEG-CONJ            | spend.PRES.IND.MP.3PL |      |     |       |     |
| <i>allà</i>              | <i>καὶ</i>    | <i>σιτία</i>               |              | <i>σφί</i>   | <i>ἐστι</i>         |                       |      |     |       |     |
| but                      | even.ADV      | bread.N.NOM.PL             |              | 3PL.DAT      | be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG |                       |      |     |       |     |
| <i>hirà</i>              |               | <i>peσσόμενα.</i>          |              | <i>καὶ</i>   |                     |                       |      |     |       |     |
| sacred.N.NOM.PL          |               | cook.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.NOM.PL |              | CONJ         |                     |                       |      |     |       |     |

*κρεῖς:ν*                      *βοέων*                      *καὶ*                      *κῆεινέων*  
 flesh.N.GEN.PL      cow.N.GEN.PL      CONJ      goose.N.GEN.PL  
*πλεῖτῆός*                      *τι*                      *hekástō:i*  
 quantity.N.NOM.SG      INDF.N.NOM.SG      each.M.DAT.SG  
*gínetai*                                              *πολλόν*                      *he:méres*  
 become.PRES.IND.MP.3SG      much.N.NOM.SG      day.F.GEN.SG  
*hekástēs.*                      *dídōtai*                      *δέ*                      *sp<sup>hi</sup>*                      *καὶ*  
 each.F.GEN.SG      give.PRES.IND.MP.3SG      PTCL      3PL.DAT      also.ADV  
*οἴνωσ*                                              *ampélinōs.*  
 wine.M.NOM.SG      belonging.to.vine.M.NOM.SG

‘They neither consume nor spend any of their own (private) resources on their living expenses, but even bread, which is sacred, is cooked for them, and every day they each get a sizable quantity of beef and goose. Wine from the vine is also given to them.’

2.37.4

b. Sub-QUD: *What meat do they eat?*

Sub-Sub-QUD: *Do they eat fish?*

[ιχθύων>δῆ]<sub>CT</sub> [οὔ]<sub>F</sub> σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι.

[ik<sup>h</sup>thýō:n>dē]<sub>CT</sub> [oú]<sub>F</sub> sp<sup>hi</sup> éksesti

fish.M.GEN.PL>PTCL      NEG>3PL.DAT      be.allowed.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
*pásast<sup>h</sup>ai.*

eat.INF.AOR.MID

‘[Fish]<sub>CT</sub>, however, they are [not]<sub>F</sub> allowed to eat.’

2.37.4

(5.17) a. QUD: *When do they eat the rest of the pork?*

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα [σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἄν τὰ ἱρὰ θύωσιν]<sub>F</sub>.

*tà*                      *dè*                      *álla*                      *kréa*

ART.N.ACC.PL      PTCL      N.ACC.PL      flesh.N.ACC.PL

[sitéontai                      en tē:i                      panselé:now:i                      en

eat.PRES.IND.MP.3PL      in      ART.F.DAT.SG      full.moon.F.DAT.SG      in

tē:i                      àn      tà                      hirà

ART.F.DAT.SG      MOD      ART.N.ACC.PL      sacred.N.ACC.PL

t<sup>h</sup>ýō:sin]<sub>F</sub>.

sacrifice.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3PL

‘The remaining meat they eat on the night of the full moon whenever they make sacrifice.’

2.47.3

b. Sub-QUD: *Do they eat the pork on another day?*

[(ἐν ἄλλῃ)ω≠δὲ ἡμέρῃ]CT [οὐκ=ἄν ἔτι γευσαίατο]F.

[(en állei)ω≠dè hēimérei]CT [ouk=àn éti

on other.F.DAT.SG≠PTCL day.F.DAT.SG NEG≠MOD yet.ADV

geusaíato]F.

taste.AOR.OPT.MID.3PL

‘[On another day]CT, they [wouldn’t even taste it]F.’

2.47:3

In both of these examples, we have contrastive topicalization, but in contrast to the examples in section 5.2.1 only one of the contrastive topics is preposed. This is a result of the discourse structure: the sub-QUD that is answered with contrastive topicalization is inferred from the preceding sentence and has not been explicitly evoked.

The two examples above provide concrete illustrations of these properties. In example (5.16.a), Herodotus is discussing the benefits of Egyptian religious life and the information given contributes to a question such as *What benefits do they receive?* That sizable quantities of beef and goose are provided in turn raises the question of *What meat do they eat?* We already have a partial answer to this question (namely, beef and goose), and we are given further information in (5.16.b): they are not allowed to eat fish. Fish then stands in contrast to beef and goose. The question *What meat do they eat?* has not, however, been exhaustively answered.

Example (5.17) also comes from Herodotus’ exposé of Egyptian religion. He has just explained that when Egyptians sacrifice pigs certain parts of the animal are consigned to the fire. The QUD in (5.17.a) then asks about the other parts of the animal. The answer is that they consume the rest during the sacrifice at the time of the full moon. Example (5.17.b) then takes up the question of whether there are other days on which they eat the pork. The goal of the discourse is not to exhaustively map all the parts of the pig to all the times on which they are consumed (hence a QUD such as *When do they eat what parts of the pig?* is not evoked). Rather the aim is to say that the parts that are not thrown to the fire are eaten during a full moon and not on other days.

#### 5.2.4 *Entailed QUD versus High Adverbials*

In section 4.4.3 above, I presented evidence that adverbials that adjoin to S/CP stand outside of the second-position domain of clausal clitics. There are cases in which it is difficult to discern whether a clitic is postponed by a high-adjoined adverbial or a topicalized phrase:

- (5.18) a. Ἀρισταγόρης δὲ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῷ Ἄρταφρένει ἐκτελέσαι.  
[ἄμα>δὲ] ἐπίεζε>μιν ἢ δαπάνη τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπαιτεομένη, ἀρρώδεέ τε τοῦ  
στρατοῦ πρήξαντος κακῶς καὶ Μεγαβάτη διαβεβλημένος.

*Aristagóre:s*                      *dè*    *ouk*    *eík<sup>h</sup>e*  
Aristagoras.M.NOM.SG PTCL NEG have.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
*tè:n*                      *hypósk<sup>h</sup>esin*                      *tō:i*  
ART.F.ACC.SG promise.F.ACC.SG ART.M.DAT.SG  
*Artaph<sup>h</sup>rénei*                      *ektelésai.*  
Artaphrenes.M.DAT.SG fulfill.INF.AOR.ACT  
[*háma>dè*]                                      *epíezdè>min*  
simultaneously.ADV>PTCL press.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG>3SG.ACC  
*he:*                      *dapáne:*                      *tēs*                      *stratiēs*  
ART.F.NOM.SG cost.F.NOM.SG ART.F.GEN.SG army.F.GEN.SG  
*apaitēomēne:,*                                      *arrō:deé*  
demand.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.NOM.SG dread.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
*te*    *tw*                      *stratō*  
CONJ ART.M.GEN.SG army.M.GEN.SG  
*pré:ksantōs*                                      *kakō:s*    *kai*  
fare.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG badly.ADV CONJ  
*Megabáte:i*                                      *diabeble:ménōs.*  
Megabates.M.DAT.SG be.at.odds.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.NOM.SG  
'Aristagoras was unable to fulfill his promise to Artaphrenes. At  
the same time, the cost of the army was draining him, and he was  
afraid because the army had fared badly and he was at odds with  
Megabates.'

5-35-1

- b. παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν. [ὀπισθε>δὲ]  
εἴπετό>οἱ ὁ φονεὺς.

*parē:san*                                      *dè*    *metà twtō*  
be.present.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL PTCL after MED.N.ACC.SG  
*hoi*                                      *Lydōi*  
ART.M.NOM.PL Lydian.M.NOM.PL  
*phérōntes*                                      *tōn*                      *nekrōn.*  
carry.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL ART.M.ACC.SG corpse.M.ACC.SG  
[*ōpisthē>dè*]                                      *heípētō>hoi*  
from.behind.ADV>PTCL follow.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG>3SG.DAT  
*ho*                                      *phōneús.*  
ART.M.NOM.SG murderer.M.NOM.SG



(5.19) a. QUD: *What happened to Cimon Coalemus?*

καί μιν ἀνελόμενον τῆσι αὐτῆσι ἵπποισι ἄλλην Ὀλυμπιάδα κατέλαβε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν Πεισιστράτου παίδων, οὐκέτι περιεόντος αὐτοῦ Πεισιστράτου.

*kaí min anelómenon tē:isi*  
 CONJ 3SG.ACC take.up.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.ACC.SG ART.F.DAT.PL  
*autē:isi híppōisi álle:n*  
 same.F.DAT.PL horse.F.DAT.PL other.F.ACC.SG  
*Olympiáda katélabē apot<sup>h</sup>aneîn*  
 Olympiad.F.ACC.SG befall.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG die.INF.AOR.ACT  
*hypò tō:n Peisistrátou paídō:n,*  
 by ART.M.GEN.PL Peisistratus.M.GEN.SG son.M.GEN.PL  
*ouk-éti perieóntōs*  
 NEG-still.ADV be.around.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG  
*autōũ Peisistrátou.*  
 self.M.GEN.SG Peisistratus.M.GEN.SG

'And after he (= Cimon Coalemus) won another Olympiad with the same horses, it befell (him) to die at the hands of the sons of the Peisistratids, although Peisistratus himself was no longer alive.'

6.103.3

b. QUD: *What happened to Cimon Coalemus?*

Sub-QUD: *How did they kill him?*

[κτείνουσι=δὲ]<sub>CT</sub> οὐτοίμιν κατὰ τὸ πρυτανήιον νυκτὸς ὑπέισαντες ἄνδρας.

[*kteínousi=dē*]<sub>CT</sub> *hou̯toí=min katà*  
 kill.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL≠PTCL MED.M.NOM.PL≠3SG.ACC at  
*tò prytané:ion nyktòs*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG Prytaneum.N.ACC.SG night.F.GEN.SG  
*hypeísantes ándras.*  
 place.secretly.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL man.M.ACC.PL

'They [killed]<sub>CT</sub> him at the Prytaneum at night, having placed men in ambush.'

6.103.3

c. QUD: *What happened to Cimon Coalemus?*

Sub-QUD: *Where did they bury him?*

[τέθαπται=δὲ]<sub>CT</sub> Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς Διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ.

[*tétʰaptai=dè*]<sub>CT</sub>                      *Kímon*                      *prò*  
bury.PERF.IND.MP.3SG>PTCL Cimon.M.NOM.SG in.front.of  
*τῷ*                      *άστεος,*                      *πέρε:ν* *τέ:s*                      *Διά*  
ART.N.GEN.SG TOWN.N.GEN.SG ACROSS ART.F.GEN.SG through  
*Κοίλε:s*                      *καλεσμένε:s*                      *ἡδὸυ.*  
hollow.F.GEN.SG call.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.GEN.SG road.F.GEN.SG  
‘Cimon [has been buried]<sub>CT</sub> in front of the town, on the other side of  
the road called “Through (the) Hollow.”’

6.103.3

Contrastive topicalization is used in these examples to highlight particular events, the killing and burial, which are members of the set of events that constitute the end of Cimon’s life.

### 5.3 QUD Termination

Topicalization can also be used to mark the boundary of a QUD in discourse (cf. Velleman et al. 2012). This construction is characterized by an anaphoric expression and the particle *μέν*:

(5.20) *QUD Termination: Preposed Pronouns*

a. QUD: *What evened the score for the Greeks?*

[*ταῦτα μέν δῆ*]<sub>Top</sub> ἴσα πρὸς ἴσασφι γενέσθαι.  
[*taũta mèn dè:*]<sub>Top</sub> *ísa pròs*  
MED.N.ACC.PL PTCL PTCL equal.N.ACC.PL to  
*ísa=spʰi*                      *genéstʰai.*  
equal.N.ACC.PL=3PL.DAT become.INF.AOR.MID  
‘[These things]<sub>Top</sub>, then, evened the score for them (= the Greeks).’

1.2.1

b. QUD: *What do the Persians and Phoenicians say?*

[*ταῦτα μέν νυν*]<sub>Top</sub> Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι.  
[*taũta mèn nyn*]<sub>Top</sub> *Pérsai te kai*  
MED.N.ACC.PL PTCL PTCL Persian.M.NOM.PL CONJ CONJ  
*Phoínikes*                      *légousi.*  
Phoenician.M.NOM.PL say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL  
‘[This]<sub>Top</sub>, then, is what the Persians and Phoenicians say.’

1.5.3

- c. QUD: *What do they consider the most fortunate death?*

[ταῦτα μὲν]<sub>Top</sub> τὰ ὀλβιώτατάσφι νενόμισται.

[*taŭta* *mèn*]<sub>Top</sub> *tà*

MED.N.ACC.PL PTCL ART.N.ACC.PL

*olbiótatátásp<sup>hi</sup>* *nenómistai*.

most.fortunate.N.ACC.PL=3PL.DAT consider.PERF.IND.MP.3SG

‘[This]<sub>Top</sub>, then, is considered by them the most fortunate (death).’

1.216.3

- d. QUD: *What did Cleisthenes do to Adrastus?*

[ταῦτα μὲν]<sub>Top</sub> ἐς Ἄδρηστόν=οἱ ἐπεποιήτο.

[*taŭta* *mèn*]<sub>Top</sub> *es Ádre:stón=hoi*

MED.N.ACC.PL PTCL into Adrastus.M.ACC.SG=3SG.DAT

*epēpoíē:to*.

do.PLPF.IND.MP.3SG

‘[This]<sub>Top</sub>, then, is what he had carried out against Adrastus.’

5.68.1

- e. QUD: *What are Persian kings called in Greek?*

δύναται δὲ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν ταῦτα τὰ οὐνόματα, Δαρειὸς ἐρξίης, Ἐέρξης ἀρήιος, Ἄρτοξέρξης μέγας ἀρήιος. [τούτους μὲν δὴ τοὺς βασιλέας]<sub>Top</sub> ὦδε=ἂν ὀρθῶς κατὰ γλώσσαν τὴν σφετέρην Ἑλληνας καλέοιεν.

*dýnatai* *dè* *katà Helláda*

mean.PRES.IND.MP.3SG PTCL in Greek.F.ACC.SG

*glō:ssan* *taŭta* *tà*

language.F.ACC.SG MED.N.NOM.PL ART.N.NOM.PL

*dunómata,* *Dareĩos* *erksíē:s,*

name.N.NOM.PL Darius.M.NOM.SG achiever.M.NOM.SG

*Ksérkxē:s* *aré:ios,* *Artoksérkxē:s*

Xerxes.M.NOM.SG warlike.M.NOM.SG Artaxerxes.M.NOM.SG

*mégas* *aré:ios.* [*toútous=mèn=dè:*

great.M.NOM.SG warlike.M.NOM.SG. MED.M.ACC.PL=PTCL=PTCL

*tous* *basiléas*]<sub>Top</sub> *hō:de=àn* *ort<sup>hō</sup>:s* *katà*

ART.M.ACC.PL king.M.ACC.PL thus.ADV=MOD rightly.ADV in

*glō:ssan* *tē:n* *sp<sup>h</sup>etére:n*

language.F.ACC.SG ART.F.ACC.SG REFL.3PL.F.ACC

*Héllē:nes* *kaléōien.*

Greek.M.NOM.PL call.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL

'In Greek these names have meaning: Darius is 'achiever,' Xerxes is 'warlike,' and Artaxerxes is 'very warlike.'<sup>4</sup> [These kings]<sub>Top</sub>, the Greeks would rightly call thus in their own language.'

6.98.3

f. QUD: *What happened on Sicily?*

[τὰ μὲν]<sub>Top</sub> ἀπὸ Σικελίης τοσαῦτα.

[tà mèn]<sub>Top</sub> apò Sikeliés tōsaūta.

ART.N.NOM.PL PTCL from Sicily.F.GEN.SG so.much.N.NOM.PL

'[So much]<sub>Top</sub>, then, happened on Sicily.'

7.168.1

g. QUD: *How large was Xerxes' army?*

[οὗτος μὲν δὴ]<sub>Top</sub> τοῦ συνάπαντος τοῦ Ξέρξεω στρατεύματος ἀριθμός.

[hōūtōs mèn dē]<sub>Top</sub> tōū synápantōs

MED.M.NOM.SG PTCL PTCL ART.N.GEN.SG entire.N.GEN.SG

tōū Ksérkseō strateúmatōs

ART.N.GEN.SG Xerxes.M.GEN.SG army.N.GEN.SG

arit<sup>h</sup>mós.

number.M.NOM.SG

'[This]<sub>Top</sub>, then, is the number of the entire force of Xerxes.'

7.187.1

h. QUD: *What did they say?*

ἀλλὰ [ταῦτα μὲν]<sub>Top</sub> καὶ [φθόνωι]<sub>F=ἄν</sub> εἴποιεν.

allà [taūta mèn]<sub>Top</sub> kai [p<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ónōi]<sub>F=àn</sub>

but MED.N.ACC.PL=PTCL even.ADV jealousy.M.DAT.SG=MOD

eípōien.

say.AOR.OPT.ACT.3PL

'But [this]<sub>Top</sub> they may have even said [out of jealousy]<sub>F</sub>.'

9.71.4

4 The Old Persian names are *dārayavahu*- 'upholder of good'; *xšayāršān*- 'hero among rulers'; *artaxšacā*- 'he who rules by truth.'

## (5.21) QUD Termination: Preposed Nouns

- a. QUD: What are their sacrificial rituals?

[θυσίαί μὲν νυν]Top αὐτά&lt;σφι κατεστέασι.

[t<sup>h</sup>ysíai mén nyn]Top haũtaí<sp<sup>hi</sup>

sacrifice.F.NOM.PL PTCL PTCL MED.F.NOM.PL&lt;3PL.DAT

katestéasi.

be.set.PERF.IND.ACT.3PL

'[The sacrificial rituals]Top, then, are these.'

4.63.1

- b. QUD: What was prophesied to them?

[τὰ μὲν χρηστήρια]Top ταὐτά&lt;σφι ἐχρήσθη.

[tà mén k<sup>h</sup>re:sté:ria]Top

ART.N.NOM.PL PTCL prophecy.N.NOM.PL

taũta<sp<sup>hi</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>ré:st<sup>h</sup>e:.

MED.N.NOM.PL&lt;3PL.DAT prophesy.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG

'[The prophecies]Top that were prophesied to them were, then, these.'

9.94.1

This construction canonically takes two forms. In the first, which is illustrated in (5.20), the preposed phrase refers anaphorically to the discourse topic, which the utterance brings to a close. In the second, illustrated in (5.21), the preposed phrase contains a noun, which binds a pronoun in the main clause. The preposed phrase is always marked by μὲν, which is at times complemented by νυν or δῆ (I leave for future research the difference in discourse function between the two). I have attempted to capture the concluding nature of this construction with *then* in the translation. This construction may also be characteristic of written discourse, as, e.g., Traugott and Dasher (2002: 194–195) note that episode-marking is a feature of higher-register discourse.

There is at least one example that deviates from these two patterns:

## (5.22) QUD: How did he honor Megabazus?

[ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσησι]Top ταὐτά&lt;μιν εἶπας ἐτίμα. τότε δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπέλιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὀκτώ μυριάδας.

[en=mén=dè: Pérsē:isi]Top taũta&lt;min

in=PTCL&lt;PTCL Persian.M.DAT.PL MED.N.NOM.PL&lt;3SG.ACC

eipas

etíma.

tóte

say.PTCP.AOR.ACT.NOM.SG honor.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG then.ADV

*dè autòn hypélipe*  
 PTCL 3SG.M.ACC leave.behind.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*strate:gòn ék<sup>h</sup>onta*  
 commander.M.ACC.SG hold.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG  
*tê:s stratiê:s tê:s hε:utōũ*  
 ART.F.GEN.SG army.F.GEN.SG ART.F.GEN.SG REFL.3SG.M.GEN  
*oktō: myriádas.*  
 eight ten.thousand.F.ACC.PL  
 ‘[Among the Persians]<sub>Top</sub>, he<sub>i</sub> (= Darius) honored him<sub>k</sub> (= Megabazus)  
 by saying these things. At that point he<sub>i</sub> left him<sub>k</sub> behind as his com-  
 mander, at the head of eighty thousand of his army.’  
 4.143:3

Earlier in section 4.143 Herodotus mentions that Darius had once honored Megabazus among the Persians. Example (5.22) follows on the exposition of how Darius praised him, which is used to conclude the episode. The second sentence in (5.22) both moves the narrative forward temporally and moves on to a new topic.

#### 5.4 Licensing Subjects

It is well known that the status of a referent in discourse can affect both the type of expression used to describe it, such as an indefinite noun phrase for unfamiliar entities and a definite description for known ones, as well as the syntactic structure of the clause. This section illustrates how the discourse status of subject phrases can trigger preposing.

This section differs from the preceding ones in two crucial aspects. First, it is concerned exclusively with the preposing of subjects. Second, the alternative semantics observed in the constructions above are not present in this class of examples. Instead, topicalization is used to license subjects. The preposed subject phrase standardly co-occurs with *δέ*.

##### 5.4.1 *Discourse-New Subjects*

It has long been recognized that discourse-new referents tend to be non-definite and non-subjects, e.g., Lambrecht (1994: 184–191): “Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause” (cf. Du Bois 1987, Ariel 2008: 57, H. Dik 1995: 19–20, 26). Prince (1997) argues that topicalization can be used to introduce discourse-new subjects in English, as in the following example:

- (5.23) It's supposed to be such a great deal. **The guy<sub>i</sub>**, when he<sub>i</sub> came over and asked if I wanted a route, he made it sound so great. Seven dollars a week for hardly any work. And then you find out the guy told you a bunch of lies. (Prince 1997: 4)

We find the same pattern in the following Greek examples, which all feature discourse-new definite subjects. These are are standardly marked with *δέ* (and never by *μέν*):

- (5.24) a. Sub-QUD: *What did Darius do to the traitors?*

ἐπείτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι εἶη ταῦτα πεπονηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπιδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν. συλλαβῶν δὲ σφέας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ.

*epeíte dè eksémathe hō:s ou*  
 after.COMP PTCL find.out.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG that.COMP NEG  
*syn ekeinōisi eíe: taũta*  
 with DIST.M.DAT.PL be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG MED.N.ACC.PL  
*pepoiēkō:s, élabē*  
 do.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.NOM.SG seize.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*autón te tòn Intaphrēnea kai*  
 3SG.M.ACC CONJ ART.M.ACC.SG Intaphrenes.M.ACC.SG CONJ  
*toùs paídas autōi kai toùs*  
 ART.M.ACC.PL child.M.ACC.PL 3SG.M.GEN CONJ ART.M.ACC.PL  
*oikeíous pantas, elpidas*  
 domestic.M.ACC.PL all.M.ACC.PL suspicion.F.ACC.PL  
*pollàs ékḥ:n metà*  
 many.F.ACC.PL have.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG with  
*tō:n syngenéō:n min epibouléúein*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL kinsman.M.GEN.PL=3SG.ACC plot.INF.PRES.ACT  
*hōi epanástasin. syllabō:n*  
 3SG.DAT rebellion.F.ACC.SG arrest.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*dè sphéas éde:se tē:n epì*  
 PTCL 3PL.C.ACC bind.AOR.IND.3SG ART.F.ACC.SG to  
*tḥanátō:i.*  
 death.M.DAT.SG

'After (Darius<sub>i</sub>) found out that (he<sub>k</sub>) did not do this with them, he<sub>i</sub> seized Intaphrenes<sub>k</sub> himself along with his<sub>k</sub> children and all his<sub>k</sub> domestic staff, since he<sub>i</sub> had many suspicions that he<sub>k</sub> was plotting a



*k<sup>h</sup>rē:ma*,            *en dē tō:i*            *érgo:i*  
 thing.N.ACC.SG in PTCL ART.N.DAT.SG action.N.DAT.SG  
*t<sup>h</sup>rasys*            *éie:*  
 bold.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG

‘[A real man]<sub>Top</sub> would as follows be excellent: if while making plans he is timid, because he takes into account all that may happen to him, but in action (he) is bold.’

7.49.5

The subject of this generic statement is discourse-new and therefore not licensed as a clause-internal subject. This example also illustrates the possibility of topicalizing non-definite subjects (see further Ward and Prince 1991).

The next set of examples concerns oracular consultation and offers a subtle twist on the above pattern. Such scenes follow a fairly scripted discourse structure in Herodotus, whereby one sentence says that someone consulted the oracle at Delphi, and a subsequent sentence then introduces the content of the oracular response:

- (5.26) a. οἶα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθενήθησαν. καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηρίαζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χωρῇ.

*hoiā dē en te k<sup>h</sup>ō:rei i agathē:i kai*  
 as.COMP PTCL in CONJ land.F.DAT.SG good.F.DAT.SG CONJ  
*plē:t<sup>h</sup>ei ouk oligo:n andrō:n, anā te*  
 number.N.DAT.SG NEG few.M.GEN.PL man.M.GEN.PL up CONJ  
*édramōn autika kai*  
 run.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL immediately.ADV CONJ  
*eut<sup>h</sup>enē:t<sup>h</sup>ē:san, kai dé: sp<sup>h</sup>i ouk-éti*  
 prosper.AOR.IND.PASS.3PL CONJ PTCL 3PL.DAT NEG-still.ADV  
*apék<sup>h</sup>ra he:syk<sup>h</sup>ie:n ágein,*  
 be.enough.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG quiet.F.ACC.SG lead.INF.PRES.ACT  
*allā kataphronēsantes Arkádo:n*  
 but assume.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL Arcadian.M.GEN.PL  
*kréssones eīnai*  
 better.C.NOM.PL be.INF.PRES.ACT  
*ek<sup>h</sup>re:ste:riázōntō en Delp<sup>h</sup>ōisi epì*  
 consult.oracle.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL in Delphi.M.DAT.PL for  
*pásei tē:i Arkádo:n k<sup>h</sup>ō:rē:i.*  
 all.F.DAT.SG ART.F.DAT.SG Arcadian.M.GEN.PL land.F.DAT.SG

‘As they were in a good land and had plenty of men, immediately they both flourished and prospered. And it was no longer enough for them to live in peace, but, presuming that they were better than the Arcadians, they asked the oracle at Delphi for all the land of the Arcadians.’

1.66.1

b. QUD: *What did the Pythia prophesy?*(ἡ δὲ Πυθίη)<sub>ω</sub> σφι χραῖ τάδε.(he: dè Pythíē)<sub>ω</sub> sp<sup>h</sup>i

ART.F.NOM.SG PTCL Pythia.F.NOM.SG=3PL.DAT

k<sup>h</sup>rāi

táde.

prophesy.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG PROX.N.ACC.PL

‘The Pythia prophesies to them the following.’

1.66.2

In (5.26.b), the clitic pronoun σφι occurs after the subject ἡ δὲ Πυθίη, which I presume is one prosodic word. In all examples where we have a root clause like that above saying essentially ‘The Pythia prophesied to them the following’ with a clitic pronoun, the clitic pronoun occurs after the subject NP if Delphi has been previously mentioned (1.55.2, 1.66.2, 1.67.2, 1.85.2, 1.174.5, 4.156.2, 4.157.2, 4.163.2, 5.43.1, 5.82.1, 6.34.2). When Delphi is not mentioned, however, then the subject NP is preposed:

(5.27) a. ὅτε ὦν ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν.

hóte ò:n epoiēũnto tòn

when.COMP PTCL make.IMP.F.IND.MP.3PL ART.M.ACC.SG

t<sup>h</sup>e:saurón, ek<sup>h</sup>rēo:nto tō:i

treasure.M.ACC.SG consult.IMP.F.IND.MP.3PL ART.M.DAT.SG

k<sup>h</sup>re:ste:río:i ei autoĩsi tà

oracle.M.DAT.SG if.COMP 3PL.M.DAT ART.N.NOM.PL

pareónta agathà

present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.PL good.N.NOM.PL

hōiá te estì pollòn k<sup>h</sup>rónon

be.able.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG much.M.ACC.SG time.M.ACC.SG

paraménein.

abide.INF.PRES.ACT

‘When they were compiling the treasure, they asked the oracle if their present good circumstances would last for a long time.’

3.57.3

b. QUD: *What did the Pythia prophesy?*[ἡ δὲ Πυθίη]<sub>TOP</sub> ἔχρησέσφι τάδε.[he: dè Pythíē:]<sub>TOP</sub>

ART.F.NOM.SG PTCL Pythia.F.NOM.SG

ék<sup>h</sup>re:sésp<sup>h</sup>i táde.

prophesy.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG≈3PL.DAT PROX.N.ACC.PL

'[The Pythia]<sub>TOP</sub>, she prophesied the following to them.'

3-57-3

It appears that reference to Delphi (as in the phrase ἐν Δελφοῖσι) concomitantly activates the Pythian priestess, so that the phrase ἡ δὲ Πυθίη does not need to be preposed. By contrast, if there is no mention of Delphi, then ἡ δὲ Πυθίη is treated as new to the discourse, and preposing is triggered.

5.4.2 *Subject Switch*

When the subject of the clause refers back to a grammatically oblique noun in the preceding utterance, the subject phrase is typically preposed and marked with δέ (relevant coreferential and non-coreferential phrases appear in bold-face):<sup>5</sup>

(5.28) a. QUD: *What did Athena do out of anger toward her father?*

τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης καὶ μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἑωυτὴν τῷ Δί.

tē:n dè Athē:náíē:n p<sup>h</sup>asì

ART.F.ACC.SG PTCL Athena.F.ACC.AG say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL

Pōseidō:nos eĩnai t<sup>h</sup>ygatéra kai

Poseidon.M.GEN.SG be.INF.PRES.ACT daughter.F.ACC.AG CONJ

tē:s Tritonídōs límne:s kai min

ART.F.GEN.SG Tritonis.F.GEN.SG lake.F.GEN.SG CONJ 3SG.ACC

memp<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>eĩsán ti tō:i

blame.PTCP.AOR.PASS.F.ACC.SG INDF.N.ACC.SG ART.M.DAT.SG

patrì doũnai heo:utē:n

father.M.DAT.SG give.INF.AOR.ACT REFL.3SG.F.ACC

tō:i Dí.

ART.M.DAT.SG Zeus.M.DAT.SG

5 This section is inspired by the insights of Centering Theory (Grosz, Joshi, and Weinstein 1995, Beaver, Wolters, and Zeevat 2004). The analysis here has been presented informally for accessibility, but it could easily be translated into a formal framework.

‘Athena they say was a daughter of Poseidon and lake Tritonis, and that, being angry at her father, she gave herself to Zeus.’

4.180.5

b. QUD: *What did Zeus do?*

[τὸν δὲ Δία]<sub>Top</sub> ἔωυτοῦ=μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα.

[tòn dè Día]<sub>Top</sub> he:utõ=min

ART.M.ACC.SG PTCL Zeus.M.ACC.SG REFL.3SG.M.GEN=3SG.ACC

poié:sast<sup>h</sup>ai t<sup>h</sup>ygatéra.

make.INF.AOR.MID daughter.F.ACC.SG

‘[Zeus]<sub>Top</sub> in turn made her his daughter.’

4.180.5

The subject τὸν δὲ Δία in (5.28.b) appears as oblique τῷ Δί in (5.28.a), so it is therefore preposed. This construction is often found with preposed ὁ δέ:

- (5.29) a. τῇ δὲ δὴ ὄγδοῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημοκῆδεος τὴν τέχνην ἐσαγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ. [ὁ δὲ]<sub>Top</sub> ἄγειν=μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ’ ἑωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε.

tē:i dè dē: ogdōi he:mérei

ART.F.DAT.SG PTCL PTCL eighth.F.DAT.SG day.F.DAT.SG

ék<sup>h</sup>ontí hōi p<sup>h</sup>laúros,

have.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.SG 3SG.DAT poorly.ADV

parakóusas

tis

hear.by.chance.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG INDF.C.NOM.SG

próteron éti en Sárdisi tōi

before.ADV already.ADV in Sardis.F.DAT.SG ART.M.GEN.SG

Krōtō:nié:teō: Demokédē:deos tē:n

Crotonian.M.GEN.SG Democedes.M.GEN.SG ART.F.ACC.SG

ték<sup>h</sup>ne:n esangéllēi tō:i

skill.F.ACC.SG report.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.DAT.SG

Dareíō:i [hō dē]<sub>Top</sub>

Darius.M.DAT.SG 3SG.M.NOM PTCL

ágein=min tē:n tak<sup>h</sup>iste:n

bring.INF.PRES.ACT=3SG.ACC ART.F.ACC.SG quickest.F.ACC.SG

par’ he:utòn ekéleuse.

to REFL.3SG.M.ACC order.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

‘On the eighth day, when he was doing poorly, someone who had earlier by chance heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton





*Amph<sup>h</sup>iárew:s*                      *dià*                      *k<sup>h</sup>re:ste:ríw:n*  
 Amphiareus.M.NOM.SG through oracle.N.GEN.PL  
*ποιέúμενω:s*                                              *hokótera*  
 make.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG which.of.two.N.ACC.PL  
*βούλονται*                                              *helést<sup>h</sup>ai*                                              *τούτω:n*,  
 want.PRES.IND.MP.3PL choose.INF.AOR.MID MED.M.GEN.PL  
*he:w:utō:i*                                              *è: háte*                                              *mánti*  
 REFL.3SG.M.DAT DISJ as.COMP prophet.M.DAT.SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>rē:st<sup>h</sup>ai*                                              *è: háte*                                              *symmák<sup>h</sup>ō:i*,  
 make.use.INF.PRES.MP DISJ as.COMP ally.M.DAT.SG  
*τωũ*                                              *hetérw*  
 ART.M.GEN.SG other.M.GEN.SG  
*apek<sup>h</sup>ōménow:s*.  
 keep.away.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.ACC.PL  
 ‘Communicating by an oracle, Amphiareus<sub>i</sub> ordered **them** (= the Thebans) to choose which of these they wanted and forgo the other, either to have him<sub>i</sub> as an ally or as a prophet.’

8.134.2

b. QUD: *Which did they choose?*

[οί δέ]<sub>Top</sub> σύμμαχόν=μιν εἶλοντο εἶναι.  
 [*hōi*                      *dē*]<sub>Top</sub> *sýmmak<sup>h</sup>ōn=min*  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL ally.M.ACC.SG=3SG.ACC  
*heilōntō*                                              *eînai*.  
 choose.AOR.IND.MID.3PL be.INF.PRES.ACT  
 ‘[They]<sub>Top</sub> chose that he should be their ally.’

8.134.2

Preposing can be triggered not just between sentences, but also between clauses, a phenomenon known in the philological literature as “apodotic δέ” (Denniston 1954: 177–185):

- (5.31) *εἰ μὲν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλια ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, [οἱ δέ]<sub>Top</sub> οὐκ=ἄν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμμων ταύτης εἶνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας.*  
*ei*                      *mén nyn Periándrou*  
 if.COMP PTCL PTCL Periander.M.GEN.SG  
*teleuté:santō:s*                                              *toῖsi*                                              *Korinthíoisi*  
 die.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.GEN.SG ART.M.DAT.PL Corinthian.M.DAT.PL





*pynt<sup>h</sup>ánetai=min*

find.out.PRES.IND.MP.3SG≠3SG.ACC

*ék<sup>h</sup>usan.*

wear.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.ACC.SG

'But as (Xerxes) could not persuade (Artaynte<sub>i</sub>), he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery. And [Amestris<sub>k</sub>]<sub>Top</sub>, (she<sub>k</sub>) found out that she<sub>i</sub> was wearing (it).'

9.109.3–9.110.1

In both examples, the subject of the verb of the final sentence is preposed, and in neither case is the preposed subject the subject of the (finite) verb of the preceding sentence. It seems then that the conjunction *καί* in combination with a preposed subject phrase functions like *δέ* with a preposed subject phrase, as we have in examples (5.28)–(5.30).

The use of *καί* may somehow be related to the fact that the events described in the final sentences are narratively important. A number of scholars have in fact claimed that the preposing of the subject in example (5.32.a) is designed to create suspense (Slings 2002: 63, H. Dik 2007: 19, Krisch 1990: 66 n. 4, Ruijgh 1990: 229, Luraghi 2013: 186–187). If there was an intonational break after *ἡ γυνή*, that may well have had such an effect. But I see no reason to assign a suspense-creating function to subject preposing per se. Subject preposing in (5.32) is conditioned by the status of the subject in the discourse. To whatever extent an effect such as suspense existed in example (5.32.a), it had to arise as a product of the narrative context and (perhaps) the use of *καί*, but not subject preposing itself.

There is at least one example of an apparent topic switch that occurs with neither conjunction nor particle:

(5.33) ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγωι ἐδόκεε ἄλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, [Ἄστυάγης]<sub>Top</sub> εἴρετό=μιν εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῆι θοίνῃ.

*hɔ:s dɛ tɔ:i Harpágo:i*

when.COMP PTCL ART.M.DAT.SG Harpagus.M.DAT.SG

*edókeε hális ék<sup>h</sup>ein*

seem.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG enough.ADV have.INF.PRES.ACT

*tɛ:s bɔrɛ:s, [Astyáge:s]<sub>Top</sub>*

ART.F.GEN.SG food.F.GEN.SG Astyages.M.NOM.SG

*éiretó=min ei he:st<sup>h</sup>eíe:*

ask.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG≠3SG.ACC if.COMP enjoy.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG

*ti tɛ:i t<sup>h</sup>óine:i*

INDF.N.ACC.SG ART.F.DAT.SG meal.F.DAT.SG

‘When Harpagus seemed to have had enough food, [Astyages]<sub>Top</sub> asked him whether he enjoyed the meal any.’

1.119.5

It is not yet clear whether bare preposing suffices in this case because the subject switch takes place within one sentence, that is, from Harpagus in the adjoined clause, to Astyages in the main clause.

In contrast to the preceding examples, some cases of subject switch do not trigger preposing (the relevant referents occur in boldface):

- (5.34) a. ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδηι ποταμῶι, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι. ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην. ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν, ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος, ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἰρῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβάς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο.
- epéite dè hō Kŷros*  
 when.COMP PTCL ART.M.NOM.SG Cyrus.M.NOM.SG  
*πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν*  
 march.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG to ART.F.ACC.SG  
*Babylō:na ἐγένετο ἐπὶ*  
 Babylon.F.ACC.SG happen.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG upon  
*Γύνδηι ποταμῶι, τῷ*  
 Gyndes.M.DAT.SG river.M.DAT.SG REL.M.GEN.SG ART.F.NOM.PL  
*μὲν πεγαὶ ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι*  
 PTCL stream.F.NOM.PL in Matienian.N.DAT.PL  
*ὄρεσι. ῥέει δὲ διὰ*  
 mountain.N.DAT.PL flow.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG PTCL through  
*Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοί δὲ ἐς*  
 Dardanean.M.GEN.PL issue.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG PTCL to  
*ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρη.ν. ἡ*  
 other.M.ACC.SG river.M.ACC.SG Tigris.M.ACC.SG 3SG.M.NOM  
*δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιν πόλιν*  
 PTCL past Opis.F.ACC.SG city.F.ACC.SG  
*ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν*  
 flow.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG in ART.F.ACC.SG red.F.ACC.SG  
*θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. τοῦτον δὲ:*  
 sea.F.ACC.SG issue.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG MED.M.ACC.SG PTCL  
*τὸν Γύνδη.ν ποταμὸν, ἡς*  
 M.ACC.SG Gyndes.M.ACC.SG river.M.ACC.SG when.COMP

*diabaínein*                    *επειράτω*                    *ἡ*  
 cross.INF.PRES.ACT try.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
*Κῦρος,*                    *εόντα*  
 Cyrus.M.NOM.SG be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG  
*νεῖσιπέρε:των,*                    *ἐν<sup>h</sup>αὔτά:ῃ*                    *τῶν*  
 navigable.C.ACC.SG there.ADV.3SG.DAT ART.M.GEN.PL  
*τίς*                    *ἡρῶ:ν*                    *ἵππων*  
 INDF.C.NOM.SG sacred.M.GEN.PL horse.M.GEN.PL  
*τῶν*                    *λευκῶ:ν*                    *ὑπὸ ἡύβριος*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL white.M.GEN.PL under recklessness.F.GEN.SG  
*εἰς*                    *τὸν*  
 enter.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG into ART.M.ACC.SG  
*ῥοτὰμὸν*                    *diabaínein*                    *επειράτω.*  
 river.M.ACC.SG cross.INF.PRES.ACT try.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG  
 ‘During his march to Babylon Cyrus came to the Gyndes river, whose  
 streams (have their source) in the Matienian Mountains. (**The Gyn-**  
**des**) flows through the Dardaneans and issues into another river, the  
 Tigris. Flowing by the city of Opis it issues into the Red Sea. As Cyrus  
 attempted to cross this river Gyndes, since it was navigable, **one** of  
 his sacred white horses went headlong into the river and tried to  
 cross it.’

1.189.1

b. ὁ δέ=μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων.

*ἡ*                    *δέ=μιν*  
 3SG.M.NOM PTCL.3SG.ACC  
*συμψέ:σας*                    *ὑποβρύχ<sup>h</sup>ιον*  
 sweep.away.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG under.water.M.ACC.SG  
*οἰκ<sup>h</sup>ό:κεε*                    *φέρων.*  
 go.PLPF.IND.ACT.3SG carry.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
 ‘It (= the river) swept him (= the horse) away and carried him off  
 underwater.’

1.189.1

(5.35) οἱ δέ τινες λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Μυκερίνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀκούση. μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγατο ὑπὸ ἄχου. ὁ δέ=μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοῖ ταύτῃ.

*ἡ*                    *δέ*                    *τίνες*                    *λέγουσι*                    *περὶ*  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL INDF.C.NOM.PL say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL about

*tē:s*                    *bō:s*                    *taúte:s*                    *kai*    *tō:n*  
 ART.F.GEN.SG COW.F.GEN.SG MED.F.GEN.SG CONJ ART.M.GEN.PL  
*κῶλσσῶ:n*                    *tónde*                    *tōn*                    *λόγον,*  
 statue.M.GEN.PL MED.M.ACC.SG ART.M.ACC.SG story.M.ACC.SG  
*hō:s*                    *Mykerīnos*                    *ε:ράστ<sup>h</sup>ε:*  
 that.COMP Mycerinus.M.NOM.SG fall.in.love.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG  
*tē:s*                    *he:utōũ*                    *t<sup>h</sup>ygatrōs*                    *kai*  
 ART.F.GEN.SG REFL.3SG.M.GEN daughter.F.GEN.SG CONJ  
*épeita*                    *emíge:*                    *hōi*  
 thereafter.ADV sleep.with.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG 3SG.DAT  
*aekóuse:i.*                    *metà dē*  
 unwilling.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.DAT.SG after PTCL  
*légousi*                    *hō:s*                    *he:*                    *país*  
 say.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL that.COMP F.NOM.SG child.F.NOM.SG  
*apé:nksatō*                    *hypō* *ák<sup>h</sup>ε:σ.*                    *hō*  
 strangle.AOR.IND.MID.3SG under grief.N.GEN.SG 3SG.M.NOM  
*dé=min*                    *ét<sup>h</sup>apse*                    *en tē:i*  
 PTCL=3SG.ACC bury.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG in ART.F.DAT.SG  
*bōi*                    *taúte:i.*  
 COW.F.DAT.SG MED.F.DAT.SG

‘Certain people tell the following story about the cow and the statues, that **Mycerinus** fell in love with his own daughter and thereafter slept with her against her will. Afterwards, they say, **his daughter** hanged herself out of anguish. **He** (= Mycerinus) buried her in this cow.’

2.131.1–2

- (5.36) *μετὰ δέ, ὡς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἦπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων ὕπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίηε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγία μιν [ὄντα] ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσσεσθαι. δωρέεται δὴ μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρειὸς πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγεσι. ὁ δέ=μιν ἐπέειρετο εἶ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν ὑγία ἐποίησε.*
- metà*                    *dé*                    *hōs*                    *hōi*  
 afterwards.ADV PTCL when.COMP 3SG.DAT  
*epétrepe,*                    *Hellēnikoisi*                    *ié:masi*  
 entrust.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG Greek.N.DAT.PL remedy.N.DAT.PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>ε:ó:menōs*                    *kai*                    *é:pia*                    *metà*  
 make.use.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG CONJ gentle.N.ACC.PL after  
*tà*                    *isk<sup>h</sup>yrà*                    *prōságo:n*  
 ART.N.ACC.PL strong.N.ACC.PL apply.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG

*hýpnou té min lankhánein*  
 sleep.M.GEN.SG CONJ 3SG.ACC get.INF.PRES.ACT  
*epoíete kai en khrónō:i lígō:i*  
 make.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG CONJ in time.M.DAT.SG little.M.DAT.SG  
*hygiéa min [ónta]*  
 healthy.C.ACC.SG 3SG.ACC be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG  
*apédēkse, oudamà étī*  
 produce.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG not.at.all.ADV still.ADV  
*elpízōnta artípoun*  
 expect.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG able.footed.ACC.SG  
*ésesthai. dō:réetai dé: min metà*  
 be.INF.FUT.MID. give.PRES.IND.MP.3SG PTCL 3SG.ACC after  
*taūta hō Dareĩos pedéō:n*  
 MED.N.ACC.PL ART.M.NOM.SG Darius.M.NOM.SG fetter.F.GEN.PL  
*khrýsēō:n dýō zdeúgesi. hō dé min*  
 golden.F.GEN.PL two pair.N.DAT.PL 3SG.M.NOM PTCL 3SG.ACC  
*epéireto eí hōi diplé:sion*  
 ask.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG if.COMP 3SG.DAT double.N.ACC.SG  
*tō kakōn epíte:des*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG bad.N.ACC.SG deliberate.N.ACC.SG  
*némei hōti min*  
 distribute.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG because.COMP 3SG.ACC  
*hygiéa epoíete:se.*  
 healthy.C.ACC.SG make.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

‘Afterwards, when Darius entrusted him<sub>i</sub> (= Democedes) (with the case), (he<sub>i</sub>) applied Greek remedies and used gentleness instead of force; he<sub>i</sub> got him to sleep and in a short time had Darius well, who had not at all expected that he would regain the use of his foot. Darius thereupon rewarded him<sub>i</sub> with a gift of two pairs of golden fetters. He<sub>i</sub> asked if he was deliberately doubling his trouble, since he had cured him.’

3.130.3

In each example, the referent of the preposed pronoun+δέ combination is not the subject of the preceding utterance but of one farther back. Intuitively speaking, preposing in these contexts is not necessary because the narrative is “about” the referent of pronoun+δέ combination and no special syntax is required to make it clear that that referent is meant.

There is a limit to how far back in the preceding discourse the referent can be the subject, however:

- (5.37) ἐπει δὲ ἀγγχοῦ ἦσαν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιόντες καὶ ἀπώρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ προφήτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀκήρατος, ὄρᾱι πρὸ τοῦ νηοῦ ὄπλα προκείμενα ἔσωθεν ἐκ τοῦ μεγάρου ἐξενηνειγμένα ἱρά, τῶν οὐκ ὄσιον ἦν ἄπτεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἦε Δελφῶν τοῖσι παρεούσι σημανέων τὸ τέρας. [οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι]<sub>Top</sub>, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο ἐπειγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἱρόν τῆς Προνηίης Ἀθηναίης, ἐπιγίνεται<sup>σφι</sup> τέρεα ἔτι μέζονα τοῦ πρὶν γενομένου τέρεος.

*επει* δὲ *angkhōũ* *ἔ:san* *hōi*  
 when.COMP PTCL near.ADV be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL ART.M.NOM.PL  
*bárbarōi* *επιόντες* *καὶ*  
 barbarian.M.NOM.PL approach.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL CONJ  
*από:ρω:n* *τὸ* *ἱρόν* *εν*  
 espy.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL ART.N.ACC.SG temple.N.ACC.SG in  
*τούτω:ι* *ἡ* *prop<sup>h</sup>:é:te:s,* *τῶ:ι*  
 MED.N.DAT.SG ART.M.NOM.SG prophet.M.NOM.SG REL.M.DAT.SG  
*οὐνομα* *ἔ:n* *Ακέ:ρατω:s,*  
 name.N.NOM.SG be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG Aceratus.M.NOM.SG  
*ἡρω:ι* *πρό* *τῶ* *νε:ωũ*  
 see.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG before ART.M.GEN.SG temple.M.GEN.SG  
*ὄπλα* *προκείμενα* *ἔσω:τ<sup>h</sup>:en* *εκ*  
 weapon.N.ACC.PL lie.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.ACC.PL inside.ADV from  
*τῶ* *μεγάρου*  
 ART.N.GEN.SG chamber.N.GEN.SG  
*εξενε:νειγμένα* *ἱρά,* *τῶ:n*  
 bring.out.PTCP.PERF.MP.N.ACC.PL sacred.N.ACC.PL REL.N.GEN.PL  
*οὐκ ὄσιον* *ἔ:n* *ἡάπτει<sup>h</sup>:αι*  
 NEG allowed.N.NOM.SG be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG touch.INF.PRES.MP  
*ἀν<sup>h</sup>:ρό:πω:n* *οὐδενί.* *ἡ* *μην δέ:*  
 person.M.GEN.PL none.M.DAT.SG 3SG.M.NOM PTCL PTCL  
*ἔ:ie* *Δελφ<sup>h</sup>:ῶ:n* *τῶ:σι*  
 go.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG Delphian.M.GEN.PL ART.M.DAT.PL  
*παρεῶ:σι*  
 present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL  
*σε:μανέ:ω:n* *τό* *τέρας.*  
 indicate.PTCP.FUT.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.N.ACC.SG wonder.N.ACC.SG  
 [*ἡ* *δὲ* *bárbarōi*]<sub>Top</sub> *επειδὲ:*  
 ART.M.NOM.PL PTCL barbarian.M.NOM.PL after.COMP  
*εγίνοντο* *επειγόμενω:ι* *κατὰ*  
 become.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG rush.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL to  
*τὸ* *ἱρόν* *τέ:ς* *Προ:νε:ίε:s*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG temple.N.ACC.SG ART.F.GEN.SG Pronaea.F.GEN.SG

*Athē:naíē:s, epigínetai=sp<sup>hi</sup>*  
 Athena.F.GEN.SG come.PRES.IND.MP.3SG=3PL.DAT  
*térea éti mézōna tōũ*  
 wonder.N.NOM.PL still.ADV greater.N.NOM.PL ART.N.GEN.SG  
*prin genōménōu téreōs.*  
 previously.ADV happen.PTCP.AOR.ACT.N.GEN.SG wonder.N.GEN.SG  
 ‘When **the barbarians** were drawing near and espied the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, saw sacred arms that had been brought out from the chamber, which were forbidden to anyone to touch, lying before the temple. He went to tell the Delphians who were present of this miracle. [The barbarians]<sub>Top</sub>, after they rushed to the temple of Athena Pronaea, they were visited by wonder yet greater than the prior.’

8.37.1–2

οἱ βάρβαροι is the subject of the adverbial clause that opens the passage, but when mentioned a second time, it is proposed (its first use is in boldface above, its second is in square brackets). This is perhaps because there are too many referents in between the two uses, which is also supported by the fact that the barbarians are not referred to with a pronoun on the second mention. It may also be relevant that in the first mention οἱ βάρβαροι is the subject of an adjunct clause.

In the following example, a topicalized subject is also the subject of the preceding sentence:

- (5.38) *ιοῦσι δέ σφι φήμη τε ἐσέπτατο ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον πᾶν καὶ κηρυκίον ἐφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς κυματωγῆς κείμενον. [ἡ δὲ φήμη]<sub>Top</sub> διήλθε=σφι ὦδε, ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες τὴν Μαρδονίου στρατὴν νικῶιεν ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι μαχόμενοι.*  
*ioῦsi dé sp<sup>hi</sup> p<sup>h</sup>é:me: te*  
 go.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL PTCL 3PL.DAT rumor.F.NOM.SG CONJ  
*eséptato es tō stratōpedon*  
 fly.in.AOR.IND.MID.3SG into ART.N.ACC.SG army.N.ACC.SG  
*pān kai keryké:ion*  
 whole.N.ACC.SG CONJ herald's.wand.N.NOM.SG  
*ep<sup>h</sup>áne: epì tē:s kymatō:gē:s*  
 appear.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG by ART.F.GEN.SG water.line.F.GEN.SG  
*keímenon. [he: dè p<sup>h</sup>é:me:]<sub>Top</sub>*  
 lie.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.NOM.SG ART.F.NOM.SG PTCL rumor.F.NOM.SG  
*diē:lt<sup>h</sup>e=sp<sup>hi</sup> hō:de, hō:s*  
 go.through.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG=3PL.DAT thus.ADV that.COMP

*hōi*                      *Hēllēnes*                      *tē:n*  
 ART.M.NOM.PL Greek.M.NOM.PL ART.F.ACC.SG  
*Mardōniou*                      *stratiē:n*                      *nikō:ien*                      *en*  
 Mardonius.M.GEN.SG army.F.ACC.SG defeat.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL in  
*Boiō:tōisi*                      *mak<sup>h</sup>ōmenōi*.  
 Boeotia.M.DAT.PL fight.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL  
 ‘While they were making their advance, a **rumor** spread through the whole army, and a herald’s wand appeared lying by the water-line. [The rumor]<sub>Top</sub>, it went among them as follows, that the Greeks defeated the army of Mardonius when fighting among the Boeotians.’  
 9.100.1

The motivation for topicalization here appears to be the fact that the immediately preceding sentence has as a different subject, namely κηρυκῆιον ‘herald’s wand.’

While the basic patterns above are robust, some examples suggest a more subtle generalization:

- (5.39) a. QUD: *What happened?*  
 ὦναξ, ἦλθε παρ’ ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων.  
*ō:naks,*                                      *ē:lt<sup>h</sup>e*                                      *par’ he:méas*  
 VOC.PTCL-lord.M.VOC.SG come.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG to 1PL.ACC  
*hikéte:s*                                      *Paktýe:s*                                      *hō*  
 suppliant.M.NOM.SG Pactyes.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
*Lydós,*                                      *p<sup>h</sup>eúgō:n*  
 Lydian.M.NOM.SG flee.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*t<sup>h</sup>ánatōn*                                      *bíaiōn*                                      *prōs Perséō:n*.  
 death.M.ACC.SG violent.M.ACC.SG by Persian.M.GEN.PL  
 ‘O Lord, Pactyes the Lydian has come to us as a suppliant, trying to escape a violent death **at the hands of the Persians**.’  
 1.159.1

- b. QUD: *What do the Persians want?*  
 οἱ δέ=μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες.  
*hōi=dé=μιν*                                      *eksaitéontai,*  
 3PL.M.NOM=PTCL=3SG.ACC demand.PRES.IND.MP.3PL  
*proeînai*                                      *Kymaíous*  
 surrender.INF.AOR.ACT Cymeans.M.ACC.PL

*κελεύοντες.*

order.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL

'They are demanding him back and ordering the Cymeans to surrender (him).'

1.159.1

- (5.40) ὄκως ποτήρια ἀργύρεά τε καὶ χρύσεια προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων αὐτά. ὁ δ' ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ ἐν λόγοισι ἐών, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ὄκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο. ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεισθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιο.

*hókws potéria argýreá te kai*  
 when.COMP goblet.N.ACC.PL silver.N.ACC.PL CONJ CONJ  
*khryseia prot<sup>h</sup>eítō, hōi mèn*  
 golden.N.ACC.PL display.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG ART.M.NOM.PL PTCL  
*t<sup>h</sup>erápontes autōi eksésmōn*  
 servant.M.NOM.PL 3SG.M.GEN wipe.clean.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL  
*autá. hō d'ân tōn khronōn*  
 3PL.N.ACC 3SG.M.NOM PTCL=MOD ART.M.ACC.SG time.M.ACC.SG  
*tōtōn tōi Kleoménei tōi*  
 MED.M.ACC.SG ART.M.DAT.SG Cleomenes.M.DAT.SG ART.M.DAT.SG  
*Anaxandridēs: en lōgoisi*  
 Anaxandrides.M.GEN.SG in conversation.M.DAT.PL  
*éōn, basileúonti*  
 be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG rule.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.SG  
*Spártēs, prot<sup>h</sup>égé min es*  
 Sparta.F.GEN.SG bring.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG 3SG.ACC into  
*tà oikía. hókws dè*  
 ART.N.ACC.PL house.N.ACC.PL when.COMP PTCL  
*ídōitō Kleoméneis tà*  
 see.AOR.OPT.MID.3SG Cleomenes.M.NOM.SG ART.N.ACC.PL  
*potéria, apethómazé te kai*  
 goblet.N.ACC.PL marvel.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG CONJ CONJ  
*ekseplé:ssetō. hō dèân*  
 stun.AOR.IND.MID.3SG 3SG.M.NOM PTCL=MOD  
*ekéleue autōn apophérest<sup>h</sup>ai*  
 order.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG 3SG.M.ACC.SG take.INF.PRES.MP  
*autōn hōsa bōulóitō.*  
 3PL.N.GEN REL.N.ACC.PL want.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG

'As he<sub>i</sub> (= Meandrius) put out silver and gold goblets, his<sub>i</sub> servants would clean them. He<sub>i</sub> would converse with the king of Sparta, Cleomenes<sub>k</sub> son of Anaxandrides, and would bring him<sub>k</sub> to his<sub>i</sub> house. When Cleomenes<sub>k</sub> looked at the cups, he<sub>k</sub> marvelled greatly. He<sub>i</sub> ordered him<sub>k</sub> to take as many as he<sub>k</sub> wanted.'

3.148.1

The Persians are not the subject of any preceding utterances in the vicinity, and yet in (5.39.b) οἱ δέ is not preposed. I suggest that this is because semantic role is also a factor in how referents are expressed in discourse. Although πρὸς Περσέων in (5.39.a) is oblique, it is semantically agentive (the Persians are pursuing Pactyes), which seems to be enough to make preposing of the pronominal expression unnecessary.

## 5.5 Syntax

In this section I argue that the topicalized phrases examined in the preceding discussion adjoin to the CP/S-node and pattern like the Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) construction (minus the resumptive pronoun) described by Cinque ([1983] 1997). Contrastive topics not only precede the host of second-position clitics, but also precede interrogative pronouns, which are standardly clause-initial:<sup>6</sup>

- (5.41) a. [ὕμέων>δῆ>ῶν]<sub>CT</sub> τίς=μοι Ὀροίτην ἢ ζῶοντα ἀγάγοι ἢ ἀποκτείνειε;  
 [hyméon>n>dè>ōn]<sub>CT</sub> tís=moi Oroiíte:n  
 2PL.GEN>PTCL>PTCL WH.C.NOM.SG>1SG.DAT Oroites.M.ACC.SG  
 è: zdó:onta agágoi  
 DISJ live.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG capture.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG  
 è: apokteíneie?  
 DISJ kill.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG  
 '[Of you all]<sub>CT</sub>, who would either capture Oroites alive or kill (him) for me?'

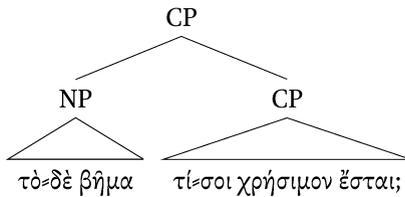
3.127.3 (cf. 3.63.3)

6 See further Thomson (1939), H. Dik (2007: 136–167), and Bertrand (2010: 337). Complementiz-  
 can likewise be used as a diagnostic for topicalization, e.g., 1.71.3 and 7.104.5.

- b. [τὸδὲ βῆμα]<sub>CT</sub> τίσοι χρήσιμον ἔσται;  
 [tòdè bē:ma]<sub>CT</sub> tí:soi  
 ART.N.ACC.SG≠PTCL rostrum.N.ACC.SG WH.N.NOM.SG≠2SG.DAT  
*k<sup>h</sup>rḗ:simōn éstai?*  
 use.N.NOM.SG be.FUT.IND.MID.3SG  
 ‘[As for the rostrum]<sub>CT</sub>, what use will you have for it?’  
 AR. *Eccl.* 677

As interrogative pronouns occur at the left edge of the CP, I assume that topicalized phrases adjoin to CP, which thus brings us to the representation with which this chapter started:

(5.42) *Topicalization*



Greek consequently has no devoted topic position within the clause, comparable to, e.g., the *Vorfeld* position in German. M. Hale (2007) offers a similar analysis for Sanskrit, according to which a topic projection (TopP) is positioned above CP. A null functional head Top triggers movement of the contrastive topic phrase into Spec,TopP. Motivating a devoted TopP projection above CP is a challenge for Greek, however. As observed above, contrastive topics can occur both above and below CP:

- (5.43) οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς—εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα  
 ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι—ὅτι [πρώτα=μὲν]<sub>CT</sub> [νόθον]<sub>F</sub> οὐσφι νόμος ἐστὶ  
 βασιλεύσαι γνησίου παρεόντος.  
*ου μὲ:n ου-dè léle:t<sup>h</sup>e autó:is*  
 NEG PTCL NEG-PTCL escape.notice.PERF.IND.ACT.3SG 3PL.M.ACC  
*ει γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι*  
 if.COMP EXPL INDF.C.NOM.PL also.ADV other.M.NOM.PL  
*τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα*  
 ART.N.ACC.PL Persian.M.GEN.PL custom.N.ACC.PL  
*επιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἡὼτι*  
 know.PRES.IND.MP.3PL also.ADV Egyptian.M.NOM.PL that.COMP

[*prō:ta=men*]<sub>CT</sub> [*nóthōn*]<sub>F</sub> *ού=sp<sup>hi</sup>*  
 first.N.ACC.PL≠PTCL bastard.M.ACC.SG NEG=3PL.DAT  
*νόμος* *εστὶ* *basileÿsai*  
 custom.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG be.king.INF.AOR.ACT  
*γνεσίου* *παρέοντος*.  
 legitimate.M.GEN.SG be.around.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG  
 ‘It has certainly not escaped (the Egyptians)—for if any others also  
 know the customs of the Persians it is the Egyptians—that, [first]<sub>CT</sub>, it  
 is not their custom for [a bastard]<sub>F</sub> to be king when there is a legitimate  
 heir.’

3.2.2

Here the contrastive topic *πρῶτα* is preposed under the complementizer *ὅτι*, which suggests that topicalized phrases are adjoined to S.

After the topicalized phrase, what hosts the clausal clitic is typically the (monotonic) focus of the utterance:

- (5.44) a. [*τῶν=μέν=δῆ*]<sub>CT</sub> [*οὐδέν*]<sub>F</sub> *προσίετό=μιν*.  
 [*tō:n=men=dē:*]<sub>CT</sub> [*oudèn*]<sub>F</sub>  
 ART.N.GEN.PL≠PTCL≠PTCL nothing.N.NOM.SG  
*προσίετό=μιν*.  
 please.IMPF.IND.MP.3SG=3SG.ACC  
 ‘[Of these]<sub>CT</sub>, [none]<sub>F</sub> pleased him (= Croesus).’

1.48.1

- b. [*πέμπτηι δὲ ἢ ἕκτῃι ἡμέρῃι ἀπὸ τούτων*]<sub>CT</sub> [*τάδε*]<sub>F</sub> *οἱ* *συνήγειρε γενέσθαι*.  
 [*pémptē:i dē ē: hékte:i he:mérei: apō*  
 fifth.F.DAT.SG PTCL DISJ sixth.F.DAT.SG day.F.DAT.SG from  
*tóuto:n*]<sub>CT</sub> [*táde*]<sub>F</sub> *hoi*  
 MED.N.GEN.PL PROX.N.GEN.PL≠3SG.DAT  
*synéneike* *genést<sup>hai</sup>*.  
 happen.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG become.INF.AOR.ACT  
 ‘[On the fifth or sixth day from these things]<sub>CT</sub>, [the following  
 things]<sub>F</sub> happened to him by chance.’

3.42.1

- c. [*μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν*]<sub>CT</sub> [*αὐτίκα*]<sub>F</sub> *οἱ* *ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἄμασις*.  
 [*metà dē tē:n euk<sup>hē:n</sup>*]<sub>CT</sub>  
 after PTCL ART.F.ACC.SG vow.F.ACC.SG



I note in passing that the surface template (Theme) (Setting) Main Clause (Tail) offered by, e.g., H. Dik (1995, 2007) and Allan (2013) makes the wrong predictions. On the assumption that Theme corresponds to what I refer to as a contrastive topic, these phrases are standardly preceded by Setting constituents.

Cinque ([1983] 1997) identifies two topicalization constructions, Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD) and Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD):<sup>7</sup>

(5.46) a. *Hanging Topic Left Dislocation (HTLD)*

*Tuo fratello, invece, lui si che aveva sempre fame.*  
**your brother** however him yes that was always hungry  
 ‘Your brother, however, he was always hungry.’

CINQUE [1983] 1997: 94

b. *Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD)*

*A tuo fratello, non gli-hanno ancora dato il visto.*  
**to your brother** not to.him-have yet given the visa  
 ‘To your brother they haven’t given the visa yet.’

CINQUE [1983] 1997: 94

In (5.46.a), the topicalized phrase *Tuo fratello* appears before the clause, in which it is resumed by the non-clitic pronoun *lui*. In (5.46.b), the topicalized phrase *A tuo fratello* is resumed instead by the proclitic pronoun *gli*. Aside from this difference in pronominal resumption, these two constructions also differ in the following properties (adapted from Cinque [1983] 1997: 96; see further Haegeman 2004):

TABLE 5.3 *Properties of Topicalization Constructions*

| Property                                | HTLD                          | CLLD                |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Category of Topicalized Phrase          | NP                            | XP                  |
| Maximum Quantity of Topicalized Phrases | 1                             | Unbounded           |
| Host Clause                             | Typically Matrix/Root         | Matrix and Embedded |
| Resumptive Element                      | DP, Pronoun (tonic or clitic) | Clitic Pronoun      |
| Integration (e.g., Case Matching)       | None                          | Obligatory          |
| Island Sensitivity                      | Insensitive                   | Sensitive           |

<sup>7</sup> In fact, his typology consists of three types of topicalization: the two mentioned above, plus Topicalization. As his Topicalization is actually a focus construction (Cinque [1983] 1997: 95), I have excluded it.

Herodotean Greek appears to have both constructions, although HTLD is only sparsely attested in my corpus:<sup>8</sup>

- (5.47) τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, εἴ σφί ἐστι ἀληθῆως οἷόν τι λέγεται, (διὰ τοῦτο)<sub>ω</sub> ἄν εἶεν,  
 τοῦτωι τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι.  
*tò dè hýdō:r tōũto, eí*  
 ART.N.NOM.SG PTCL water.N.NOM.SG MED.N.NOM.SG if.COMP  
*sp<sup>h</sup>i esti alē:t<sup>h</sup>éō:s*  
 3PL.DAT be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG true.ADV  
*hōĩn-ti légetai,*  
 such.as.REL.N.ACC.SG-INDF.N.ACC.SG say.PRES.IND.MP.3SG  
 (dià tōũto)<sub>ω</sub> ἄν εἶεν,  
 because.of MED.N.ACC.SG=MOD be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL  
*tōũto:i tà pánta*  
 MED.N.DAT.SG ART.N.ACC.PL all.N.ACC.PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>reó:menoi, makróbioi.*  
 make.use.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL long-lived.M.NOM.PL  
 ‘This water<sub>p</sub>, if it truly is as they say, they would be long-lived on account  
 of this<sub>p</sub>, using it<sub>p</sub>, all the time as they do.’  
 3.23.3

Here the noun phrase τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο is resumed in the clause by διὰ τοῦτο. The usage conditions on this construction are not clear, but they do not seem to align with the description that Cinque ([1983] 1997: 95) offers, namely “to bring up or shift attention to a new or unexpected topic,” as the water mentioned in example (5.47) is active in the preceding discourse.

Nearly all of the examples of contrastive topicalization presented in this chapter pattern are like the CLLD-type. For instance, contrastive topics receive case just like clause-internal arguments:

- (5.48) [ἰχθύων=δὲ]<sub>CT</sub> [οὔ]<sub>F</sub> σφί ἔξεστι πάσασθαι.  
*[ik<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ýō:n=dè]<sub>CT</sub> [oũ]<sub>F</sub> sp<sup>h</sup>i éksesti*  
 fish.M.GEN.PL=PTCL NEG=3PL.DAT be.allowed.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
*pásast<sup>h</sup>ai.*  
 eat.INF.AOR.MID

8 Later Greek of course develops a true clitic-doubling construction, a development that took place at the earliest in Koine (Janse 2008: 184, 187). The origin of clitic doubling remains an open question.

‘[Fish]<sub>CT</sub>, however, they are [not]<sub>F</sub> allowed to eat.’

2.37-4

The genitive case of ἰχθύων is assigned by the verb πάσασθαι. As witnessed by example (5.43) above, topicalization is possible in an embedded clause. There is evidently no constraint on the syntactic category of topicalized phrases, but they must be maximal projections (XPs).

Whether or not topicalization is recursive is a more complicated question. The complication is that preposing of multiple XPs is possible, but recursive topic marking with particles is not:

(5.49) *Recursive Topicalization*

- a. [μετὰδὲ αὐτίς]<sub>CT</sub> [ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἑβδόμην]<sub>CT</sub> [ἄλλους]<sub>F=μοι</sub> τάξον  
 δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίω·ν καλεομένας πύλας.

[*metà=de*            *aútis*]<sub>CT</sub>    [*apò té:s*            *dekáte:s*

after.ADV=PTCL again.ADV from ART.F.GEN.SG tenth.F.GEN.SG

*es hebdomé:n*]<sub>CT</sub>    [*állous*]<sub>F=moi</sub>

into seventh.F.ACC.SG other.M.ACC.PL=1SG.DAT

*táksōn*

*diskhíllous*

*katà*

station.IMPV.AOR.ACT.2SG two.thousand.M.ACC.PL at

*tàs*

*Niníō:n*

*kaleomé·nas*

ART.F.ACC.PL Ninevite.M.GEN.PL call.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.ACC.PL

*pýlas.*

gate.F.ACC.PL

‘[Then afterwards]<sub>CT</sub>, [from the tenth (day after my arrival) to the seventeenth day]<sub>CT</sub>, station for me [another]<sub>F</sub> two thousand at the Ninevite gates.’

3-155-5

- b. [δωδέκα ὥν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν]<sub>CT</sub> [τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας]<sub>CT</sub>  
 τρέφει·μιν ἢ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη. [τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τῶν μηνῶν]<sub>CT</sub> ἢ λοιπὴ πᾶσα  
 Ἀσίη.

[*dýd:deka*   *ō:n*    *me:nō:n*            *éōntō:n*

twelve    PTCL month.M.GEN.PL be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL

*es tōn*

*eniautōn*]<sub>CT</sub>

[*toús*

*tésseras*

into ART.M.ACC.SG year.M.ACC.SG ART.M.ACC.PL four.M.ACC.PL

*mé:nas*]<sub>CT</sub>

*tréphi·min*

month.M.ACC.PL feed.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG=3SG.ACC

*he:*

*Babylō:níē:*

*khō:re:.*

ART.F.NOM.SG Babylonian.F.NOM.SG land.F.NOM.SG

[*toùs*            *dè*    *oktò: tō:n*                    *me:nō:n*]<sub>CT</sub>  
 ART.M.ACC.PL PTCL eight ART.M.GEN.PL month.M.GEN.PL  
*he:*                    *loipè:*                    *pāsa*                    *Asíe:*  
 ART.F.NOM.SG rest.F.NOM.SG all.F.NOM.SG Asia.F.NOM.SG  
 ‘[As there are twelve months in a year]<sub>CT</sub>, [for four months]<sub>CT</sub> the  
 land of Babylon feeds him. [In eight of the months]<sub>CT</sub>, all the rest of  
 Asia (feeds him).’

1.192.1

In (5.49.a), *μετὰ δὲ αὐτίς* and *ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδόμην* are contrastively topicalized phrases, but only the first is marked with *δέ*. In (5.49.b), both *δυώδεκα ὦν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτόν* and *τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας* are preposed. The first constituent establishes the span of the calendar year. The intervals *τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας* and *τοὺς δὲ ὀκτώ τῶν μηνῶν* are then mapped to their respective predicates. As only the latter is marked with *δέ*, this example belongs to the inferred-QUD class of section 5.2.3. What is unusual, however, is that *τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας* is preposed but not marked by a particle. It appears that while more than one constituent can be preposed, the topic marker itself cannot be used recursively.

## 5.6 Summing Up

I have argued that topicalized phrases adjoin to the S node (or CP, if present) in Greek, and that there is no devoted Topic phrase projection. Non-focal preposing serves three discourse functions: answering hierarchical QUDs, whether exhaustively or partially; terminating a QUD; and licensing discourse entities as subjects. What unites these three constructions is that they all involve the management of discourse referents, and in particular transitions among discourse referents.<sup>9</sup>

The claims of this chapter open up a broader discussion on the question of how topics are marked in Greek. The topic constructions that have been investigated here are all “marked,” inasmuch as they involve dislocation from a host clause. *μέν* and *δέ* also occur in non-preposed environments, but their semantic and pragmatic properties in this context are in dire need of attention (as

9 It may well be the case that the syntactic (preposing) and prosodic (intonational phrase boundary?) properties of these constructions are motivated by a desire to enhance processing, as Prince (1997) has argued for the use of dislocation to license new subjects in English.

noted above in section 1.4, especially note 12, the literature on Greek particles is at best dated).

The question of topicalization in archaic Indo-European is one that has barely been addressed. Here I would like to make just one comparative observation on the difference between Greek and Sanskrit before turning to focus preposing. Sanskrit has long been claimed (e.g., M. Hale 1987a, 1987b) to have a topicalization construction whose surface form resembles that of Greek, i.e., a pronominal clitic is in a non-canonical position:

- (5.50) *brahmá*                      *kō-vaḥ*                      *saparyati*  
 priest.M.NOM.SG WH.M.NOM.SG=2PL.ACC honor.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
 ‘Which priest honors you?’  
 RV 8.7.20c (M. Hale 2007: 257)

As this example illustrates, the diagnostic for this construction has been not just clitic distribution, but also the interrogative pronoun, just as with example (5.1) above. What has not been observed, however, is that the Greek and Sanskrit constructions do not have the same interpretive effects. There thus exists the possibility that what we have in (5.50) is not topicalization of the same sort as has been presented in this chapter. One wonders in fact whether this is topicalization at all and whether the interrogative pronoun is simply an enclitic (by analogy with the enclitic relative pronoun *ya-*; see Lowe 2013: 11 n. 14).

The analysis put forth here also impacts our understanding of the history of Greek, as it provides new insight into the history of the particle *μέν*. The anaphoric behavior of *μέν* lends support to the claim that the particle is cognate with the adjective *ὁμός* ‘same, equal’ (see, e.g., Mayrhofer 1956–1980: 537 on the cognate Sanskrit adjective *sama-* ‘same, equal’ and the Sanskrit particle *sma*; the description of *μέν* in Beekes 2010: 930 bears little resemblance to the facts), which is in turn related to the root *\*sem-* ‘one’ (for other proposals, see Dunkel 2014: II.63 n. 50a). I leave for future research the many questions that this network of words raises.

Finally, while little is known about topic markers typologically, this discussion brings Greek *μέν* and *δέ* into contact with Japanese *wa* (Kuno 1973, Heycock 2008; but note Kuroda 2005), Korean *nun* (C. Lee 1999), and Paraguayan Guaraní *katu* (Tonhauser 2012), all of which are said to be topic markers in one sense or another. Just as we should expect, their functional overlap is only partial. The particle *katu* is interesting because some of its uses match that of Greek contrastive topicalization exactly, and yet the contrastive topics that it marks are not preposed. It can also be used to mark focused elements, which at this point seems not to be a feature of *μέν* or *δέ*.

## Focus Preposing

The preceding chapter investigated preposed phrases that do not instantiate the focus of their utterance. In this chapter, we turn to consider preposed phrases (and sub-phrases) that do instantiate the focus of the utterance:

- (6.1) ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθὰ. εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' [ἀνὰ χρόνον]<sub>F</sub> ἔξεύροι=τις=ἄν.  
*en de tōi episkheîn énesti*  
 in PTCL ART.N.DAT.SG wait.INF.PRES.ACT be.in.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
*agathá. ei mē: parautíka*  
 good.N.ACC.PL if.COMP NEG immediately.ADV  
*dokeónta eînai, all' [aná*  
 seem.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.PL be.INF.PRES.ACT but through  
*khronon]<sub>F</sub> ekseúroi=tis=án.*  
 time.M.ACC.SG find.out.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG=INDF.C.NOM.SG=MOD  
 'There is good in waiting. If it is not immediately apparent, [in time]<sub>F</sub>  
 one will learn it.'
- 7.10.ζ

The prepositional phrase ἀνὰ χρόνον precedes the host (ἔξεύροι) of the clitics τις and ἄν. The core property that characterizes focus preposing is the existence (or the assumed existence) in the Common Ground of another value for the focus constituent (the interpretive effects of focus preposing are thus reminiscent of cleft sentences, cf. Devine and Stephens 1999: 72–73).<sup>1</sup> When the value of the preposed element differs from that in the Common Ground, the resultant meaning is contrastive. So in example (6.1), preposing of ἀνὰ χρόνον asserts—in the face of contrary views in the Common Ground—that it is strategically

1 Intimations of the construction that I motivate in this chapter have appeared in the literature, e.g., Horrocks (2010: 104): “Sentences involving the delayed placement of [gar] (*ll.* 376 and 379) can perhaps best be explained on the assumption that the initial constituent in each case functions as a displaced ‘focus,’ with the particle appearing in second position within the residue of the sentence (the comment on the focus), and that this was a feature of casual conversational styles rather than of formal writing.” I see no reason to attribute this construction to “casual conversational styles.”

sound to wait. It is also possible for the preposed focus to be identical with a piece of information in the Common Ground, in which case focus preposing is affirmatory.<sup>2</sup>

Morphosyntactically, focus preposing differs from topicalization in at least two ways. The first is that it occurs lower in the clause: section 6.6 below presents evidence that non-monotonic focus is adjoined beneath C. In addition to occurring lower in the clause than topicalized phrases, preposed focus phrases are characterized by the absence of the particles  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ .

Our discussion is organized as follows. Section 6.1 explicates the concept of non-monotonic focus, which I illustrate with a core set of data involving preposed NPs and adjectives. The following sections investigate preposing of specific lexical categories, namely verbs (section 6.2), negation (section 6.3), and interrogative pronouns (section 6.4). Section 6.5 takes up the question of multiple preposed elements, while section 6.6 argues that preposed focus phrases are adjoined beneath C. The discussion is brought to a close in section 6.7.

Before turning to the analysis itself, I repeat in Table 6.1 the quantitative overview of non-canonical sentences that was presented in the previous chapter (the frequency data is based on a count of 476 tokens of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and 323 tokens of  $\mu\iota\nu$ ).

TABLE 6.1 *The Frequency of Non-Canonical Examples of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and  $\mu\iota\nu$*

|                     | NCT $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ | F1  | F2  | NCT $\mu\iota\nu$ | F1  | F2  |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|
| Topicalization      | 20                      | .25 | .04 | 28                | .30 | .09 |
| Non-Monotonic Focus | 28                      | .34 | .06 | 21                | .22 | .07 |
| Participial Clause  | 28                      | .34 | .06 | 37                | .39 | .11 |
| Adverbial           | 7                       | .08 | .01 | 8                 | .09 | .02 |

The column headed “NCT  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ” indicates the number of sentences in which  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is not hosted by the first prosodic word of the clause (NCT stands for “non-canonical tokens”); the column headed “NCT  $\mu\iota\nu$ ” provides the same informa-

2 It should be noted that the use of the term *focus preposing* by Allan (2012: 14–18) differs from my own. Allan’s paper is concerned with the appearance of elements that syntactically and semantically belong to an embedded clause but surface in a matrix clause. The examples that he offers on p. 15 do not unambiguously meet this description, however.

tion for  $\mu_{IV}$ . F1 is the frequency of the construction among the non-canonical examples (the number of tokens of the construction divided by the number of non-canonical tokens). F2 is the frequency of the construction in the *Histories* (the number of tokens of the construction divided by the number of tokens of the enclitic).

## 6.1 Monotonic and Non-Monotonic Focus

Many languages exhibit constructions that mark weaker and stronger versions of focus (Payne 1992: 141, É. Kiss 1995b, 1998: 16, Vallduví and Vilkkuna 1998, Devine and Stephens 1999: 40, Cohan 2002, Zimmermann 2008, Zimmermann and Onea 2011: 1664). Greek also exhibits a basic binary distinction between weaker and stronger forms of focus, which I refer to as monotonic and non-monotonic focus.

Monotonic focus is the information that provides a value for a variable of a QUD, as observed in the examples in section 2.3 above. It can be equated with the information focus of É. Kiss (1998). Stalnaker (1978) argues that assertions characterize a set of possible worlds. As discourse participants advance propositions into the Common Ground, they reduce the Context Set, the set of worlds compatible with the Common Ground. According to Stalnaker, felicitous discourse should be neither redundant nor contradictory. Under this type of model, assertions are monotonic updates of the context: information is only added, never removed. Informational focus does not appear to affect the distribution of clausal clitics in Greek, but more investigation of the morphosyntactic realization of monotonic focus is needed before this can be claimed with confidence.

Non-monotonic focus differs in that it does affect the surface distribution of clausal clitics. This correlation is unsurprising typologically: while the marking of focus is generally underspecified, it is not uncommon to find a particular grammatical construction used for a subtype of focus (Zimmermann and Onea 2011: 1662). The crucial difference between monotonic and non-monotonic focus is in the nature of the update. The latter is inconsistent with an antecedent proposition in the Common Ground (cf. IP-external focus in Italian, e.g., Bianchi 2013, with further references). Focus preposing denies this antecedent proposition, which presumably leads to its removal from the Common Ground in order to avoid inconsistency.

Leusen (2004) proposes the following three felicity conditions on what she refers to as corrective focus, which I adopt here for non-monotonic focus:

- (6.2) *Felicity Conditions on Non-Monotonic Focus*
- a. The Common Ground must entail an antecedent proposition that is the target of the corrective move.
  - b. The context updated by the corrective claim must entail the denial of the antecedent proposition. The antecedent proposition and the corrective claim are inconsistent in the context of the interpretation.
  - c. The antecedent proposition that is being denied has to be in the focus domain of the utterance with focus preposing.

It is possible to break up non-monotonic focus into finer-grained categories, such as counter-expectational and counterassertive focus (see, e.g., H. Dik 1995 for Greek; S.C. Dik 1997a, Drubig 2003, Frascarelli and Hinterhölzl 2007, Ermisch 2007, Gussenhoven 2007, and Büring 2010 more generally). The distinction between these two subtypes lies in whether the antecedent proposition is an unexpressed expectation or has been explicitly advanced into the Common Ground. Below I call attention to examples that fit in these two categories, but have not exhaustively categorized every example of focus preposing, because there are too many cases where it is difficult to determine the status of the antecedent proposition. My focus here will accordingly be on arguing for the non-monotonic character of focus preposing.

### 6.1.1 *Counterassertive Focus*

In this first class of examples, focus preposing signals that its host utterance is incompatible with a proposition in the Common Ground, and that the source of this incompatibility is an assertion (as opposed to being assumed). The following passage, in which Herodotus is discussing Darius' selection of a successor, is illustrative (subscript <sub>F</sub> marks non-monotonic focus):

- (6.3) QUD: *How did Xerxes become king?*

ἐπεὶ γε καὶ ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφη ὁ Δημάρητος ὑποτιθέμενος οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, ἦν οἱ μὲν προγεγονότες ἔωσι πρὶν ἢ τὸν πατέρα σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεύοντι ὀψίγονος ἐπιγένηται, τοῦ ἐπιγενομένου τὴν ἔκδεξιν τῆς βασιληΐης γίνεσθαι. χρησαμένου δὲ Ξέρξεω τῇ Δημαρήτου ὑποθήκῃ, γνοὺς ὁ Δαρείος ὡς λέγοι δίκαια βασιλέα μιν ἀπέδεξε. δοκέειν δέ μοι, καὶ [ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης]<sub>F</sub> βασιλεύσαι<sup>σαν</sup> Ξέρξης. ἢ γὰρ Ἄτσοσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

*επεὶ*            *γε*    *καὶ*            *ἐν Σπάρτῃ*:i

since.COMP PTCL even.ADV in Sparta.F.DAT.SG

*ἐπ<sup>h</sup>ει:* *ἡ* *Δε:μάρε:τος*  
 speak.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG Demaratus.M.NOM.SG  
*hypōtit<sup>h</sup>éménōs* *οὕτω:* *νομίζδест<sup>h</sup>αι,*  
 suggest.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.SG thus.ADV be.custom.INF.PRES.MP  
*ἐ:-n* *ἡ* *μὲν*  
 if.COMP-MOD REL.M.NOM.PL PTCL  
*πρωγεγονότες* *έω:σι*  
 be.born.before.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.NOM.PL be.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3PL  
*πρὶν* *έ:* *τὸν* *πατέρα* *σ<sup>h</sup>έω:n*  
 before.COMP DISJ ART.M.ACC.SG father.M.ACC.SG 3PL.GEN  
*basileūsai,* *ἡ* *δέ*  
 become.king.INF.AOR.ACT ART.M.NOM.SG PTCL  
*basileúōnti* *ὀψίγονος*  
 be.king.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.SG late.born.M.NOM.SG  
*epigénē:tai,* *τῷ*  
 be.born.afterwards.AOR.SBJV.MID.3SG ART.M.GEN.SG  
*epigenōménōu* *τὲν*  
 be.born.afterwards.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.GEN.SG ART.F.ACC.SG  
*ékdeksin* *τέ:s* *basile:ίε:s*  
 succession.F.ACC.SG ART.F.GEN.SG kingship.F.GEN.SG  
*gínest<sup>h</sup>αι.* *κ<sup>h</sup>ρε:saménōu* *δέ*  
 become.INF.PRES.MP use.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.GEN.SG PTCL  
*Ksérkseō:* *τέ:i* *De:maré:του*  
 Xerxes.M.GEN.SG ART.F.DAT.SG Demaratus.M.GEN.SG  
*hypōth<sup>h</sup>é:ke:i,* *γνώ:s* *ἡ*  
 advice.F.DAT.SG know.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
*Dareĩōs* *ἡ:s* *λέγοι*  
 Darius.M.NOM.SG that.COMP speak.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG  
*díkaiā* *basiléa* *min* *apédexse.*  
 just.N.ACC.PL king.M.ACC.SG 3SG.ACC appoint.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*δοκέειν* *δέ μοι,* *καὶ* [*άνευ*  
 seem.INF.PRES.ACT PTCL 1SG.DAT even.ADV without  
*ταύτε:s* *τέ:s* *hypōth<sup>h</sup>é:ke:s]*<sub>F</sub>  
 MED.F.GEN.SG ART.F.GEN.SG advice.F.GEN.SG  
*basileūsai>àn* *Ksérkse:s.* *ἡ:*  
 become.king.INF.AOR.ACT>MOD Xerxes.M.NOM.SG ART.F.NOM.SG  
*γὰρ* *Átōssa* *εἶκ<sup>h</sup>ε* *τὸ*  
 EXPL Atossa.F.NOM.SG hold.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG ART.N.ACC.SG  
*pān* *krátōs.*  
 all.N.ACC.SG power.N.ACC.SG

‘Since even in Sparta, Demaratus suggested, it was a custom that, if sons are born before their father becomes king, and one is born later while he is king, the succession of the kingship belong to the latter-born one. Xerxes made use of the advice of Demaratus, and Darius, knowing that he spoke justly, made him king. It seems to me that, even [without this advice]<sub>F</sub>, Xerxes would have become king. For Atossa (= Xerxes’ mother) held all the power.’

7:3:3–7:3:4

Demaratus’ advice is first presented as the key factor in Xerxes’ ascent to the throne, which introduces a proposition such as *Xerxes became king with the aid of Demaratus’ advice* into the Common Ground. In the penultimate sentence, Herodotus then rejects this cause, and claims that Xerxes would have become king without Demaratus’ advice. The focus constituent *without this advice* triggers a set of alternatives:

(6.4) *Focus Alternatives*

{Xerxes became king with the aid of Demaratus’ advice, Xerxes became king without the aid of Demaratus’ advice ...}

The set of alternatives with preposed foci differs from that of non-preposed foci in that one of the alternatives is already in the Common Ground, the result of which is an inconsistency. So here the assertion *Xerxes became king without the aid of Demaratus’ advice* is at odds with the previous proposition, *Xerxes became king with the aid of Demaratus’ advice*. The latter proposition is simply removed in favor of a new explanation, which Herodotus leaves to implicature, namely that Xerxes acquired the kingship on account of his mother.

Notable here is the use of scalar *καί* ‘even.’ In the identificational focus construction of Hungarian, focused phrases with ‘even’ are ungrammatical (É. Kiss 1998: 252, ex. 17d). One might accordingly wonder whether it is better to classify the prepositional phrase *καί ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης* with the examples in section 4.4.3 above as a high adverbial. As explicated there, the adverbials that appear above the hosts of clausal clitics do so because they have wide scope (their scope domain is typically the entire utterance), but that is not the case with *καί ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθήκης*, which modifies the verb *βασίλευσαι*. So despite the (at least superficial) similarities between Greek and Hungarian clause structure, focus preposing in Greek cannot be directly equated with identificational focus in Hungarian.

Focus preposing in Greek can often be paraphrased with an English cleft sentence (on clefts in Greek, see Banti 2013; for Indo-Iranian, Widmer 2012; for

English, Prince 1986). Both constructions, for instance, share the presupposition of an open proposition, that is, a proposition with a variable (see, e.g., Devine and Stephens 1999: 72). Where they appear to differ is in exhaustivity. Focus preposing in Greek does not appear to bring with it in each case exhaustive semantics, i.e., the claim that the utterance is true of the focus value alone (see, e.g., Szabolcsi 1981: 519), which suggests that it arises by implicature (cf. Büring and Križ 2013, who argue that English *it*-clefts semantically encode exhaustiveness).

The following example, with which this chapter began, further illustrates counterassertive focus preposing:

(6.5) QUD: *When will this become clear?*

ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπισχεῖν ἔνεστι ἀγαθά. εἰ μὴ παραυτίκα δοκέοντα εἶναι, ἀλλ' [ἀνὰ χρόνον]<sub>F</sub> ἐξεύροι=τις=ἄν.

*en de tōi episk<sup>h</sup>eîn énesti*  
in PTCL ART.N.DAT.SG wait.INF.PRES.ACT be.in.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

*agathá. ei mè: parautíka*  
good.N.ACC.PL if.COMP NEG immediately.ADV

*dokeónta eînai, all' [aná*  
seem.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.PL be.INF.PRES.ACT but through

*khrónon]<sub>F</sub> ekseúroi=tis=án.*  
time.M.ACC.SG find.out.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG=INDF.C.NOM.SG=MOD

'There is good in waiting. If it is not immediately apparent, [in time]<sub>F</sub> one will learn it.'

7.10.ζ

Artabanus is urging Xerxes to be cautious in attacking Greece. In the first sentence, he asserts the prudence of waiting. The antecedent of the conditional (*If it is not immediately apparent*) then acknowledges that Xerxes himself, who has already revealed his interest in attacking Greece straightaway, does not share this view. The preposing of ἀνὰ χρόνον reflects the fact that an alternative from the focus domain (which consists of the set of propositions {*The prudence of waiting will become clear in time, The prudence of waiting will become clear tomorrow, The prudence of waiting will never become clear, ...*}) is already in the Common Ground, namely Xerxes' own view. Artabanus' assertion thus counters this antecedent value.

### 6.1.2 Counter-expectational Focus

In this class, the antecedent proposition is assumed by Herodotus to be part of the Common Ground of the discourse, as in the following example:

(6.6) QUD: *How much did the Egyptian labyrinth cost?*

εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο, [ἐλάσσοτος]<sub>F</sub> πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἔοντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου.

*ei gár tis tà ἐξ eks*

if.COMP EXPL INDF.C.NOM.SG ART.N.ACC.PL from

*Hellé:n:n teík<sup>h</sup>éá te καὶ érgo:n*

Greek.M.GEN.PL wall.N.ACC.PL CONJ CONJ work.N.GEN.PL

*apódexsin syllógisaito, [elássotōs]<sub>F</sub>*

display.F.ACC.SG add.up.AOR.OPT.MID.3SG less.C.GEN.SG

*pónou te ἂν καὶ dapáne:s*

toil.M.GEN.SG=CONJ=MOD CONJ expense.F.GEN.SG

*phanéi:e éonta*

be.clear.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.PL

*toũ labyrinthoũ tóuto.*

ART.M.GEN.SG labyrinth.M.GEN.SG MED.M.GEN.SG

‘For if someone should add up the walls (built) by the Greeks and the display of (their) works, they would clearly be of [less]<sub>F</sub> toil and expense than this labyrinth.’

2.148.2

Herodotus claims that if one were to add up the toil and expense of all Greek buildings it would amount to less than that required for the Egyptian labyrinth. The focus of the utterance is the adjective ἐλάσσοτος, and the focus alternatives are as follows:

(6.7) *Focus Alternatives*

{The walls and works of the Greeks cost less than those of the labyrinth,  
The walls and works of the Greeks cost more than those of the labyrinth  
...}

There is a proposition in the Common Ground to the effect that the costs of one building should not outstrip in cost and labor those of an entire region. More explicitly, it could perhaps be formulated as ‘the total labor and expense of buildings in an area is directly proportional to the size of the area.’ The focus of (6.6) counters this generalization, however. This statement is part of Herodotus’ aim to impress upon his Greek readers (or audience) the superior (if not overwhelming) majesty of Egypt. It is hard to say how exactly the antecedent proposition is dealt with in this case. Herodotus is not arguing against the generalization itself; it should thus remain part of the Common Ground. It needs to be recast so as to allow for exceptions such as the Egyptian labyrinth, however.

The following examples further illustrate counter-expectational focus:

(6.8) a. QUD: *Who was going to kill Arion?*

οὐκ ᾧν δὴ πείθειν αὐτόν τούτοισι. ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ [αὐτόν]<sub>F</sub>  
διαχρᾶσθαι=μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῆι τύχηι, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν  
ταχίστην.

*ouk ð:n dè: peít<sup>h</sup>ein autòn*

NEG PTCL PTCL persuade.INF.PRES.ACT 3SG.M.ACC

*τούτοισι. allà keleúein tous*

MED.M.DAT.PL but tell.INF.PRES.ACT ART.M.ACC.PL

*πορθμέας è: [autòn]<sub>F</sub> diak<sup>h</sup>rāst<sup>h</sup>aí=min,*

seaman.M.ACC.PL DISJ self.M.ACC.SG kill.INF.PRES.MP=3SG.ACC

*hɔ:s àn tap<sup>h</sup>ē:s en gē:i*

PURP MOD burial.F.GEN.SG on land.F.DAT.SG

*týk<sup>h</sup>ē:i, è: ekpe:dān es*

happen.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG DISJ jump.INF.PRES.ACT into

*tē:n thálassan tē:n tak<sup>h</sup>ístē:n.*

ART.F.ACC.SG sea.F.ACC.SG ART.F.ACC.SG quickest.F.ACC.SG

'He did not persuade them. Instead the crew ordered that either he kill [himself]<sub>F</sub>, so as to receive burial on land, or else to jump into the sea at once.'

1.24.3

b. QUD: *Who accompanied Peisistratus?*

ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκε οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας  
ἄνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφό-  
ροι δέ. [ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες]<sub>F</sub> εἶποντό=οἱ ὀπισθε.

*hɔ dè dē:mɔs hɔ*

ART.M.NOM.SG PTCL people.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG

*tō:n Athē:naíɔ:n*

ART.M.GEN.PL Athenian.M.GEN.PL

*eksapate:t<sup>h</sup>eis édɔ:ké hɔi*

fool.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.SG give.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG 3SG.DAT

*tō:n astō:n*

ART.M.GEN.PL citizen.M.GEN.PL

*kataléksas ándras tóutɔus*

select.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG man.M.ACC.PL MED.M.ACC.PL

*hɔi doryph<sup>h</sup>ɔrɔi mèn ouk*

REL.M.NOM.PL spearbearer.M.NOM.PL PTCL NEG

*εγένοντο* *Peisistrátou,*  
 become.AOR.IND.MID.3PL Peisistratus.M.GEN.SG  
*κωρυεῖπῆρύσι* *δέ.* [*ksýlɔ:n* *gàr* *κωρύνας*  
 club.bearer.M.NOM.PL PTCL wood.N.GEN.PL EXPL club.F.ACC.PL  
*έκῆοντες*]<sub>F</sub>  
 have.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
*ἠείποντόῦναι* *όπισθε.*  
 follow.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL=3SG.DAT behind.ADV  
 ‘Since the Athenian people were completely fooled, they selected  
 these men<sub>i</sub> from their citizens, and gave them<sub>i</sub> to him, who<sub>i</sub> did not  
 become spearbearers of Peisistratus, but rather club-bearers. For it  
 was [with wooden clubs]<sub>F</sub> that they<sub>i</sub> followed behind him.’  
 1.59.5–1.59.6

c. QUD: *Is it Apollo’s practice to deceive those who do good?*

ὁ δὲ εἶπε, “ὦ δέσποτα, εἰσας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων,  
 τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ  
 [ἐξάπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας]<sub>F</sub> νόμος ἐστὶ οἱ.”  
*ἠ* *δὲ* *εἶπε,* *ῶ:*  
 3SG.M.NOM PTCL say.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG VOC.PTCL  
*δέσποτα,* *εἰσας* *με*  
 master.M.VOC.SG allow.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG 1SG.ACC  
*κῆριεῖ* *μάλιστα* *τὸν* *θεὸν*  
 please.FUT.IND.MID.2SG most.ADV ART.M.ACC.SG god.M.ACC.SG  
*τῶν* *Ἑλλέ:νων,* *τὸν* *εἰ:*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL Greek.M.GEN.PL REL.M.ACC.SG 1SG.NOM  
*ετίμη:σα* *θεῶν* *μάλιστα,*  
 honor.AOR.IND.ACT.1SG god.M.GEN.PL most.ADV  
*επειρέσθαι* *πέμψαντα* *τάσδε*  
 ask.INF.AOR.MID send.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.ACC.SG PROX.F.ACC.PL  
*τὰς* *πέδας,* *εἰ* [*eksapatān*  
 ART.F.ACC.PL chain.F.ACC.PL if.COMP deceive.INF.PRES.ACT  
*τοὺς* *εὖ* *ποιεῦντας*]<sub>F</sub>  
 ART.M.ACC.PL well.ADV do.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL  
*νόμος ἐστὶ οἱ.*  
 practice.M.NOM.SG=be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG=3SG.DAT  
 ‘And he said, “O master, you will please me most if you allow me to  
 send these chains to the god of the Greeks, whom I honored most of  
 the gods, and to ask (him) if [to deceive the ones who do good]<sub>F</sub> is  
 his practice.”’  
 1.90.2

The *self*-part of the reflexive pronoun in (6.8.a), *αὐτόν*, is preposed because the open proposition **kill**(*x*, **Arion**) already has a value, namely the Corinthian crew that was plotting to throw him overboard. The preposing of the reflexive pronoun in (6.8.a) is due to the addition of a value to the set of focus alternatives, namely Arion himself. In (6.8.b), before observing that the Athenians became club-bearers, Herodotus tells us that they did not become spear-bearers. That the latter piece of information is relevant suggests that there was an expectation that this is the role that they would play. The preposing of [ξύλων γὰρ κορόνας ἔχοντες] counters the assumption that Peisistratus would have been attended by spear-bearing guards. That he was attended by club-bearers is relevant because it suggests thug-like behavior. In (6.8.c) Croesus is speaking to Cyrus after his downfall. He feels betrayed by Apollo, since he believes the oracle proffered deceitful responses that led to his downfall, and pointedly asks if it is the god's custom *ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας* 'to deceive the ones who do good.' I presume that it is cultural knowledge that this is not considered a custom of the god. Croesus is thus lashing out by questioning this assumption about divine behavior.

I include the following set of counter-expectational examples without comment:

(6.9) *Counter-expectational Focus*

a. QUD: *Which sons do I acknowledge?*

[τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν]<sub>F</sub> οὐκ εἶναί-μοι λογίζομαι.

[*tòn gàr dè: héteron*

ART.M.ACC.SG EXPL PTCL other.M.ACC.SG

*diēpharménon tèn akōèn*]<sub>F</sub>

destroy.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.ACC.SG ART.F.ACC.SG hearing.F.ACC.SG

*ouk eínai-moi logízomai*

NEG be.INF.PRES.ACT-1SG.DAT consider.PRES.IND.MP.1SG

'[For it is the other (son), who has lost his hearing]<sub>F</sub>, who I do not consider mine.'

b. QUD: *Will Croesus destroy the Persian empire?*

οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τῷαυτὸ αἰ γινῶμαι  
 συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσωι, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, [μεγά-  
 λην]<sub>F</sub> ἀρχήν=μιν καταλύσειν.

*hōi mēn taūta epeirō:tō:n,*  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL MED.N.ACC.PL ask.IMP.F.IND.3PL.ACT  
*tō:n dē mantē:īō:n amphōtērō:n es*  
 ART.N.GEN.PL PTCL oracle.N.GEN.PL both.N.GEN.PL into  
*t-ōutō hai*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG-same.N.ACC.SG ART.F.NOM.PL  
*gnō:mai synédramōn,*  
 judgment.F.NOM.PL agree.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL  
*prōlégousai Krōisō:i, ē:n*  
 say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.PL Croesus.M.DAT.SG if.COMP-MOD  
*strateúētai epì Pērsas,*  
 attack.PRES.SBJV.MID.3SG against Persian.M.ACC.PL  
*[megále:n]<sub>F</sub> ark<sup>h</sup>é:n=μιν katalýsein.*  
 great.F.ACC.SG empire.F.ACC.SG=3SG.ACC destroy.INF.FUT.ACT  
 ‘They asked again, and the judgments of both oracles agreed, saying  
 to Croesus that if he attacks the Persians, a [great]<sub>F</sub> empire he will  
 destroy.’

1.53.3

c. QUD: *Who set out the wrong number of cups for the libation?*

τῶν δὲ δωδέκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνηι χρεωμένων, ἀνά χρόνον ὡς ἔθου-  
 σαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῶι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. τῆι ὑστάτηι τῆς ὀρθῆς μελλόντων κατα-  
 σπείσειν, [ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς]<sub>F</sub> ἐξήνικέ=σφι φιάλας χρυσέας τῆισι περ ἐώθεσαν  
 σπένδειν, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἔνδεκα δωδέκα ἐούσι.

*tō:n dē dō:dēka basiléō:n dikaiōsýnē:i*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL PTCL twelve king.M.GEN.PL justice.F.DAT.SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>reō:ménō:n, anà k<sup>h</sup>rónōn*  
 make.use.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL through time.M.ACC.SG  
*hō:s é<sup>th</sup>ysan en tō:i*  
 when.COMP sacrifice.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL in ART.N.DAT.SG  
*hirō:i tōũ Hē:p<sup>h</sup>aístou. tē:i*  
 temple.N.DAT.SG M.GEN.SG Hephaestus.M.GEN.SG ART.F.DAT.SG  
*hystáte:i tē:s hortē:s*  
 last.F.DAT.SG ART.F.GEN.SG festival.F.GEN.SG  
*mellōntō:n kataspeísein,*  
 be.about.to.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL pour.libation.INF.FUT.ACT

[*hō* *ark<sup>h</sup>ierēūs*]<sub>F</sub>  
 ART.M.NOM.SG high.priest.M.NOM.SG  
*eksé:neiké=sp<sup>h</sup>i* *ph<sup>h</sup>íalas*  
 bring.out.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG=3PL.DAT cup.F.ACC.PL  
*k<sup>h</sup>rýséas* *tē:isí* *per*  
 golden.F.ACC.PL REL.F.DAT.PL PTCL  
*é:th<sup>h</sup>esan* *spéndein,*  
 be.accustomed.PLPF.IND.ACT.3PL libate.INF.PRES.ACT  
*hamartō:n* *toũ* *arit<sup>h</sup>moũ,*  
 err.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.M.GEN.SG number.M.GEN.SG  
*héndeka dyó:dēka eōsi.*  
 eleven twelve be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL

‘The twelve kings maintained their just dealing with one another (lit. ‘made use of justice’). In the course of time, when they were sacrificing at the temple of Hephaestus, on the last (day) of the festival, as they were about to pour a libation, [the high priest]<sub>F</sub>, he brought out for them golden cups that were customary for libation, but erred in the number, (setting out) eleven cups for the twelve who were present.’

2.151.1

- d. QUD: *How would Amasis’ reputation change if he worked all day and conducted his business on the throne?*

καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοίτ’ ἂν ἠπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται καὶ  
 [ἄμεινον]<sub>F</sub> σὺν ἂν ἤκουες. νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά.  
*kai hōútō: Aigýptioít’ àn*  
 CONJ thus.ADV Egyptian.M.NOM.PL.CONJ.MOD  
*epistéato* *hō:s* *hyp’ andrōs*  
 know.IMP.F.IND.MP.3PL that.COMP by man.M.GEN.SG  
*megalōu* *árkhontai* *kai [ámeinoñ]<sub>F</sub>*  
 great.M.GEN.SG rule.PRES.IND.MP.3PL CONJ better.N.ACC.SG  
*sý=àn* *é:koues.* *nŷn* *dē*  
 2SG.NOM=MOD hear.IMP.F.IND.ACT.2SG now.ADV PTCL  
*poiéεις* *oudamō:s* *basiliká.*  
 do.PRES.IND.ACT.2SG in.no.way.ADV kingly.N.ACC.PL

‘And in this way, the Egyptians would know that they are ruled by a great man, and you would have a [better]<sub>F</sub> (and not a worse) reputation. As it is, your behavior in no way befits a king.’

2.173.2

e. QUD: *How much harm is Oroetes going to do the Persians?*

πρίν=τι=ῶν [μέζον]<sub>F</sub> ἔξεργάσασθαι=μιν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ  
ἡμῖν θανάτωι.

*prín=ti=ō:n* [mézdōn]<sub>F</sub>

before.COMP=INDF.N.ACC.SG>PTCL greater.N.ACC.SG

*eksergásast<sup>h</sup>aí=min* *Pérsas* *kakón,*

do.INF.AOR.MID>3SG.ACC Persian.M.ACC.PL bad.N.ACC.SG

*katalamptéōs* *esti* *he:mīn*

to.be.punished.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG 1PL.DAT

*t<sup>h</sup>anáto:i.*

death.M.DAT.SG

'Before (Oroetes) does the Persians [greater]<sub>F</sub> harm, he must be punished by us with death.'

3.127.3

### 6.1.3 *Unclassified Examples*

With other examples, fine-grained categorization of the type of focus is more difficult:

(6.10) QUD: *Where would one encounter a lion?*

[οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ τοῦ Νέστου οὐδαμόθι πάσης τῆς ἔμπροσθεν Εὐρώ-  
πης]<sub>F</sub> ἴδοι=τις=ἂν λέοντα, οὔτε πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Ἀχελώϊου ἐν τῇ ἐπιλοίπῳ  
ἡπείρῳι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μεταξύ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν γίνονται.

[oú-te gár tò pròs tē:n

NEG-CONJ EXPL ART.N.ACC.SG towards ART.F.ACC.SG

*e:ō: tōi Néstou oudamóthi*

east.F.ACC.SG ART.M.GEN.SG Nestus.M.GEN.SG nowhere.ADV

*páse:s tē:s émprōst<sup>h</sup>en Euró:pe:s]<sub>F</sub>*

whole.F.GEN.SG ART.F.GEN.SG before.ADV Europe.F.GEN.SG

*ídōi=tis=àn léonta,*

see.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG>INDF.C.NOM.SG>MOD lion.M.ACC.SG

*oú-te pròs hespére:s tōi*

NEG-CONJ towards west.F.GEN.SG ART.M.GEN.SG

*Ak<sup>h</sup>eló:iou en tē:i epilóipōi*

Achelous.M.GEN.SG in ART.F.DAT.SG remaining.C.DAT.SG

*e:peíro:i all' en tē:i metaksý tōútō:n*

mainland.F.DAT.SG but in ART.F.DAT.SG between MED.M.GEN.PL

*tō:n potamō:n gínontai.*

ART.M.GEN.PL river.M.GEN.PL exist.PRES.IND.MP.3PL

'For [nowhere in all of anterior Europe to the east of the Nestus]<sub>F</sub> would

one encounter a lion, nor to the west of the Achelous in the remaining mainland, but they are found in the land between these rivers.'

7.126

The preposed focus involves a negated prepositional phrase, 'nowhere in all of anterior Europe to the east of the Nestus.' The negation in the preposed phrase needs to be motivated; otherwise it will be insufficiently informative (e.g., when someone asks *Where is your brother?*, it would be uninformative, if not also sarcastic, to reply *Not in the bushes*, unless there were some reason to expect him in the bushes). I presume that the negation is motivated by some assertion to the contrary, i.e., that lions could be found east of the Nestus. While the form of the sentence suggests this type of discourse background, such an antecedent assertion is not actually in the text itself.

The following examples I consider non-monotonic, although I refrain from offering a more precise characterization:

(6.11) a. QUD: *How did Sesostris overcome his enemies?*

ότεῖσι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ  
τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τοῦτοισι μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων  
λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὐνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης καὶ ὡς [δυνάμι τῆι ἑωυ-  
τοῦ]<sub>F</sub> κατεστρέψατο<sub>σφ</sub>εας.

*hōtē̄ōisi mēn nyn autō:n alkīmōisi*  
REL.M.DAT.PL PTCL NOW.PTCL 3PL.M.GEN brave.M.DAT.PL  
*enētýnk<sup>h</sup>ane kai deinō:s*  
encounter.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG CONJ hard.ADV  
*glik<sup>h</sup>ōmēnōisi perì tē:s*  
strive.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.DAT.PL for ART.F.GEN.SG  
*eleuth<sup>h</sup>erīe:s, tōtōisi mēn stēlas*  
freedom.F.GEN.SG MED.M.DAT.PL PTCL pillar.F.ACC.PL  
*enīste: es tās k<sup>h</sup>ō:ras diā*  
set.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG into ART.F.ACC.PL land.F.ACC.PL through  
*grammátō:n legōúsas tó*  
letter.N.GEN.PL say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.ACC.PL ART.N.ACC.SG  
*te heōutoũ ónoma kai tē:s*  
CONJ REFL.3SG.M.GEN name.N.ACC.SG CONJ ART.F.GEN.SG  
*pátre:s kai hō:s [dýnami*  
homeland.F.GEN.SG CONJ that.COMP power.F.DAT.SG  
*tē:i heōutoũ]<sub>F</sub>*  
ART.F.DAT.SG REFL.3SG.M.GEN

*katestrépsatós=sp<sup>h</sup>ēas.*

overcome.AOR.IND.MID.3SG=3PL.C.ACC

‘For those (men) whom he encountered who were brave and fought hard for their freedom, he set up a stele in their land, which stated in writing his<sub>i</sub> (= Sesostris’) name and that of his homeland, and that he<sub>i</sub> overcame them [with his own power]<sub>F</sub>.’

2.102.4

- b. QUD: *What did the Pythia prophesy to him?*

ὥς δὲ [κατὰ ταυτὰ]<sub>F</sub> ἐθέσπιζέ=οί και πρότερον, οἶχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπῶν  
ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

*hō:s dè [katà t-autà]<sub>F</sub>*

since.COMP PTCL according.to ART.N.ACC.PL-same.N.ACC.PL

*et<sup>h</sup>éspizdē=hoi kai prōteron,*

prophesy.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG=3SG.DAT as.COMP before.ADV,

*oík<sup>h</sup>eto metaksý*

go.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG in.the.middle.ADV

*apolipōn*

*hō*

leave.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG

*Báttos es tē:n Thē:re:n.*

Battus.M.NOM.SG to ART.F.ACC.SG Thera.F.ACC.SG

‘Since she was prophesying to him [in the same way]<sub>F</sub> as before, Battus left in the middle and went to Thera.’

4.155.4

- c. QUD: *How much did the Peisistratids offer Xerxes?*

τοῦτο δὲ Πεισιστρατιδέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες ἐς Σοῦσα, τῶν τε αὐτῶν λόγων  
ἐχόμενοι τῶν και οἱ Ἀλευάδαι, και δὴ τι πρὸς τούτοισι [ἔτι πλέον]<sub>F</sub> προσ-  
ωρέγοντό=οί.

*toútō dè Peisistratidēō:n hōi*

MED.N.ACC.SG PTCL Peisistratid.M.GEN.PL ART.M.NOM.PL

*anabebe:kótes es Sōūsa,*

come.up.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.NOM.PL into Susa.N.ACC.PL

*tō:n te autō:n lōgō:n*

ART.M.GEN.PL CONJ same.M.GEN.PL word.M.GEN.PL

*ek<sup>h</sup>ōmenōi tō:n kai*

have.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL REL.M.GEN.PL too.ADV

*hōi Aleuádai, kai dē: ti*

ART.M.NOM.PL Aleuadai.M.NOM.PL CONJ PTCL INDF.N.ACC.SG

*pròs tóutōisi* [éti pléon]<sub>F</sub>  
 to MED.N.DAT.PL still.ADV more.N.ACC.SG  
*prōs:régontóhōi.*

offer.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL=3SG.DAT

‘On the other hand, those of the Peisistratids who came up to Susa, using the same arguments as the Aleuadai, offered [yet more]<sub>F</sub> to him (= Xerxes), in addition to these things.’

7.6.2

d. QUD: *Who has to appoint him for him to become king?*

ἦν=μὲν=δὴ [τὸ χρηστήριον]<sub>F</sub> ἀνέλημι=μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασι-  
 λεύειν. ἦν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν.

é:-n=mèn=dê: [tò k<sup>h</sup>re:sté:rión]<sub>F</sub>  
 if.COMP-MOD=PTCL=PTCL ART.N.NOM.SG oracle.N.NOM.SG

*anélēi=min* *basiléa*  
 appoint.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG=3SG.ACC king.M.ACC.SG

*eînai* *Lydō:n,* *tón* *dè*  
 be.INF.PRES.ACT Lydian.M.GEN.PL 3SG.M.ACC PTCL

*basileúein.* *é:-n* *dè* *mé:,*  
 be.king.INF.PRES.ACT if.COMP-MOD PTCL NEG

*apodōnai* *opísw: es Herakleídas*  
 return.INF.AOR.ACT back to Heracleidae.M.ACC.PL

*tē:n* *ark<sup>h</sup>é:n.*  
 ART.F.ACC.SG rule.F.ACC.SG

‘If [the oracle]<sub>F</sub> appoints him to be king of the Lydians, then he rules. If not, he gives the kingship back to the Heracleidae.’

1.13.1

e. QUD: *Who tried to block Alexander from competing?*

Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο [οἱ  
 ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων]<sub>F</sub> ἐξείργόν=μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνι-  
 στέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων.

*Aleksándrou* *gàr aethleúein*  
 Alexander.M.GEN.SG EXPL compete.INF.PRES.ACT

*heloménu* *kaì*  
 decide.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.GEN.SG CONJ

*katabántos* *ep’ autò*  
 enter.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.GEN.SG to same.N.ACC.SG

*τούτω* [ἡ] *ἡ*  
 MED.N.ACC.SG ART.M.NOM.PL  
*antit<sup>h</sup>eusómēnōi* *Hellé:nō:n*]<sub>F</sub>  
 compete.PTCP.FUT.MID.M.NOM.PL Greek.M.GEN.PL  
*ekseĩrgón-mīn,* *phámēnōi*  
 block.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL=3SG.ACC say.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL  
*ου* *barbárō:n* *agō:nistéō:n* *εἶναι*  
 NEG barbarian.M.GEN.PL competitor.M.GEN.PL be.INF.PRES.ACT  
*τὸν* *agō:na* *allà Hellé:nō:n.*  
 ART.M.ACC.SG contest.M.ACC.SG but Greek.M.GEN.PL  
 ‘When Alexander decided to compete and entered the lists, it was  
 [his Greek competitors]<sub>F</sub> who tried to block him, saying that the  
 contest was not for foreign competitors, but Greeks.’

5.22.2

- f. QUD: *In what venue would no one have attempted to oppose the king?*

*εἰ Ἀθηναῖοι καταρρωδήσαντες τὸν ἐπιόντα κίνδυνον ἐξέλιπον τὴν σφετέ-  
 ρην, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐκλιπόντες ἀλλὰ μείναντες ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἐέρξει,  
 [κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν]*<sub>F</sub> *οὐδαμοὶ-ἂν ἐπειρώντο ἀντιούμενοι βασιλείῃ.*  
*εἰ* *At<sup>h</sup>e:naĩoi* *katarrō:dé:santes*  
 if.COMP Athenian.M.NOM.PL fear.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
*τὸν* *επιόντα*  
 ART.M.ACC.SG approach.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG  
*κίνδυνον* *εξελίπον* *τῆ:n*  
 danger.M.ACC.SG leave.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG ART.F.ACC.SG  
*sp<sup>h</sup>etére:n,* *ἔ: καὶ* *mē:*  
 their.F.ACC.SG DISJ even.ADV NEG  
*εκλιπόντες* *allà*  
 leave.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL but  
*μείναντες* *έδωσαν* *sp<sup>h</sup>éas*  
 stay.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL give.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL 3PL.C.ACC  
*αὐτοὺς* *Ksérkse:i,* *[katà tē:n*  
 self.M.ACC.PL Xerxes.M.DAT.SG on ART.F.ACC.SG  
*t<sup>h</sup>álassan]*<sub>F</sub> *ουδαμοὶ-ἂν* *επειρό:ntō*  
 sea.F.ACC.SG none.M.NOM.PL=MOD attempt.IMP.F.IND.MP.3PL  
*antíoumēnōi* *basiléi.*  
 oppose.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL king.M.DAT.SG  
 ‘If the Athenians had abandoned their land out of fear of the  
 approaching danger, or even if they had not left (their land) but

stayed and given themselves over to Xerxes, no one would attempt to oppose the king [on the sea]<sub>F</sub>.’

7.139.2

- g. QUD: *Is it possible to watchfully protect the Ionians from the Persians?*  
 [ἀδύνατα]<sub>F</sub> γὰρ ἐφαίνετό<sup>σφι</sup> εἶναι ἑωυτούς τε Ἴώνων προκατήσθαι  
 φρουρέοντας τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ ἑωυτῶν μὴ προκατημένων Ἴωνας  
 οὐδεμίαν ἐλπίδα εἶχον χαίροντας πρὸς τῶν Περσέων ἀπαλλάξειν.  
 [adúnata]<sub>F</sub> gâr ep<sup>h</sup>ainetó<sup>σphi</sup>  
 impossible.N.NOM.PL=EXPL seem.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG=3PL.DAT  
 eînai he:utóús te Íō:nō:n  
 be.INF.PRES.ACT REFL.3PL.M.ACC CONJ Ionian.M.GEN.PL  
 prōkatē:sthai p<sup>h</sup>rouróntas  
 protect.INF.PERF.MP watch.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL  
 tòn pánta k<sup>h</sup>rónon kai  
 ART.M.ACC.SG whole.M.ACC.SG time.M.ACC.SG CONJ  
 he:utō:n mē: prōkatē:ménō:n  
 REFL.3PL.M.GEN NEG protect.PTCP.PERF.MID.M.GEN.PL  
 Íō:nas oudemían elpída  
 Ionian.M.ACC.PL none.F.ACC.SG hope.F.ACC.SG  
 eikhōn k<sup>h</sup>airóntas  
 have.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL be.happy.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL  
 pròs tō:n Perséō:n apalláksēin.  
 from ART.M.GEN.PL Persian.M.GEN.PL escape.FUT.PRES.ACT  
 ‘For it seemed to them (= the Greeks) to be [impossible]<sub>F</sub> to watch-  
 fully protect the Ionians forever, and yet if they were not to protect  
 the Ionians they had no chance that they (themselves) would escape  
 the Persians unscathed.’

9.106.2

- h. QUD: *Who would not be able to live with Scythian women?*  
 [ἡμεῖς]<sub>F</sub> οὐκ<sup>ἂν</sup> δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετερέων γυναικῶν.  
 [he:meís]<sub>F</sub> ouk<sup>ἂn</sup> dynáimetha oikéēin  
 1PL.NOM NEG=MOD be.able.PRES.OPT.MP.1PL live.INF.PRES.ACT  
 metà tō:n hýmeteréō:n gynaikō:n.  
 with ART.F.GEN.PL you.F.GEN.PL woman.F.GEN.PL  
 ‘[We]<sub>F</sub> would not be able to live with your women.’

4.114.3

- i. QUD: *Under what circumstances is it lawful to conduct sacrifices?*  
 [ἀνευ>γὰρ>δὴ μάγου]<sub>F</sub> οὐ>σφι νόμος>ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι.  
 [áneu>gàr>dè: mágu]<sub>F</sub> ou>sp<sup>hi</sup>  
 without>EXPL>PTCL magus.M.GEN.SG NEG>3PL.DAT  
 nómos>estì t<sup>h</sup>ysías  
 law.M.NOM.SG>be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG sacrifice.F.ACC.PL  
 ποιέεσθαι.  
 conduct.INF.PRES.MP  
 ‘For [without a magus]<sub>F</sub> it is not lawful for them to conduct sacrifices.’  
 1.132.3 (cf. 1.195.2)

In example (6.11.a), the inscription on the pillar highlights the nature of Sesostris’ military achievement. Whether this is because there was some expectation that he could not do this with his own might, or whether the highlighting is simply supposed to be exhaustive, i.e., ‘with his own power (and no one else’s),’ is hard to deduce from the text. In (6.11.b), there is an expectation that the oracle will not say the same thing, and in (6.11.c) the idea appears to be that what they offered Xerxes exceeds some expected amount. Preposing in (6.11.d) seems designed to trigger an exhaustive reading, i.e., “the oracle (and not anyone else).” Example (6.11.e) is based on the assumption that of all people Greeks would not block other Greeks from competing (in this case, they thought Alexander was not in fact Greek). Preposed *κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν* in (6.11.f) highlights the naval achievement of the Athenians in defeating the Persians, which no other Greeks would have accomplished. Protecting the Ionians seemed impossible to the Athenians, according to (6.11.g), which stands in contrast to the fact that it has to happen for the Athenians to be safe. In (6.11.h) the Scythian men have just proposed to their Amazonian lovers that they return to Scythian society. The response of the Amazonian women is based on an open proposition such as *live(x, with-Scythian-women)*. They add the focus value ‘not us’ and assume that it already contains a focus value ‘Scythians.’ Example (6.11.i) is interesting because it reflects a cultural difference: as there are no magoi among the Greeks, this would not be an expected requirement for sacrifice.

## 6.2 Verb Preposing

Before moving on to further issues of focus preposing, there is one phenomenon to which I would like to call attention. Focus preposing of a verb is rare

and does not appear to fit with the account offered above for non-verbal focus preposing:

- (6.12) a. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν ᾧ ἐγγράπτο: βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσησι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀροίτεα. οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας [κτείνουσι]<sub>F</sub> παραυτίκα<sub>μιν</sub>.

*ent<sup>h</sup>aũta dē: t<sup>h</sup>arsé:sas*

then.ADV PTCL encourage.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG

*tò teleutaĩon tō:n byblĩon*

ART.N.ACC.SG last.N.ACC.SG ART.N.GEN.PL scroll.N.GEN.PL

*didōi tō:i grammatistē:i, en*

give.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG ART.M.DAT.SG scribe.M.DAT.SG in

*hō:i egégraptō: basileus*

REL.N.DAT.SG write.PLPF.IND.MP.3SG king.M.NOM.SG

*Dareĩws Pērse:isi tō:si en*

Darius.M.NOM.SG Persian.M.DAT.PL ART.M.DAT.PL in

*Sárdisi entéllētai kteínein*

Sardis.F.DAT.PL command.PRES.IND.MP.3SG kill.INF.PRES.ACT

*Oroítea. hoi dē doryphōroi*

Oroetes.M.ACC.SG ART.M.NOM.PL PTCL spear.bearer.M.NOM.PL

*hō:s é:kousan taũta,*

when.COMP hear.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL MED.N.ACC.PL

*spasámenōi tō:us akínakas*

draw.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.PL ART.M.ACC.PL sword.M.ACC.PL

*[kteínousi]<sub>F</sub> parautíka<sub>min</sub>.*

kill.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL immediately.ADV<sub>3SG</sub>.ACC

‘Encouraged, (Bagaeus) gave the last of the rolls to the scribe, in which was written: King Darius orders the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes. When the spear-bearers heard this, they drew their swords and [killed]<sub>F</sub> him immediately.’

3.128.5

- b. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτηι ποιέεται. ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὄρτην, [εἴρηται]<sub>F</sub> προτερόν<sub>μοι</sub>.

*taũta mēn dē: taũte:i poíētai.*

MED.N.NOM.PL PTCL PTCL MED.F.DAT.SG do.PRES.IND.MP.3SG

*en dē Bousíri póli hō:s*

in PTCL Busiris.F.DAT.SG city.F.DAT.SG how.COMP



thus confirm the event issued initially as a command. There are, however, two problems with this. The first is that in (6.12.b) it is difficult to motivate any kind of non-monotonic reading. The second is that this reading seems to be the product of verb-initial clauses (cf. Ward 1990 on English and Devine and Stephens 2006 on Latin), but not verb preposing:

- (6.13) ἤν=μέν=δὴ [τὸ χρηστήριον]<sub>F</sub> ἀνέλι=μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τόν δὲ βασι-  
 λεύειν. ἤν δὲ μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ=τε=δὴ  
 τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης.  
*éi-n=mèn=dè:* [tò k<sup>h</sup>re:sté:rión]<sub>F</sub>  
 if.COMP-MOD=PTCL=PTCL ART.N.NOM.SG oracle.N.NOM.SG  
*anéle:i=min basiléa*  
 appoint.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG=3SG.ACC king.M.ACC.SG  
*eînai Lydō:n, tón dè*  
 be.INF.PRES.ACT Lydian.M.GEN.PL 3SG.M.ACC PTCL  
*basileúein. éi-n dè mé:, apodōūnai*  
 rule.INF.PRES.ACT if.COMP-MOD PTCL NEG return.INF.AOR.ACT  
*opísw: es Herakleídas tē:n ark<sup>h</sup>é:n.*  
 back to Heracleidae.F.ACC.PL ART.F.ACC.SG rule.F.ACC.SG  
*aneilé=te=dè: tò*  
 select.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG=CONJ=PTCL ART.N.NOM.SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>re:sté:rión kai ébasileuse hōútw:*  
 oracle.N.NOM.SG CONJ be.king.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG thus.ADV  
*Gýge:s.*  
 Gyges.M.NOM.SG

'If [the oracle]<sub>F</sub> appoints him to be king of the Lydians, then he rules. If not, he gives the kingship back to the Heracleidae. Select him the oracle did, and Gyges became king in this way.'

L13.1

Here ἀνεῖλε and ἐβασίλευσε confirm what was only a conditional prospect in the previous sentence. For a devoted treatment of verb-initial clauses, see Recht (2015).

### 6.3 Emphatic Negation

It is also possible to prepose negation and negative quantifiers, the effect of which appears to be to remove any contextual restrictions on their interpreta-  
 tion:

(6.14) *Emphatic Negation*

- a. ἡ δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐεῖδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήριζε [μηδεμιῇι τέχνῃι]<sub>F</sub> ἐκθεῖναι μιν.

*he:*            *dè*    *hɔ:s*            *eĩde*  
 3SG.F.NOM PTCL when.COMP see.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*tò*            *paidíon*            *méga*            *te*    *kai*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG child.N.ACC.SG tall.N.ACC.SG CONJ CONJ  
*eu eidès*            *éon*,  
 beautiful.N.ACC.SG be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.ACC.SG  
*dakrýsasa*            *kai*  
 cry.PTCP.AOR.ACT.F.NOM.SG CONJ  
*laboméne:*            *tō:n*  
 take.hold.PTCP.AOR.MID.F.NOM.SG ART.N.GEN.PL  
*gounátɔ:n*    *tɔĩ*            *andrōs*  
 knee.N.GEN.PL ART.M.GEN.SG man.M.GEN.SG  
*ek<sup>h</sup>ré:izde*            [*mɛ:demiē:i*    *ték<sup>h</sup>nei:i*]<sub>F</sub>  
 beg.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG none.F.DAT.SG method.F.DAT.SG  
*ek<sup>h</sup>eĩnai μιν*.

expose.INF.AOR.ACT=3SG.ACC

‘When she saw that the child was tall and beautiful, she begged him, crying and taking hold of her husband’s knees, not—[in any way at all]<sub>F</sub>—to expose him.’

1.112.1

- b. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, γυναίκα ἀντ’ ἀνδρῶν ὄψει γεγονότας, ὥστε [οὐδὲν]<sub>F</sub> δεινοί<sub>F</sub> τοῖ ἐσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.

*kai*    *tak<sup>h</sup>éɔ:s*    *sp<sup>h</sup>éas*,    *ō:*            *basileũ*,  
 CONJ quickly.ADV 3PL.C.ACC VOC.PTCL king.M.VOC.SG  
*gynaĩkas*            *ant’*    *andrō:n*            *ópsai*  
 woman.F.ACC.PL instead man.M.GEN.PL see.FUT.IND.MID.2SG  
*gegonótas*,            *hó:ste* [*ɔudèn*]<sub>F</sub>  
 become.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.ACC.PL RES none.N.ACC.SG  
*deinoí<sub>F</sub> toĩ*            *ésontai*            *mè:*  
 fear.M.NOM.PL=2SG.DAT be.FUT.IND.MID.3PL NEG  
*apóstéɔ:si*.

revolt.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3PL

‘And quickly, O king, you shall see them become women instead of men, so that you have [in no way]<sub>F</sub> fears that they might revolt.’

1.155.4

- c. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγγχοῦ τε ἐγίνοντο τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ [οὐδεὶς]<sub>F</sub> ἐφαίνετό-σφι ἐπαναγόμενος, ἀλλὰ ὤρων νέας ἀνελκυσμένας ἔσω τοῦ τείχεος, πολλὸν δὲ πεζὸν παρακεκριμένον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ νηὶ παραπλέων, ἐγχρίμψας τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τὰ μάλιστα, Λευτυχίδης ὑπὸ κήρυκος προηγόρευε τοῖσι Ἴωσι λέγων.

*epēi dē ank<sup>h</sup>ōũ te egínontō*

as.COMP PTCL near.ADV CONJ become.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL

*tōũ stratōpédou kai [oudeis]<sub>F</sub>*

ART.N.GEN.SG camp.N.GEN.SG CONJ none.M.NOM.SG

*ep<sup>h</sup>áinetós<sup>sp<sup>h</sup>i</sup>*

appear.IMPF.IND.MP.3SG≈3PL.DAT

*epanagómēnos, allà hó:ron*

put.to.sea.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG but see.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL

*néas anelkysménas éso:*

ship.F.ACC.PL draw.up.PTCP.PERF.MP.F.ACC.PL to

*tōũ téik<sup>h</sup>eos, pollōn dē*

ART.N.GEN.SG wall.N.GEN.SG much.M.ACC.SG PTCL

*pezdōn parakekriménōn parà*

infantry.M.ACC.SG draw.up.in.line.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.ACC.SG at

*tòn aigialón, ent<sup>h</sup>aũta prō:ton mèn*

ART.M.ACC.SG strand.M.ACC.SG then.ADV first.N.ACC.SG PTCL

*en tē:i ne:i*

in ART.F.DAT.SG ship.F.DAT.SG

*parapléō:n,*

sail.along.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG

*enk<sup>h</sup>rímpsas tō:i*

keep.close.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.M.DAT.SG

*aigialō:i tà málista,*

strand.M.DAT.SG ART.N.ACC.PL most.ADV

*Leutyk<sup>h</sup>íde:s hypò ké:rykōs*

Leutychides.M.NOM.SG by herald.M.GEN.SG

*prō:egóreye tō:si Íō:si*

proclaim.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.DAT.PL Ionian.M.DAT.PL

*légō:n.*

say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG

'As (the Greeks<sub>i</sub>) neared the camp, [no one]<sub>F</sub> put out to meet them. Instead, they<sub>i</sub> saw ships drawn up inside the wall and a lot of infantry drawn up along the shore. Leutychides first sailed by in his ship, staying as close to the shore as he could, and by means of a herald proclaimed the following to the Ionians.'

- d. [τῶν≠μὲν≠δὴ]CT [οὐδὲν]F προσίετό=μιν.  
 [tṵ:n=mèn=dè:]CT [ɔudèn]F  
 ART.N.GEN.PL≠PTCL≠PTCL nothing.N.NOM.SG  
*prosiétó=min.*  
 please.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG≠3SG.ACC  
 ‘[Of these]CT, [none]F pleased him (= Croesus).’  
 1.48.1
- e. [ppἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου] [οὐδὲν]F ἄμεινον=ἂν φανείη.  
 [ppandrōs gàr henōs tṵ] man.M.GEN.SG EXPL one.M.GEN.SG ART.M.GEN.SG  
*arístou] [ɔudèn]F ámeinon=àn*  
 noble.M.GEN.SG none.N.NOM.SG better.N.NOM.SG=MOD  
*phanéie=.*  
 seem.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG  
 ‘For [ppin comparison to one noble man], [nothing]F would seem better.’  
 3.82.2
- f. τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων, [οὐδαμὰ]F ἐλπίζων=ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν.  
 tṵtṵ eispe tṵ:n MED.N.ACC.SG say.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.GEN.PL  
*tis Babylō:ní:n, [ɔudamà]F*  
 INDF.C.NOM.SG Babylonian.M.GEN.PL in.no.way.ADV  
*elpízō:n=àn hē:míōnon*  
 expect.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG=MOD mule.M.ACC.SG  
*tekeîn.*  
 give.birth.INF.AOR.ACT  
 ‘The preceding is what one of the Babylonians said, since he did [not at all]F expect that a mule would give birth.’  
 3.151.2

Quantifiers are interpreted with respect to a contextually-determined set in discourse (Fintel 1994). So for instance *everyone* in *Everyone came to the party* can be used to refer to the totality of the set of people who were invited (or some other set), and need not refer to every individual in the universe. The effect of preposing a negative quantifier is to remove any such contextually-determined restrictions on its interpretation. To take (6.14.a) as illustrative, the preposing of *μηδεμιῆι τέχνηι* contributes something along the lines of ‘at all.’ Here a cowherd has brought home an exposed baby, which he has been ordered

to kill. He reports this to his wife and she responds, as reported in (6.14.a), by beseeching him not to expose the baby. By preposing μηδεμιῆι τέχνηι her directive is meant to cover all and any situations that could qualify as exposing the baby.

#### 6.4 Interrogative Clefts

Interrogative pronouns standardly host clausal clitics:

##### (6.15) *Interrogative Pronoun Hosts*

- a. κῶς=γὰρ=ἄν γινώσκει ὃς οὐτ' ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν οἰκίῃον,  
ὠθέει τε ἐμπεσῶν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳι ποταμῶι εἵκελος;  
*kōs=gār=àn ginō:skoi*  
how.WH.ADV=EXPL=MOD know.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG  
*hōs oú-t' edidák<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>e: oú-te*  
REL.M.NOM.SG NEG-CONJ learn.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG NEG-CONJ  
*eíde kalōn oudèn*  
see.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG good.N.ACC.SG nothing.N.ACC.SG  
*oiké:ion, o:t<sup>h</sup>éei te*  
own.N.ACC.SG push.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG CONJ  
*empesō:n tà pré:gmata*  
rush.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.N.ACC.PL deed.N.ACC.PL  
*áneu nóu, k<sup>h</sup>eimárrō:i potamō:i*  
without sense.M.GEN.SG swollen.M.DAT.SG river.M.DAT.SG  
*eíkelos?*  
similar.M.NOM.SG

'For how could one know who has neither been taught nor seen anything good for himself, and charging headlong shoves affairs along mindlessly like a stormy river?'

3.81.2

- b. Κροῖσε, τίς=σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον  
πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;  
*Kroíse, tís=se ant<sup>h</sup>rō:po:n*  
Croesus.M.VOC.SG WH.C.NOM.SG=2SG.ACC person.M.GEN.PL  
*anégno:se epì gē:n tē:n*  
persuade.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG against land.F.ACC.SG ART.F.ACC.SG  
*emē:n strateusámenōn*  
my.F.ACC.SG campaign.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.ACC.SG

*polémion anti p<sup>h</sup>ílou emoi*  
 enemy.M.ACC.SG instead friend.M.GEN.SG 1SG.DAT  
*katastēnai?*

be.set.INF.AOR.ACT

‘Croesus, what person persuaded you to stand against me as an enemy instead of with me as my ally, and campaign against my land?’

1.87.3

These are standard information-seeking constituent questions. Elsewhere the interrogative pronoun precedes the clitic host:

- (6.16) a. *κοῦ=γε=δῆ—ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι—  
 οὐκ=ἂν χωσθεῖη κόλπος καὶ πολλῶι μέζων ἔτι τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε  
 ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ;*

*koũ=ge=dē: en tō:i*

how.WH.ADV=PTCL=PTCL in ART.M.DAT.SG

*proanaisimō:ménō:i k<sup>h</sup>rónō:i próteron è:*

use.up.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.DAT.SG time.M.DAT.SG before.ADV DISJ

*emè genést<sup>h</sup>ai ouk=àn*

1SG.ACC be.born.INF.AOR.MID NEG=MOD

*k<sup>h</sup>ō:sthéiē: kólpos kai pollō:i*

bury.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG gulf.M.NOM.SG CONJ more.N.DAT.SG

*mézdō:n éti tóutou hypò tosoútou*

greater.C.NOM.SG still.ADV MED.M.GEN.SG by such.M.GEN.SG

*te potamōũ kai hōútō:s ergatikōũ?*

CONJ river.M.GEN.SG CONJ thus.ADV active.M.GEN.SG

‘How (is it that)—in the time before I was born—a gulf much bigger even than this would not be buried by such a great and active river?’

2.11.4

- b. ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἔψευσται· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ’ αὐτὴ οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος. ὃς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιοπῶν, ἐκδιδοί δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. [χῶς]<sub>F</sub>=ῶν=δῆτα ῥέει=ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλὰ ἐστι;

*he: dē tríte: tō:n*

ART.F.NOM.SG PTCL third.F.NOM.SG ART.F.GEN.PL

*hōdō:n pollōn epieikestáte:*

way.F.GEN.PL much.ADV most.reasonable.F.NOM.SG

*εὐῶσα* *málista*  
 be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.SG most.ADV  
*ἐψευσται,* *λέγει* *γὰρ δὲ:*  
 be.mistaken.PERF.IND.MP.3SG say.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG EXPL PTCL  
*ου-δ' haúte: oudén,*  
 NEG-PTCL MED.F.NOM.SG none.N.ACC.SG  
*p<sup>h</sup>améne:* *tòn* *Νεῖλῶν*  
 claim.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.NOM.SG ART.M.ACC.SG Nile.M.ACC.SG  
*hréein* *apò tekóméne:s*  
 flow.INF.PRES.ACT from melt.PTCP.PRES.MP.F.GEN.SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>iónōs.* *hōs* *hréei* *mèn*  
 snow.F.GEN.SG REL.M.NOM.SG flow.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG PTCL  
*ek Libýe:s* *dià méso:n*  
 from Libya.F.GEN.SG through middle.M.GEN.PL  
*Ait<sup>h</sup>iópō:n,* *ekdidōĩ* *dè* *εs*  
 Ethiopian.M.GEN.PL issue.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG PTCL into  
*Aígyptōn.* *[kō:s]<sub>F</sub>≠ō:n=dē:ta*  
 Egypt.F.ACC.SG how.WH.ADV≠PTCL≠PTCL  
*hréoi=àn* *apò k<sup>h</sup>iónōs,* *apò*  
 flow.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG=MOD from snow.F.GEN.SG from  
*tō:n* *t<sup>h</sup>ermotátō:n*  
 ART.N.GEN.PL warmest.N.GEN.PL  
*hréō:n* *εs* *tà*  
 flow.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG into ART.N.ACC.PL  
*psyk<sup>h</sup>rótēra* *tà* *pollá*  
 colder.N.ACC.PL ART.N.ACC.PL many.N.ACC.PL  
*estí?*  
 be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

‘The third explanation, while quite reasonable, is completely wrong. For it doesn’t even make any sense to claim that the Nile, which flows from Libya through Ethiopia and issues into Egypt flows from melted snow. [How]<sub>F</sub> (is it), then, (that it) could flow from snow, flowing from the warmest (areas) into the areas that are for the most part cooler?’

- c. τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστεα μήτε τείχεα ἦι ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἐόντες πάντες ἔωσι ἵπποτοξόται, ζῶντές τε μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκῆματά τέ σφι ἦι ἐπὶ ζευγέων. [κῶς]<sub>F</sub> οὐκ-ἂν εἶησαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;

*tōisi gār mēi-te ástea mé:te*  
 3PL.M.DAT EXPL NEG-CONJ town.N.NOM.PL NEG.CONJ  
*teík<sup>h</sup>ea ē:i*

wall.N.NOM.PL be.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3SG

*ektisména, allà p<sup>h</sup>eréōikōi*

build.PTCP.PERF.MP.N.NOM.PL but nomad.M.NOM.PL

*éontes, pántes*

be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL all.M.NOM.PL

*éō:si hippotóksótai,*

be.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3PL horse.archer.M.NOM.PL

*zdō:ntés te mē: ap' arótu*

live.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL CONJ NEG from crops.M.GEN.SG

*all' apò kte:néō:n, oiké:matá té sp<sup>h</sup>i*

but from flock.N.GEN.PL dwelling.N.NOM.PL CONJ 3PL.DAT

*ē:i epì zdeugéō:n. [kō:s]<sub>F</sub>*

be.PRES.SBJV.ACT.3SG on draft.animal.N.GEN.PL how.WH.ADV

*ouk-ἂν eí:san hōūtōi*

NEG=MOD be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL MED.M.NOM.PL

*ámak<sup>h</sup>ōi te kai ápōrōi*

invincible.C.NOM.PL CONJ CONJ unapproachable.C.NOM.PL

*prōsmísgein?*

approach.INF.PRES.ACT

'For they have established neither towns nor walls, but being nomads, and living not from agriculture but from flocks, they are all horse-archers and their dwellings are on their draft animals: [How]<sub>F</sub> (is it that) they would not be invincible and unapproachable?'

4.46.3

(6.17) *Embedded Question*

εἰρώτα [τίς]<sub>F</sub> εἴη-μοι ὁ δούς.

*eirō:ta [tís]<sub>F</sub>*

ask.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG WH.C.NOM.SG

*eí:moi hō*

be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG=1SG.DAT ART.M.NOM.SG

*dōús.*

give.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG

‘(Ariston) asked [who]<sub>F</sub> (it was who) gave (the garlands) to me.’

6.69.2

In each of these examples, the interrogative pronoun occurs before the clitic host. The crucial difference between these examples and those in which the interrogative pronoun hosts a clausal clitic is that their preajacent (that is, everything but the variable representing the interrogative pronoun) is already in the Common Ground (cf. Hajicová 1993: 54, Herburger 2000). Comparison with English clefts is useful:

(6.18) Who gave you that hat?  
No one, I bought it for myself.

(6.19) Who was it that gave you that hat?  
?No one, I bought it for myself.

The problem with (6.19) is that the form of the question presupposes that someone gave the addressee the hat, which the answer then contradicts.

To return to the Greek examples in (6.16), Herodotus is arguing in (6.16.a) and (6.16.b) against assertions that have been introduced in the discourse. The invincibility of the Scythians as a nomadic tribe is taken for granted in (6.16.c). And in (6.17) the preceding sentence mentions that the addressee is wearing garlands.

## 6.5 Multiple Preposing

Thus far the discussion has centered on cases in which one constituent or subconstituent precedes the host of a clausal clitic. There is a small set of examples in which two or even three constituents precede the clitic host. Within this set, there are at least three subtypes. The first involves the simple combination of topicalization with focus preposing:

- (6.20) *Topicalization with Focus Preposing*  
 a. [Δαρείος=μέν=δή]<sub>CT</sub>, δοκέειν ἐμοί, [ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου]<sub>F</sub> ἐπαγγέλ-  
 λετό=οί ταῦτα.  
*Dareĩos*                      *mèn dé;*, *dokéein*                      *emoí*,  
 Darius.M.NOM.SG PTCL PTCL seem.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG 1SG.DAT  
 [ap’ *oudenòs*                      *dolerou*                      *noou*]<sub>F</sub>  
 from none.M.GEN.SG deceitful.M.GEN.SG mind.M.GEN.SG

*epangélletó·hōi* *taūta.*  
 tell.IMPF.IND.MID.3SG≠3SG.DAT MED.N.ACC.PL  
 ‘[As for Darius]<sub>CT</sub>, it seems to me that [it was from no deceitful  
 mind]<sub>F</sub> that he told him these things.’

3.135.3

- b. [οἱ δὲ]<sub>CT</sub> [ἐπ’ οὐδενί]<sub>F</sub>, ἔφασσαν, ἔρδειν=ἄν τοῦτο.  
 [hōi dē]<sub>CT</sub> [ep’ oudeni]<sub>F</sub>, ép<sup>h</sup>asan,  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL for none.N.DAT.SG say.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL  
 érdein=án tōūto.  
 do.INF.PRES.ACT≠MOD MED.N.ACC.SG  
 ‘[They]<sub>CT</sub> said that [there is no price]<sub>F</sub> for which they would do that.’

3.38.3

- c. [τῶν=μὲν=δὴ]<sub>CT</sub> [οὐδέν]<sub>F</sub> προσίετό=μιν.  
 [tō:n=mèn=dē:]<sub>CT</sub> [oudèn]<sub>F</sub>  
 ART.N.GEN.PL≠PTCL≠PTCL nothing.N.NOM.SG  
 prōsietó=min.  
 please.IMPF.IND.MP.3SG≠3SG.ACC  
 ‘[Of these]<sub>CT</sub>, [none]<sub>F</sub> pleased him (= Croesus).’

1.48.1

In each case, we have a topicalized phrase marked with μέν or δέ, which is followed in turn by a preposed focus element, and then finally the clitic host. The semantics of the focused constituent is the same as that presented above in section 6.1.2: the value associated with the preposed element is unexpected.

In the second subtype, the preposed focus element is preceded by a high adjoined adverbial phrase (on which see section 4.4.3 above):

(6.21) *Frame Adverbials with Focus Preposing*

- a. [ppἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου] [οὐδέν]<sub>F</sub> ἄμεινον=ἄν φανεῖη.  
 [ppandrōs gār henōs tōū  
 man.M.GEN.SG EXPL one.M.GEN.SG ART.M.GEN.SG  
 arístou] [oudèn]<sub>F</sub> ámeinon=án  
 noble.M.GEN.SG none.N.NOM.SG better.N.NOM.SG≠MOD  
 p<sup>h</sup>aneíēi.  
 seem.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG  
 ‘For [ppin comparison to one noble man], [nothing]<sub>F</sub> would seem  
 better.’

3.82.2

- b. ἡμεῖς μὲν ἑκαστέρῳ τε οἰκέομεν καὶ [D<sub>P</sub>ὑμῖν] [τοιήδε=τις]<sub>F</sub> γίνοιτ' ἂν ἐπικουρίῃ ψυχρή.

*he:mēis mēn hekastērō: te oikéōmen kai*  
 1PL.NOM PTCL farthest.ADV CONJ live.PRES.IND.ACT.1PL CONJ  
 [D<sub>P</sub>*hymīn*] [toié:de=tis]<sub>F</sub>

2PL.DAT such.F.NOM.SG≠INDF.C.NOM.SG

*gínoit' ἂn epikouríē: psyk<sup>h</sup>ré:.*

be.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG≠MOD help.F.NOM.SG cold.F.NOM.SG

'We live too far away, and [D<sub>P</sub>to you] [any such]<sub>F</sub> help would be cold comfort.'

6.108.2

- c. αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἕλληγν γένος εἰμί τῶρχαῖον καὶ [ppἄντ' ἐλευθέρης] [δεδουλωμένην]<sub>F</sub> οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοισι ὄραν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

*autós te gār Hēllē:n génos*  
 self.M.NOM.SG CONJ EXPL Greek.M.NOM.SG pedigree.N.ACC.SG

*eimī t-:rk<sup>h</sup>aīōn kai*  
 be.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG ART.N.ACC.SG-ancient.N.ACC.SG CONJ

[pp<sub>ant'</sub> *eleuthéres*:s] [dedoulō:méne:n]<sub>F</sub>

instead free.F.GEN.SG enslave.PTCP.PERF.MP.F.ACC.SG

*ouk ἂn et<sup>h</sup>éloimi horān*

NEG≠MOD want.PRES.OPT.ACT.1SG see.INF.PRES.ACT

*tē:n Helláda.*

ART.F.ACC.SG Hellas.F.ACC.SG

'For I am myself Greek by ancient pedigree and would not want to see Hellas [enslaved]<sub>F</sub> [pp<sub>instead of free</sub>].'

9.45.2

Examples (6.21.a) and (6.21.b) obey independent generalizations for high adverbials and non-monotonic focus, whereas in (6.21.c) preposing may have something to do with the contrast between ἄντ' ἐλευθέρης and δεδουλωμένην.

The final subtype is puzzling:

- (6.22) a. οὗτος ὁ στόλος [ἐπὶ Κόδρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀθηναίων]<sub>F</sub> ὀρθῶς ἂν καλέοιτο.

*hōūtōs hō stōlos [epi*

MED.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG expedition.M.NOM.SG to

*Kōdrōu basileúontōs*

Codrus.M.GEN.SG be.king.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG

*At<sup>h</sup>e:naíw:n]*<sub>F</sub>      *ορθῶ:s=àn*      *καλέω:ιτῶ.*  
 Athenian.M.GEN.PL correctly.ADV=MOD call.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG  
 ‘This expedition would correctly be dated [to the era when Codrus  
 was king of the Athenians]<sub>F</sub>.’

5.76

- b. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι [Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης]<sub>F</sub> ἔδοσαν=σφι  
 δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς οὐδὲ ὧν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκείνοισι.

*τοὺς*      *δὲ*      *hypokrínast<sup>h</sup>ai*      *ὡς:s*      *ου-δὲ*  
 ART.M.ACC.PL PTCL reply.INF.AOR.MID that.COMP NEG-PTCL  
*εκεῖνοι*      [*Ioús*      *tē:s*      *Argéiēs:s]*<sub>F</sub>  
 DIST.M.NOM.PL Io.F.GEN.SG ART.F.GEN.SG Argive.F.GEN.SG  
*έδοσαν=sp<sup>h</sup>i*      *dikas*      *tē:s*  
 give.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL=3PL.DAT right.F.ACC.PL ART.F.GEN.SG  
*harpagē:s*      *ου-δὲ*      *ῶ:n*      *αυτοῖ*  
 abduction.F.GEN.SG NEG-PTCL PTCL self.F.NOM.PL  
*δώσειν*      *εκεῖνοισι.*  
 give.INF.FUT.ACT DIST.M.DAT.PL

‘They (= the Greeks) replied that neither did they give them restitu-  
 tion for the abduction [of the Argive Io]<sub>F</sub>, nor would they give them  
 (any).’

1.2.3

- c. ἐπεὰν δὲ θάψωσι, ἀγορῆ [δέκα ἡμερέων]<sub>F</sub> οὐκ ἴσταται=σφι οὐδ’ ἀρχαιρε-  
 σίη συνίξει. ἀλλὰ πενθέουσι ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας.

*επε-àn*      *δὲ*      *t<sup>h</sup>ápsō:si,*  
 when.COMP-MOD PTCL bury.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3PL  
*αγορῆ:*      [*déka he:meréw:n]*<sub>F</sub>      *ουκ*  
 market.F.NOM.SG ten    day.F.GEN.PL NEG  
*hístatai=sp<sup>h</sup>i*      *ου-δ’*  
 set.up.PRES.IND.MP.3SG=3PL.DAT NEG-PTCL  
*ark<sup>h</sup>airesiē:*      *synízdei*  
 election.of.magistrates.F.NOM.SG take.place.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
*allà pent<sup>h</sup>éousi*      *taútas*      *tàs*  
 but grieve.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL MED.F.ACC.PL ART.F.ACC.PL  
*he:méras.*  
 day.F.ACC.PL

‘Whenever they bury (a king), they do not hold market [for ten  
 days]<sub>F</sub>, nor does the election of magistrates take place. Instead they  
 grieve during those days.’

6.58.3

- d. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδώπιν ἀπενόστησεν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. ἐν μέλει  
Σαπφῶ [πολλά]<sub>F</sub> κατεκερτόμησέ=μιν.

*Kháraksos* δὲ *hō:s*

Charaxus.M.NOM.SG PTCL after.COMP

*lysámenos* *Hrōdō:pin*

free.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG Rhodopis.F.ACC.SG

*apenóstē:sen* *es* *Mytilé:ne:n.* *en*

return.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG into Mytilene.F.ACC.SG in

*mélei* *Sapphō:* [*pollà*]<sub>F</sub>

song.N.DAT.SG Sappho.F.NOM.SG many.N.ACC.PL

*katekertómē:sé=μin.*

mock.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG=3SG.ACC

'Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene.

In a song Sappho mocked him [repeatedly]<sub>F</sub>.'

2.135.6

- e. τῶν εἴνεκα οὐτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνή [ἀνδρα "Ελληνα]<sub>F</sub> φιλήσειε=ἄν  
τῶι στόματι.

*tō:n* *heínēka* *ou-t'* *anē:r*

REL.N.GEN.PL because NEG-CONJ man.M.NOM.SG

*Aigýptios* *ou-te* *gynē:*

Egyptian.M.NOM.SG NEG-CONJ woman.F.NOM.SG

[*ándra* *Héllē:na*]<sub>F</sub> *phílē:sēie=án*

man.M.ACC.SG Greek.M.ACC.SG kiss.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG=MOD

*tō:i* *stómati.*

ART.N.DAT.SG mouth.N.DAT.SG

'For these reasons, neither an Egyptian man nor woman would kiss

[a Greek man]<sub>F</sub> on the mouth.'

2.41.3

While identifying the focus constituent seems relatively straightforward, the motivation for the preposing of the elements preceding the focus is mysterious. In (6.22.a) and (6.22.b), the subject phrases refer back to entities already introduced in the discourse; in (6.22.c)–(6.22.e), the subjects are by contrast all discourse-new. Examples (6.22.d) and (6.22.e) are further preceded by an adverbial element. In principle, these could be cases of multiple focus (on which see Krifka 1991), but if so it is not clear how to motivate this kind of reading from the discourse context. These examples may not even form a coherent class, and some sort of verb-adjacency constraint may be at work in examples (6.22.b)–(6.22.e).

## 6.6 Syntax

As we have seen, it is possible to prepose a diverse range of phrases or subphrasal elements, including subjects (6.11.h), objects (6.8.a), adjuncts (6.5), negative adverbials (6.14.a), and interrogative pronouns (6.16.c). Preposed adjectives are either adjacent to their head nouns or separated from them:

(6.23) *Discontinuous NP*

- a. πρίν=τι=ᾧν [μέζον]<sub>F</sub> ἔξεργάσασθαι=μιν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν θανάτω.

*prín=ti=ōn* [mézōn]<sub>F</sub>  
 before.COMP=INDF.N.ACC.SG=PTCL greater.N.ACC.SG  
*eksergásast<sup>h</sup>ai=min* *Pérsas* *kakón,*  
 do.INF.AOR.MID=3SG.ACC Persian.M.ACC.PL bad.N.ACC.SG  
*katalamptéōs* *estì* *he:mîn*  
 to.be.punished.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG 1PL.DAT  
*t<sup>h</sup>anátw:i.*

death.M.DAT.SG

‘Before he does the Persians [greater]<sub>F</sub> harm, he must be punished by us with death.’

3.127.3

- b. ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐκαστέρω τε οἰκέομεν καὶ ὑμῖν [τοιήδε=τις]<sub>F</sub> γίνοιτ’=ἂν ἐπικουρή ψυχρή.

*he:meîs* *mèn* *hekastérw:* *te* *oikéōmen* *kai*  
 1PL.NOM PTCL farthest.ADV CONJ live.PRES.IND.ACT.1PL CONJ  
*hymîn* [toié:de=tis]<sub>F</sub>  
 2PL.DAT such.F.NOM.SG=INDF.C.NOM.SG

*gínoit’=àn* *epikouríē:* *psyk<sup>h</sup>ré:.*  
 be.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG=MOD help.F.NOM.SG cold.F.NOM.SG

‘We live too far away, and to you [any such]<sub>F</sub> help would be cold comfort.’

6.108.2

- c. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἴώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων ([εἶς]<sub>F</sub>=γάρ ἦν=οἱ τεταγμένος οὗτος φόρος) προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου.

[apò mèn dè: *Iónw:n* *kai* *Magné:twn*  
 from PTCL PTCL Ionian.M.GEN.PL CONJ Magnesian.M.GEN.PL

*tō:n*                    *en tē:i*                    *Asíei*                    *kai*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL in ART.F.DAT.SG Asia.F.DAT.SG CONJ  
*Aioléō:n*                    *kai*                    *Karō:n*                    *kai*  
 Aeolian.M.GEN.PL CONJ Carian.M.GEN.PL CONJ  
*Lykíō:n*                    *kai*                    *Milyéō:n*                    *kai*  
 Lycian.M.GEN.PL CONJ Milyan.M.GEN.PL CONJ  
*Pamp<sup>h</sup>ýlō:n*                    (*[heĩs]*<sub>F</sub>gàr  
 Pamphylian.M.GEN.PL one.M.NOM.SG=EXPL  
*ē:n=hoi*                    *tetagménōs*  
 be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG=3SG.DAT assign.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.NOM.SG  
*hoũtōs*                    *p<sup>h</sup>óros)*                    *prōsē:ie*  
 MED.M.NOM.SG tribute.M.NOM.SG come.in.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
*tetrakósia*                    *tálanta*                    *argyríou.*  
 four.hundred.N.NOM.PL talent.N.NOM.PL silver.N.GEN.SG  
 ‘The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians,  
 Milyans, and Pamphylians (for [one]<sub>F</sub> tribute was required of them)  
 paid a revenue of four hundred talents of silver.’

3.90.1

Remarkably, the discontinuity involves not simply a separation of modifier and noun, but rather a maximal dispersion, as in each case the noun is found at the right edge of the clause. I would tentatively suggest that the position of the head noun is due to its high activation status. When the head noun is not already active in discourse it appears adjacent to its modifier:

(6.24) *Continuous NP*

- a. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τῷτὸ αἰ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσωι, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, [μεγάλην]<sub>F</sub> ἀρχήν=μιν καταλύσειν.

*hoi*                    *mèn taũta*                    *epēirótō:n,*  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL MED.N.ACC.PL ask.IMP.F.IND.3PL.ACT  
*tō:n*                    *dè manteíō:n*                    *amp<sup>h</sup>otérō:n*                    *es*  
 ART.N.GEN.PL PTCL oracle.N.GEN.PL both.N.GEN.PL into  
*t-ō:utò*                    *hai*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG-same.N.ACC.SG ART.F.NOM.PL  
*gnō:mai*                    *synédramōn,*  
 judgment.F.NOM.PL agree.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL  
*prólégousai*                    *Króisō:i,*                    *ē:-n*  
 say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.PL Croesus.M.NOM.SG if.COMP-MOD

*strateúe:tai* *epi Pársas,*  
 lead.a.campaign.PRES.SBJV.MID.3SG against Persian.M.ACC.PL  
 [megále:n]<sub>F</sub> *ark<sup>h</sup>é:n=̂min* *katalýsein.*  
 great.F.ACC.SG empire.F.ACC.SG=3SG.ACC destroy.INF.FUT.ACT  
 ‘They asked again, and the judgments of both oracles agreed, saying  
 to Croesus that if he attacks the Persians, a [great]<sub>F</sub> empire he will  
 destroy.’

1.53.3

- b. τὸ δὲ θυμιάται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τῶσαύτην ὥστε  
 [Ἑλληνική]<sub>F</sub> οὐδεμία=̂ν=̂μιν πυρὴν ἀποκρατήσῃε.

*tò* *dè* *t<sup>h</sup>ymiātai*  
 REL.N.NOM.SG PTCL smoulder.PRES.IND.MP.3SG  
*epiballómēnon* *kai atmída*  
 throw.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.NOM.SG CONJ fume.F.ACC.SG  
*parék<sup>h</sup>etai* *tōsaútē:n* *hōste*  
 send.out.PRES.IND.MP.3SG such.F.ACC.SG RES  
 [Helle:nikē:<sub>F</sub>] *oudeμία=̂n=̂min*  
 Greek.F.NOM.SG none.F.NOM.SG=MOD=3SG.ACC  
*pyriē:* *apokraté:sēie.*  
 vapor.bath.F.NOM.SG surpass.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG  
 ‘(The Scythians use hemp seed), which, lying on (the stones), smoul-  
 ders and produces such (strong) smoke that no [Greek]<sub>F</sub> vapor-bath  
 could outdo it.’

4.75.1

- c. εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξις συλλογίσαιτο,  
 [ἐλάσσονος]<sub>F</sub> πόνου=̂τε=̂̂ν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἐόντα τοῦ λαβυρίθου  
 τούτου.

*ei* *gár tis* *tà* *eks*  
 if.COMP EXPL INDF.C.NOM.SG ART.N.ACC.PL from  
*Hellēnō:n* *teík<sup>h</sup>ēá* *te kai érgō:n*  
 Greek.M.GEN.PL wall.N.ACC.PL CONJ CONJ work.N.GEN.PL  
*apódeksin* *syllōgísaitō,* *[elássōnos]<sub>F</sub>*  
 display.F.ACC.SG add.up.AOR.OPT.MID.3SG less.C.GEN.SG  
*pónou=̂te=̂̂n* *kai dapáne:s*  
 toil.M.GEN.SG=CONJ=MOD CONJ expense.F.GEN.SG  
*p<sup>h</sup>anēie:* *ēónta*  
 be.clear.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.NOM.PL





crying and taking hold of her husband's knees, not—[in any way at all]<sub>F</sub>—to expose him.'

1.112.1

There are even cases of preposing and topicalization occurring together under a complementizer:

- (6.26) οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς—εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι—ὅτι [πρώτα=μέν]<sub>CT</sub> [νόθον]<sub>F</sub> οὐ=σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεύσαι γνησίου παρεόντος.

*ου μέ:n ου-dè léle:t<sup>h</sup>ε* *αυτούς*  
NEG PTCL NEG-PTCL escape.notice.PERF.IND.ACT.3SG 3PL.M.ACC

*εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι*  
if.COMP EXPL INDF.C.NOM.PL CONJ other.M.NOM.PL

*τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα*  
ART.N.ACC.PL Persian.M.GEN.PL custom.N.ACC.PL

*ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἥτι*  
know.PRES.IND.MP.3SG CONJ Egyptian.M.NOM.PL that.COMP

[*πρῶτα=μέν*]<sub>CT</sub> [*νόθον*]<sub>F</sub> *οὐ=σφι*  
first.N.ACC.PL≠PTCL bastard.M.ACC.SG NEG=3PL.DAT

*νόμως ἐστὶ βασιλεύσαι*  
custom.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG be.king.INF.AOR.ACT

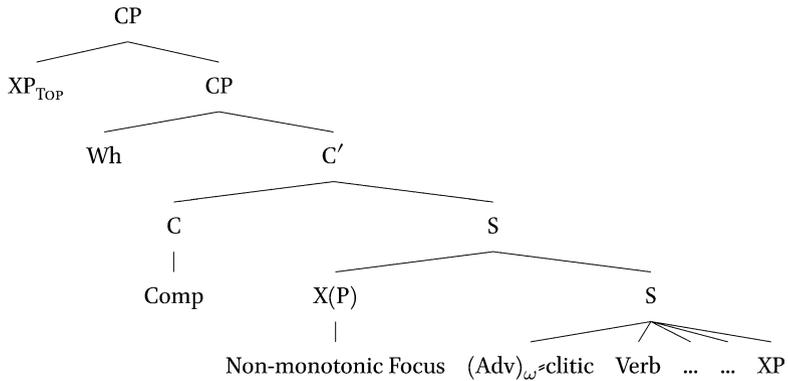
*γνησίου παρεόντος*  
legitimate.M.GEN.SG be.around.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG

'It has certainly not escaped (the Egyptians)—for if any others also know the customs of the Persians it is the Egyptians—that, [first]<sub>CT</sub>, it is not their custom for [a bastard]<sub>F</sub> to be king when there is a legitimate heir.'

3.2.2

These examples suggest that the focus projection lies both under the topicalized phrase as well as under CP. Furthermore, in most of the cases above the verb is the first element in S, which accordingly hosts the clitic. When negation, a negative quantifier, or a verb-scope adverbial is present, however, then these host the clausal clitic. What this all amounts to is the following picture of the Greek clause (I position the topicalized phrase above C, although recall from example (5.43) above that it appears to be possible for it to occur beneath it as well):

(6.27) *Herodotean Clause Structure*

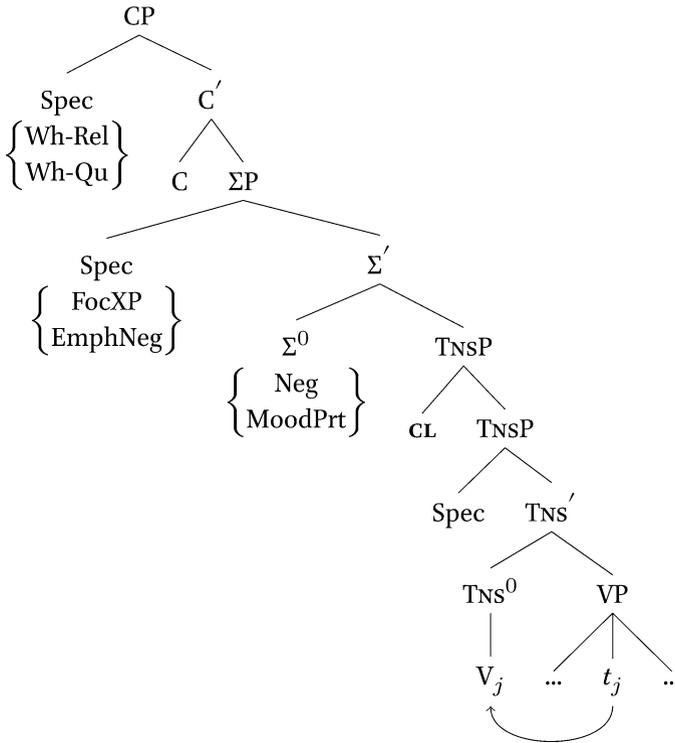


Adv is here a cover term for negation, negative quantifiers, and verb-scope adverbials. Any topicalized elements or high adverbial phrases will adjoin to S or CP. Focus preposing occurs below C (cf. Kiparsky 1995: 153, M. Hale 1996: 177; for proposals with only one preposing projection, see Lühr 2009 and Keydana 2011). I tentatively characterize this projection as adjoined to S, given the apparent possibility of multiple focus preposing, as in example (6.22).

The postverbal material is the background against which the focus is asserted; in other words, it is material that is in the QUD.<sup>3</sup> This means in effect that—in this construction at least—the verb in affirmative clauses is a fulcrum between what is asserted and what is not. Whether there are further layers of the clause to accommodate the material preceding the host in the examples in (6.22) will have to remain an open question.

The phrase structure in (6.27) also offers a point of contact between Ancient and Medieval Greek. Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2002, 2004) offer the following phrase structure for Late Medieval Greek (CL stands for ‘clitic’):

3 This appears to correspond to the category Remainder that H. Dik (1995) and (2007) argues for; she, however, offers no definition for the category: it seems simply to be post-verbal material that is neither the Topic nor Focus of the utterance. It may well be the case that the organizing principles of the post-verbal field are of an entirely different nature from those governing the preverbal field. The pre-verbal field in Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan; Oklahoma), for instance, is sensitive to information structure, while the post-verbal field is rigidly ordered (Adger, Harbour, and Watkins 2009).

(6.28) *Late Medieval Greek Clause Structure*

While the nodes in this tree bear more decoration than the one in (6.27) and use specifier projections, they are actually very similar: crucially, the ordering complementizer-focus-negation-clitic-finite verb is common to both of them. This is a feature of clitic distribution that also characterizes Modern Greek, with the further distinction that pronominal clitics have become proclitic (see Mavrogiorgos 2010).

## 6.7 Summing Up

I have argued for a non-monotonic focus projection that lies beneath C. Focus preposing is formally distinguished from contrastive topicalization not only structurally but also in the absence of  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  and  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ . The analysis here is in many ways a minimal analysis of focus preposing in Greek in that it is the base set of properties that this construction has. It undoubtedly has more, which will prove a rich area for exploration. One dimension that I have not been able to

discuss is the pragmatic side of this construction, such as the implicatures that focus preposing can give rise to in context. On the basis of Hdt. 1.53 (the Pythian oracle's response to Croesus' inquiry), Goldstein (2013b) explores the type of pragmatic meaning that can be generated in context. As with topicalization, the value of focus preposing for our general understanding of Greek word order cannot be underestimated. The construction provides us with an anchor that has a clear informational-structural character from which it is then possible to explore the rest of the clause.



**PART 3**

*Clause Combining*





## Participles

We turn now from preposing to the relationship between clitic position and non-finite constructions. Participial phrases are the focus of this chapter, while infinitives will be discussed in the next. Participles are non-finite verbal forms derived from verbal stems that inflect as adjectives. They bear the aspectual properties of their verbal stem (tense semantics are often relative to the finite verb), and can be inflected for voice (typically active and middle-passive, although some tenses offer separate stems for active, middle, and passive). Semantically, they modify nouns or serve as secondary predications. Handbooks typically divide these two functions across three categories: attributive, circumstantial, and supplementary (so Smyth 1956: § 2046). Attributive participles (Smyth 1956: §§ 2049–2053) modify nouns and are thus closest to adjectives proper. Circumstantial participles (Smyth 1956: §§ 2054–2087) typically denote some attendant circumstance of the main (finite) clause, and in this regard they resemble finite adverbial clauses. Genitive and accusative absolute participial phrases are subtypes of the circumstantial participle. Supplementary participles (Smyth 1956: §§ 2088–2145) are complements of finite verbs. The following examples illustrate these three types:

(7.1) a. *Attributive Participle*

τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνη βάρβαρα οἰκιεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι.

*tèn gàr Asíēn kai tà*

ART.F.ACC.SG EXPL Asia.F.ACC.SG CONJ ART.N.ACC.PL

*enokéonta éthnēa*

inhabit.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.ACC.PL race.N.ACC.PL

*bárbara oikieúntai*

foreign.N.ACC.PL consider.own.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL

*hoi Pérsai.*

ART.M.NOM.PL Persian.M.NOM.PL

‘For Asia and the foreign races **inhabiting** (Asia) the Persians consider their own.’

1.4.4



participle, which I refer to as participial clauses, VP-participial phrases, and chained participles.<sup>2</sup>

When a circumstantial participial phrase occurs sentence-initially, a clausal clitic either occurs second within that constituent (7.2.a) or second within the finite clause (7.2.b):

(7.2) a. *Second Within the Participial Phrase*

[ἔχων δ' ἄν ταύτην] ἠγόραζε οὔτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὔτε λαοῦ οὐδενός.

[ékʰɔ:n=d'ǎn taúte:n]

wear.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG≠PTCL≠MOD MED.F.ACC.SG

ε:γόραζε οὔ-τε

hang.out.in.agora.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG NEG-CONJ

δωρυφῆς ἄν ἠερωμένων οὔ-τε

spearman.M.GEN.PL follow.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL NEG-CONJ

λαοῦ οὐδενός.

entourage.M.GEN.SG none.M.GEN.SG

‘[Wearing this] (Scyles) used to hang out in the agora with neither spearmen nor any entourage following him.’

4.78.4

b. *Second Within the Finite Clause*

[γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος] ἐπιτροπεύει ἄν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλή-θεος.

[gnó:mé:i gâr toiaúte:i]

judgment.F.DAT.SG EXPL such.F.DAT.SG

kʰrḗs:menɔs] epitropéuoi=ǎn

use.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG govern.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG≠MOD

amɔ:mé:to:s toũ plé:tʰeos.

without.fault.ADV ART.N.GEN.SG crowd.N.GEN.SG

2 Bary and Haug (2011: 16) also argue for three participial constructions, which by and large match those presented here. There are two significant differences between our accounts, however. The first is that, in their analysis, the syntactic category of the participial phrase is uniformly a VP across the three constructions. The second is that they locate all three constructions under a single clausal node, namely IP. Bary and Haug do not discuss clitic distribution, so it is unclear how the data presented here would fit into their account. As their study is based on a corpus of New Testament Greek, the differences between their account and my own could be due to the effects of syntactic change.

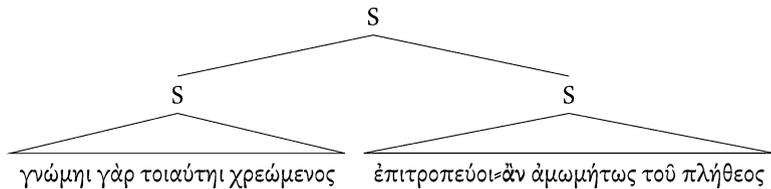
‘[For since (the monarch) uses such (good) judgment], he would govern the masses without fault.’

3.82.2

Both (7.2.a) and (7.2.b) begin with participial phrases, but in the former the modal particle *ἄν* occurs second within the participial phrase, while in the latter it occurs second within the finite clause. Note, however, that the explanatory particle *γάρ* ‘for’ in (7.2.b) is not restricted to the finite clause: it appears second within the participial phrase. This is the selfsame splaying of sentential and clausal clitics that we observed above in chapters 5 and 6, which results from the differing scopal properties of the explanatory and modal particle.

This difference in distribution is due to a difference in syntactic and semantic status.<sup>3</sup> In (7.2.b), the participial clause is syntactically a (non-finite) clause, and forms its own domain for clausal clitics, just as finite adverbial clauses do. Typically participial clauses modify and therefore adjoin to the finite S/CP (we will see below in example 7.11 that it is possible for participial clauses to adjoin to a sister smaller than S):

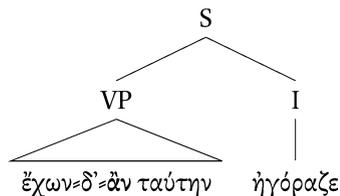
(7.3) *Participial Clause*



As the modal particle *ἄν* is a clausal clitic, it occurs second within the S constituent in which it is interpreted (in this case, the right-hand S daughter). By contrast, the explanatory particle *γάρ* is a sentence-domain clitic, and therefore occurs second in the highest S node. It accordingly appears after the first prosodic word within the first daughter S-constituent. As the participial phrase is an S—that is, a clause—it forms an independent domain not only for clausal clitics, but also for negation, modality, and tense semantics.

By contrast, in (7.2.a), both the VP-participial phrase and finite clause occur under a single S node:

3 I am inclined to think that one could also set up a corresponding difference in semantic type, although I will not attempt this here.

(7.4) *VP-Participial Phrase*

Where exactly VP-participial phrases occur in S is difficult to determine, and I leave the precise details for further research; the claim here is simply that they are somewhere under S. VP-participial phrases typically modify an element within the finite clause, as opposed to the finite clause itself. In contrast to participial clauses, they do not form independent domains for negation, modality, and tense.

There is a further participial construction that formally patterns like the VP-participial phrase in (7.2.a), which I refer to as participial chaining:

(7.5) *Participial Chaining*

θερίσαντες δ' ἄν τὸν σίτον ἔπλεον.

*therísantes* δ' ἄν

*tòn*

reap.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL≠PTCL≠MOD ART.M.ACC.SG

*sítōn*

*épleon.*

grain.M.ACC.SG sail.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL

'They would reap crops and sail.'

4.42.4

Here the participial phrase and finite verb form a more cohesive unit than those in (7.2.a) and (7.2.b). The event described by the participial phrase in (7.5) temporally abuts that of the finite clause, with the result that the participial phrase and finite clause together form one complex event.

The discussion in this chapter is structured as follows. Participial clauses and VP-participial phrases are treated in sections 7.1 and 7.2, respectively. Section 7.3 provides further motivation for this distinction from negation and modality. Sections 7.4 and 7.5 extend the distinction between participial clause and VP-participial phrase to genitives absolute and supplementary participles, respectively. Section 7.6 presents the participial chaining construction. Section 7.7 calls attention to a small class of problematic data, while section 7.8 offers concluding remarks.

Before turning to the analysis itself, I repeat in Table 7.1 the quantitative overview of non-canonical sentences that was presented in chapters 5 and

6 (the frequency data is based on a count of 476 tokens of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and 323 tokens of  $\mu\iota\nu$ ).

TABLE 7.1 *The Frequency of Non-Canonical Examples of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  and  $\mu\iota\nu$*

|                     | NCT $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ | F1  | F2  | NCT $\mu\iota\nu$ | F1  | F2  |
|---------------------|-------------------------|-----|-----|-------------------|-----|-----|
| Topicalization      | 20                      | .25 | .04 | 28                | .30 | .09 |
| Non-Monotonic Focus | 28                      | .34 | .06 | 21                | .22 | .07 |
| Participial Clause  | 28                      | .34 | .06 | 37                | .39 | .11 |
| Adverbial           | 7                       | .08 | .01 | 8                 | .09 | .02 |

The column headed “NCT  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ” indicates the number of sentences in which  $\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is not hosted by the first prosodic word of the clause (NCT stands for “non-canonical tokens”); the column headed “NCT  $\mu\iota\nu$ ” provides the same information for  $\mu\iota\nu$ . F1 is the frequency of the construction among the non-canonical examples (the number of tokens of the construction divided by the number of non-canonical tokens). F2 is the frequency of the construction in the *Histories* (the number of tokens of the construction divided by the number of tokens of the enclitic).

## 7.1 Participial Clauses

Participial clauses behave syntactically and semantically as underspecified adverbial clauses (Stump 1984; for evidence from hiatus that this type of participial phrase was canonically coded as an intonational phrase, see Devine and Stephens 1994: 424). Underspecification resides in the fact that the semantic relationship between the participial clause and matrix clause has to be determined from context:<sup>4</sup>

4 The brackets that correspond to S- and VP-participial phrases in the English translation are not labeled with a syntactic category, because the English equivalent of the Greek construction is not always of the same category. The same practice is followed in the next chapter with infinitives, as well.

(7.6) *Dossier of Semantic Relationships*a. *Causal*

[<sub>s</sub>ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεῖς] ἔδωκέ=οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέ-  
ξας ἄνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυ-  
νηφόροι δέ.

[*h*o dè dē:mōs hō

ART.M.NOM.SG PTCL people.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG

tō:n Athē:naiō:n

ART.M.GEN.PL Athenian.M.GEN.PL

eksapate:t<sup>h</sup>eis] édo:ké=hōi

fool.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.SG give.AOR.IND.3SG.ACT=3SG.DAT

tō:n astō:n

ART.M.GEN.PL citizen.M.GEN.PL

kataléksas ándras tóutous

select.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG man.M.ACC.PL MED.M.ACC.PL

hōi doryph<sup>h</sup>ōrōi mèn ouk

REL.M.NOM.PL spearbearer.M.NOM.PL PTCL NEG

egénontō Peisistrátou,

become.AOR.IND.MID.3PL Peisistratus.M.GEN.SG

korynē:p<sup>h</sup>ōrōi dé.

club.bearer.M.NOM.PL PTCL

‘[Since the Athenian people were completely fooled], they selected these men from their citizens, and gave them to him, who became not spear-bearers of Peisistratus, but rather club-bearers.’

1.59.5 (cf. 6.26.1)

b. *Temporal*

[<sub>s</sub>τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν] λάβεσκε=ἂν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθήτα.

[*s*tē:n stolē:n

ART.F.ACC.SG equipment.F.ACC.SG

apothémēnos tē:n

take.off.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG ART.F.ACC.SG

Skyt<sup>h</sup>ikē:n] lábeske=àn

Scythian.F.ACC.SG put.on.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG=MOD

Hellē:nída est<sup>h</sup>ē:ta.

Greek.F.ACC.SG clothing.F.ACC.SG

‘[After (Scyles) took off his Scythian equipment], (he) would put on Greek clothes.’

4.78.4 (cf. 1.216.2, 3.128.2, 7.209.2)

c. *Conditional*

ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδῃαι τοὺς παῖδας, [ἴτάδε ποιεῖσα] οὐκ=ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις.

*επε=ἂν*                      *ανδρω:τῆέντας*  
when.COMP-MOD become.man.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.ACC.PL  
*ίδε:αι*                      *τοῖς*                      *παῖδας,*  
see.AOR.SBJV.MID.2SG ART.M.ACC.PL boy.M.ACC.PL  
[*ἴτάδε*                      *ποιεῖσα*]                      *ουκ=ἂν*  
PROX.N.ACC.PL do.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.SG NEG=MOD  
*hamartánōis.*

err.PRES.OPT.ACT.2SG

‘When you see the boys have become men, [if you should do the following], you would not go wrong.’

4.9.5 (cf. 8.144.1)

d. *Concessive (Preposed)*

[ἴσῳ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ] οὐ=με ἐπεισας ἀσχημονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι.

[*ἴσῳ*                      *μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος*  
2SG.NOM PTCL display.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG  
*hybrísmata*                      *en tō:i*                      *lógō:i*]  
arrogance.N.ACC.PL in ART.M.DAT.SG speech.M.DAT.SG  
*ου=με*                      *ἐπεισας*  
NEG=1SG.ACC persuade.AOR.IND.ACT.2SG  
*askḗmōna*                      *en tē:i*                      *amōibē:i*  
inappropriate.C.ACC.SG in ART.F.DAT.SG response.F.DAT.SG  
*genéstḗai.*

happen.INF.AOR.MID

‘[Although you displayed insult in your speech], you did not persuade me to become inappropriate in my response.’

7.160.1<sup>5</sup>

5 I would also include the following outlier in this class:

(7.i)                      [*ἴσῳ*σος=δέ] οὕτω=ἂν εἶη ἐν ἡπείρῳ.  
[*ἴσῳ*σος=δέ]                      *οὕτω:ἂν*                      *εἶε:*                      *en*  
island.F.NOM.SG=PTCL thus.ADV=MOD be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG on  
*ε:πείρω:i.*

mainland.F.DAT.SG

‘[(Although it was an) island], it would thus be on the mainland.’

9.51.2

The relationship between the participial clause and finite clauses is determined by context. Given this underspecification, it is of course possible for more than one reading to fit a particular context. The crucial point is simply that the reading be that of a finite adverbial clause.

As with finite clauses (see chapter 5), it is also possible to topicalize a phrase within a participial clause:

(7.7) *Topicalization within Participial Phrases*

QUD: *Why did you choose to save your brother?*

SUB-QUD: *Which familial relationships can I reestablish?*

[<sub>S</sub>[πατρός δὲ καὶ μητρός]<sub>CT</sub> [<sub>S</sub>οὐκέτι=μοι ζώντων]] ἀδελφὸς=ἄν ἄλλος οὐ-  
δενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο.

[<sub>S</sub>[patròs dè kai me:tròs]<sub>CT</sub>

father.M.GEN.SG PTCL CONJ mother.F.GEN.SG

[<sub>S</sub>οὐκ-έτι=μοι ζδω:όντων]]

NEG-still.ADV=1SG.DAT live.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL

adelph<sup>h</sup>òs=àn állos ουδενί

brother.M.NOM.SG=MOD other.M.NOM.SG none.M.DAT.SG

τρόπῳ γένοιτο.

way.M.DAT.SG become.AOR.OPT.MID.3SG

'[[My mother and father]<sub>CT</sub>, since they are no longer alive], there's no way I could get another brother.'

3.119.6

The subject of the participle, πατρός δὲ καὶ μητρός, is preposed within the participial clause, which accounts for the position of the pronoun μοι after οὐκέτι. Crucially, the preposed phrase is interpreted exclusively with the participle and has no thematic relation with the finite verb. Accordingly, the topicalization is exclusively a property of the participial phrase. (Haegeman 2012 reports similar left-peripheral possibilities for central adverbial clauses.) Darius has granted Intaphrenes' wife the chance to save one of her family members from death, and she has to choose between her husband, her children, and her brother. She chooses her brother, which astonishes Darius, and he then asks her (via a messenger) why. The messenger's question is thus the QUD *Why did you choose to save your brother?* The alternatives are her husband and her children. Intaphrenes' wife explains that it is possible for her to marry again and to have

It appears that the noun phrase νῆσος=δὲ has a concessive reading, although there is no overt participle. This is the only example of this kind that I am aware of.

children, but since her parents are no longer alive, it is impossible for her to get another brother. Although her mother and father are not members of the set of people who could potentially be saved, they are part of a different set that Intaphrenes' wife constructs to answer Darius' question, namely *Which familial relationships can I reestablish?* Topicalization in (7.7) shifts from the possibility of remarrying and having more children to the impossibility of getting another brother.

Participial clauses can also be piled up recursively:

- (7.8) τὸ μὲν ἱρήιον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἔστηκε. [ὁ δὲ θύων]<sub>Top</sub> [ἰσπίσθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἑστεῶς] [ἰσπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου] καταβάλλει-μιν.

*tò mèn hiré:ion autò*  
 ART.N.NOM.SG PTCL victim.N.NOM.SG self.N.NOM.SG  
*empepodisménon tούς emprōsthíous*  
 bind.PTCP.PERF.MP.N.NOM.SG ART.M.ACC.PL fore.M.ACC.PL  
*pódas héste:ke. [hō dè*  
 foot.M.ACC.PL stand.PERF.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG PTCL  
*tḥýon]<sub>Top</sub> [ispístḥe tōi*  
 sacrifice.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG behind ART.N.GEN.SG  
*kté:neōs hestēō:s]*  
 animal.N.GEN.SG stand.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*[ispásas tē:n arkḥē:n*  
 pull.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.F.ACC.SG beginning.F.ACC.SG  
*tōi strōphōu]*  
 ART.M.GEN.SG rope.M.GEN.SG  
*katabállēi-min.*  
 bring.down.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG≈3SG.ACC

'The sacrificial victim stands alone bound at its forefeet. [The sacrificer]<sub>Top</sub>, [standing in back of the animal], [pulling the beginning of the rope], brings him down.'

4.60.1 (cf. 1.96.2)

I take ὁ δὲ θύων as a preposed discourse-new subject (see section 5.4.1), which is followed by two participial clauses, ἰσπίσθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἑστεῶς and σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου. All three are recursively adjoined to S.

Preposed (left-adjoined) and postposed (right-adjoined) participial clauses exhibit a robust asymmetry. As noted by Haug (2010), participles that precede their subjects serve to link the description of the event in the finite clause to the preceding discourse. As a result, they typically report discourse-old



(7.10) *Right-Adjoined Participial Clauses*a. *Purpose*

πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα, ὁ Ὀνήσιλος κήρυκας διέπεμπε ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην [ἐπι-  
καλούμενός=σφεας].

*pythómēnos* *dè taūta,*  
find.out.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG PTCL MED.N.ACC.PL  
*hō Onēsilos kērykas*  
ART.M.NOM.SG Onesilus.M.NOM.SG messenger.M.ACC.PL  
*diépepse es tēn Ioníēn*  
send.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL to ART.F.ACC.SG Ionia.F.ACC.SG  
[*epikaléúmenós=sp<sup>h</sup>ēas*].

call.in.as.ally.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG=3PL.C.ACC

‘When Onesilus found this out, he sent messengers to Ionia, [to call them in as allies].’

5.108.2

b. ἕως μὲν προσεδέκοντο ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου στρατὸν ἤξειν [στιμωρή-  
σοντά=σφι], οἱ δὲ ἔμενον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

*hēōs mèn prosedékonto ek tēs*  
until.COMP PTCL expect.IMP.F.IND.MP.3PL from ART.F.GEN.SG  
*Peloponnē:sou stratōn hē:ksein*  
Peloponnese.F.GEN.SG army.M.ACC.SG come.INF.FUT.ACT  
[*stimō:rēsontá=sp<sup>h</sup>i*], *hoi dè*  
help.PTCP.FUT.ACT.M.ACC.SG=3PL.DAT 3PL.M.NOM PTCL  
*émēnon en tē:i Attikē:i*  
stay.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL in ART.F.DAT.SG Attica.F.DAT.SG

‘As long as they were expecting that an army would come from the Peloponnese [to help them], they stayed in Attica.’

9.6.1

c. ἔπεμψαν ἡμέας Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ τούτων σύμμαχοι  
[ἐπαραλαμψομένους=σε πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον].

*épēmpsan hē:mēas Lakēdaimónioi*  
send.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL 1PL.ACC Lacedaemonian.M.NOM.PL  
*te kai Athēnaïoi kai hoi*  
CONJ CONJ Athenian.M.NOM.PL CONJ ART.M.NOM.PL  
*toútō:n symmak<sup>h</sup>oi*  
MED.M.GEN.PL ally.M.NOM.PL

[*paralampsoménous=se pròs tòn*  
acquire.PTCP.FUT.MID.M.ACC.PL=2SG.ACC against ART.M.ACC.SG

*bárbarōn*].

barbarian.M.ACC.SG

‘The Lacedaemonians and Athenians and their allies sent us [to acquire you as an ally against the barbarian].’

7.157.1

d. *Concessive*

ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε, [συμβουλευῶνσι χρηστά].

*all’ ou gàr épeithē,*

but NEG EXPL persuade.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

[*syμβουλευῶνσι*:n-hōi *khrēstá*].

advise.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG≈3SG.DAT good.N.ACC.PL

‘But (Artabanus) was unable to persuade (Darius), [although he was giving him good advice].’

4.83.2

Examples (7.10.a)–(7.10.c) illustrate a further characteristic of right-adjoined participial clauses: their tendency to introduce discourse-new information (Haug 2008: 301,2010). We see this also among participial clauses that function as appositive (non-restrictive) relative clauses:

(7.11) *Appositive Participial Clause*

- a. Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλωι γυναικίῳ ἐπιστόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότηα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν [οὐδένσι προσήκουσαν].

*Kroĩsos dè pémp̄tu gonéōs*

Croesus.M.NOM.SG PTCL fifth.N.GEN.SG generation.N.GEN.SG

*hamartáda ekséple:se, hōs*

sin.F.ACC.SG atone.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG REL.M.NOM.SG

*è:n doryphōros*

be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG guard.C.NOM.SG

*Herakleidéōn, dólōi gynaikeíōi*

Heracleidae.F.GEN.PL guile.M.DAT.SG feminine.M.DAT.SG

*epispómēnos ep’hōneuse*

follow.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG kill.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

*tōn despōtea kai éskhē*

ART.M.ACC.SG master.M.ACC.SG CONJ hold.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

*tè:n ekéinōu timèn*

ART.F.ACC.SG DIST.M.GEN.SG office.F.ACC.SG



*tō:n*                      *Perséō:n*                      *toùs*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL Persian.M.GEN.PL ART.M.ACC.PL  
*γεο:ρυκῆς:ντας*].  
 dig.underground.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL  
 ‘[[Counter-digging in this (way)], the Barcaeans killed the Persians  
 that were digging underground].’

4.200.3

- b. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>τί=δ’=ἄν ἐπιδιζήμενος] ποιοῖμι ταῦτα];  
 [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>τί=δ’=ἄν                      *epidizdé:menos*]  
 WH.N.ACC.SG=PTCL=MOD search.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG  
*poiōimi*                      *taūta*]?  
 do.PRES.OPT.ACT.1SG MED.N.ACC.PL  
 ‘[[In search of what (i.e., why)] would I do these things]?’

5.106.3

- c. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>μουνωθέντες=δὲ=ἄν] καὶ ἀποδεξάμενοι ἔργα μεγάλα ἀπέθανον γεν-  
 ναίως].  
 [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>μουνω:théntes=dè=ἄν]                      *kai*  
 be.alone.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.PL=PTCL=MOD CONJ  
*apodeksámenoi*                      *érga*                      *megála*  
 display.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.PL deed.N.ACC.PL great.N.ACC.PL  
*apéthanon*                      *gennaíws*].  
 die.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL nobly.ADV  
 ‘[They (= the Peloponnesians) would have died nobly [left by them-  
 selves] and in a display of great deeds].’

7.139.3

(7.13) *Pronominal Clitics*

- a. ὁ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν νῆα ἐκέλευε ἐσβάντα λέγειν, εἴ τι θέλοι. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>Adv</sub>ἐνθαῦτα]  
 [<sub>S</sub>[ὁ Θεμιστοκλέης]<sub>TOP</sub> [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>παραζόμενός=οἱ] καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα  
 τὰ ἤκουσε Μνησιφίλου, ἔωυτοῦ ποιούμενος, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προστιθείς,  
 ἐς ὃ ἀνέγνωσε χρηίζων ἕκ τε τῆς νεὸς ἐκβῆναι συλλέξαι τε τοὺς στρατη-  
 γοὺς ἐς τὸ συνέδριον]]].

*hō*                      *d’*                      *autōn*                      *es tē:n*                      *nē:a*  
 3SG.M.NOM PTCL 3SG.M.ACC to ART.F.ACC.SG ship.F.ACC.SG  
*ekéleue*                      *esbánta*  
 order.IMPV.IND.ACT.3SG board.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.ACC.SG  
*légein,*                      *eí*                      *ti*  
 say.INF.PRES.ACT if.COMP INDF.N.ACC.SG

*t<sup>h</sup>éloi.* [S[<sub>AdvP</sub>*ent<sup>h</sup>aũta*] [S[*hw*  
 want.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG thereupon.ADV ART.M.NOM.SG  
*T<sup>h</sup>emistoklé:s*]<sub>TOP</sub>  
 Themistocles.M.NOM.SG  
 [S[<sub>VP</sub>*parizdómenós<sup>h</sup>hōi*]  
 sit.beside.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG≈3SG.DAT  
*kataléγει* *ekeĩná* *te* *pánta*  
 recount.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG DIST.N.ACC.PL CONJ all.N.ACC.PL  
*tà* *é:kouse* *Mne:sip<sup>h</sup>íλου,*  
 REL.N.ACC.PL hear.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG Mnesiphilus.M.GEN.SG  
*he:utōũ* *poieúmenos,* *kai*  
 REFL.3SG.M.GEN make.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG CONJ  
*álla* *pollà* *prōstit<sup>h</sup>eís,*  
 other.N.ACC.PL many.N.ACC.PL add.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*es hō* *anégnō:se*  
 until.COMP persuade.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>re:ízdo:n* *ék* *te* *tē:s*  
 entreat.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG from CONJ ART.F.GEN.SG  
*neðs* *ekbē:nai* *sylléksai* *te*  
 ship.F.GEN.SG go.out.INF.AOR.ACT assemble.INF.AOR.ACT CONJ  
*tōus* *strate:gōus* *es tō*  
 ART.M.ACC.PL general.M.ACC.PL to ART.N.ACC.SG  
*synédriōn*]]].  
 conference.N.ACC.SG

‘He<sub>i</sub> (= Eurybiades) ordered him<sub>k</sub> (= Themistocles) to board the ship and tell him<sub>i</sub> if he<sub>k</sub> wanted (to say) something. [[<sub>AdvP</sub>Thereupon], [[Themistocles]<sub>TOP</sub>, [[sitting beside him], recounted all the things that he heard from Mnesiphilus, pretending it was his own, and adding many other things, until he persuaded him by entreaty to disembark from the ship and assemble the generals for the conference]]].’

8.58.1–2

- b. [S[<sub>VP</sub>*áπτομένοισι=δέ=σφι*] *éπελθειν* *ánδρας* *mikróus,* *metríων* *éλάσσονας*  
*ánδρōν*].  
 [S[<sub>VP</sub>*haptóménōisi=dé=sp<sup>h</sup>i*] *epelt<sup>h</sup>eĩn*  
 pick.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL≈PTCL≈3PL.DAT come.INF.AOR.ACT  
*ándras* *mikróus,* *metrío:n*  
 man.M.ACC.PL small.M.ACC.PL typical.M.GEN.PL

*elássonas andrṓ:n*].

shorter.C.ACC.PL man.M.GEN.PL

‘[Little men came up to them [while they were picking (the fruit of the trees)], (who were) shorter than typical men].’

2.32.6

- c. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>PP</sub>διὰ δὲ δῶν σφι ταῦτα] [<sub>VP</sub>δεομένοισι] ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ δημοσίου οὐδεὶς Ἀργείων ἔτι ἐβόηθεε, ἐθέλονται δὲ ἐς χιλίους].

[<sub>S</sub>[<sub>PP</sub>dià dè dṓn sp<sup>h</sup>i taũta]

on.account.of=PTCL=PTCL=3PL.DAT MED.N.ACC.PL

[<sub>VP</sub>deoménōisi] apò mèn tou̯

ask.PTCP.PRES.MP.DAT.PL from PTCL ART.N.GEN.SG

de:mōsiou oudeis Argéō:n éti

state.N.GEN.SG none.M.NOM.SG Argive.M.GEN.PL still.ADV

ebōé:t<sup>h</sup>ee et<sup>h</sup>elontai dè es

aid.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG volunteer.M.NOM.PL PTCL into

khilíous].

thousand.M.ACC.PL

‘[[<sub>PP</sub>On account of this] none of the Argives came to their (= Aeginetans) aid in an official capacity [when they requested it], but there were about a thousand volunteers].’

6.92.2

- d. ὕστερον δὲ δείσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφυγε ἐς Θεσσαλίην. [<sub>S</sub>καί=οἱ [<sub>VP</sub>φυγόντι] ὑπὸ τῶν Πυλαγόρων, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐς τὴν Πυλαίην συλλεγομένων, ἀργύριον ἐπεκηρύχθη].

*hýsterōn dè deísas*

later.ADV PTCL fear.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG

*Lakedaimoníous ép<sup>h</sup>yge es*

Lacedaemonian.M.ACC.PL flee.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG to

*Thessalíē:n* [<sub>S</sub>kaí=hoi [<sub>VP</sub>phgónti]

Thessaly.F.ACC.SG CONJ=3SG.DAT flee.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.DAT.SG

*hypò tṓ:n Pylagórō:n, tṓ:n*

by ART.M.GEN.PL Pylagori.M.GEN.PL ART.M.GEN.PL

*Amp<sup>h</sup>iktyónō:n es tē:n Pyláē:n*

Amphictyons.M.GEN.PL to ART.F.ACC.SG Pylaia.F.ACC.SG

*syllēgōménō:n, argýriōn*

meet.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL silver.N.NOM.SG

*epeke:rýk<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>er*].

announce.AOR.IND.PASS.3SG

'Later, fearing the Lacedaemonians, he fled to Thessaly. [Then a price of silver was announced on him [in exile] by the Pylagori, while the Amphictyons were meeting at Pylaia].'

7.213.2

The participial phrase can agree either with the subject of the finite verb, as in (7.12.a)–(7.12.c), or some other argument, as in (7.13.d). Whereas participial clauses typically provide information about a proposition (the finite clause), VP-participial phrases modify the internal structure of the event described by the finite clause (see, e.g., Maienborn 2003). Bary and Haug (2011) accordingly refer to this type of participial phrase as an *elaboration*.

The contrast between participial clauses and VP-participial phrases is perhaps most visible in their temporal semantics. In contrast to participial clauses, the temporal denotation of VP-participial phrases is anchored to the finite verb, which is to say that the finite verb determines the tense of VP-participial phrases. The stem of the participle assigns the event that it denotes to a time anterior to, contemporaneous with, or subsequent to the matrix predicate. Thus VP-participles only indicate aspect (cf. Bary and Haug 2011: 10, Devine and Stephens 2006: 45, Lowe 2015b: 161–166, 197). So in (7.12.a), the finite verb ἔκτεινον 'they were killing' determines past time reference, and the present participle ἀντορύσσοντες 'counter-digging' encodes a coextensive relationship with the main predicate. In (7.12.c), the finite verb ἀπέθανον 'they died' again marks past time. The accompanying aorist participle μουνωθέντες 'having been abandoned' signals that this event preceded the event of dying. In (7.12.b), searching (ἐπιδιζήμενος) and doing (ποιέοιμι) are coextensive and semantically present, as are sitting (παριζόμενος) and talking (καταλέγει) in (7.13.a).

In terms of their information structure, VP-participial phrases are often the focus of the utterance:

(7.14) QUD: *How did the Barcaeans kill the Persians that were digging underground?*

[ἀντορύσσοντες<δ'>ἀν ταύτηι]<sub>F</sub> οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεω-  
ρυχέοντας.

[*antoryssontes*<*d'*>*àn* *taúte:i*]<sub>F</sub>

counterdig.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL<PTCL>MOD MED.F.DAT.SG

*hwi Barkaïoi ékteinon*

ART.M.NOM.PL Barcaean.M.NOM.PL kill.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL

*tō:n Perséon tō:s*

ART.M.GEN.PL Persian.M.GEN.PL ART.M.ACC.PL

*γεο:ργκ<sup>h</sup>έοντας.*

dig.underground.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL

‘[Counter-digging in this (way)]<sub>F</sub>, the Barcaeans killed the Persians that were digging underground.’

4.200.3

The participle phrase *άντορούσσοντες ταύτηι* is the focus of the utterance. Whether such focused participial phrases are adjoined under S or inhabit a devoted focus projection is a question that I leave open; on either account, clitic distribution remains the same.

When a pronoun is interpreted with both a participle and an element in the finite clause, there are two possibilities: the pronoun appears second in the participial phrase or second in the finite clause. With participial clauses, we find the latter:

(7.15) *Participial Clause*

a. [<sub>S</sub>ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ] [<sub>S</sub>κομίζειν=μιν ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱρόν].

[<sub>S</sub>*emplásanta* *dè*]

plaster.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.ACC.SG PTCL

[<sub>S</sub>*komízdein=min* *ep’ Aigýptou* *es*

carry.INF.PRES.ACT=3SG.ACC to Egypt.F.GEN.SG to

*toũ* *Helíou* *tò* *hirón*].

ART.M.GEN.SG Helios.M.GEN.SG ART.N.ACC.SG temple.N.ACC.SG

‘[After (the phoenix<sub>k</sub>) has plastered (the egg<sub>i</sub>) up], [<sub>i</sub> carries it<sub>k</sub> into Egypt to the temple of Helios].’

2.73.4

b. [<sub>S</sub>πέμπων κήρυκα] [<sub>S</sub>ἡγόρευε=σφι τάδε].

[<sub>S</sub>*pémpon:n* *kéryka*]

send.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG herald.M.ACC.SG

[<sub>S</sub>*egóreue=sp<sup>hi</sup>* *táde*].

proclaim.IMPF.IND.3SG=3PL.DAT PROX.N.ACC.PL

‘[Sending a herald], [(Datis) wanted to proclaim the following to them].’

6.97.1

In (7.15.a), *μιν* is interpreted with both *ἐμπλάσαντα* and *κομίζειν*, but occurs only after the second on account of the adjunction site of the participial phrase. Likewise in (7.15.b), *σφι* is interpreted with the participle *πέμπων* and the finite verb *ἡγόρευε*.

With VP-participial phrases, the participial phrase and finite clause form a single domain for clausal clitics, so there is only one S constituent in which they can be hosted (if the text of Hude and Rosén is correct, then 5.117 belongs here as well):

(7.16) *Participial Phrase*

- a. τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοισι μακροῖσι ὀρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφειν, ἐς ὃ [S[<sub>VP</sub>πλέοντά=μιν πρόσω] ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων].

*tòn élēgon hoi*  
REL.M.ACC.SG say.IMP.F.IND.ACC.3PL ART.M.NOM.PL  
*hiréēs prō:ton mèn plōioisi*  
priest.M.NOM.PL first.N.ACC.SG PTCL ship.N.DAT.PL  
*makro̅isi hōrme:tḥénta ek*  
long.N.DAT.PL set.out.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.ACC.SG from  
*toũ Arabíou kólpu tou*  
ART.M.GEN.SG Arabian.M.GEN.SG gulf.M.GEN.SG ART.M.ACC.PL  
*parà tē:n Erytḥrē:n thálassan*  
by ART.F.NOM.SG red.F.ACC.SG sea.F.ACC.SG  
*katoikē:ménous katastréph'esthai,*  
live.PTCP.PERF.MED.M.ACC.PL subjugate.INF.PRES.MP  
*es hō [S[<sub>VP</sub>pléontá=min próso:]*  
until.COMP sail.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG=3SG.ACC forward.ADV  
*apikésthai es thálassan ouk-éti*  
come.INF.AOR.MID to sea.F.ACC.SG NEG-still.ADV  
*plō:tē:n hypò brakḥéō:n].*  
navigable.F.ACC.SG on.account.of shallow.N.GEN.PL

‘(I will mention the king) who, the priests said, first set out from the Arabian gulf with long ships and subjugated the (peoples) living by the Red Sea until [[sailing onward] he reached a sea that was no longer navigable on account of its shallow waters].’

2.102.2

- b. [S[<sub>VP</sub>ἀπικομένωι]=δέ=οἱ ἔλεγε Ξέρξης τὰδε].

[S[<sub>VP</sub>apikóménō:i]=dé=hōi  
arrive.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.DAT.SG=PTCL=3SG.DAT  
*élege Ksérkse:s táde].*  
say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG Xerxes.M.NOM.SG PROX.N.ACC.PL

‘[Xerxes said the following to him (= Artabanus) [on his arrival]].’

7.15.1

- c. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>μένουσι=δέ=σφι ἐν τῇ Ἴωνίῃ] οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην].

[<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>μένουσι=δέ=σφι

ἐν τῇ

stay.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL=PTCL=3PL.DAT in ART.F.DAT.SG

Ιωνίει]

οὐκ ἔφη:

ἐνορᾶν

Ionia.F.DAT.SG NEG say.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG see.INF.PRES.ACT

ἐλευθερίειν ἔτι ἐσομένην].

freedom.F.ACC.SG still.ADV be.PTCP.FUT.MID.F.ACC.SG

‘[He said that he did not envision that there would still be freedom for them [if they stayed in Ionia]].’

1.170.2

In (7.16.a), μιν is interpreted as a subject of both πλέοντα and ἀπικέσθαι; in (7.16.b), οἱ is interpreted with both ἀπικομένωι and ἔλεγε; and in (7.16.c), σφι is interpreted with both μένουσι and ἐσομένην.

### 7.3 Further Evidence from Negation and Modality

The above analysis predicts that participial clauses, in addition to forming separate domains for clausal clitics, also form separate domains for clausal negation and modality, as the category of the constituent is “large” enough to license these features. Additionally, when there are multiple clausal clitics in a sentence, split distribution should be possible, whereby one occurs second in the participial clause, and the other second in the finite clause. These predictions are all borne out, and none of these properties are found with VP-participial phrases.

Participial clauses can be independently negated:

#### (7.17) a. *Negated Participial Clause*

[<sub>S</sub>οἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι] [<sub>S</sub>ἔλεγόν=σφι τάδε].

[<sub>S</sub>ῳι δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι]

3PL.M.NOM PTCL NEG accept.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL

[<sub>S</sub>έλεγόν=σφι τάδε].

say.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL=3PL.DAT PROX.N.ACC.PL

‘After they (= the Lacedaemonians) did not accept (the Plataeans), (they) said the following to them.’

6.108.2

b. *Negated Finite Clause*

[<sub>S</sub>σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ] [<sub>S</sub>οὔμε ἐπεισας ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι].

[<sub>S</sub>σὺ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος

2SG.NOM PTCL display.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG

*hybrismata* ἐν τῷ λόγῳ]

arrogance.N.ACC.PL in ART.M.DAT.SG speech.M.DAT.SG

[<sub>S</sub>οὔμε ἐπεισας

NEG-1SG.ACC persuade.AOR.IND.ACT.2SG

*askhémōna* ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ]

inappropriate.C.ACC.SG in ART.F.DAT.SG response.F.DAT.SG

*genésthai*].

become.INF.AOR.MID

‘[Although you displayed insult in your speech], [you did not persuade me to become rude in my response].’

7.160.1 (cf. 4.83.2, 7.104.4)

In both examples, the scope of the negation is restricted to either the participial phrase or the finite clause, but crucially not both. Double negation is also possible:

(7.18) *Double Negation*

[<sub>S</sub>Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων] [<sub>S</sub>οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο].

[<sub>S</sub>Phōiníkō:n δὲ οὐ βουλόμενῶ:n]

Phoenician.M.GEN.PL PTCL NEG want.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL

[<sub>S</sub>hōi λοιπῶι οὐκ ἀξιόμακῶι

ART.M.NOM.PL rest.M.NOM.PL NEG sufficient.in.number.C.NOM.PL

*egínontō*].

be.IMP.F.IND.MP.3PL

‘[With the Phoenicians refusing (to fight)], [the rest (of Cambyses’ forces) were insufficient].’

3.19.2

With VP-participial phrases, by contrast, negation scopes over both the participle and finite clause:

(7.19) *Negation Scopes over Finite Verb and Embedded Participle*

εἰ δέ τι παραφέροίτο, [s<sub>[VP]</sub>ἔσθιοντας=ἄν οὐ παύεσθαι].

*ei dé ti parap<sup>h</sup>éroi<sup>to</sup>,*

if.COMP PTCL INDF.N.NOM.SG put.before.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG

[s<sub>[VP]</sub>est<sup>h</sup>íontas]=ἄν οὐ παύεσθ<sup>ai</sup>].

eat.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL=MOD NEG stop.INF.PRES.MP

'If any (dessert) were put (before the Greeks), [they would never stop [eating]].'

1.133.2

The VP-participial phrase ἔσθιοντας is a complement of the verb παύεσθαι. The participle and finite verb form a single domain for clausal clitics, as witnessed by the position of the modal particle ἄν. Consequently, the scope of the negation includes both the verb and its participial complement.

Evidence from the distribution of the modal particle buttresses the negation evidence. Participial clauses form independent domains for modality:

(7.20) a. *Modal Participial Clause, Non-Modal Finite Clause*

ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἡμεῖς, παραλαμβανόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡμέας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον, ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλαχίστην οὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας [σ<sub>[VP]</sub>παρασχόντες=ἄν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους], οὐκ ἠθελήσαμεν τοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι οὐδέ τι ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι.

ὦ: *basileū, hē:meīs,*

VOC.PTCL king.M.VOC.SG 1PL.NOM

*paralambanóntō:n tō:n Hellé:nō:n*

lure.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL ART.M.GEN.PL Greek.M.GEN.PL

*hē:meás es tōn pólemōn tōútōn,*

1PL.ACC in ART.M.ACC.SG battle.M.ACC.SG MED.M.ACC.SG

*ék<sup>h</sup>óntes dýnamin ouk*

have.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL power.F.ACC.SG NEG-PTCL

*elak<sup>h</sup>ístē:n ou-dē néas elak<sup>h</sup>ístas*

least.F.ACC.SG NEG ship.F.ACC.PL fewest.F.ACC.PL

[σ<sub>[VP]</sub>parask<sup>h</sup>óntes=ἄν ἀλλὰ pleístas metá

provide.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL=MOD but most.F.ACC.PL after

*ge Athē:naióus], ouk eit<sup>h</sup>elé:samén toi*

PTCL Athenian.M.ACC.PL NEG want.AOR.IND.ACT.1PL 2SG.DAT

*enantioúst<sup>h</sup>ai ou-dé ti*

oppose.INF.PRES.MP NEG-PTCL INDF.N.ACC.SG

*apóthýmion*

*poiē:sai.*

unpleasant.N.ACC.SG do.INF.AOR.ACT

‘O king, when the Greeks attempted to lure us into this battle, we who have no meager power nor the fewest ships, [since we would have provided the most after Athens], did not want to oppose you or do anything displeasing.’

7.168.3<sup>7</sup>

b. *Modal Finite Clause, Non-Modal Participial Clause*

καὶ γὰρ ἄν [ἰχρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὡυτοὶ] νῦν ἄν εἶεν φλαυρότεροι καὶ  
[ἰτότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι] νῦν ἄν εἶεν ἀμείνονες.

*kai gàr=àn* [ἰ<sup>khr̥e:st̥o̥i</sup> τότε

indeed.ADV=MOD valiant.M.NOM.PL then.ADV

*εόντες* *h=ɔ:ut̥o̥i*]

be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL ART.M.NOM.PL-same.M.NOM.PL

*n̥yn=àn* *eἶεν* *p<sup>h</sup>lauróter̥o̥i* *kai*

now.ADV=MOD be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL base.M.NOM.PL CONJ

[ἰτότε *εόντες* *p<sup>h</sup>laũr̥o̥i*]

then.ADV be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL base.M.NOM.PL

*n̥yn=àn* *eἶεν* *ameínon̥es*.

now.ADV=MOD be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3PL superior.C.NOM.PL

‘Indeed [the ones who were then valiant] could now be base and [those who were once base] could now be superior.’

9.27.4

In (7.20.a), the modal particle occurs second within the participial phrase, which is also the extent of its scope. In (7.20.b), the finite clause has a modal reading, but the participial clauses *χρηστοὶ τότε ἐόντες ὡυτοὶ* and *τότε ἐόντες φλαῦροι* do not (cf. Bary and Haug 2011: 12). After each participial clause, the modal particle *ἄν* is repeated to reestablish the modality of the finite clause.

Just as it is possible to independently negate a participial clause and finite clause, so too it is possible to independently mark a participial clause and finite clause with the modal particle *ἄν*:

7 One could alternatively parse the participial clause as [ἰοὐδὲ νέας ἐλαχίστας παρασχόντες ἄν ἀλλὰ πλείστας μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους], ‘nor providing the fewest ships, but the most after Athens.’ On this interpretation, the position of *ἄν* is difficult to understand, however; one would have expected it after *οὐδέ*. Whichever analysis one prefers, the point being made here is unaffected: the participial clause alone is modal.

(7.21) *Double Modal Marking*

- a. [κατακλιθίσαντες=γὰρ=ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χεῖλαια τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλάμενας], [ἔλαβον=ἂν=σφεας ὡς ἐν κύρτηι].

[*katakle:ísantes=gar=àn* *pásas*  
close.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL=EXPL=MOD all.F.ACC.PL  
*tàs* *es tòn* *potamòn* *pylidas*  
ART.F.ACC.PL to ART.M.ACC.SG river.M.ACC.SG gate.F.ACC.PL  
*ek<sup>h</sup>úsas* *kai autò* *epì*  
have.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.ACC.PL CONJ self.M.NOM.PL up  
*tàs* *haimasiàs* *anabántes*  
ART.F.ACC.PL wall.F.ACC.PL ascend.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
*tàs* *parà tà* *k<sup>h</sup>eílea*  
ART.F.ACC.PL along ART.N.ACC.PL bank.N.ACC.PL  
*tōũ* *potamōũ* *ele:laménas*],  
ART.M.GEN.SG river.M.GEN.SG run.PTCP.PERF.MP.F.ACC.PL  
[*élabon=àn=sp<sup>h</sup>eas* *hō:s* *en*  
take.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL=MOD=3PL.C.ACC as.COMP in  
*kýrte:i*].

fishing.basket.F.DAT.SG

‘[For (the Babylonians) would have closed all the gates facing the river and they themselves would have gotten up on the walls running along the banks of the river], [and they would have had them (= the Persians) as in a fishing-basket].’

1.191.5

- b. ἢ ταῦτα ἂν ἔπαθον, ἢ πρὸ τοῦ [σὸρώντες=ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους “Ἐλληνας μηδίζοντας] [σὸμολογίη=ἂν ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς Ξέρξην].

è: *taũta* *àn épat<sup>h</sup>on*, *è: prò*  
DISJ MED.N.ACC.PL MOD suffer.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL DISJ before  
*tōũ* [*hōrō:ntes=àn* *kai*  
ART.N.GEN.SG see.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL=MOD also.ADV  
*tōũs* *állous* *Héllenas*  
ART.M.ACC.PL other.M.ACC.PL Greek.M.ACC.PL  
*me:dízdontas*]

side.with.Persians.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL

[*hōmologíe:i=àn* *ek<sup>h</sup>ré:santō* *pròs*  
agreement.F.DAT.SG=MOD make.AOR.IND.MID.3PL with  
*Ksérkse:n*].

Xerxes.M.ACC.SG



In monoclausal contexts, we canonically expect the modal particle to immediately precede any pronominal clitics (see above, section 4.2). Here, however, the modal particle occurs not only after the pronominal clitic, but also further into the clause. The pronominal clitic *σφι* is interpreted exclusively with the participial clause *βουλομένοισι*, while the scope of the modal particle is restricted to the finite clause. This is one way in which surface exceptions to the generalizations about the linear ordering of clitic chains can arise from standard patterns of clitic distribution.

#### 7.4 Supplementary Participles

The above distinction in syntactic category between S and VP-participial phrases extends to supplementary participles (introduced above in example 7.1.c), which serve as complements of finite verbs. There is a handful of verbs in Greek that require a participial complement (for an overview, see Smyth 1956: §§ 2094–2105), which are all VP-participles:

##### (7.23) *Participial Phrase Complement*

καὶ [<sub>S</sub>εἴ-τις-οἱ τυγχάνει [<sub>VP</sub>ἔων παῖς]], τοῦτον ἀπέπασθαι.

*kai* [<sub>S</sub>εἴ-*tis-hoi* *tynk<sup>h</sup>ánei*

CONJ if.COMP=INDF.C.NOM.SG=3SG.DAT happen.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

[<sub>VP</sub>εἰ-*n* *país*], *toútōn*

be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG child.M.NOM.SG MED.M.ACC.SG

*apépast<sup>h</sup>ai*.

disown.INF.AOR.MID

‘And [if he happens [to have a child<sub>i</sub>]], to disown him<sub>r</sub>.’

1.59.2

Both the indefinite *τις*, which quantifies over the noun *παῖς*, and the pronoun *οἱ* are arguments of *ἔων*, but occur second after the complementizer because the matrix verb and participle together form a single domain for the placement of clausal clitics.

With other matrix predicates the complement participle can alternate between S and VP, as with the verb *ὄραω* ‘see.’ When the object of the verb is an event, the VP-participial phrase and finite clause form one domain for clausal clitics (cf. Barwise 1981, Kratzer 2009, Maienborn 2011):

(7.24) *Event Perception*

[<sub>S</sub>ὄρέων=δέ=μιν [<sub>VP</sub>ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα] ὁ Γωβρύης εἶρετο] ὃ τι οὐ χράται τῆι  
χειρί.

[<sub>S</sub>hóreō:n=dé=μίν [<sub>VP</sub>argòn  
see.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG=PTCL=3SG.ACC inactive.M.ACC.SG  
epesteō:ta] hō

stand.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.ACC.SG ART.M.NOM.SG

Gō:brýe:s éireto]

Gobryas.M.NOM.SG ask.IMP.F.IND.MID.3SG

hō-ti ou k'hra'tai

why.REL.N.ACC.SG-INDF.N.ACC.SG NEG lend.PRES.IND.MP.3SG

tē:i k'hairí.

ART.F.DAT.SG hand.F.DAT.SG

'[Seeing him<sub>i</sub> (= Darius) [standing by idly], Gobryas asked] why he<sub>i</sub> did  
not lend his<sub>i</sub> assistance (lit., hand).'

3.78.5

Gobryas visually perceives the event described by the participial phrase. As this is a monoclausal structure, the pronominal clitic is hosted by the embedding predicate (i.e., ὄρέων).

When the embedded participial is not perceived visually, but mentally, then the participial clause forms a separate domain for clausal clitics:

(7.25) οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ [<sub>S</sub>περιέοντα=μιν] εἰδείσαν.

hoi dē polloi

ART.M.NOM.PL PTCL many.M.NOM.PL

[<sub>S</sub>perieōnta=μίν]

be.present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG=3SG.ACC

eideíe:san.

know.PERF.OPT.ACT.3PL

'Many, however, knew [that he was alive].'

3.61.1

We will see in the next chapter that this same distinction between VP and S complements is found also with infinitives.

## 7.5 Genitives Absolute

The above distinction between participial clause and participial phrase extends to genitives absolute as well. Genitives absolute are participles whose subject is not an argument of the finite clause. They behave overwhelmingly as participial clauses (see recently Ruppel 2013: 33–81, with earlier literature), and thus typically form an independent domain for clausal clitics:

(7.26) *Genitives Absolute*

- a. πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, [ἸΠερσέων=οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου], εἶρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός τις δοκέοι ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα †τελέσαι† Κύρον. οἱ δὲ ἀμείβοντο ὡς εἶη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός.

*próteron gâr dê: ára*, [ἸΠερσέων=οἱ

before.ADV EXPL PTCL PTCL Persian.M.GEN.PL=3SG.DAT

*synédron* *énton:n* *kaì*

sit.with.in.council.M.GEN.PL be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.PL CONJ

*Króisou*], *éireto* *Kambýse:s*

Croesus.M.GEN.SG ask.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG Cambyses.M.NOM.SG

*koĩs* *tis*

what.sort.WH.M.NOM.SG INDF.C.NOM.SG

*dokeoi* *anè:r* *eĩnai*

seem.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG man.M.NOM.SG be.INF.PRES.ACT

*pròs tòn* *patéra* *†telésai†*

before ART.M.ACC.SG father.M.ACC.SG compare.INF.AOR.ACT

*Kýron*. *hoi* *dè* *ameíbontō*

Cyrus.M.ACC.SG 3PL.M.NOM PTCL answer.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG

*hō:s* *éie:* *ameínō:n*

that.COMP be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG better.C.NOM.SG

*toũ* *patrós*.

ART.M.GEN.SG father.M.GEN.SG

‘For before, [when the Persians and Croesus were sitting with him in council], Cambyses asked what sort of man he seemed to be †to compare† to his father Cyrus, and they answered that he was better than his father.’

- b. πέμπτηι δὲ ἢ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο [σέξεμπολημένων=σφι σχεδὸν πάντων] ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναίκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα.

*pémp̄tē:i* δὲ ἢ *hék̄tē:i* *hē:mé̄rē:i* *ap'*  
fifth.F.DAT.SG PTCL DISJ sixth.F.DAT.SG day.F.DAT.SG after  
*hē̄:s* *apíkōntō*

REL.F.GEN.SG arrive.AOR.IND.MID.3PL

[*sek̄semp̄olē:ménō:n=sp̄hi* *sk̄h̄ed̄on* *pántō:n*]  
sell.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.GEN.PL≈3PL.DAT almost.ADV all.N.GEN.PL  
*elt̄h̄ē̄in* *ep̄i tē̄:n* *th̄álassan*

come.INF.AOR.ACT to ART.F.ACC.SG sea.F.ACC.SG

*gynaĩkas* *állas* *te* *pollàs*  
woman.F.ACC.PL other.F.ACC.PL CONJ many.F.ACC.PL

*kai dē̄:kai* *tōũ* *basiléōs*  
in.particular.ADV ART.M.GEN.SG king.M.GEN.SG

*th̄yगतέρα*.

daughter.F.ACC.SG

'On the fifth or sixth day after they arrived, [when they had sold almost all their goods], many other women came to the shore, in particular a daughter of the king.'

1.1.3

In both examples, the pronominal clitic is an argument of the participle (and not the finite verb) and occurs second within the genitive absolute. As with the participial clauses in section 7.1, the genitives absolute above are typically used to link the finite clause to the preceding discourse. Consequently they tend not to be the focus of the utterance.

It is, however, possible for a genitive absolute to be a VP-participial phrase:

- (7.27) QUD: *Under what conditions would no city in Ionia have revolted?*

[<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>ἐμέω=δ'ἂν ἐόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ] οὐδεμία πόλις ὑπεκίνησε].

[<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>eméō=d'ān éōntōs *en*

1SG.GEN≈PTCL≈MOD be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG in

*Ioníē:i*] *oudemía* *pólīs*

Ionia.F.DAT.SG none.F.NOM.SG city.F.NOM.SG

*hypekínē:se*].

revolt.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG

'[No city] would have revolted [if I (= Histaeus) had been in Ionia].'

5.106.5 (see also 7.237.3)

With a typical genitive absolute, we would have had a participial clause that formed its own domain, from which the modal particle ἄν would have been excluded (i.e., \*ἔμέο δ' ἑόντος ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὐδεμία=ἄν πόλις ὑπεκίνησε). Here, however, the genitive absolute is included in the calculation of second position, because it is a VP-participial phrase. Evidence for this comes from the temporal semantics of the participial phrase: it does not “set the stage” for the matrix event, but rather is temporally anchored to the finite verb, just like the VP-participial phrases in section 7.2. The temporal reference of ἑόντος ‘being’ is determined by ὑπεκίνησε ‘revolted,’ which itself denotes past time. (If the form were taken at face value as referring to the present, the sentence would not make much sense, as it would read ‘If I were in Ionia (now), no city would have revolted (then).’)<sup>8</sup> The present stem of the participle ἑόντος indicates simultaneity with the event described by ὑπεκίνησε.

The participial phrase here further resembles VP-participles in that it is the focus of the utterance: Histaeus is claiming that it is his presence in Ionia that would have thwarted an Ionian rebellion. Compare the following:

- (7.28) a. QUD: *What would have happened were I in Ionia?*  
 If I had been in Ionia, [no city would have revolted]<sub>F</sub>.  
 b. QUD: *Under what circumstances would Ionia not have revolted?*  
 No city would have revolted [if I had been in Ionia]<sub>F</sub>.

The two translations reflect two different QUDs.

## 7.6 Participial Chaining

The third and final construction, which I refer to as participial chaining, is characterized by the highest degree of cohesion between the participial phrase and finite verb (Oguse 1962 classifies this construction under *solidarité modale*; Pompei 2006: 375–377 refers to them as *co-subordinative conjunct participles*;

8 This construction is sometimes referred to as a mixed counterfactual conditional (see Smyth 1956: § 2310). It is customary in cases such as example (7.27) to describe the participial phrase that functions as a protasis as being used in lieu of a finite verb (e.g., Smyth 1956: § 2344). Here such a claim would create problems, however, as it is typically not the case that the temporal semantics of finite verbs in adverbial clauses (such as a protasis) is anchored to the temporal semantics of matrix predicates in the same way as participles are. On my analysis, although a present participle occurs with an aorist matrix verb, the semantics of the conditional is uniformly past and thus not mixed.

Haug 2010 and Bary and Haug 2011 use the term *independent rheme*). Similar to VP-participial phrases, the chained participle and finite verb describe one complex event:

- (7.29) a. εἰ δέ τις τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιτο, [s[<sub>VP</sub>ἐλθῶν>ἄν πρὸς αὐτόν] ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον].  
*ei dé tinos tōũ klérou*  
 if.COMP PTCL INDF.C.GEN.SG ART.M.GEN.SG plot.M.GEN.SG  
*hō potamós ti*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG river.M.NOM.SG INDF.N.ACC.SG  
*paréloitō,* [s[<sub>VP</sub>εἰ<τῆ>ν>ἄν  
 destroy.AOR.OPT.MID.3SG go.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG>MOD  
*pròs autōn] esémaine tō*  
 to 3SG.M.ACC indicate.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG ART.N.ACC.SG  
*gegenei:ménōn].*  
 happen.PTCP.PERF.MP.N.ACC.SG  
 ‘If the river should destroy a part of someone’s plot, [he [would go to him (= Sesostri)] and indicate what happened].’

2.109.2

- b. κατημένου Εὐηνίου ἐν θώκῳ [s[<sub>VP</sub>ἐλθόντες]=οἱ παρίζοντο] καὶ λόγους ἄλλους ἐποιεῦντο, ἐς ὃ κατέβαινον συλλυπεύμενοι τῷ πάθει.  
*kate:ménōu Eueiniou en*  
 sit.PTCP.PERF.MP.M.GEN.SG Euenius.M.GEN.SG in  
*tḥō:kō:i* [s[<sub>VP</sub>εἰ<τῆ>ν>ἄν]=*hōi*  
 chair.M.DAT.SG come.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL>3SG.DAT  
*parízōntō] kai lōgous*  
 sit.beside.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL CONJ word.M.ACC.PL  
*állous epoiēũntō, es hō*  
 other.M.ACC.PL make.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL until.COMP  
*katé bainōn syllypeúmenōi*  
 come.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL sympathize.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL  
*tō:i páthēi.*  
 ART.N.DAT.SG suffering.N.DAT.SG  
 ‘As Euenius was sitting in his chair, [they [came] and sat beside him] and talked about other things, until they got to sympathizing with his suffering.’

9.94.1

- c. [s[<sub>VP</sub>θερίσαντες<δ'>ἄν τὸν σῖτον] ἔπλεον].  
 [s[<sub>VP</sub>therísantes<d'>àn tòn  
 reap.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL<PTCL<MOD ART.M.ACC.SG  
 sítōn] épleōn].  
 grain.M.ACC.SG sail.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL  
 '[[They would reap crops] and sail].'  
 4.42.4

(7.30) *Adverbial Clause*

- Μαρδόνιος δέ, [<sub>CP</sub>ᾧς<οί [<sub>VP</sub>ἀπονοστήσας Ἀλέξανδρος] τὰ παρὰ Ἀθηναίων  
 ἐσήμηνε], ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἦγε τὴν στρατιὴν σπουδῆι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας.  
 Mardónios dé, [<sub>CP</sub>hó:s<hoi  
 Mardonius.M.NOM.SG PTCL when.COMP=3SG.DAT  
 [<sub>VP</sub>apōnōstésas Aléksandros]  
 return.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG Alexander.M.NOM.SG  
 tà parà Athē:naíō:n esé:me:ne],  
 ART.N.ACC.PL from Athenian.M.GEN.PL convey.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
 hōrmet<sup>h</sup>eis ek Thēssalí:s  
 set.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.SG from Thessaly.F.GEN.SG  
 ē:ge tē:n stratì:n  
 lead.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG ART.F.ACC.SG army.F.ACC.SG  
 spoudē:i epì tàs Athē:nas.  
 haste.F.DAT.SG to ART.F.ACC.PL Athens.F.ACC.PL  
 'Mardonius, [once [Alexander returned] and conveyed the message  
 from the Athenians], set out from Thessaly and led his army in haste  
 toward Athens.'

9.1.1

The participle in the chaining construction is often a motion verb, as in examples (7.29.a), (7.29.b), and (7.30), but need not be, as in (7.29.c). As the translations reveal, the relationship between the participial phrase and matrix verb resembles that of coordination (Bary and Haug 2011: 14). This reflects the signal property of chained participles, namely the contiguous temporal relationship with the finite verb. The right temporal edge of the participial phrase abuts the left temporal edge of the finite clause. The relationship between the events of the participle and matrix verb is thus one of immediate temporal succession (Bary and Haug 2011: 15). Bary and Haug (2011: 15) argue that chained participles can introduce new times into the discourse and move the narration forward. (Lowe 2012: 143 offers a semantics that involves temporal similarity between the participle and matrix verb, but the concept is

vague.) While this is a valuable insight, it is not the chained participles themselves that have these properties, but rather the participle and matrix verb together.

The events described by the participial phrase and finite verb, while close, are nevertheless discrete:

- (7.31) [s[<sub>VP</sub>πολιορκήσαντες<τε>ἄν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας] ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην].  
 [s[<sub>VP</sub>πολιορκέ:σαντες<τε>ἄν *he:μέρας*  
 besiege.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL<CONJ>MOD day.F.ACC.PL  
 ὀλίγας] *apallássontō* *es tē:n*  
 few.F.ACC.PL go.back.IMPF.IND.MP.3PL into ART.F.ACC.SG  
 Σπάρτη:n].  
 Sparta.F.ACC.SG  
 ‘[[They would besiege them for a few days] and go back to Sparta].’  
 5.65.1

The adverbial phrase ἡμέρας ὀλίγας only scopes over the participial phrase πολιορκήσαντες (and not the finite verb), just as ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην is only interpreted with the finite verb ἀπαλλάσσοντο.

In terms of information structure, the participial phrase and finite verb together typically constitute the focus:

- (7.32) QUD: *What was their routine?*  
 [θερίσαντες<δ’>ἄν τὸν σίτον ἔπλεον]<sub>F</sub>.  
 [therísantes<d’>ἄν *tòn*  
 reap.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL<PTCL>MOD ART.M.ACC.SG  
 σίτον *έπλεον*]<sub>F</sub>.  
 grain.M.ACC.SG sail.IMPF.IND.ACT.3PL  
 ‘They [would reap crops and sail]<sub>F</sub>.’  
 4.42.4

Participial chaining appears to be licit only with subject-agreeing participles:

- (7.33) a. [s[<sub>VP</sub>ἀπελαυνόμενος]<δ’>ἄν ἦιε ἐπ’ ἑτέρην τῶν ἑταίρων].  
 [s[<sub>VP</sub>apelaunómēnos]<d’>ἄν  
 expel.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG<PTCL>MOD  
 ἔιε *ep’ hetérein tō:n*  
 go.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG to another.F.ACC.SG ART.M.GEN.PL  
 ηταιρών:n].  
 friend.M.GEN.PL

‘[[Expelled], he (= Lycophron) would go to another (house) of his friends].’

3.51.3

- b. ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον, [s[<sub>VP</sub>προσσχόντες]=ἄν σπεύρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοῖατο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμητον].

*hókō:s dè gínōito p<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>inóporōn,*  
when.COMP PTCL become.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG autumn.N.NOM.SG

[s[<sub>VP</sub>prōssk<sup>h</sup>óntes]=ἄν

bring.ship.to.shore.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL≠MOD

*speúreskōn tèn gē:n,*

sow.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL ART.F.ACC.SG earth.F.ACC.SG

*hína hekástote tē:s Libýe:s*

where.REL.ADV each.time.ADV ART.F.GEN.SG Lybia.F.GEN.SG

*pléontes ginóiatō, kaì*

sail.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL come.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG CONJ

*méneskōn tòn ámetōn].*

await.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL ART.M.ACC.SG harvest.M.ACC.SG

‘When autumn came, [they [would come to shore] and sow the earth wherever in Libya they had sailed to, and wait for the harvest].’

4.42.3

- c. [οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἀβρωνίχης]<sub>TOP</sub> [s[<sub>VP</sub>ἀπικόμενός]=σφι ἐσήμαινε τὰ γεγρονότα περὶ Λεωνίδην καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ].

*[hōútōs ō:n hō Abrónikh<sup>h</sup>ōs]<sub>TOP</sub>*

MED.M.NOM.SG PTCL ART.M.NOM.SG Abronichus.M.NOM.SG

[s[<sub>VP</sub>apikóménós]=sp<sup>hi</sup>

arrive.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG≠3PL.DAT

*esé:maine tà*

show.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG ART.N.ACC.PL

*gegronóta perì Leoníde:n*

happen.PTCP.PERF.ACT.N.ACC.PL about Leonidas.M.ACC.SG

*kaì tòn stratòn autōũ.*

CONJ ART.M.ACC.SG army.M.ACC.SG 3SG.M.GEN

‘[This Abronichus]<sub>TOP</sub> [[arrived] and told them what happened concerning Leonidas and his army].’

8.21.2

- d. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>βίηι=δέ=με λαβών ἐκ Κώ] εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης].  
 [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>VP</sub>βίηι=δέ=με labò:n  
 force.F.DAT.SG=PTCL=1SG.ACC seize.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
 ἐκ Κώ:] εἶκ'ε hω  
 from Cos.F.GEN.SG hold.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
 Πέρσε:ς].  
 Persian.M.NOM.SG  
 'The Persian [seized me by force from Cos] and kept me (prisoner).'  
 9.76.2

This constellation of properties is reminiscent of the Quasi-Serial Verb Construction, known from archaic Indo-European (Yates 2011, Hock 2013a), as well as English (Pullum 1990).

The contrast between participial chaining and participial clauses is illustrated in the following near minimal pair:

- (7.34) [<sub>S</sub>οἱ δὲ=ἂν Πέρσαι [<sub>VP</sub>ἐπελθόντες] ἐλάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα] καὶ [<sub>S</sub>λαβόντες]  
 [<sub>S</sub>ἐπήιροντο=ἂν τῷ πεπονημένῳ].  
 [<sub>S</sub>hwi=dè=àn Pèrsai  
 ART.M.NOM.PL=PTCL=MOD Persian.M.NOM.PL  
 [<sub>VP</sub>epelt'óntes] elábeskōn  
 attack.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL seize.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL  
 τὰ πρόβατα] καὶ  
 ART.N.ACC.PL flocks.N.ACC.PL CONJ  
 [<sub>S</sub>labóntes]  
 seize.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.PL  
 [<sub>S</sub>epé:irōnto=àn tō:i  
 be.encouraged.IMFP.IND.MP.3PL=MOD ART.N.DAT.SG  
 pepeio:ménō:i].  
 do.PTCP.PERF.MP.N.DAT.SG  
 'The Persians would seize their flocks [in an attack] and, [because/once they seized them], [would be encouraged by what they had done].'  
 4.130

The participle ἐπελθόντες is a VP-participial phrase temporally anterior to the event described by the finite verb λάβεσκον. As a result, the participial phrase does not form an independent domain for clausal clitics. By contrast, λαβόντες is a participial clause, with either a temporal or causal relation to the finite

clause. It forms a separate domain for the calculation of second position, and the modal particle occurs second in the finite clause.

## 7.7 Problematic Cases

There is a small class of examples that does not accord with the above generalizations:

- (7.35) a. QUD: *When did Phraortes fight against the Lydians?*  
 οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος [ὅτε νύξ ἢ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο=σφι  
 μαχομένοισι]<sub>F</sub>, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἴαλος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας  
 ἐωυτῶι.  
*hōūtōs hō tōisi Lydoīsi*  
 MED.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG ART.M.DAT.PL Lydian.M.DAT.PL  
*esti mak<sup>h</sup>esámenōs,*  
 be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG fight.PTCP.AOR.MID.M.NOM.SG  
 [*hóte nýks he: hē:mérei:*  
 when.COMP night.F.NOM.SG ART.F.NOM.SG day.F.NOM.SG  
*egénetó=sp<sup>h</sup>i*  
 become.AOR.IND.MID.3SG=3PL.DAT  
*mak<sup>h</sup>óménōisi]<sub>F</sub> kaì hō*  
 fight.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.DAT.PL CONJ ART.M.NOM.SG  
*tē:n Hályōs potamōũ áνω:*  
 ART.F.ACC.SG Halys.M.GEN.SG river.M.GEN.SG above.ADV  
*Asíe:n pāsān systé:sas*  
 Asia.F.ACC.SG all.F.ACC.SG annex.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
*heō:utō:i.*  
 REFL.3SG.M.DAT  
 ‘This (= Phraortes) is the king who fought against the Lydians [when  
 the day turned to night on them as they were fighting]<sub>F</sub>, and the  
 (king who) annexed for himself the whole of Asia above the Halys  
 river.’

b. QUD: *What does the housemaster put before them?*

[τὸδ' ἄν ἄδηι=σφι βουλευομένοισι]<sub>F</sub>, τοῦτο τῆι ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἄν ἐόντες βουλευόνται. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδηι καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῶι.

[tòd' àn hádi:i=sp<sup>hi</sup>  
REL.N.NOM.SG>PTCL>MOD please.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG>3SG.DAT  
βουλευομένοισι]<sub>F</sub>, tóuto  
deliberate.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL MED.N.ACC.SG  
tē:i hysteraí:i né:p<sup>h</sup>usi  
ART.F.DAT.SG next.F.DAT.SG be.sober.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL  
protithēi hō  
propose.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
stégark<sup>h</sup>os, en tōi àn  
master.of.the.house.M.NOM.SG in REL.M.GEN.SG MOD  
éontes βουλευόνται, kai  
be.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL deliberate.PRES.SBJV.MP.3PL CONJ  
è:n mèn hádi:i kai  
if.COMP-MOD PTCL please.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG also.ADV  
né:p<sup>h</sup>usi, k<sup>h</sup>ré:ntai  
be.sober.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.DAT.PL use.PRES.SBJV.MP.3PL  
autō:i  
3SG.N.DAT

‘(The Persians deliberate about serious issues drunk) and [whatever they approve in their deliberations]<sub>F</sub>, this the housemaster, in whoever’s (house) they are deliberating, puts before them on the subsequent day when they are sober. And if they approve it also when sober, they use it.’

1.133.4

In both examples, the pronominal clitic agrees with and is the subject of the following participle, and is hosted by the finite verb. The analysis above does not predict this surface pattern. If, for instance, σφι μαχομένοισι in (7.35.a) were a participial clause, then the pronoun should occur after the participle, \*μαχομένοισι=σφι. If it were a VP-participial phrase, the pronoun would be expected second in the clause as a whole, that is, hosted by ὅτε. What is not clear is what lies behind the position of the pronoun. One possibility is that we have a head-adjacent non-argument dative, which would belong with the examples discussed in section 4.5. On this analysis, σφι would not be a second-position 2W clitic, as its distribution would be determined by the category of its host. Another possibility is that the participial phrase [σφι μαχομένοισι] is

being placed as a constituent at the right edge of the adverbial clause. Rather than selecting the participle itself as its host, the pronoun simply leans left to find a host in the finite clause (έγένετο). On this analysis we would have a case of ditropy. Ditropy is a mismatch between phonological and syntactic constituency (Cysouw 2005, Spencer and Luís 2012: 66–67; the term goes back to Embick and Noyer 2001). Here  $\sigma\phi\iota$  would form a prosodic constituent (a prosodic word) with  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron$ , but a syntactic constituent (VP) with [ $\sigma\phi\iota$   $\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ ]. I incline toward the former (head-adjacency) analysis, because the latter appears to predict that in clause-internal VP-participial phrases the pronominal clitic should exhibit ditropy. That is not always the case, as example (7.13.c) shows, where we would expect [ $_{VP}\sigma\phi\iota$   $\delta\epsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\iota$ ] with the pronoun hosted by the preceding  $\tau\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha$ .

## 7.8 Summing Up

This chapter has argued that the split in clitic distribution that we find among clause-initial circumstantial participial phrases results from a fundamental difference in syntactic and semantic status, namely between participial clauses and VP-participial phrases. This latter class includes the subtype of chained participles, which involves the closest and most restricted relationship between the participle and the finite verb. Table 7.2 summarizes the properties of these three types.

TABLE 7.2 *Summary of Participial Phrases*

| Type                  | Phrase Structure | Clitic Domains | Tense Semantics      | Negation Domains | Modality Domains |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Participial Clause    | S-Adjoined       | 2              | Frames Matrix Event  | 2                | 2                |
| VP-Participial Phrase | S-Internal       | 1              | Relational/Aspectual | 1                | 1                |
| Participial Chaining  | S-Internal       | 1              | Contiguity           | 1                | 1                |

It remains to be investigated why certain non-argument dative pronouns are hosted directly by the verb and what impact this shift from 2W distribution to head-adjacency can have on the rest of the clause.

## Infinitive Complements

Our investigation of clause combining continues with infinitive complements. As with participial phrases, there are again two basic patterns. A clausal clitic either occurs second in the matrix clause or second in the infinitive phrase (for early accounts of enclitics and infinitives, see Wackernagel 1892: 335–336, 357–359, and Fraenkel [1933] 1964: 101):

(8.1) a. *Second in Matrix Clause*<sup>1</sup>

πρὶν δὲ ἐξελάυνειν ὀρμήσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας,  
ἐπειρᾶτόσφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι.

*prîn* δὲ *ekselaúnein* *hōrmē:sai*  
before.COMP PTCL rouse.INF.PRES.ACT march.INF.AOR.ACT

*tòn* *stratòn*, *pémψas*  
ART.M.ACC.SG army.M.ACC.SG send.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG

*kérykas* *es tōus* *Íonas*,  
envoy.M.ACC.PL to ART.M.ACC.PL Ionian.M.ACC.PL

*epēirátōsphēas* *apò Kroísou*  
try.IMPF.IND.MP.3SG≈3PL.C.ACC from Croesus.M.GEN.SG

*apistánai*.

turn.away.INF.PRES.ACT

‘Before (Cyrus) roused his army to start marching, he tried to turn them away from Croesus by sending envoys to the Ionians.’

1.76.3 (cf. 7.148.2)

1 In the generative literature, the matrix predicates in the monoclausal structures are often referred to as *restructuring verbs* (Rizzi 1976, 1978, and much subsequent literature). In Italian, restructuring verbs are standardly said to belong to specific classes (e.g., modal, aspectual, and motion). Greek differs in at least one way from Italian, which is that it is not particular verbs but rather particular senses of verbs that determine whether or not a matrix predicate and an embedded infinitive will form one monoclausal domain (see section 8.4). That is, one and the same matrix verb can pattern like (8.1.a) or (8.1.b). The Greek data support an account along the lines of Wurmbrand (2004), according to which there are both lexical and functional restructuring verbs. Restructuring has been discussed more extensively in Latin, e.g., Wyngaerd (1994), Salvi (2004), Iovino (2010, 2013), Costantini and Zennaro (in press).

b. *Second in Embedded Domain*

ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψεύδεσθαί=σφεας καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους  
θανάτῳ ἐζήμιου.

*taŭta akŭ́sas hŏ*

MED.N.ACC.PL hear.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.M.NOM.SG

*Kambýse:s éphē:*

Cambyses.M.NOM.SG say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

*pseúdestháí=sp<sup>h</sup>ēas kaì hŏ:s*

lie.INF.PRES.MP=3PL.C.ACC CONJ since.COMP

*pseudoménois t<sup>h</sup>anáto:i*

lie.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.ACC.PL death.M.DAT.SG

*ezde:míou.*

punish.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

‘When he<sub>i</sub> heard these things, Cambyses<sub>i</sub> said that they<sub>k</sub> (= the Egyptians) were lying and on the ground that they were lying he<sub>i</sub> punished (them<sub>k</sub>) with death.’

3.27.3

In (8.1.a), the subject of the verb ἐπειράτο, Cyrus, is also the understood subject of the embedded infinitive ἀπιστάναι. The object of the infinitive, the clitic pronoun σφεας, occurs second in the matrix clause and not second in the infinitive phrase, despite the fact that it is interpreted exclusively with the embedded predicate. This is thus an example of “clitic climbing,” inasmuch as the pronoun is hosted higher than the infinitive with which it is interpreted.<sup>2</sup> In (8.1.b), by contrast, the pronoun σφεας, which is the subject argument of the embedded infinitive ψεύδεσθαι, occurs second in the embedded infinitive phrase, and not second in the matrix clause.

The alternation between (8.1.a) and (8.1.b) is conditioned by the nature of the subject of the embedded infinitive. When the understood subject of the infinitive is dependent on an argument of the matrix verb, clausal clitics surface second in the matrix clause, as in (8.1.a). This class includes control and raising predicates (concepts that are explained below). This distribution results from the fact that the matrix predicate and embedded infinitive phrase form a monoclausal structure with one S/CP constituent (cf. Haug 2015: 29). There is thus only one domain for clausal clitics (for a similar analysis of Latin enclitics, see Salvi 2004).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Wackernagel (1892: 335–336, 357–359), Anderson (2005: 227–228, 246–249, 254), Bok-Bennema (2006), and note 1 above.

<sup>3</sup> Sevdali (2007, 2013) argues that embedded infinitives in Classical Greek are all CPs (cf. also



This chapter is structured as follows. Sections 8.1 and 8.2 argue that control and raising verbs together with their embedded infinitives form one S/CP constituent. Section 8.3 pursues the claim that when the matrix predicate selects for an infinitive clause, the sentence has two S domains for clausal clitics. Section 8.4 discusses predicates that can select either a VP-infinitive or an infinitive clause. Subclasses of data that deviate from the basic generalizations are discussed in section 8.5. Section 8.6 closes out the chapter with summary remarks.

## 8.1 Control Predicates

When the understood subject of an embedded infinitive is coreferential with the explicit subject or object of the matrix predicate, this is referred to as *control* (Rosenbaum 1967, Landau 2013, Polinsky 2013):

- (8.3) a. *Subject Control*  
I promise to pay attention.  
b. *Object Control*  
Noa told me to stand back.

In (8.3.a), the understood subject of the embedded infinitive *to pay attention* is the subject of the matrix predicate *promise*, namely *I*. Since the matrix subject determines the subject of the embedded infinitive, this construction is referred to as *subject control*. When the object of the matrix predicate determines the subject of the embedded infinitive, this is known as *object control*. In (8.3.b), *me* is understood as the subject of the infinitive *to stand back*. A crucial property of control structures is that the controller receives a semantic role from both the matrix and embedded predicates.

Control predicates together with their embedded infinitives form a single S/CP constituent, whose first prosodic word hosts clausal clitics (in the interests of presentation, I do not bracket constituents that are adjoined to S/CP, such as topicalized phrases and participial clauses):

- (8.4) *Subject Control*  
a. Κύρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῆι ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεῖς τῆς ὀργῆς [<sub>S</sub>ἔφη·οἱ [<sub>VP</sub>πεῖθεσ-  
θαί]].  
*Kýros*                      *dè*    *he:st<sup>h</sup>eis*  
Cyrus.M.NOM.SG PTCL please.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.SG  
*tē:i*                      *hypot<sup>h</sup>é:ke:i*      *kai*  
ART.F.DAT.SG advice.F.DAT.SG CONJ

*hypeis* *tē:s* *orgē:s*  
 let.go.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG ART.F.GEN.SG anger.F.GEN.SG  
 [s<sup>ε</sup>ép<sup>h</sup>ε:χ<sup>o</sup>i [VPπεί<sup>h</sup>εστ<sup>h</sup>αι]].  
 agree.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG≈3SG.DAT obey.INF.PRES.MP  
 ‘Cyrus, pleased with the advice and having let go of his anger, [agreed  
 [to obey] him].’  
 1.156.2

b. *ó δέ παῖς* [s<sup>o</sup>ύγάρ<sup>o</sup> ἔφη=οἱ [VPσυμπλεύσεσθαι]].  
*h<sup>o</sup>* *dè* *païs* [s<sup>o</sup>υγάρ<sup>o</sup>  
 ART.M.NOM.SG PTCL child.M.NOM.SG NEG≈EXPL  
 ép<sup>h</sup>ε:χ<sup>o</sup>i [VPsympléúsest<sup>h</sup>αι]].  
 say.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG≈3SG.DAT sail.with.INF.FUT.MID  
 ‘His son [refused [to sail] with him].’  
 4.149.1

In example (8.4.a), Cyrus is the grammatical subject of the finite verb ἔφη ‘agreed’ and the understood subject of the infinitive πείθεσθαι ‘obey,’ which assigns dative case to the pronoun οἱ. The matrix clause and infinitive together form one monoclausal structure, whose first prosodic word, ἔφη, is the host of the pronominal clitic οἱ. The topicalized phrase Κύρος δὲ and participial clause ἡσθεῖς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεῖς τῆς ὀργῆς are adjoined to [s<sup>ε</sup>ἔφη=οἱ πείθεσθαι]. Likewise in (8.4.b), the topicalized noun phrase *ó παῖς* ‘his son’ is the understood subject of συμπλεύσεσθαι, ‘sail with.’ The pronoun οἱ is not hosted by the negative οὐ because it cannot occur in its scope domain (as discussed above in section 4.4.2).

Object control predicates also form a single S/CP constituent with their embedded infinitives:

(8.5) *Object Control*

a. [s<sup>ε</sup>ἔγώ=σε=ῶν μετέρχομαι τῶν θεῶν [VPεἰπεῖν τῶληθές]].  
 [s<sup>ε</sup>εγ<sup>o</sup>:σε=ῶ:n metérk<sup>h</sup>omai tō:n  
 1SG.NOM≈2SG.ACC≈PTCL beg.PRES.IND.MP.1SG ART.M.GEN.PL  
 t<sup>h</sup>εῶ:n [VPeipeîn t-ɔ:lɛ:t<sup>h</sup>és]].  
 god.M.GEN.PL say.INF.AOR.ACT ART.N.ACC.SG-truth.N.ACC.SG  
 ‘[I beg you by the gods [to tell the truth]].’  
 6.68.3

- b. [στούτό=σε ρύσεται [v<sub>vp</sub>μηδένα ἄξιον μισθὸν λαβεῖν ἐπέων ματαίων]].  
 [στούτό=σε *hrysetai*  
 MED.N.NOM.SG=2SG.ACC spare.FUT.IND.MID.3SG  
 [v<sub>vp</sub>me:déna áksion mist<sup>h</sup>on  
 none.M.ACC.SG appropriate.M.ACC.SG punishment.M.ACC.SG  
*labeîn epéon mataíon:n*].  
 receive.INF.AOR.ACT word.N.GEN.PL foolish.N.GEN.PL  
 ‘[This will spare you [from receiving an appropriate punishment for  
 foolish talk]].’

7.11.1

- c. δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει τούτων ὁ Δαρεῖος πρῶτα μὲν Θασίους διαβληθέντας  
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων ὡς ἀπόστασιν μηχανώιατο πέμψας ἄγγελον [σεκέ-  
 λευέ=σφεας [v<sub>vp</sub>τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρέειν καὶ τὰς νέας ἐς Ἄβδηρα κομίζειν]].  
*deutérō:i dè étei tóuton*  
 next.N.DAT.SG PTCL year.N.DAT.SG MED.N.GEN.PL  
*hō Dareĩos prō:ta mèn*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG Darius.M.NOM.SG first.N.ACC.PL PTCL  
*T<sup>h</sup>asíous diable:t<sup>h</sup>éntas hypò*  
 Thasian.M.ACC.PL report.falsely.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.ACC.SG by  
*tō:n astygeitónon hō:s*  
 ART.M.GEN.PL neighbor.M.GEN.PL that.COMP  
*apóstasin me:k<sup>h</sup>anó:iatō*  
 rebellion.F.ACC.SG plan.PRES.OPT.MP.3PL  
*pémpsas ángelōn*  
 send.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG messenger.M.ACC.SG  
 [σεκέλευέ=sp<sup>h</sup>εας [v<sub>vp</sub>τὸ  
 order.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG=3PL.C.ACC ART.N.ACC.SG  
*teĩk<sup>h</sup>ōs periairéein kai tàs*  
 wall.N.ACC.SG remove.INF.PRES.ACT CONJ ART.F.ACC.PL  
*néas es Ábde:ra komízein*].  
 ship.F.ACC.PL to Abdera.N.ACC.PL convey.INF.PRES.ACT  
 ‘In the year after this, Darius first sent a messenger to the Thasians,  
 who had been accused by their neighbors of planning a rebellion,  
 and [ordered them [to tear down their wall and convey their ships  
 to Abdera]].’

6.46.1

- d. [s̄ó>δέ=μιν [vp̄άληθειῆι χρήσασθαι] ἐκέλευε], φὰς οὐδέν οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν.

[s̄h̄o>dé=μιν [vp̄al̄e:t̄h̄eíe:i k̄h̄r̄é:sast̄h̄ai]  
3SG.M.NOM=PTCL=3SG.ACC truth.F.DAT.SG speak.INF.AOR.MID  
ἐκέλευε], p̄h̄às

order.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
οὐδέν h̄oi āe:d̄ésteron

nothing.N.ACC.SG 3SG.DAT more.unpleasant.C.ACC.SG  
ésest̄h̄ai è: pr̄óteron ē̄n.

be.INF.FUT.MID DISJ before.ADV be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

‘[He (= Xerxes) ordered him (= Demaratus) [to tell the truth]], saying that he would be no less pleasing to him than he was before.’

7.101.3

- e. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγίνοντο, οἱ μνηστῆρες ἔριν εἶχον ἀμφί τε μουσικῆι καὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ ἐς τὸ μέσον. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης [s̄εκέλευσέ=οἱ τὸν ἀύλητῆν [vp̄αύλησαι ἐμμελεῖν]].

h̄o:s d̄è ap̄ò deíp̄nou  
when.COMP PTCL from dinner.N.GEN.SG

egín̄onto, h̄oi mn̄e:st̄ē:res  
become.IMP.F.IND.MID.3PL ART.M.NOM.PL suitor.M.NOM.PL  
érin eĩk̄h̄on amph̄í te

competition.F.ACC.SG hold.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL around CONJ  
mousik̄ē:i kai t̄ō:i

music.F.DAT.SG CONJ ART.N.DAT.SG

leḡom̄éno:i es t̄ò  
speak.PTCP.PRES.MP.N.DAT.SG to ART.N.ACC.SG

més̄on. pr̄oíúse:s d̄è  
middle.N.ACC.SG progress.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.GEN.SG PTCL

t̄ē:s p̄ósīos  
ART.F.GEN.SG drinking.F.GEN.SG

kat̄ék̄h̄o:n poll̄on  
be.in.the.lead.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG much.N.ACC.SG

t̄ōus ál̄lous h̄o  
ART.M.ACC.PL other.M.ACC.PL ART.M.NOM.SG

Hipp̄okleíde:s [s̄ēkéleusé=h̄oi  
Hippocleides.M.NOM.SG tell.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG=3SG.DAT

t̄on aul̄e:t̄ē:n [vp̄aul̄ē:sai  
ART.M.ACC.SG piper.M.ACC.SG play.the.flute.INF.AOR.ACT

*emmeléien*]].

tune.F.ACC.SG

‘When they were done with dinner, the suitors held a competition in music and public speaking. While the drinking was progressing, Hippocleides, who was well in the lead of the others, [told the piper [to play a tune] for him].’

6.129.2

In examples (8.5.a)–(8.5.d), an object clitic hosted by the first prosodic word in the S constituent controls the reference of the understood subject of the embedded infinitive. To take (8.5.a) as illustrative, the pronominal clitic *se* ‘you’ is both the direct object of *μετέρχομαι* ‘I beg’ and the understood subject of the embedded infinitive *εἶπεῖν*. Example (8.5.e) differs slightly in that the controller of the subject of the embedded infinitive is the noun phrase *τὸν ἀύλητὴν* ‘the piper.’ As the matrix predicate and embedded infinitive form one S constituent, the dative pronominal clitic *oí* is hosted by the first prosodic word in this domain, namely *ἐκέλευσε* ‘he ordered.’ (I take *προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πόσιος* and *κατέχων πολλὸν τοὺς ἄλλους* to be participial clauses, and *ὁ Ἴπποκλείδης* to be preposed on account of the subject switch; see section 5.4.2 above. All three are thus adjoined to the S constituent.)

It is also possible for oblique arguments in the matrix clause to control the understood subject of an embedded infinitive:

(8.6) *Indirect Object Control*

*καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, [σταῦτά=τέ=οἱ ἐνετείλατο [VPπροειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο]] ...*

*kalésas*

*dè Mazdárea*

summon.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG PTCL Mazares.M.ACC.SG

*ándra*

*Mē:dōn*

[*staútá=té=hōi*

man.M.ACC.SG Mede.M.ACC.SG MED.N.ACC.PL≠CONJ≠3SG.DAT

*eneteilato*

[*VPproipeĩn*

*Lydoĩsi*

order.AOR.IND.MID.3SG announce.INF.AOR.ACT Lydian.M.DAT.PL

*tà*

*hō*

*Kroĩsōs*

REL.N.ACC.PL ART.M.NOM.SG Croesus.M.NOM.SG

*hypetít<sup>h</sup>etō*]]

suggest.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG

‘Having summoned Mazares, a Mede, [he ordered him [to announce to the Lydians] what Croesus suggested] (and to ...)’

1.156.2

The understood subject of the embedded infinitive προειπεῖν ‘announce’ is controlled by the dative pronoun οἱ.

## 8.2 Raising Predicates

There is a second type of interpretive dependency between an understood subject of an embedded infinitive and a matrix argument, which is known as *raising*:

- (8.7) a. *Raising to Subject*  
They seem to talk fast.  
b. *Raising to Object*  
I expect him to be here.

In example (8.7.a), the understood subject of *to talk fast* is the matrix subject *they*, while in (8.7.b) the understood subject of *to be here* is the matrix object *him*. While these examples resemble the control construction of the previous section, they are distinguished by a crucial difference, which is that the understood subject of the infinitive receives a semantic role only from the infinitive, and not the matrix predicate. So in example (8.7.a) *they* receives its semantic role from *talk*, not *seem* (*seem* in fact has no semantic roles to assign). In example (8.7.b), the matrix object *him* bears a thematic relationship exclusively with the embedded predicate *to be here*. It is this insight that lies behind the term “raising”: in generative syntax, the subject or object of the matrix predicate is assigned its semantic role in the embedded predicate and then raised up to the matrix predicate.

Like control predicates, raising verbs form a single S/CP constituent with their infinitive complements. Clausal clitics occur after the first prosodic word in this domain:

- (8.8) *Raising to Subject*  
νῦν ᾧν, [CP κῶς-τοι ταῦτα φαίνεται [VP ἔχειν καλῶς]];  
*n̄n ð:n*, [CP k̄:st̄i taũta  
now.ADV PTCL how.WH.ADV=2SG.DAT MED.N.NOM.PL  
*p̄hainetai* [VP ék̄hein kal̄:s]]?  
seem.PRES.IND.MP.3SG hold.INF.PRES.ACT good.ADV  
‘Now, then, [why does this seem to you [to be all right]]?’

5.106.1 (cf. 7.48, 7.137.1, 7.139.1)

ταῦτα ‘this’ is both the surface subject of the matrix verb φαίνεται ‘seems’ and the understood subject of the VP-infinitive ἔχειν καλῶς. The matrix predicate and VP-infinitive together form one CP domain whose first prosodic word, the interrogative pronoun κῶς, hosts the dative experiencer τοι.

The distribution of clausal clitics with object raising verbs matches that of subject raising verbs:

(8.9) *Object Raising*

- a. [s<sub>ε</sub>λίζων>δέ=μιν [v<sub>π</sub>ἀποθανέεσθαι] ὁ ἀδελφεός], τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λυκάρη-  
τος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρωσ κατάσχηι τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳι πρήγματα, κατακτείνει  
τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας.

[s<sub>ε</sub>lízɔn>n=dé=μιν

expect.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG=PTCL≠3SG.ACC

[v<sub>π</sub>apɔt<sup>h</sup>anéest<sup>h</sup>ai] hɔ adelph<sup>h</sup>éɔs],

die.INF.FUT.MID ART.M.NOM.SG brother.M.NOM.SG

tɔ:i ónɔma é:n

REL.M.DAT.SG name.N.NOM.SG be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

Lýkárɛ:tɔs, hína eupetéstérɔ:s

Lycaretus.M.NOM.SG PURP more.smoothly.ADV

katásk<sup>h</sup>ɛ:i tà en tē:i

control.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG ART.N.ACC.PL in ART.F.DAT.SG

Sámɔ:i pré:gmata, katakteínei

Samos.F.DAT.SG affair.N.ACC.PL kill.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG

tɔ̀us desmó:tas pántas.

ART.M.ACC.PL prisoner.M.ACC.PL all.M.ACC.PL

‘[Expecting him [to die], his brother], whose name was Lycaretus, killed all the prisoners in order that he might control the affairs on Samos with less resistance.’

3.143.2

- b. ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν τοι ποιέω ταῦτα,  
ἀλλά=μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστάσα [s<sub>ε</sub>ῤῥη=σε [v<sub>π</sub>ὀλιγοχρόνιον  
ἔσεσθαι]]. ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι.

ɔ̃: paĩ, óu-te deilíe:n

VOC.PTCL child.M.VOC.SG NEG-CONJ cowardice.F.ACC.SG

óu-te állo ouðèn ák<sup>h</sup>ari

NEG-CONJ other.N.ACC.SG none.N.ACC.SG unseemly.N.ACC.SG

paridón toi poíéɔ:

see.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG 2SG.DAT do.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG

*taūta, allá-moi ópsis oneírōu*  
 MED.N.ACC.PL but>1SG.DAT vision.F.NOM.SG dream.M.GEN.SG  
*en tō:i hýpnō:i*  
 in ART.M.DAT.SG sleep.M.DAT.SG  
*epistāsa*  
 stand.by.PTCP.AOR.ACT.F.NOM.SG  
 [sép<sup>h</sup>ε:zε [VP<sup>o</sup>ligok<sup>h</sup>rónion  
 say.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG>2SG.ACC short.lived.C.ACC.SG  
 ésest<sup>h</sup>ai]]. *hypò gàr aik<sup>h</sup>mē:s side:rée:s*  
 be.INF.FUT.MID by EXPL spear.F.GEN.SG iron.F.GEN.SG  
*apoléest<sup>h</sup>ai.*  
 die.INF.FUT.MID

“Son, I am doing this, not because I have observed cowardice on your part or any other fault, but rather because a vision of a dream that appeared to me in my sleep [foretold you [to be short-lived]]. For you would be killed by an iron spear.”

1.38.1

Object raising predicates in Greek are interesting because, as we will see in section 8.3, many of them can also select an embedded clause as a complement (that is, an S-infinitive as opposed to a VP-infinitive).

Impersonal raising predicates have the same structure as subject and object raising verbs (on the syntax of this predicate class, see further Sevdali in press):

(8.10) *Impersonal Raising Verb*

*κάθισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῆσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἱ λεγόντων  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρέομενοι, [CP<sup>o</sup>ως-σφε' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει  
 [VP<sup>o</sup>δεκατευθῆναι τῶι Δί]].*

*kát<sup>h</sup>isōn tō:n dōryphōrō:n*  
 station.IMPV.AOR.ACT.2SG ART.M.GEN.PL spear.bearer.M.GEN.PL  
*epì páse:isi tē:isi pýle:isi phylákous,*  
 at each.F.DAT.PL ART.F.DAT.PL gate.F.DAT.PL guard.M.ACC.PL  
*hōi legóntō:n pròs tō:is*  
 REL.M.NOM.PL collect.IMPV.PRES.ACT.3PL to ART.M.ACC.PL  
*ekphérōntas tà k<sup>h</sup>ré:mata*  
 carry.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.PL ART.N.ACC.PL spoil.N.ACC.PL  
*apaireómēnōi, [CP<sup>h</sup>ō:s-sp<sup>h</sup>ε'*  
 take.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.PL that.COMP>3PL.N.ACC  
*anankaíō:s ék<sup>h</sup>ei [VP<sup>o</sup>dekateut<sup>h</sup>ē:nai*  
 necessary.ADV hold.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG pay.INF.AOR.PASS

*tō:i*                      *Dīi*].

ART.M.DAT.SG Zeus.M.DAT.SG

'Station guards from your spear-bearers at each gate. Let them say to the (men) carrying the goods out, when they take them from them, [that it is necessary for them [to be paid to Zeus]].'

1.89.3

Although the pronoun *σφε'* is the subject argument of the passive verb *δεκα-τευθῆναι*, it is hosted by the complementizer, as the matrix predicate *ἀναγκαιῶς ἔχει* selects a VP-infinitive.

Auxiliary verbs share many similarities with raising predicates. They do not assign a semantic role to their surface subject and form an S/CP constituent with their embedded infinitives:

(8.11) *Auxiliary Predicate*

- a. ἦν γάρ τοι ἐς βασιλέα ἀνεειχθήι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα, ἀποβαλέεις τὴν κεφαλὴν, [sκαί=σε οὔτε ἐγὼ δυνήσομαι [vpρύσασθαι] οὔτ' ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ εἷς].

*è:n*                      *gár* *toi*    *es basiléa*

if.COMP-MOD EXPL PTCL to king.M.ACC.SG

*aneneik<sup>h</sup>t<sup>h</sup>ē:i*                      *tà*                      *épea*

bring.AOR.SBJV.PASS.3SG ART.N.NOM.PL word.N.NOM.PL

*taūta,*                      *apobaléεις*                      *tē:n*

MED.N.NOM.PL lose.FUT.IND.ACT.2SG ART.F.ACC.SG

*kep<sup>h</sup>alé:n,*                      [sκαί=σε                      οὔ-τε                      ἐγδ:]

head.F.ACC.SG CONJ=2SG.ACC NEG-CONJ 1SG.NOM

*dyné:somai*                      [vp<sup>h</sup>rysast<sup>h</sup>ai]                      οὔ-τ'

be.able.FUT.IND.MID.1SG save.INF.AOR.MID NEG-CONJ

*állōs*                      *ant<sup>h</sup>rō:pon*                      *ou-dè*                      *heīs*].

other.M.NOM.SG person.M.GEN.PL NEG-PTCL one.M.NOM.SG

'For if these words of yours are brought back to the king, [you will lose your head, and I will not be able [to save] you, nor will any one else].'

8.65.5

- b. ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφῶν γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ [s[vpἀνευρεῖν=μέν=σφεας] οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι].

*éphan*                      *prōs taūta*                      *zde:te:sin*

say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3PL to    MED.N.ACC.PL search.F.ACC.SG

*megále:n apò sp<sup>h</sup>éō:n genést<sup>h</sup>ai tō:n*  
 great.F.ACC.SG from 3PL.GEN be.INF.AOR.MID ART.F.GEN.PL  
*gynaikō:n toutéō:n, kai*  
 woman.F.GEN.PL MED.F.GEN.PL CONJ  
 [s[<sub>VP</sub>anēureĩn=mén=sp<sup>h</sup>ēas] ou dynatōi  
 find.INF.AOR.ACT>PTCL>3PL.C.ACC NEG able.M.NOM.PL  
*genést<sup>h</sup>ai*].  
 be.INF.AOR.MID

‘They said in response to this that there had been a great search on their part for these women, and [that they were not able [to find them]].’

2.54.2

- c. ... [<sub>CP</sub>ἴνα>δῆ=μιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκπίπτοντες ἐκ τῆς τάξιος [<sub>VP</sub>μετακινήσαι] μὴ δυναίατο].  
 [<sub>CP</sub>hína>dé:=min hoi polémioi  
 PURP>PTCL>3SG.ACC ART.M.NOM.PL enemy.M.NOM.PL  
*ekpíptontes ek tēs*  
 fall.out.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.PL from ART.F.GEN.SG  
*táxiōs* [<sub>VP</sub>metakinē:sai] mē:  
 rank.F.GEN.SG move.INF.AOR.ACT NEG  
*dynaíato*].  
 be.able.PRES.OPT.MP.3PL

‘... [in order that the enemies, when falling out from their ranks, would not be able [to move] him].’

9.74.1

In each case the object of the embedded infinitive occurs second in S/CP, and not second in the infinitive phrase. This is exactly what we expect, given that there is an interpretive dependency between the matrix subject and that of the infinitive.

### 8.3 Infinitive Clauses

Infinitive clauses differ from VP-infinitive phrases in that they form an independent S constituent (and thus resemble participial clauses). This means that in any sentence with an embedded infinitive clause there are at least two S constituents, the matrix clause and the infinitive clause itself. The position of a clausal clitic in such a context is determined by interpretation. If the clitic

is interpreted with the embedded predicate, it occurs second in the embedded S:

(8.12) *Clausal Clitics in Embedded Infinitive Clauses*

- a. ὥς δ' ἐπανάτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, [sπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὔχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον [sμηδεμίαν=οἱ συντυχήνην τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἢ μιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται]].

*hɔ:s d' epánételle hɔ*  
 as.COMP PTCL rise.IMPFF.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
*hélíɔs, [sspéndɔ:n ek*  
 sun.M.NOM.SG pour.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG from  
*kʰrysé:ɛ:s phiále:s Ksérkse:s es*  
 golden.F.GEN.SG bowl.F.GEN.SG Xerxes.M.NOM.SG into  
*tè:n thálassan eúkʰetɔ pròs*  
 ART.F.ACC.SG sea.F.ACC.SG pray.IMPFF.IND.MP.3SG to  
*tòn héliɔn [smɛ:demían=hɔi*  
 ART.M.ACC.SG sun.M.ACC.SG none.F.ACC.SG=3SG.DAT  
*syntykʰíe:n toiaúte:n genéstʰai*  
 accident.F.ACC.SG MED.F.ACC.SG happen.INF.AOR.MID  
*hè:~min paúsei*  
 REL.F.NOM.SG=3SG.ACC prevent.FUT.IND.ACT.3SG  
*katastrépsastʰai tèn Euró:pe:n próterɔn*  
 subdue.INF.AOR.MID ART.F.ACC.SG Europe.F.ACC.SG before.ADV  
*è: epì térmasi tōsi ekeíne:s*  
 DISJ to border.N.DAT.PL ART.N.DAT.PL DIST.F.GEN.SG  
*géne:tai]].*  
 come.AOR.SBJV.MID.3SG

'As the sun was rising, [Xerxes poured a libation into the sea from a golden bowl and prayed to the sun [that no misfortune that would prevent him from conquering Europe befall him before he reached its borders]].'

7.54.2

- b. ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθείηι χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, [vpφάς [sοὐδέν=οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν]].

*hɔ dé min ale:tʰeíe:i kʰrésastʰai*  
 3SG.M.NOM PTCL 3SG.ACC truth.F.DAT.SG speak.INF.AOR.MID  
*ekéleue, [vpʰàs*  
 order.IMPFF.IND.ACT.3SG say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG

[<sub>S</sub>οὐδέν᾽ ἥϊ  
 none.N.ACC.SG=3SG.DAT more.unpleasant.C.ACC.SG  
 ἐσεσῆ᾽αι ἐ: πρότερον ἔ:n]].  
 be.INF.FUT.MID DISJ before.ADV be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
 ‘He (= Xerxes) ordered him (= Demaratus) to tell the truth, [saying  
 [that he would be no less pleasing to him than he was before]]’  
 7.101.3

To take (8.12.a) as illustrative, the dative pronoun οἱ occurs second in the embedded S, and not second in the matrix S, because it is interpreted exclusively with the embedded infinitive γενέσθαι.

Clausal clitics that are interpreted with the matrix predicate appear second in the matrix S:

- (8.13) *Clausal Clitics in Matrix S with Embedded Infinitive Clause*
- a. [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>S</sub>σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον] εὔροι=τις=ἄν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων],  
 τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων.  
 [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>S</sub>smikrón ti τὸ  
 small.N.ACC.SG INDF.N.ACC.SG ART.N.ACC.SG  
 διάφῆρον]  
 difference.N.ACC.SG  
 heúroi=tis=àn  
 find.AOR.OPT.ACT.3SG=INDF.C.NOM.SG=MOD  
 logizómēnos τῶ:n  
 measure.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG ART.F.GEN.PL  
 hōdō:n τουτέων], τὸ μέ:  
 route.F.GEN.PL these.MED.F.GEN.PL ART.N.ACC.SG NEG  
 ísas mē:kos εἶναι, ου  
 equal.F.ACC.PL length.N.ACC.SG be.INF.PRES.ACT NEG  
 pléon pentekaídeka stadíon.  
 more.N.ACC.SG fifteen stade.N.GEN.PL  
 ‘[Measuring these routes one would find [that the difference is  
 small]]—they differ in length by no more than fifteen stades.’  
 2.7.2
- b. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς—εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα  
 ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι—ὅτι πρώτα=μὲν [<sub>S</sub>νόθον [<sub>MatrixS</sub>οὐ=σφι νόμος  
 ἐστὶ] βασιλεῦσαι γνησίῳ παρεόντος].  
 ου μέ:n ου-dè léle:t<sup>h</sup>e  
 NEG PTCL NEG-PTCL escape.notice.PERF.IND.ACT.3SG

*autoús ei gár tines kai*  
 3PL.M.ACC if.COMP EXPL INDF.C.NOM.PL CONJ  
*álli tà Perséōn*  
 other.M.NOM.PL ART.N.ACC.PL Persian.M.GEN.PL  
*nómima epistéatai kai*  
 custom.N.ACC.PL know.PRES.IND.MP.3SG CONJ  
*Aigýptiōi hóti prō:ta-mèn*  
 Egyptian.M.NOM.PL that.COMP first.N.ACC.PL≠PTCL  
 [*νότ'ον* [<sub>MatrixS</sub> *ού=sp<sup>hi</sup> νόμος*  
 bastard.M.ACC.SG NEG≠3PL.DAT custom.M.NOM.SG  
*εστί]* *basileūsai gne:íōu*  
 be.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG be.king.INF.AOR.ACT legitimate.M.GEN.SG  
*paréōntōs*].  
 be.around.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.GEN.SG  
 'It has certainly not escaped (the Egyptians)—for if any others also  
 know the customs of the Persians it is the Egyptians—that, first,  
 [[it is not their custom] for a bastard to be king when there is a  
 legitimate heir].'  
 3.2.2

In example (8.13.a), the clitics *τις* and *ἄν* occur second in the matrix S, because that is where they are interpreted. The indefinite pronoun *τις* is the subject of the matrix verb *εὔροι*, which, in concert with the modal particle *ἄν*, has the reading 'would find.' Likewise, in example (8.13.b), the dative pronominal clitic *σφι* is interpreted with the matrix predicate *νόμος ἐστί*, and therefore occurs after the first prosodic word of the matrix S, which is surrounded on either side by its embedded infinitive clause (see Allan 2012 for clause intertwining).

As these examples illustrate, there is no interpretive dependency between the subject argument of an embedded S-infinitive and an argument of the matrix predicate. This is the crucial feature that distinguishes S-infinitives from VP-infinitives. It is, however, possible for a pronoun in an embedded infinitive clause to have the same referent as an expression in the matrix clause, as example (8.14.a) illustrates:

- (8.14) a. [<sub>S</sub> *ὁ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν ἠπίστατο* [<sub>S</sub> *τοῦτό=οἱ ἀπολλῶλῆναι δι' εὐθηθ(ην)*]].  
*[<sub>S</sub> hō mèn dē: Sylosō:n*  
 ART.M.NOM.SG PTCL PTCL Syloson.M.NOM.SG  
*ε:πίστατο* [<sub>S</sub> *toútō=hōi*  
 know.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG MED.N.ACC.SG≠3SG.DAT

*αποβ:λέναι δι' ευε:τ<sup>h</sup>ίε:n*].  
 lose.INF.PERF.ACT through good.heartedness.F.ACC.SG  
 '[Syloson knew that [this had been lost to him on account of good-  
 heartedness]].'

3.140.1

- b. [<sub>S</sub>ἐγώ:μοι δοκέω [<sub>S</sub>συνιέναι τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο]], ὦ βασιλεῦ.  
*[εgό:μοι δοκέω:*  
 1SG.NOM=1SG.DAT seem.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG  
*[συνιέναι τὸ*  
 understand.IND.PRES.ACT ART.N.ACC.SG  
*γεγονὸς τούτο]], ὦ:*  
 happen.PTCP.PERF.ACT.N.ACC.SG MED.N.ACC.SG VOC.PTCL  
*basileũ.*  
 king.M.VOC.SG  
 '[I think [that I understand this event]], sire.'

3.63.4

Although the dative pronominal clitic οἱ in (8.14.a) refers to the same entity as the noun Συλοσῶν in the matrix clause (namely the person Syloson), there is no interpretive dependency between the two expressions. Likewise, in example (8.14.b), it is not necessary for the subjects of the matrix and embedded verbs to align: they could just as well differ. This referential independence of the subject is the hallmark feature of S-infinitives.

The ability of S-infinitives to form an independent domain for clausal clitics is paralleled by finite embedded clauses and embedded participial clauses:

(8.15) a. *Finite Complement Clause*

[<sub>S</sub>οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον [<sub>CP</sub>ὡς=σφι θεὸς εἶη φανεῖς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθῶς ἐπι-  
 φαίνεσθαι] καὶ [<sub>CP</sub>ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῆι τότε πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες  
 ὀρτάζοιεν]].

*[σ<sup>h</sup>οι δὲ ἐφ<sup>h</sup>ραζον [<sub>CP</sub>hό:s=sp<sup>h</sup>i*  
 3PL.M.NOM PTCL say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG that.COMP=3PL.DAT  
*t<sup>h</sup>εὸς εἶε:*  
 god.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG  
*p<sup>h</sup>aneis dià k<sup>h</sup>rónou*  
 appear.PTCP.AOR.PASS.M.NOM.SG through time.M.GEN.SG  
*pollōũ ε:τ<sup>h</sup>λ̄:s*  
 much.M.GEN.SG be.accustomed.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.NOM.SG



In (8.15.a), the pronominal clitic σφι occurs second in the embedded CP, where it is interpreted. In (8.15.b), the modal particle ἄν occurs second in the embedded participial clause, as this is its scope domain. In both cases, the subject of the embedded predicate is interpretively independent, as it differs from that of the matrix subject.

Further motivation for the above analysis comes from modality and splaying. As with participial clauses (see examples 7.17–7.19 in section 7.1 above), S-infinitives are independent modal domains:

(8.16) *Independent Modality*

- a. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοίκεε Ἑλένηι, [ἵαποδοῦναι=ἄν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι], μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι.

*τούτῳ:n δὲ τούτῳ:n*

MED.N.GEN.PL PTCL such.N.GEN.PL

*syμβαινόντῳ:n, ἐγὼ: μὲν*

happen.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.GEN.PL 1SG.NOM PTCL

*ἐλπῶμαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς*

think.PRES.IND.MP.1SG if.COMP even.ADV self.M.NOM.SG

*Πρίαμος συνοίκεε Ἑλένηι,*

Priam.M.NOM.SG live.with.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG Helen.F.DAT.SG

[ἵαποδοῦναι=ἄν αὐτὴν τοῖσι

give.INF.AOR.ACT=MOD 3SG.F.ACC ART.M.DAT.PL

*Ἀχαιοῖσι], μέλλοντά γε*

Achaean.M.DAT.PL be.going.to.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.ACC.SG PTCL

*δὲ: τῶν παρεόντων*

PTCL ART.N.GEN.PL be.around.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.GEN.PL

*κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι.*

bad.N.GEN.PL set.free.INF.FUT.PASS

‘Since the results (of the battle) were such, I think that if even Priam himself were living with Helen, [he would have given her back to the Achaeans], if he was thereby going to be rid of the troubles they had.’

2.120.3

- b. δοκέειν ἐμοὶ [ἵαοὺκ=ἄν=σφι Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν προσθέσθαι].

*δοκέειν ἐμοὶ [ἵαοὺκ=ἄν=σφι*

seem.INF.PRES.ACT 1SG.DAT NEG=MOD=3PL.DAT

*Σπαρτιήτας μῆνιν οὐδεμίαν*

Spartan.M.ACC.PL wrath.F.ACC.SG none.F.ACC.SG

*prōst<sup>h</sup>ést<sup>h</sup>ai*].

lay.INF.AOR.MID

'It seems to me [that the Spartans would not have laid any wrath on them].'

7.229.2

In both cases, the matrix predicate is indicative while the embedded clause has a counterfactual reading. In example (8.16.a), ἀποδοῦναι and the modal particle ἄν yield the reading 'would have given back.' The modal particle accordingly occurs second in the embedded infinitive clause. Likewise in example (8.16.b), προσθέσθαι and ἄν together mean 'would not have laid.' The modal particle occurs second in the infinitive clause and not second in the matrix clause. In neither of these examples does the matrix verb share the counterfactual semantics of the embedded clause. This is only possible when the infinitive phrase is an S.

Splaying refers to the appearance of clausal clitics in separate "second" positions:

(8.17) *Splaying*

- a. ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι [sδοκέει=μοι [sαὐτὸν=μέν=σε ἀπελάυνειν ὀπίσω]].

*epì méntoi toîsi*

*katé:kousi*

to PTCL ART.N.DAT.PL present.PTCP.PRES.ACT.N.DAT.PL

*pré:gmasi*

[sdokéei=*m*oi

circumstance.N.DAT.PL seem.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG1SG.DAT

[sautòn=*mén=se* *apelaúnein* *opísw:*]].

[sself.M.ACC.SG=PTCL=2SG.ACC march.INF.PRES.ACT back.ADV

'Given the present circumstances, [it seems best to me [that you march back yourself]].'

8.102.1

- b. εἰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους εἶχε τὸ ἔπος εἰρημένον ἐόντως, οὐκ=ἄν οὕτω=μιν δοκέειν ἠπίως χρησθῆναι.

*ei*

*es*

*At<sup>h</sup>ei:naíous*

*eíkh<sup>e</sup>*

if.COMP into Athenian.M.ACC.PL hold.IMPFF.IND.ACT.3SG

*tò*

*épos*

*eire:ménon*

ART.N.NOM.SG verse.N.NOM.SG speak.PTCP.PERF.MP.N.NOM.SG

*éóntws,*

*ouk=àn*

*houtw:=min*

*dokéein*

really.ADV NEG=MOD thus.ADV=3SG.ACC seem.INF.PRES.ACT

*ε:πίως κ'ἔρε:stḗ:nai.*

mildly.ADV declare.INF.AOR.PASS

'If the verse really were directed at the Athenians, it would not be appropriate that it had been formulated so mildly'

7.143.1

The split in distribution in these two examples is due to the presence of two S domains. In example (8.17.a), *μοι* is an argument of the matrix verb *δοκέει*, and therefore occurs second in the matrix clause. As *δοκέει* selects an embedded clause here, *σε*, the subject argument of the embedded verb *ἀπελαύνειν*, occurs second in that domain. (*ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖσι κατήκουσι πρήγμασι* is an adverbial of the type discussed in section 4.4.3.) Example (8.17.b) is slightly more complicated, as the matrix and infinitive clauses are intertwined (which is why I have omitted constituency brackets). The matrix clause is *οὐκ'ἂν ... δοκέειν*, while the infinitive clause is *οὐτω=μιν ... ἠπίως χρησθήναι*. Crucial here is the difference in modal semantics: the matrix clause is modal ('it would not be appropriate'), but its embedded clause is not ('that it had been formulated so mildly'). As established above, this kind of difference in modality is only possible when the embedded infinitive is an S. The clitics *ἂν* and *μιν* are thus hosted at the left edge of the S constituent in which they are interpreted.

When an embedded infinitive precedes a matrix verb, it can be difficult to distinguish an S-infinitive from a VP-infinitive:

(8.18) (*ἐκ τούτου*)<sub>ω</sub>=δὲ *μανῆ:naí=μιν νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται.*

(*ek tóutou*)<sub>ω</sub>=dè *manē:naí=μιν*

from MED.N.GEN.SG=PTCL go.insane.INF.AOR.PASS=3SG.ACC

*νομίζουσι Σπαρτιῆται.*

believe.PRES.IND.ACT.3PL Spartan.M.NOM.PL

'The Spartans believe that he (= Cleomenes) went insane because of this.'

6.84.3

The prepositional phrase *ἐκ τούτου* scopes over the infinitive and not the matrix predicate: it explains why Cleomenes went insane, not why the Spartans believe he went insane. It is either a topicalized phrase or a high-adjoined adverbial (it is an event-external adverbial according to the hierarchy presented in section 4.4.3). The question is whether the infinitive is a VP and the PP adjoins to the entire S, or whether the infinitive is an embedded S, and the PP adjoins there, as *νομίζω* can select either a VP infinitive or an S infini-

tive. The scope of *ἐκ τούτου* seems, however, to speak in favor of an embedded infinitive clause, i.e., [<sub>S</sub>[<sub>PP</sub>(*ἐκ τούτου*)<sub>ω</sub>δὲ] [<sub>S</sub>μανήναί=μιν]] νομίζουσι Σπαρτιήται.

#### 8.4 Embedded VP-Infinitives versus Embedded S-Infinitives

One and the same predicate can select both a VP-infinitive and an S-infinitive:

- (8.19) *φημί*  
 a. *VP-Infinitive Complement*  
 ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλά=μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστάσα [<sub>S</sub>ἔφη=σε [<sub>VP</sub>ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι]]. ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολέεσθαι.  
 ὦ: παῖ, οὐ-τε δειλίε:ν  
 VOC.PTCL child.M.VOC.SG NEG-CONJ cowardice.F.ACC.SG  
 οὐ-τε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀκ<sup>h</sup>αρι  
 NEG-CONJ other.N.ACC.SG none.N.ACC.SG unseemly.N.ACC.SG  
 παριδῶ:ν τοι ποιέω:  
 see.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG 2SG.DAT do.PRES.IND.ACT.1SG  
 ταῦτα, ἀλλά=μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου  
 MED.N.ACC.PL but=1SG.DAT vision.F.NOM.SG dream.M.GEN.SG  
 ἐν τῷ: ἕπνο:ι  
 in ART.M.DAT.SG sleep.M.DAT.SG  
 ἐπιστάσα  
 stand.by.PTCP.AOR.ACT.F.NOM.SG  
 [<sub>S</sub>ἔφη=σε [<sub>VP</sub>ὀλιγοχρόνιον  
 say.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG=2SG.ACC short.lived.C.ACC.SG  
 ἔσεσθ<sup>h</sup>αι]]. ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰκ<sup>h</sup>μη̄:ς σιδε:ρέε:ς  
 be.INF.FUT.MID by EXPL spear.F.GEN.SG iron.F.GEN.SG  
 ἀπολέεσθ<sup>h</sup>αι.  
 die.INF.FUT.MID  
 “Son, I am doing this, not because I have observed cowardice on your part or any other fault, but rather because a vision of a dream that appeared to me in my sleep [foretold you [to be short-lived]]. For you would be killed by an iron spear.”

b. *S-Infinitive Complement*

ὁ δέ μιν ἀληθείῃι χρήσασθαι ἐκέλευε, [VPφὰς [Sοὐδέν=οἱ ἀηδέστερον ἔσσεσθαι ἢ πρότερον ἦν]].

*hō dé min ale:t<sup>h</sup>éi:i k<sup>h</sup>résast<sup>h</sup>ai*  
 3SG.M.NOM PTCL 3SG.ACC truth.F.DAT.SG speak.INF.AOR.MID  
*ekéleue,* [VP<sup>h</sup>às  
 order.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG say.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG  
 [S<sup>o</sup>udén=*hōi* aē:désterōn  
 none.N.ACC.SG=3SG.DAT more.unpleasant.C.ACC.SG  
 ésest<sup>h</sup>ai è: próterōn ê:n]].

be.INF.FUT.MID DISJ before.ADV be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG

'He (= Xerxes) ordered him (= Demaratus) to tell the truth, [saying [that he would be no less pleasing to him than he was before]].'

7.101.3

## (8.20) ἐλπίζω

a. *VP-Infinitive Complement*

[Sἐλπίζων=δέ=μιν [VPἀποθανέεσθαι] ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκάρη-  
 τος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχηι τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳι πρήγματα, κατακτείνει  
 τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας].

[S<sup>ē</sup>lpízōn=*dé=min*  
 expect.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG=PTCL=3SG.ACC  
 [VP<sup>apōthánéest<sup>h</sup>ai</sup>] *hō adelph<sup>h</sup>éōs,*  
 die.INF.FUT.MID ART.M.NOM.SG brother.M.NOM.SG  
*tō:i ónōma ê:n*  
 REL.M.DAT.SG name.N.NOM.SG be.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
*Lykárē:tos, hína eupetéstérō:s*  
 Lycaretus.M.NOM.SG PURP more.smoothly.ADV  
*katásk<sup>h</sup>ē:i tà en tē:i*  
 control.AOR.SBJV.ACT.3SG ART.N.ACC.PL on ART.F.DAT.SG  
*Sámō:i pré:gmata, katakteínei*  
 Samos.F.DAT.SG affair.N.ACC.PL kill.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG  
*tōus desmō:tas pántas].*

ART.M.ACC.PL prisoner.M.ACC.PL all.M.ACC.PL

'[Expecting him [to die], his brother, whose name was Lycaretus, killed all the prisoners in order that he might control the affairs on Samos with less resistance].'

3.143.2



'Thinking it over at night, [(Xerxes) found it [not in his interest to send an army against Hellas]].'

7.12.1

b. *S-Infinitive Complement*

βουλευόμενος [<sub>S</sub>εὔρισκε [<sub>S</sub>πρήγμα=οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις]].

*bouleuómenos* [*sheúriske*  
deliberate.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.NOM.SG find.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG  
[*sprē:gma=hoi* *eînai*  
advantage.N.ACC.SG=3SG.DAT be.INF.PRES.ACT  
*elaúnein* *hōs* *dúnaito*  
drive.INF.PRES.ACT as.COMP be.able.PRES.OPT.MP.3SG  
*ták<sup>h</sup>ista* *epi* *tàs* *Sárdis*]].  
quickest.N.ACC.PL against ART.F.ACC.PL Sardis.F.ACC.PL  
'After deliberating, [(Cyrus) found [that it was in his interest to move  
against Sardis as fast as he could]].'

1.79.1

In each pair of examples, we have first a matrix predicate that selects a VP-infinitive complement, and then the same predicate with an S-infinitive complement. Clausal clitics only occur second in an infinitive phrase when it is of the category S, as expected. This type of alternation is not limited to Greek, as we as find similar behavior with certain English verbs:

- (8.22) a. I believe her to be quite talented.  
b. I believe that she is quite talented.

In (8.22.a), *believe* is an object raising verb with an embedded infinitive, while in (8.22.b) it takes a finite complement clause.

While a precise characterization of the differences in meaning between a predicate with a VP-infinitive complement and an S-infinitive complement is beyond the scope of this investigation, I will mention one general property. Matrix predicates with VP-infinitives ascribe more epistemic commitment to the subject; in particular, they appear to involve either judgment or evaluation. For instance, in example (8.19.a), the vision does not simply say that Croesus' son will be short-lived, but predicts it. By contrast, *φάς* in example (8.19.b) just reports a statement. In example (8.20.a), *ἐπιζών* describes a calculation on the part of Lycaretus, while *ἐλπίσαντες* in (8.20.b) expresses a hope. In examples (8.21.a) and (8.21.b), it is much harder to see a difference between *εὔρισκε* with

a VP-complement and with an S-complement. It may be that the former reports a conclusion, and the latter a realization. I leave the semantic complexities of this topic for future research.

## 8.5 Problematic Examples

Sections 8.1 through 8.4 present the basic generalizations for clausal clitics in clauses with embedded infinitives. This section presents a small class of examples that diverge from these basic patterns. While the motivation for these exceptional cases is unclear, they do appear to form three subclasses.

In the first subclass, an experiencer dative of a raising predicate with a non-overt subject is hosted by the matrix verb:

- (8.23) a. μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὐρεὸς δὲ περὶ οὐδὲ συμβαλεῖν ἀξίη φαίνεται<sub>μ</sub>οι εἶναι.

*mé:keĩ mèn gàr par' amp<sup>h</sup>otéras*

length.N.DAT.SG PTCL EXPL from both.F.ACC.PL

*paré:kei he: Euró:pei,*

stretch.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG ART.F.NOM.SG Europe.F.NOM.SG

*eúreos dè péri ou-dè symbaleĩn*

width.N.GEN.SG PTCL about NEG-PTCL compare.INF.PRES.ACT

*aksíe: p<sup>h</sup>áinetáimoi*

worth.F.NOM.SG seem.PRES.IND.MP.3SG≠1SG.DAT

*eĩnai.*

be.INF.PRES.ACT

'For in length, Europe extends along both (Libya and Asia); in width, (it) seems to me not even to be worth comparing.'

4.42.1

- b. οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται<sub>μ</sub>οι ἔργον εἶναι.

*ou gàr tò syntyk<sup>h</sup>òn*

NEG EXPL ART.N.NOM.SG common.PTCP.AOR.ACT.N.NOM.SG

*p<sup>h</sup>áinetáimoi érgon*

seem.PRES.IND.MP.3SG≠1SG.DAT work.N.NOM.SG

*eĩnai.*

be.INF.PRES.ACT

'For (it) seems to me to be a work that is not at all common.'

1.51.3

- c. ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεεσφι φθέγγεσθαι.  
*héw:s dè*  
 as.long.as.COMP PTCL  
*ēbarbárizde,* *órnit<sup>h</sup>os*  
 speak.a.foreign.language.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG bird.M.GEN.SG  
*trópōn edókeésphi*  
 manner.M.ACC.SG seem.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG=3PL.DAT  
*ph<sup>h</sup>éngest<sup>h</sup>ai.*  
 speak.INF.PRES.MP  
 ‘As long as (the prophetess) spoke a foreign language, (she) seemed to them to speak like a bird.’  
 2.57.2

In each case, a dative pronominal clitic is hosted by a finite verb, and is not in canonical (2W) second position. Neither topicalization nor focus preposing appears to be responsible for the position of the pronoun. These examples recall the data in section 4.5.

In the second subclass, an infinitive hosts an object argument:

- (8.24) a. [σποιεῦσα δὲ αἰεὶ τῷαὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε [VPοἰκτεῖραι=μιν]].  
*[σποιεῦσα dè αἰεὶ*  
 do.PTCP.PRES.ACT.F.NOM.SG PTCL always.ADV  
*t-ō:utō tōūtō tōn*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG-same.N.ACC.SG MED.N.ACC.SG ART.M.ACC.SG  
*Dareĩon épeise*  
 Darius.M.ACC.SG convince.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG  
*[VPοικτεῖραι=μιν]].*  
 pity.INF.AOR.ACT=3SG.ACC  
 ‘[By continually doing this same thing, she convinced Darius [to take pity on her]].’  
 3.119.3
- b. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκει ἐς αὐτοῦς Δαρεῖος, ἀλλ’ [σούδ’ ὡς ἐδύνατο [VPέλεῖν=σφεας]].  
*kaĩtoi pánta sōphísmata kaì pásas*  
 indeed.ADV all.N.ACC.PL trick.N.ACC.PL CONJ all.F.ACC.PL  
*me:k<sup>h</sup>anàs epepoié:kee es autōus*  
 strategy.F.ACC.PL use.PLPF.IND.ACT.3SG to 3PL.M.ACC  
*Dareĩos, all’ [sou-d’ hō:s*  
 Darius.M.NOM.SG but NEG-PTCL thus.ADV

*εδύνατο* [<sub>VP</sub>*heleîn=sp<sup>h</sup>heas*].  
 be.able.IMPF.IND.ACT.3SG conquer.INF.AOR.ACT=3PL.C.ACC  
 '(Darius) had indeed used every trick and strategy against them (= the Babylonians), but [even still he was unable [to conquer them]].'  
 3.15<sup>2</sup>

- c. [<sub>CP</sub>ἄτε δὴ πειρωμένων τῶν Θεσσαλῶν [<sub>VP</sub>καταστρέφεισθαί=σφεας]], τοῦτο προεφυλάξαντο οἱ Φωκέες καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ θερμὸν τότε ἐπήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔσοδον, ὡς ἂν χαραδρωθεῖη ὁ χῶρος.  
 [<sub>CP</sub>*háte* *dè:* *peirō:ménō:n* *tō:n*  
 since.COMP PTCL try.PTCP.PRES.MP.M.GEN.PL ART.M.GEN.PL  
*Thessalō:n* [<sub>VP</sub>*katastréph<sup>h</sup>est<sup>h</sup>ai=sp<sup>h</sup>heas*],  
 Thessalian.M.GEN.PL conquer.INF.PRES.MP=3PL.C.ACC  
*toútō* *proph<sup>h</sup>yláksantō* *hoi*  
 MED.N.ACC.SG guard.AOR.IND.MID.3PL ART.M.NOM.PL  
*Phō:kées* *kaì* *tò* *hýdō:r*  
 Phocaeian.M.NOM.PL CONJ ART.N.ACC.SG water.N.ACC.SG  
*tò* *t<sup>h</sup>ermòn* *tóte* *epē:kan*  
 ART.N.ACC.SG hot.N.ACC.SG then.ADV send.AOR.IND.ACT.3PL  
*epì* *tè:n* *ésōdōn,* *hō:s* *àn*  
 onto ART.F.ACC.SG pass.F.ACC.SG PURP MOD  
*k<sup>h</sup>aradrow:t<sup>h</sup>éie:* *hō*  
 break.into.clefts.AOR.OPT.PASS.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
*k<sup>h</sup>ō:rōs.*  
 land.M.NOM.SG  
 '[Since the Thessalians were trying [to conquer them,]], the Phocaeans<sub>i</sub> guarded against this, and they let the hot water onto the pass, in order that the land might be split by channels.'  
 7.176.4 (cf. 9.53.4)

- d. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν ἐκείνοισι εἴη ταῦτα πεποικώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἴνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπιδας πολλὰς ἔχων [<sub>S</sub>(μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων)<sub>ω</sub>=μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν=οἱ ἐπανάστασιν].  
*epéite* *dè* *eksémat<sup>h</sup>e* *hō:s* *ou*  
 after.COMP PTCL know.well.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG that.COMP NEG  
*syn* *ekéinoisi* *éie:* *taúta*  
 with DIST.M.DAT.PL be.PRES.OPT.ACT.3SG MED.N.ACC.PL  
*perpoikō:s,* *élabē*  
 do.PTCP.PERF.ACT.M.NOM.SG seize.AOR.IND.ACT.3SG



*tê:s*                      *emê:s*)<sub>ω</sub>σε                      *zdôe:s*  
 ART.F.GEN.SG    my.F.GEN.SG=2SG.ACC    life.F.GEN.SG  
*diaklépsai*]].

keep.alive.INF.AOR.ACT

‘(I have been) keeping guard (over you), [in order that I might somehow be able [to keep you alive during my lifetime]]’

1.38.2

The matrix predicate *δυναίμην* is an auxiliary verb, which selects a VP-infinitive as its complement. As such, we would expect the complementizer *εἴ* to host the pronominal clitic *σε*, just as it hosts the clausal clitic *κως*.

## 8.6 Summing Up

This chapter has argued that clausal clitics enable us to distinguish two types of embedded infinitives, VP-infinitives and S-infinitives. The latter constitutes an independent domain for clausal clitics, while the former does not. The crucial difference between infinitive clauses and VP-infinitives is interpretive dependency: the understood subject of the latter depends on an argument of the matrix predicate. Table 8.1 summarizes the properties of the two constructions.

TABLE 8.1 *Properties of Embedded Infinitives*

|                                        | VP-Infinitive | S-Infinitive |
|----------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Independent Domain for Clausal Clitics | No            | Yes          |
| Independent Domain for Modality        | No            | Yes          |
| Referential Independence               | No            | Yes          |

While clausal clitics offer crucial evidence for the syntax of infinitives in Classical Greek, it is only one diagnostic. I have no doubt that a more fine-grained analysis of infinitive classes and their behavior will be possible (along the lines of what, e.g., Wurmbrand 2004 offers for German) once further evidence is taken into consideration, in particular temporal and aspectual properties and case assignment.

## Conclusion and Prospects

It is now time to take stock. The basic distributional generalization for clausal clitics is that they are hosted by the first prosodic word of their clause (i.e., CP or S). Apparent violations of this generalization are due to the presence of phrases above the S or CP domain (or both), such as wide-scope adverbials (section 4.4.3), topicalized phrases (chapter 5), non-monotonic focus (chapter 6), and participial clauses (chapter 7). Crucially, each of these constructions comes with a distinct set of functions, which means that Greek word order exhibits systematic correspondences between structure and meaning. It is thus not a free-for-all morass. While this might seem like an unsurprising if not trivial conclusion to some, the opposite view—that Greek word order is beyond the reach of systematic analysis—has long held sway over the field, from Dionysius of Halicarnassus (recall example 1.1) to Denniston. The results of this investigation also challenge the more recent scholarship on Greek word order (such as, e.g., H. Dik 1995, 2007 and Allan 2012, 2013), as syntactic structure plays a far greater role than that previous work acknowledges. In short, Greek word order now takes on a dramatically different appearance. In the remainder of this chapter, I outline some open questions in the investigation of clausal clitics (section 9.1) and highlight new research questions that this study has opened up (section 9.2).

### 9.1 Open Questions

One aspect of the distribution of clausal clitics that remains open is their behavior in finite clauses headed by complementizers or relative pronouns:<sup>1</sup>

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1 In fact, this variation is also found with the conjunction *καί*. Agbayani and Golston (2010b) appear to be unaware of this variation, i.e., that *καί* sometimes hosts second-position clitics and at other times behaves as a “null-position” element. Their analysis predicts that conjunction should uniformly host second-position enclitics.

(9.1) a. *Relative Pronoun Hosts*

ὥς δ' ἐπανάτελλε ὁ ἥλιος, σπένδων ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης Ξέρξης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν εὐχετο πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον μηδεμίαν οἱ συντυχήν τιαύτην γενέσθαι ἥμιν παύσει καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ τέρμασι τοῖσι ἐκείνης γένηται.

*hō:s d' epanételle hō*  
 as.COMP PTCL rise.IMP.F.IND.ACT.3SG ART.M.NOM.SG  
*hélīos, spéndō:n ek*  
 sun.M.NOM.SG pour.PTCP.PRES.ACT.M.NOM.SG from  
*k<sup>h</sup>rýsées:s phíalēs: Ksérkse:s es*  
 golden.F.GEN.SG bowl.F.GEN.SG Xerxes.M.NOM.SG into  
*tē:n thálassan eúk<sup>h</sup>eto pròs*  
 ART.F.ACC.SG sea.F.ACC.SG pray.IMP.F.IND.MP.3SG to  
*tōn héliōn me:demían hōi*  
 ART.M.ACC.SG sun.M.ACC.SG none.F.ACC.SG 3SG.DAT  
*syntyk<sup>h</sup>íe:n tíaúte:n genést<sup>h</sup>ai*  
 accident.F.ACC.SG MED.F.ACC.SG happen.INF.AOR.MID  
*hē:~min paúsei*  
 REL.F.NOM.SG=3SG.ACC end.FUT.IND.ACT.3SG  
*katastrépsast<sup>h</sup>ai tē:n Euró:pe:n próteron*  
 subdue.INF.AOR.MID ART.F.ACC.SG Europe.F.ACC.SG before.ADV  
*è: epì térmasi tōisi ekeíne:s*  
 DISJ to border.N.DAT.PL ART.N.DAT.PL DIST.F.GEN.SG  
*géne:tai.*  
 come.AOR.SBJV.MID.3SG

'As the sun was rising, Xerxes poured a libation into the sea from a golden bowl and prayed to the sun that no misfortune that would prevent him from conquering Europe befall him before he reached its borders.'

7.54.2

b. *Relative Pronoun Does Not Host*

μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ' αὐτόν, ὃς αἰρέειμιν ἐν Λυκίῃ.

*metadió:kēi dē tō:n*  
 pursue.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG PTCL ART.M.GEN.PL  
*eunók<sup>h</sup>ō:n tōn pistótaton*  
 eunuch.M.GEN.PL ART.M.ACC.SG most.trusted.M.ACC.SG  
*aposteilas triéreï kat'*  
 send.PTCP.AOR.ACT.M.NOM.SG trireme.F.DAT.SG after

*autón, hòs hairéει-min*  
 3SG.M.ACC, REL.M.NOM.SG catch.PRES.IND.ACT.3SG≠3SG.M.ACC  
*en Lykié:i.*  
 in Lycia.F.DAT.SG  
 '(Amasis) sent his most trusted eunuch<sub>i</sub> in a trireme to pursue him<sub>k</sub>  
 (= Phanes), who<sub>i</sub> caught him<sub>k</sub> in Lycia.'  
 3.4.2

In example (9.1.a), the relative pronoun ἧ hosts the pronominal clitic μιν, but in (9.1.b) the host of the same pronominal clitic is not the relative pronoun ὅς, but rather the verb αἰρέει. It is not yet clear what conditions this variation. In particular, there is a question of whether the alternation is prosodically or syntactically conditioned. It may, for instance, be the case that, while relative pronouns can be encoded as prosodic words (and thereby serve as a host for a clausal clitic), there may be contexts in which this is dispreferred. Alternatively, the left periphery of the two examples above may not be identical, in which case we would need to acknowledge a more fine-grained configuration at the left edge of the clause. The alternation in (9.1) is also known from Latin (Devine and Stephens 2006: 295–296), Bulgarian (Pancheva 2005: 135), and Czech (Richardson 1997).

As this study has focused on the value of clausal clitics as a diagnostic for clausal structure, it has left the question of the syntactic status of clitics open, although some suggestions were advanced in section 4.1 of chapter 4. As noted there, generative syntacticians have long wrestled with the question of whether pronominal clitics are heads or phrases. In Greek, however, the more pressing question seems to be whether pronominal clitics are projecting or not. For instance, when a personal pronoun is a complement of a preposition, it is only rarely enclitic. It is not clear whether this behavior should be attributed to prosody (i.e., as adpositions were in all likelihood prosodically weak, they were unfit to serve as the host of a pronominal enclitic) or to syntax (i.e., the pronominal clitics in Greek cannot be merged with a syntactic head such as an adposition to build a higher phrase, as they are somehow more affix-like).

## 9.2 New Vistas

Now that we have a systematic description and analysis of the behavior of clausal clitics in Herodotus, it is possible for the first time to compare the patterns in his text with those of other authors and text types. It will be interesting in particular to compare second-position clitics in Thucydides, as both authors

were writing history but spoke different dialects. Beyond historiography, one looming question is the effect that meter can have on clitic distribution. Here we find a stark contrast between Homer, where clitic distribution is fairly regular, and Attic drama, where the patterns are far more diverse than in any other genre in Classical Greek. Why clitic distribution appears to be so free in Attic drama will require more work to understand, but one thing is clear: it cannot be due to the metrical environment *per se*. If this were the case, then we would expect far more variation in the Homeric epics than we actually find. The diversity in Attic drama seems as though it has something to do with that genre in particular or with the specific meters in a given play.

This study also provides a descriptive basis for the diachrony of clitic distribution from Proto-Indo-European to Classical Greek and beyond. As noted in chapter 1, second-position phenomena are found in all branches of archaic Indo-European (see note 3 in particular). As a result, Proto-Indo-European itself is widely believed to have had second-position clitics. While this looks like it was indeed the case, we have to bear in mind just how different the patterns of clitic distribution are from one branch to the next. It is only after we have systematic, fine-grained descriptions of second-position phenomena in the daughter languages that we will be in a position to make a more substantive claim about the proto-language. As it stands, it is not clear, for instance, which of the archaic daughter languages is the most conservative in terms of clitic distribution.

Turning to the diachrony of second-position clitic distribution in Greek, there is an often repeated claim in the literature, going back to Wackernagel himself (e.g., Wackernagel 1892: 352, 363, 370), that the mechanism of second-position distribution “weakens” between Homer and the classical period (similarly Howorth 1955: 93, Dover 1960: 15, 17, Taylor 1990: 30, 131–133, Slings 1992, Fraser 2001: 164–166, Taylor 2003). Empirically, Wackernagel is correct: a comparison of Homer with Herodotus reveals that clausal clitics less often occur in canonical second position in the latter than in the former. This difference is not, however, the result of diachronic change: it is due rather to the fact that Herodotus makes more frequent use of constructions that involve the positioning of a phrase before the host of a clausal clitic (such as topicalization, non-monotonic focus preposing, and participial clauses). I tentatively suggest that this difference in usage is due to the differing needs of the genres. That is to say, Homer as an epic poet in recounting a narrative has less use for, e.g., preposing than does Herodotus, who is not just creating a narrative but is also engaged in argumentation and the evaluation of propositions. The upshot of this argument is that there is in fact no evidence for the claim that Wackernagel’s Law “weakened” between the archaic and classical periods.

At some point, however, the distributional patterns of the various second-position enclitics do change, as what we find in Koine and in Medieval Greek differs considerably from what we have in Herodotus. The issue of Koine is particularly interesting because it raises the question of syntactic change and language contact: to what extent are the differences that we observe in the distribution of object clitic pronouns in New Testament Greek the result of contact with speakers of Semitic languages (whose languages have no second-position clitics)? By the time we reach Medieval Greek (on which, see, e.g., Pappas 2001, Condoravdi and Kiparsky 2002, 2004, Pappas 2004a, 2004b, Soltic 2013), we are no longer dealing with a system of second-position clisis, and yet some of the distributional patterns still resemble those of the classical period.

While the results of this study provide a basis for answering these questions, its most significant contribution to my mind is the demonstration of the value of clitics as diagnostics for syntactic and prosodic structure. In corpus languages such as Classical Greek where we obviously have no access to native speakers, clitic distribution provides an invaluable source of evidence. I am confident that further investigation of clitic distribution in Greek, as well as other archaic Indo-European languages, will yield more insight into the clause structure of these languages.

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# Index Locorum

|                       |          |  |               |                 |
|-----------------------|----------|--|---------------|-----------------|
| <b>Aesch.</b>         |          |  | <i>Supp.</i>  |                 |
| <i>Cho.</i>           |          |  | 158           | 63              |
| 881                   | 66n10    |  | <i>Tro.</i>   |                 |
| <i>Eum.</i>           |          |  | 1127          | 52              |
| 881                   | 66       |  | <b>Hdt.</b>   |                 |
| <i>Supp.</i>          |          |  | 1.1.2         | 222             |
| 785                   | 64       |  | 1.1.3         | 250             |
| <b>Ar.</b>            |          |  | 1.2.1         | 57, 72, 83, 140 |
| <i>Av.</i>            |          |  | 1.2.3         | 207             |
| 1126                  | 62       |  | 1.3.2         | 3n2, 152        |
| <i>Eccl.</i>          |          |  | 1.4.2         | 97              |
| 677                   | 121, 166 |  | 1.4.4         | 221             |
| <i>Nub.</i>           |          |  | 1.5.3         | 140             |
| 1250                  | 62       |  | 1.6.3         | 41              |
| <b>Char.</b>          |          |  | 1.7.1         | 40              |
| <i>Call.</i>          |          |  | 1.8.1         | 41, 42          |
| 1.8.4                 | 22       |  | 1.9.1         | 57, 101         |
| <b>Dem.</b>           |          |  | 1.10.1–1.10.2 | 155             |
| <i>De cor.</i>        |          |  | 1.13.1        | 190, 196        |
| 73.2                  | 23       |  | 1.17.3        | 81              |
| <b>Diod.</b>          |          |  | 1.24.3        | 182             |
| 16.13.2.8             | 54       |  | 1.27.4        | 58              |
| <b>Dion. Hal.</b>     |          |  | 1.32.3        | 89              |
| <i>De Comp. Verb.</i> |          |  | 1.32.8        | 93              |
| 5                     | 1        |  | 1.34.2        | 89              |
| <b>Eur.</b>           |          |  | 1.35.1        | 2               |
| <i>Bacc.</i>          |          |  | 1.38.1        | 270, 281        |
| 192                   | 61       |  | 1.38.2        | 184, 289        |
| <i>El.</i>            |          |  | 1.42.1        | 131             |
| 275                   | 65       |  | 1.42.2        | 132             |
| <i>Fr.</i>            |          |  | 1.44.2        | 222             |
| 831.2                 | 56       |  | 1.45.1        | 138             |
| <i>Hel.</i>           |          |  | 1.48.1        | 167, 199, 205   |
| 1552                  | 53       |  | 1.51.3        | 285             |
| <i>IT</i>             |          |  | 1.53.3        | 3n2, 185, 211   |
| 1360                  | 23       |  | 1.55.2        | 148             |
| <i>Or.</i>            |          |  | 1.59.2        | 247             |
| 2                     | 64       |  | 1.59.5        | 227             |
| 360                   | 67       |  | 1.59.5–1.59.6 | 183             |
|                       |          |  | 1.61.1        | 100             |
|                       |          |  | 1.63.1        | 78              |
|                       |          |  | 1.63.3        | 78              |
|                       |          |  | 1.66.1        | 148             |
|                       |          |  | 1.66.2        | 148             |
|                       |          |  | 1.66.8        | 63              |

|                       |           |           |               |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|
| Hdt. ( <i>cont.</i> ) |           | 2.22.1-2  | 3n2, 4n2, 202 |
| 1.67.2                | 148       | 2.31.1    | 40            |
| 1.71.3                | 84, 165n6 | 2.32.6    | 237           |
| 1.73.1                | 36        | 2.37.4    | 103, 135, 171 |
| 1.76.3                | 260       | 2.37.5    | 277           |
| 1.79.1                | 284       | 2.41.3    | 208           |
| 1.85.2                | 148       | 2.42.3    | 111           |
| 1.86.1                | 89        | 2.47.3    | 135, 136      |
| 1.87.3                | 201       | 2.54.2    | 272           |
| 1.89.1                | 90        | 2.57.2    | 286           |
| 1.89.3                | 271       | 2.59.2    | 82            |
| 1.90.2                | 183, 213  | 2.61.1    | 195           |
| 1.91.1                | 234       | 2.65.5    | 92            |
| 1.96.2                | 230       | 2.73.4    | 239           |
| 1.103.2               | 257       | 2.82-2.84 | 129           |
| 1.109.3               | 98, 138   | 2.85.2    | 86n2          |
| 1.111.3               | 116       | 2.89.1    | 3n2, 101      |
| 1.112.1               | 197, 214  | 2.102.2   | 240           |
| 1.119.5               | 157       | 2.102.4   | 189           |
| 1.126.3               | 130       | 2.109.2   | 252           |
| 1.126.4               | 88, 131   | 2.120.3   | 278           |
| 1.132.3               | 193       | 2.121.δ.1 | 195           |
| 1.133.2               | 243       | 2.121.δ.2 | 73            |
| 1.133.4               | 258       | 2.122.3   | 109           |
| 1.134.1               | 91        | 2.129.3   | 109           |
| 1.146.3               | 82        | 2.131.1   | 109           |
| 1.155.2               | 76        | 2.131.1-2 | 159           |
| 1.155.4               | 197       | 2.133.3   | 104           |
| 1.156.1               | 98        | 2.135.6   | 208           |
| 1.156.2               | 264, 267  | 2.148.2   | 11, 181, 212  |
| 1.159.1               | 163, 164  | 2.151.1   | 186           |
| 1.170.2               | 241       | 2.160.1   | 105           |
| 1.174.3               | 89        | 2.169.2   | 277           |
| 1.174.5               | 148       | 2.173.2   | 108           |
| 1.189.1               | 3n2, 158  | 2.173.3   | 186           |
| 1.189.2               | 102, 110  | 2.181.4   | 168           |
| 1.191.5               | 245       | 3.1.2     | 99            |
| 1.191.6               | 168       | 3.2.2     | 167, 214, 275 |
| 1.192.1               | 172       | 3.4.2     | 292           |
| 1.194.5               | 83        | 3.6.2     | 91            |
| 1.195.2               | 193       | 3.19.2    | 242           |
| 1.202.1               | 234       | 3.23.3    | 3n2, 170      |
| 1.209.2               | 104       | 3.25.5    | 112           |
| 1.211.3               | 129       | 3.27.3    | 261, 277      |
| 1.215.2               | 105       | 3.31.6    | 234           |
| 1.216.2               | 227       | 3.34.4    | 249           |
| 1.216.3               | 141       | 3.38.3    | 69, 79, 205   |
| 2.7.2                 | 274       | 3.38.4    | 96            |
| 2.11.4                | 3n2, 201  | 3.42.1    | 167           |

|         |                   |         |          |
|---------|-------------------|---------|----------|
| 3.49.1  | 3n2, 154          | 4.97.4  | 99       |
| 3.49.2  | 3n2, 37           | 4.114.3 | 192      |
| 3.51.3  | 255               | 4.128.3 | 74       |
| 3.52.2  | 89, 113           | 4.130   | 75, 256  |
| 3.57.3  | 148, 149          | 4.134.2 | 42       |
| 3.61.1  | 248               | 4.143.2 | 94       |
| 3.63.3  | 165               | 4.143.3 | 144      |
| 3.63.4  | 276               | 4.149.1 | 104, 264 |
| 3.71.2  | 195               | 4.155.4 | 189, 212 |
| 3.78.5  | 248               | 4.156.2 | 148      |
| 3.81.2  | 200               | 4.157.2 | 148      |
| 3.82.2  | 12, 199, 205, 224 | 4.159.6 | 58       |
| 3.89.1  | 128               | 4.161.1 | 93       |
| 3.89.2  | 128               | 4.163.2 | 148      |
| 3.90.1  | 129, 210          | 4.180.5 | 150      |
| 3.92.1  | 11, 129           | 4.200.3 | 235, 239 |
| 3.108.1 | 3n2, 92           | 5.22.2  | 4n2, 191 |
| 3.119.2 | 117, 146, 288     | 5.24.3  | 58       |
| 3.119.3 | 146, 286          | 5.33.4  | 97       |
| 3.119.6 | 3n2, 229          | 5.35.1  | 137      |
| 3.121.1 | 87n6              | 5.43.1  | 148      |
| 3.124.2 | 73                | 5.46.2  | 77       |
| 3.127.3 | 165, 187, 209     | 5.65.1  | 105, 254 |
| 3.128.2 | 227               | 5.68.1  | 141      |
| 3.128.5 | 194               | 5.72.4  | 96       |
| 3.129.3 | 3n2, 151          | 5.76    | 207      |
| 3.130.3 | 160               | 5.82.1  | 148      |
| 3.132.1 | 104               | 5.86.1  | 133      |
| 3.135.3 | 205               | 5.92ζ.3 | 151      |
| 3.140.1 | 276               | 5.106.1 | 268      |
| 3.143.2 | 13, 269, 282      | 5.106.3 | 235      |
| 3.148.1 | 165               | 5.106.5 | 250      |
| 3.151.2 | 3n2, 199          | 5.108.2 | 232      |
| 3.152   | 287               | 5.117   | 240      |
| 3.155.5 | 171               | 5.121   | 86n2     |
| 3.156.1 | 78                | 6.8.1   | 86n2     |
| 3.160.1 | 93, 95            | 6.22.2  | 86n2     |
| 4.9.4   | 231               | 6.26.1  | 98, 227  |
| 4.9.5   | 228               | 6.34.2  | 148      |
| 4.42.1  | 285               | 6.46.1  | 265      |
| 4.42.3  | 3n2, 255          | 6.52.3  | 98       |
| 4.42.4  | 225, 253, 254     | 6.53.2  | 117      |
| 4.46.3  | 3n2, 203          | 6.58.3  | 207      |
| 4.60.1  | 230               | 6.68.3  | 264      |
| 4.63    | 143               | 6.69.2  | 4n2, 204 |
| 4.75.1  | 4n2, 211          | 6.84.3  | 280      |
| 4.78.4  | 12, 223, 227      | 6.92.2  | 237      |
| 4.83.2  | 233, 242          | 6.97.1  | 239      |
| 4.84.1  | 115               | 6.98.3  | 4n2, 142 |

Hdt. (*cont.*)

|          |               |                    |              |
|----------|---------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 6.103.3  | 139, 140      | 7.237.3            | 250          |
| 6.108.2  | 206, 209, 241 | 8.21.2             | 255          |
| 6.111.2  | 70, 80        | 8.37.1-2           | 162          |
| 6.129.2  | 267           | 8.58.1-2           | 168, 236     |
| 7.3.3-4  | 179           | 8.61.2             | 90           |
| 7.6.2    | 190           | 8.65.5             | 271          |
| 7.6.4    | 110           | 8.100.1            | 103          |
| 7.8β.2   | 98            | 8.101.2            | 246          |
| 7.9.2    | 107           | 8.102.1            | 279          |
| 7.10.β.2 | 99            | 8.119.1            | 93           |
| 7.10.ζ   | 174, 180      | 8.134.2            | 153          |
| 7.10.θ.2 | 86n2          | 8.144.1            | 228          |
| 7.11.1   | 265           | 9.1.1              | 253          |
| 7.12.1   | 284           | 9.6.1              | 232          |
| 7.15.1   | 240           | 9.11.3             | 86n2         |
| 7.15.2   | 114           | 9.27.4             | 244          |
| 7.15.3   | 277           | 9.35.1             | 111          |
| 7.38.1   | 6n7           | 9.45.2             | 206          |
| 7.48     | 268           | 9.51.2             | 228n5        |
| 7.49.5   | 147           | 9.53.1             | 41           |
| 7.54.2   | 273, 291      | 9.53.4             | 287          |
| 7.86.1-2 | 129           | 9.61.1             | 81           |
| 7.88.1   | 81            | 9.65.2             | 103          |
| 7.101.3  | 266, 274, 282 | 9.71.3             | 114          |
| 7.104.5  | 165n6         | 9.71.4             | 142          |
| 7.126    | 4n2, 188      | 9.74.1             | 272          |
| 7.137.1  | 268           | 9.76.2             | 256          |
| 7.139.1  | 268           | 9.94.1             | 93, 143, 252 |
| 7.139.2  | 77, 192       | 9.94.3             | 116          |
| 7.139.3  | 235           | 9.98.2             | 198          |
| 7.139.4  | 246           | 9.100.1            | 163          |
| 7.142.1  | 83            | 9.106.2            | 192          |
| 7.143.1  | 280           | 9.109.3            | 4n2          |
| 7.148.2  | 260           | 9.109.3-9.110.1    | 156          |
| 7.152.2  | 234           | 9.113.2            | 107          |
| 7.157.1  | 233           | Prooem.            | 31-33        |
| 7.160.1  | 97, 228, 242  |                    |              |
| 7.161.2  | 87n7          | <i>IG</i>          |              |
| 7.168.1  | 142           | I <sup>3</sup> 699 | 67           |
| 7.168.3  | 100, 244      | I <sup>3</sup> 775 | 67           |
| 7.176.4  | 287           |                    |              |
| 7.184.3  | 108           | <i>Plat.</i>       |              |
| 7.187.1  | 142           | <i>Charm.</i>      |              |
| 7.192.2  | 14, 283       | 167a1              | 24           |
| 7.209.2  | 227, 231      | <i>Leg.</i>        |              |
| 7.213.2  | 238           | 929d3              | 59           |
| 7.220.4  | 6n8           | <i>Lys.</i>        |              |
| 7.229.2  | 279           | 203a               | 39           |
|          |               | 203a-203b          | 39           |

|                |      |              |    |
|----------------|------|--------------|----|
| 203b           | 39   | 448          | 53 |
| <i>Phaedr.</i> |      | <i>El.</i>   |    |
| 259c6          | 22   | 357          | 52 |
| <i>Rep.</i>    |      | <i>OT</i>    |    |
| 358b           | 20n6 | 435-436      | 65 |
| 393c11         | 24   | <i>Phil.</i> |    |
|                |      | 1029         | 61 |
| <b>Plot.</b>   |      | 501          | 61 |
| <i>Enn.</i>    |      | <b>Stob.</b> |    |
| 4.5.6          | 54   | <i>Ecl.</i>  |    |
|                |      | 4.19.39      | 56 |
| <b>Plut.</b>   |      | <b>Thuc.</b> |    |
| <i>Cic.</i>    |      | 1.24.1       | 35 |
| 29.2           | 54   | 4.47.3       | 59 |
| <b>Soph.</b>   |      |              |    |
| <i>Aj.</i>     |      |              |    |
| 1101           | 53n6 |              |    |

# General Index

- 2D 68, 74, 83, 113  
2W 10, 44, 63, 68, 69, 74, 75, 80, 81, 84, 85, 91,  
106, 113, 118
- agent 165  
Akkadian 18n2  
ambiclisis 66n10  
antihomophony 51  
apodotic ǝ́ 153  
aspect 221, 231n6, 238, 289  
Attic drama 60, 293  
Avestan 4, 4n3
- basic word order 18  
Basque 36  
Bilua 78  
Bulgarian 19n6, 60, 80n16, 292
- c-command 21, 21n8, 22n8, 106, 118  
Chamorro 71  
Classical Armenian 4n3  
clitic climbing 261  
clitic group 46, 47  
Common Ground 12, 30, 34, 40, 126, 174–177,  
179–181  
Czech 18, 68, 87n3, 292
- dative  
agent 113, 117  
experiencer 113, 269  
possessor 113  
discontinuous constituent 19, 19n5, 20, 72,  
73, 209  
discourse-configurational 10, 17, 17n1, 35,  
38  
ditropy 259
- free word order 20  
Functional Grammar 35, 106n10
- German 21, 29, 166, 289  
Old High 37  
Germanic 18  
Gothic 4, 4n3, 52n5, 87n3  
Greek  
Archaic 17, 76n14  
Classical 19, 19n4, 19n6, 25n11, 26n13, 289,  
293, 294  
Koine 17, 170n8, 294  
Medieval 215, 294  
Modern 6n5, 17, 20n6, 24n9, 56, 215, 216  
New Testament 76n14, 223n2, 294, *see*  
*also* Koine
- Hattic 18n2  
head adjacency 71, 80n16, 113, 209, 258, 259  
head final 18  
head initial 18  
Head Movement Constraint 85  
Hittite 5n4, 18, 18n2, 18n3, 19, 87n3  
Homer 19n4, 71, 93, 293 *see also* Greek,  
Archaic  
Hungarian 24n9, 29, 36, 179  
Hurrian 18n2  
hyperbaton 19n5 *see also* discontinuous  
constituent
- Italian 9, 46, 48, 49, 176, 260n1  
Lucanian 46, 49  
Neapolitan 49, 51
- Jiwarli 26
- Karuk 18, 36  
Kiowa 215n3
- Latin 4, 4n3, 8n12, 18, 25n11, 27, 35, 52n5, 68,  
196, 292  
Luisiño 5, 74  
lulling 51, 57, 58, 60
- Macedonian 19n6  
Maliseet-Passamaquoddy 25n12  
μὲν-*solitarium* 132  
minimal word 51  
modal particle 61, 92
- non-configurational 18, 20, 26, 27  
null anaphora 19, 20
- Old English 37  
Old Persian 4n3

- open proposition 180, 184, 193
- particle 8n12  
 discourse 2, 6–8, 37, 58, 63, 67, 76, 80,  
 87n4, 87n7, 89, 125–127, 130  
 modal 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 50n3, 53, 71, 89, 90,  
 93, 95, 118, 121n1, 224, 243, 244, 244n7,  
 246, 247, 251, 257, 275, 278, 279
- Porson's Bridge 51–53, 53n6, 60, 64, 65
- possessor 7, 83, 87n9, 89
- preposing  
 verb 138, 193
- proclitic 57, 60, 64–66, 66m0, 71, 73, 76–78,  
 81, 84, 106, 169, 216
- Prosodic Hierarchy 4, 44, 45, 47
- prosodic word 5, 6n9, 10, 26, 26n13, 44–49,  
 51, 52, 53n6, 56–60, 62–64, 67, 68n11, 69,  
 71, 72, 74–76, 76n14, 77, 77n15, 80–82,  
 82n17, 83, 84, 88, 122, 148, 175, 224, 226,  
 259, 264, 290, 292
- Proto-Indo-European 4, 5n4, 18, 18n3, 293
- restructuring 260n1
- Ritschl's Law 60
- Romanian 18
- Russian 36
- Sanskrit 4, 18, 18n3, 24n9, 166, 173
- Semitic 294
- Serbian/Croatian 18, 74, 76n14
- serial verb construction 256
- Shuswap 18, 36
- Slovenian 60
- Spanish 8
- splaying 83, 88, 104, 224, 246, 258, 278, 279
- Stray Adjunction 44
- Strict Layer Hypothesis 45–47
- Sumerian 18n2
- superiority effects 21, 23
- SVO 18
- Tagalog 18, 24n9, 48, 87n3
- tense 138, 144, 225, 231, 238, 251, 253, 256, 289
- Theme 36
- Tocharian 4n3
- tonal spreading 51, 59, 60
- verb final 17
- verb medial 17
- Warlpiri 5, 18