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Variation versus Change

Clausal Clitics between Homer and Herodotus

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Abstract

Enclitic distribution in Greek (and archaic Indo-European generally) is governed by a set of generalizations known as WACKERNAGEL'S LAW, according to which enclitics occur in "second position." As has long been known, surface exceptions to Wackernagel's Law in Homer are uncommon, but in Herodotus are far more frequent. Wackernagel himself attributed this difference to syntactic change: in Homer a single mechanism is responsible for second-position clitic distribution, while in Herodotus the old second-position rule competes with new placement rules. Although the nature of these innovative mechanisms has never been explicated, philologists have adopted this view with apparent unanimity. The central claim of this paper is that the alleged syntactic change is an illusion. What Wackernagel and others have observed in Homer and Herodotus is a difference in *usage*, not grammar. Specifically, Herodotus uses constructions that yield non-canonical surface patterns (i.e., the clitic is not "second" in its clause) more often than Homer. As the same generalizations capture the distribution of clitics in both Homer and Herodotus, there is no validity to the claim that Wackernagel's Law is weaker in the classical period than in the archaic, or that there are new distributional rules at work.

Keywords

clitic – second position – Wackernagel's Law – syntax – syntactic change – Greek – Homer – Herodotus

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1 Introduction

WACKERANGEL'S LAW (WL) is a generalization about the surface position of enclitics (Wackernagel 1892, Hale 1987a, 1987b, Goldstein 2010, 2014, 2016a), which predicts that they occur in "second" position (2P). The following examples illustrate canonical second-position behavior ('≠' marks the host-clitic relationship; the relevant clitics are in bold):¹

(1) Canonical 2P distribution

i. Κροῖσος=δέ=μιν ἐκάθηρε.

'Croesus purified him.' (Hdt. 1.35.2)

ii. (ἀπό ταύτης)_ω=γάρ=σφι τῆς μάχης, Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῆσι πεντητηρίσι γινομένης, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι.

'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.' (Hdt. 6.111.2)

In example (ii), both the discourse particle δέ and the pronominal enclitic μιν are hosted by the first word of the clause, Κροῖσος. Example (iii) shows that "second position" has to include reference to prosodic constituents. The clitics γάρ and σφι are hosted not by the first morphosyntactic word of the clause, which is the preposition ἀπό. If we assume that ἀπό is proclitic here, then it forms a prosodic word (indicated with a subscript ω) with ταύτης, which in turn hosts γάρ and σφι.

As robust as the pattern in (1) is, it is not without its counterexamples:

(2) Noncanonical Distribution

(ἀπό Βαβυλωνῶνος)_ω=δέ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίας χίλια=οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι.

'From Babylon and the rest of Assyria, a thousand talents of silver came to him and five-hundred castrated boys.' (Hdt. 3.92.2)

Here the discourse particle δέ is arguably where we expect it, but the same cannot be said for the pronominal clitic οἱ. It is not hosted by the first prosodic word of the clause, but by the first word after the prepositional phrase ἀπό

1 The translations are mostly mine. Some have been adapted from Godley (1920) for Herodotus and others from Lattimore (1951) and Lattimore (1965) for Homer.

Βαβυλωνος και τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης. It has been repeatedly observed that the frequency of counterexamples such as this increases between Homer and Herodotus. This increase in non-canonical examples between the archaic and classical periods has been attributed to syntactic change.

The central claim of this paper is that the generalizations governing the distribution of clausal clitics in Homer and Herodotus do not in fact differ. Despite appearances to the contrary, there is actually no difference in the position of the clitic in examples (1) and (2). In the latter, a prepositional phrase has simply been adjoined to the clause (more specifically, the *s* constituent). The difference in the rate of canonical second-position behavior between Homer and Herodotus is due to the frequency with which constructions that yield non-canonical surface patterns, such as we have in example (2), are used. In other words, it is due to variation in usage. The difference is not due to a change in grammar (cf. Hale 2007: 38 with regard to Maori passives). No new second-position rules develop between Homer and Herodotus, and the Homeric mechanisms of clitic distribution are not weaker in Herodotus.

I am not, however, claiming there is no syntactic difference between the grammars of Homer and Herodotus. In fact, Homeric and Herodotean syntax do appear to differ in the structure of the left periphery of the clause. In Herodotus, there is evidence for a focus preposing construction that leads to non-canonical surface patterns such as we have in example (2). My corpus offers no evidence for such a construction in Homer.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 offers background on the Greek clitic lexicon and Wackernagel's Law. This background serves as the foundation for section 3, which presents the standard claim that new mechanisms of clitic distribution arise in post-Homeric Greek. Section 4 examines in more detail the quantitative data on which this claim is based. Here I argue that when we include authors from the Hellenistic period, the claim of syntactic change is harder to maintain. Section 5 then argues that the distribution of clausal clitics in Homer and Herodotus can be handled with the same distributional generalizations. Four constructions are identified that lead to the non-canonical surface distribution of clitics: wide-scope adverbials, contrastive topicalization, focus preposing, and participial clauses. Section 6 compares the use of the four constructions in Homer and Herodotus, which reveals that the frequency of counterexamples in Herodotus is actually negligible. Section 7 brings the paper to a close with summary remarks as well as a conspectus of new research questions that this study raises. The Appendix contains two sections. Section 8 contains the specifics of what was considered canonical second-position behavior. Section 9 provides a sample of the recalcitrant data.

TABLE 1 *Enclitic object pronouns in Homer and Herodotus*

	GEN.	DAT.	ACC.
1SG	μεο, μευ, μου	μοι	με
2SG	σεο, σευ, σου, τευ ²	σοι, τοι	σε
3SG	έο, έυ, έθεν	οί	έ, μιν, νιν, αύτόν
3DU			σφωε
3PL	σφεων	σφι(ν), σφισι	σφε, σφας, σφεας, σφεα

2 An Overview of Second-Position Clitics in Greek

The clitic lexicon of Ancient Greek is notoriously large. It comprises pronominal clitics, discourse particles, modal particles, certain verb forms, and a conjunction (cf. Smyth 1956: § 181; Dik 1995: 32). Table 1 presents the clitic pronouns attested in Homer and Herodotus (for more detail, see Goldstein 2016a: 6–7).

As Table 1 illustrates, the system of pronominal clitics is richer in the singular (the token frequency of singular forms is also higher than that of plural forms). Table 2 reveals that the inventory of non-pronominal clitics is even larger (clitics followed by the name of an author are found only in that corpus; the absence of a designation means that the clitic is found in both Homer and Herodotus).

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). The boundary between discourse particle and indefinite is not in fact as sharp as Table 2 suggests. The words that bear an accent are standardly classified as “postpositives” in the secondary literature, and not true enclitics. I depart from this practice here because there are no distributional properties that correlate with this distinction.

Since the pioneering work of Hale (1987a) and (1987b) on the distribution of enclitics in Indo-Iranian, it has been clear that there is no single “second position.” In fact, at least three distributional categories need to be recognized, as Table 3 illustrates.²

² Table 3 is based on Herodotean data (for a fuller account of which, see Goldstein 2016a: 86–91). There is evidence for a similar division in Homer, but it is less robust, because the type of constructions that enable one to set up this kind of table are less frequent.

TABLE 2 *Non-pronominal enclitics in Homer and Herodotus*

Function	Members
Complementizer	τε ³
Discourse Particle	ἄρα, αὖ, αὖτε (Hom.), γε, γάρ, δέ, δή, ⁴ θην (Hom.), μάλα, ⁵ μάν (Hom.), μέν, μέντοι (Hdt.), μήν, νυ (Hom.), νυν, οὔν (Hom.)/ῶν (Hdt.), περ, πω (Hom.)/κω (Hdt.), ῥά (Hom.), ταρ (Hom.), τοι, τοίνυν (Hdt.)
Indefinite	ποτε (Hom.)/κοτε (Hdt.), που (Hom.)/κου (Hdt.), ⁶ τις, τι, πως (Hom.)/κως (Hdt.)
Modal Particle	ἄν, κε(ν) (Hom.)
Conjunction	τε

TABLE 3 *Clitic domains and chains in Herodotus*

Domain	Members
Sentence	{δέ, μέν}, γάρ, ῶν, {δή, δητα}
Clause	{άν, {κοτε, κου, κω, κως, κη(ι)}, ἄρα, NOM, ACC, DAT, {εἰμί, φημί}?
Phrase	{τε, {δέ, μέν}, γε} ⁷

3 This is more commonly known as “epic τε” (on which see Ruijgh 1971). Goldstein (2016b) presents the evidence that epic τε is a complementizer.

4 This particle can also occur clause-initially in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 1.476). Whether it is proclitic or a prosodic word is not clear.

5 This particle can also occur clause-initially in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 3.25). It is not clear whether it was proclitic or a prosodic word in this context.

6 See Koier (2013).

7 Possessor clitics belong somewhere in the phrasal domain.

Domain membership is apparently determined by semantic scope (cf. Rice 2000 on affix ordering in Athabaskan). Sentential clitics mark intersentential relationships, while clausal clitics realize grammatical features of the clause itself, and phrasal clitics those of sub-clausal phrases (cf. Anderson 2005: 145). I abstract away from the variation that one encounters in the domain-internal ordering of enclitics (on which see Monro 1891: §365, Ruijgh 1990, Goldstein 2016a: 86–91).

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 (see also Hdt. 2.162.2):

- (3) [τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην] πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν. [τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν] πάντα ἀγαθὰ.
 ‘[For on the previous day], everything was bad for them. [During the present (day)], however, everything (has been) good.’ (Hdt. 1.126.4)

The bracketed constituents are in each case topicalized phrases (which are discussed in detail in section 5.1.2). 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 as follows: phrasal clitics precede sentential clitics, which in turn precede clausal clitics. This yields the order μὲν γὰρ ... σφι above (both μὲν and δέ in this example are phrasal and not sentential, as each scopes over its DP).

In this paper, I focus specifically on the distribution of clause-domain clitics. There are two reasons for this bias. The first is relevance: the claim of syntactic change between Homer and Herodotus has been based by and large on this class. The second is practical: the distributional properties of clausal clitics tell us more about clause structure than sentential or phrasal clitics.

As already illustrated in example (iii), clause-domain clitics are hosted by the first prosodic word of their clause.⁸ This pattern is found in both Homer and Herodotus (example iii is repeated here for convenience):

8 Agbayani and Golston (2010: 7) argue against this view of host selection: “it is clear that the phonological weight of both the postpositive word ... and its so-called host ... are completely irrelevant for their linear ordering.” Their observation is only valid for phrasal and sentential clitics, and even then not for all of them. On pp. 16–18 of their article, they in fact recognize cases in which the host of a clitic is a prosodic word.

(4) *Homer*

(οὐ σύ)_ω γ' ἄν ἐξ οἴκου σῶ ἐπιστάτῃ οὐδ' ἄλλα δοίης.

'You at least wouldn't give even a grain from your stock to your suppliant.'

(*Od.* 17.455; see also *Hdt.* 1.109.3, 1.156.1)

(5) *Herodotus*

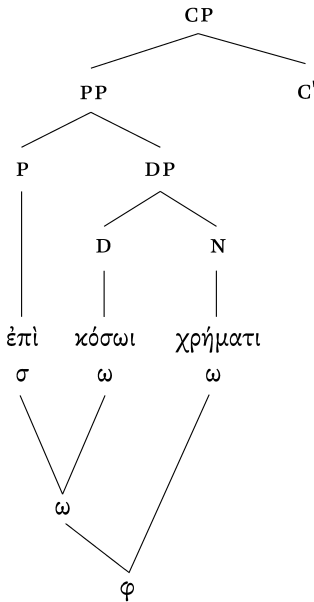
i. Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἴρετο [_{PP} (ἐπὶ κόσωι)_ω ἄν χρήματι] βουλοῖατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι.

'When Darius was king, he summoned the Greeks who were with him and asked them for what price they would eat their fathers' dead bodies.' (*Hdt.* 3.38.3)

ii. [_{PP} (ἀπὸ ταύτης)_ω γάρσφι τῆς μάχης], Ἀθηναίων θυσίας ἀναγόντων ἐς τὰς πανηγύριαις τὰς ἐν τῆσι πεντετηρίσι γινομένας, κατεύχεται ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἅμα τε Ἀθηναίοισι λέγων γίνεσθαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Πλαταιεῦσι.

'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.' (*Hdt.* 6.111.2; see also *Hdt.* 1.38.2)

In each case a clausal clitic is hosted by a prosodic word that crucially does not form a syntactic constituent. In example (4), the negation οὐ and the pronoun σύ do not form a syntactic constituent, as here the negative scopes over the whole clause, and not just the pronoun. Since οὐ is proclitic here, οὐ σύ does, however, form a prosodic word, which serves as the host of both γε and the modal particle. The same pattern is also found with οὐδέ (e.g., *Il.* 3.368) and μηδέ (e.g., *Hdt.* 1.9.1). In example (5), a clausal clitic occurs inside a DP that is the complement of a PP. On the assumption that prepositions can be proclitic, the host is again a prosodic constituent (namely a prosodic word), but not a syntactic constituent. The following tree illustrates the mismatch between prosodic and syntactic constituency in example (5i):

(6) *Syntax-prosody mismatch*

Crucially, only a prosodic node dominates *ἐπὶ κόσῳ*, namely the prosodic-word node ω . It is this prosodic constituent that $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ selects as its host. The string *ἐπὶ κόσῳ* does not form a syntactic constituent (as illustrated above, this string is not exclusively dominated by a single node), so the host-selection of clausal clitics has to make reference to prosodic constituency. Syntactic constituency is relevant to the extent that it constrains the eligible prosodic words that may serve as licit hosts.

3 The Standard Claim: New 2P Rules

Wackernagel (1892) observed that fealty to the second-position “rule” that he was arguing for varied between Homer and Herodotus. Figures 1 and 2 and their accompanying tables compare the raw frequencies of canonical 2P behavior of the modal particle $\tilde{\alpha}\nu$ and the pronominal clitic $\sigma\epsilon$ in these two authors.⁹

9 While these frequency counts by and large reproduce the observations of Wackernagel, the reader should be aware that he and I are not using the same definition of second position. As far as I can tell, Wackernagel made almost no assumptions about the prosodic or syntactic structure of the Greek clause. One comes away with the impression that second position was

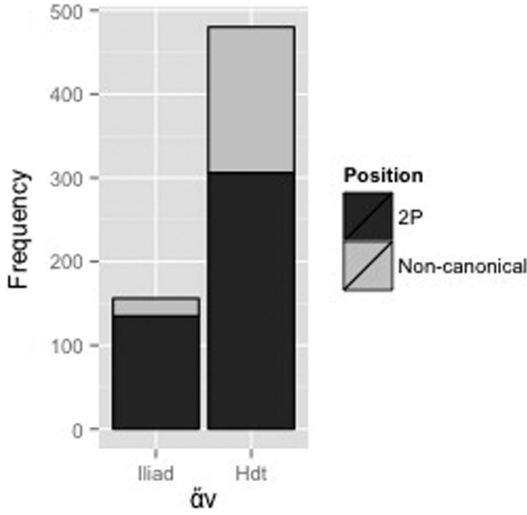


FIGURE 1 Raw 2P frequency counts of äü

TABLE 4 Raw 2P frequency counts of äü
 $\chi^2(1) = 27.697, p < .001, \phi = .21$

	<i>Iliad</i>	<i>Hdt.</i>	Total
2P	135	306	441
Non-canonical	21	174	195
Total	156	480	

The grey region of the bars represents the number of non-canonical examples, i.e., the number of cases in which the clitic is not hosted by the first prosodic word of its clause. The χ^2 test of independence reveals that for both clitics the difference in the frequency of canonical 2P behavior between the two corpora is highly significant ($p < .001, df = 1$); the effect size is small ($\phi < .3$).¹⁰

defined graphically: that is, that it referred to the second orthographic word after a major mark of punctuation. I have not used this definition of second position because it is not linguistically real, i.e., it is not based on linguistic constituents. For a detailed exposition of what I counted as canonical second-position behavior, see section 8 in the Appendix.

10 The p -value represents the probability of obtaining a value at least as extreme as the one

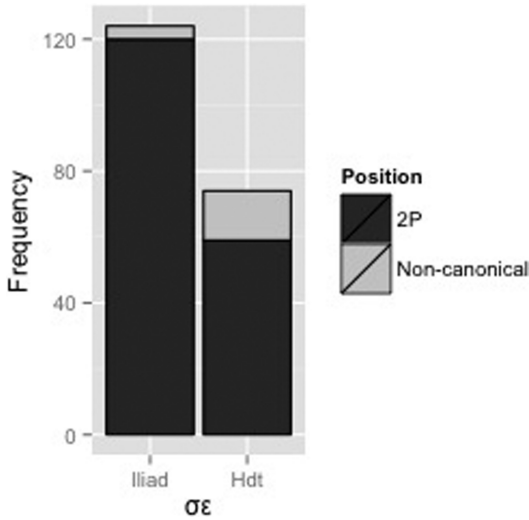


FIGURE 2 Raw 2P frequency counts of $\sigma\epsilon$

TABLE 5 Raw 2P frequency counts of $\sigma\epsilon$
 $\chi^2(t) = 13.617, p < .001, \phi = .28$

	<i>Iliad</i>	Hdt.	Total
2P	120	59	179
Non-canonical	4	15	19
Total	124	74	

Wackernagel attributed this difference to syntactic change:

Es ergibt sich aus dieser Statistik zwar mit völliger Klarheit, dass die alte Regel bei Herodot nicht mehr ohne weiters gilt, dass andere Stellungenregeln in Wirkung getreten sind. Aber zugleich auch, dass trotz und

that was actually observed on the assumption that the null hypothesis is true. The null hypothesis in this case would be that the Homeric and Herodotean samples are drawn from the same distribution. So $p < .001$ says that there is less than a one in one thousand chance that we would obtain the observed values (or more extreme ones) on the null hypothesis.

neben diesen neuern Regeln die alte Regel doch noch Kraft genug hat, um in mehr als der Hälfte der Fälle die Stellung des Pronomens zu bestimmen.

WACKERNAGEL 1892: 352 (cf. 363, 370)

In Homer, there is a single second-position rule, which accounts for the uniform behavior of enclitics in this corpus. In Herodotus, by contrast, this older second-position mechanism is but one of several, as a result of which clitic distribution is less uniform than it is in the archaic period.

The subsequent literature on clitic distribution has followed this view with apparent unanimity. Illustrative is the following remark of Dover (1960: 15; cf. 17): “The progressive tendency in post-Homeric Greek [is] to distribute [enclitics] within the clause, instead of concentrating them after the leading [prosodic word].” Howorth (1955: 93); Dunn (1989); Taylor (1990: 30, 131–133); Slings (1992); Fraser (2001: 164–166); and Taylor (2003) express similar views.

Wackernagel’s claim suffers from at least four problems. First, it is based on a limited sample, namely Homer and Herodotus. As we will see in this section, when we cast a wider net, we see that the alleged weakening of WL in the classical period is an illusion.

Second, his analysis is incomplete. While he claims that new rules are in operation, he does not specify what the new rules do. Their only distinguishing feature seems to be that they cause enclitics to occur further into the clause than the old rule. In addition, Wackernagel says nothing as to how the alleged set of rules in Herodotus are supposed to interact. If the old rule is still partially active, when should we expect it to be operative and when to be ineffectual? In the end, his account does not make clear predictions, so it is impossible to evaluate it. It is unsettling that his view has commanded such wide assent, given that there is so little to agree or disagree with.¹¹

Third, Wackernagel appears to have been working with a null-view of Greek clause structure, in which no assumptions were made about underlying syn-

11 Fraenkel ([1933] 1964: 94) offers the most explicit view of post-Homeric innovations in clitic distribution (cf. Marshall 1987: 15–16, 121, Devine and Stephens 1994: 422). For the modal particle *ἄν*, he argued that it could occur in canonical second position or second in a *Kolon* (a prosodic constituent that seems to be roughly equivalent to an intonational phrase; see Goldstein 2010: 16–22 for more) or directly after the verb. While Fraenkel’s supplement is certainly an improvement, it too fails to specify when we should expect these various distributional possibilities. As for the idea that clitics are already starting to lose their host promiscuity and select verbs for hosts in the classical period, there is not enough evidence to support this, beyond the cases that are mentioned in, e.g., section 9.2.

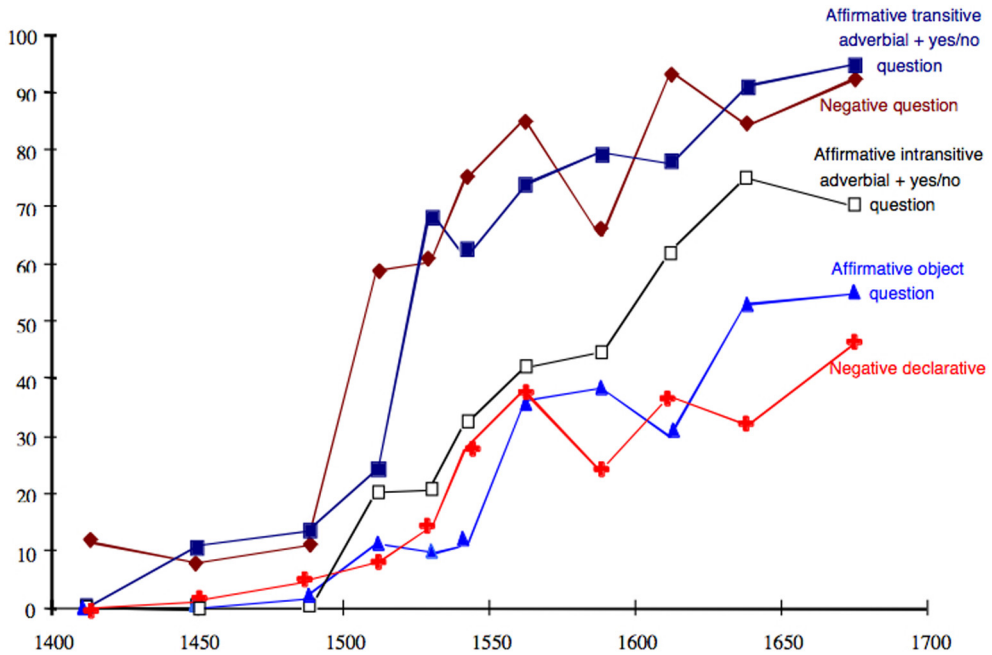


FIGURE 3 *The rise of periphrastic do* (from Kroch 2001: 27; cf. Ellegård 1953)

tactic structure. On this view, exceptions to WL amount to any cases in which a clitic is not the second orthographic word after a major mark of punctuation. As we will see below in section 5, if we make assumptions about the structure of the clause and where clitics appear within that structure, there turn out to be far fewer exceptions.

And finally, Wackernagel and subsequent scholars have not given enough attention to the distinction between changes in textual output and actual syntactic change. As we will see, the usage patterns of texts from the classical and Hellenistic periods exhibit considerable variation. While this variation can lead to grammatical change, in and of itself it cannot be equated with change.

4 A Closer Look at the Quantitative Data

Before turning to the Greek data, I present two quantitative profiles that are widely believed to be representative of syntactic change. Figure 3 is a plot graph of the development of *do*-support in the history of English (the *y*-axis represents relative frequency).

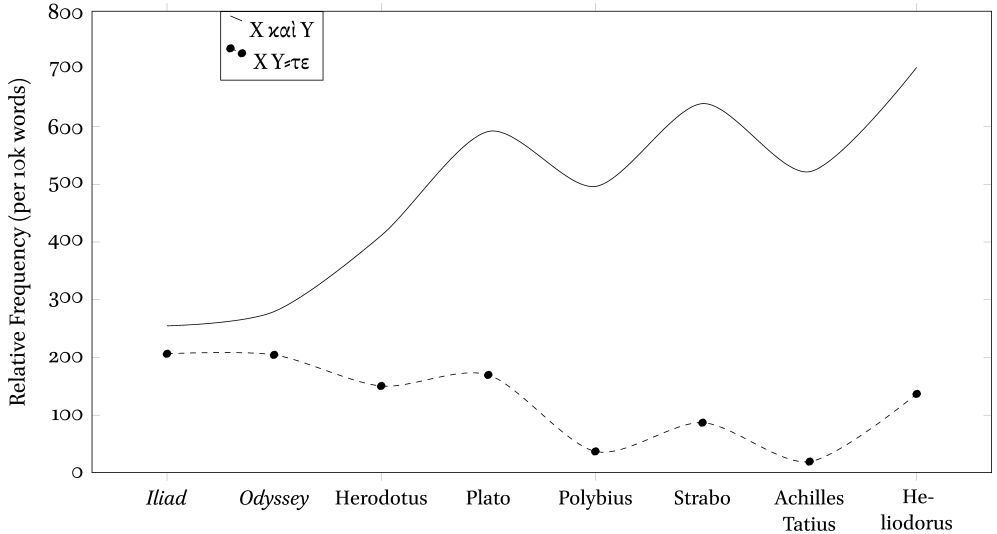


FIGURE 4 Relative frequency of *καί* and *τε*

A much-discussed property of this development is the s-shape of curve characterizing the increase. It is thought that this pattern of gradual increase followed by a sharp rise, which then plateaus, is said to be typical of syntactic change (Kroch 1989a, 1989b). For our purposes, what is crucial is that the graph shows a continuous upward trend over time, even though there are dips.

For syntactic loss, we can turn to the history of conjunction in Greek, where we can observe head-initial *καί* gradually eclipse the postpositive conjunction *τε*, as illustrated in Figure 4.¹²

After Homer, the difference in frequency between *καί* and *τε* widens. Even though the absolute frequency of the individual conjunctions varies over time, the gap between them steadily increases. Figure 5 visualizes this increase.¹³

When we turn to the data from second-position clitics in Greek, we find stark differences. Table 6 tallies the number of tokens in which *ἄν* and *σε* occur

12 Figure 4 presents counts of the morphemes *τε* and *καί* without regard to their function. Thus tokens of adverbial *καί* and “epic *τε*” are also included. This does not, however, affect the point being made here. Frequency counts are based on the editions of the *Thesaurus linguae graecae* (www.stephanus.tlg.uci.edu).

13 One could interpret the loss of *τε* as a case of lexical change, and not syntactic change per se. While the lexicon is of course affected, I argue in Goldstein (2016b) that the rise of *καί* is part of a shift toward head-initial syntax in the archaic IE languages generally. Head-initial conjunction also ousts enclitic conjunction in Indo-Iranian, Latin, and Germanic.

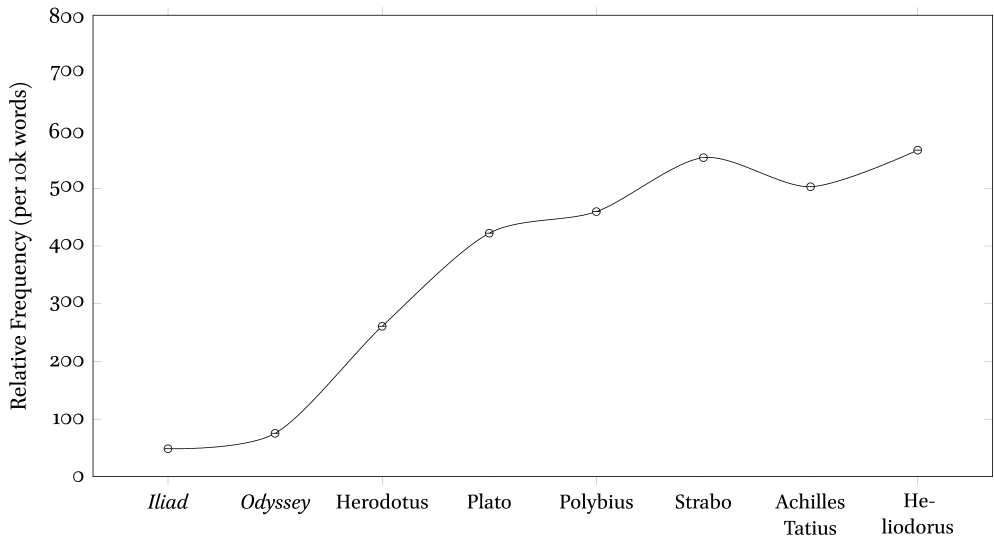


FIGURE 5 *Difference in relative frequency of καί and τε*

after the first prosodic word of their clause from Homer in the 8th (?) century through Chariton in the first or second century CE. In other words, this is the number of canonical examples of WL in each corpus.¹⁴ Figure 6 presents this data visually.

This graph differs strikingly from those considered earlier in this section. While the rate of canonical 2P behavior does dip between Homer and Herodotus, later corpora do not continue this downward trend. The absence of a clear diachronic trend is the first indication that what we are looking at with Homer and Herodotus is not syntactic change, but rather variation in usage.

14 The numbers for $\sigma\epsilon$ come exclusively from forms that have no graphic accent. It is of course possible for enclitics to receive in certain prosodic contexts. When an enclitic is morphologically distinct (e.g., $\mu\nu$), its prosodic status is clear. In cases like $\sigma\epsilon$, where the tonic and enclitic forms are not morphologically distinct, there are forms with a graphic accent that can be interpreted as enclitic or tonic. On account of this ambiguity, the graphically-accented cases have been excluded from consideration. (Circularity is potentially lurking behind some subset of the data, if textual editors themselves are relying on the surface position of a pronoun to determine whether or not it should bear a graphic accent.) Frequency counts are again based on the editions used by the *Thesaurus linguae graecae*.

TABLE 6 Canonical 2P-rates with $\sigma\epsilon$ and $\check{\nu}$

Clitic	Author	Corpus	Total words	Tokens	p2	Frequency
$\sigma\epsilon$	Homer	<i>Iliad</i>	116,314	124	120	.97
	Herodotus	<i>Histories</i>	188,809	74	59	.80
	Plato	<i>Cratylus</i>	18,545	17	11	.65
	Xenophon	<i>Anabasis</i>	58,624	27	17	.63
	Theocritus	<i>Idylls</i>	20,046	14	11	.79
	Apollonius Rhodes	<i>Argonautica</i>	40,328	21	17	.81
	LXX	Genesis	34,304	67	45	.67
	Polybius	<i>Histories</i>	327,805	9	2	.22
		NT	140,315	159	77	.48
	Charit.	<i>Callirhoe</i>	37,860	87	57	.66
$\check{\nu}$	Homer	<i>Iliad</i>	116,314	156	145	.93
	Herodotus	<i>Histories</i>	188,809	476	397	.83
	Plato	<i>Cratylus</i>	18,545	211	137	.65
	Xenophon	<i>Anabasis</i>	58,624	350	280	.80
	Theocritus	<i>Idylls</i>	20,046	13	8	.62
	Apollonius Rhodes	<i>Argonautica</i>	40,328	52	50	.96
	LXX	Genesis	34,304	32	32	1.0
	Polybius	<i>Histories</i>	327,805	295	178	.60
		NT	140,315	164	159	.97
	Charit.	<i>Callirhoe</i>	37,860	88	69	.78

5 Left-Periphery Constructions in Homer and Herodotus

As mentioned above, Wackernagel was working with a null view of Greek clause structure. That is, any clitic that was not the second orthographic word in a clause was considered an “exception.” However, there is ample evidence that second position should not be defined as the second orthographic word, but rather as a combination of domain- and host-selection properties. This section argues that if we make use of syntactic and prosodic constituency in the definition of second position, we can capture the distribution of clausal clitics in Homer and Herodotus with the same set of generalizations.

The following left periphery allows constituents to precede the host of clausal clitics (Goldstein 2016a: 20–27 provides more detail):

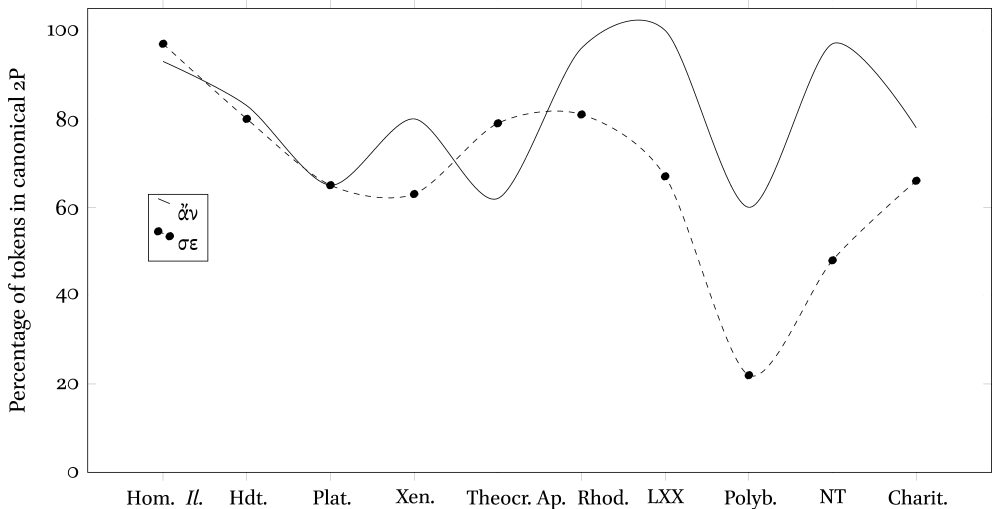
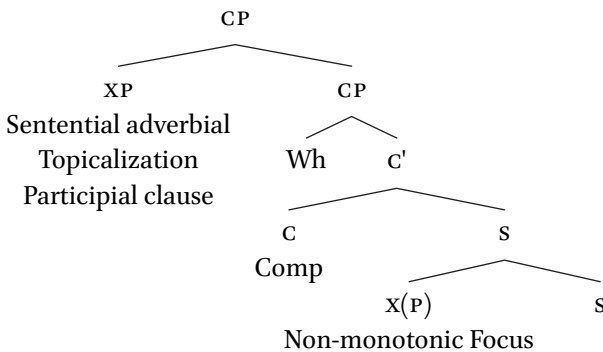


FIGURE 6 The relative frequency of canonical distribution for 2ν and 2ε

(7) A common left periphery for Homer and Herodotus



Clausal clitics are hosted by the leftmost prosodic word of the highest available projection (that is, either CP or S), excluding any preposed projections. As the position of clausal clitics is conditioned by the available projections, they do not have a fixed position in the above tree. So if a *wh*-phrase occupies Spec,CP, it is predicted that the first prosodic word of the *wh*-phrase will host the clitic. But material that is adjoined to CP will precede the host of a clausal clitic. Furthermore, if any material is adjoined to S, both this material and any material occupying higher nodes is unavailable to host a clausal clitic.¹⁵

15 I abstract away from a theory-internal presentation of the left periphery and clitic distribu-

As discussed below in section 5.2, it is not yet clear if Homer has the non-monotonic focus projection.¹⁶

What the tree in (7) does is to expand the space of what constitutes canonical 2P behavior by acknowledging that certain types of constituents and sub-constituents can occur before the host of a clausal clitic. As a result, many non-canonical surface patterns will turn out not to be exceptional: they merely reflect the presence of morphosyntactic material before the host of the clausal clitic. In the following sections, I identify four such constructions that license morphosyntactic material before the host of a clausal clitic: adverbials that scope over clauses (section 5.1.1); topicalization (section 5.1.2); non-monotonic focus preposing (section 5.2); and participial clauses (section 5.3).

5.1 *Delimitation*

I use the term DELIMITATION (borrowed from Krifka 2008) to refer to two constructions that yield non-canonical surface distribution of clitics, sentential adverbials and topicalization. These two constructions, while distinct, sometimes prove difficult to distinguish, which is why I have grouped them together under the heading of delimitation.

5.1.1 Sentential Adverbials

Adverbial expressions that scope over the entire clause (or utterance) precede the host of clausal clitics:

(8) *Discourse Adverbials*

- i. [ἦ] ἔτι=μιν μέμαμεν καταπαυσέμεν ἄσσον ἰόντες
ἦ ἔπει ἦέ βίη.
‘[In fact], we are still eager to approach him and stop him, whether with speech or with violence.’ (*Il.* 15.105–106)
- ii. [καὶ γὰρ] δεινὸν=ἂν εἶη πρῆγμα, εἰ Σάκας μὲν καὶ Ἴνδουὺς καὶ Αἰθιοπᾶς 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.
‘[Indeed], it would be strange if, after conquering and enslaving Sacae and Indians and Ethiopians and Assyrians and many other great na-

tion here. The surface generalizations that I argue for here can be implemented in various ways depending on the theoretical framework. Goldstein and Haug (forthcoming) analyze 2P clitics in Greek in Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG).

16 I use the term *non-monotonic focus* to describe a focus construction that not only adds information to a discourse, but also overwrites information already present or assumed. If

tions 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.' (Hdt. 7.9.2; cf. 7.184.3, 9.113.2)

In both of these examples, we have adverbial expressions (ἦ and καὶ γάρ) that affirm the truth value of the sentence that they introduce. The adverbs thus straightforwardly c-command their scope domains. Following the tree in example (7) above, we can analyze these adverbial phrases as adjoined to their clauses,¹⁷ with the crucial result that they lie outside of the domain over which second position for the clausal clitic is calculated.

We also find temporal adverbials adjoined high in the clause:

(9) *Temporal adverbials*

- i. αὐτὰρ [ἔπειτα]
 Αἴγυπτόνδε μὲ θυμὸς ἀνώγει ναυτίλλεσθαι.
 'But [afterwards], my heart commanded me to sail for Aegypt.' (*Od.* 14.245–246)
- ii. οἱ δὲ τινες λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὡς Μυκερίνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ [ἔπειτα] ἐμίγησσι ἀκούσῃ.
 '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.' (Hdt. 2.131.1; cf. 2.129.3)

Like the discourse adverbials above, the temporal expressions here c-command their clauses because they scope over them. To take example (9) as illustrative, preposed ἔπειτα makes clear that the event of the speaker's heart commanding to sail for Egypt took place within the interval 'afterwards,' not that the interval labeled 'afterwards' was part of what his heart commanded.¹⁸

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 that of Frey (2003):

we think of information focus as a monotone increasing function (that is, information is only added to a discourse), non-monotonic focus differs in that it can both add new information and cause the loss of old information.

- 17 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.
- 18 It may be the case that preposed temporal adverbials uniformly modify the reference time of the utterance. Full investigation of this possibility would take us too far afield here.

(10) *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 and are adjoined to S/CP (or some higher projection). For Herodotus, it appears that adverbial expressions that belong to the first three categories (sentence adverbials, frame/domain adverbials, and event-external adverbials) adjoin to S/CP, and accordingly occur to the left of the host of a clausal clitic:

(11) *Event-External Adverbial*

- i. εἰ μὲν νῦν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχῃ καὶ ἀπήγεε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, [ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένῃ ἀμαρτάδι] ἦν ἄν ἀνὴρ σοφός. νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενος ἦε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω.

'If, upon learning of this, Cambyses had admitted his mistake and led his army, he would have been a wise man, [despite his initial mistake]. But as it was, he forged ahead, deeming the matter of no importance.' (Hdt. 3.25.5)

- ii. [πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα] οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε.

'[In the face of this proclamation] no one wanted to talk to him or to receive him in their homes.' (Hdt. 3.52.2)

The preposed adverbial expressions in each of these examples provides information about the circumstances of the event. In example (11), Cambyses is successful in spite of an earlier mistake (ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένῃ ἀμαρτάδι). In example (11ii), the adverbial expression πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα offers an explanation for the event(s) described in the remainder of the clause, i.e., why no one talked to Periander's son or received him in their homes. While the exact class of adverbials that we expect to be preposed is hard to define, it is clear that preposing is motivated by scope.

5.1.2 Contrastive Topicalization

Discourse, even monologic, is often thought to be driven by the resolution of underlying questions. On one view, the active question in a discourse is the question under discussion (= QUD, Roberts 2012; cf. Büring 2003) for (14).

Contrastive topicalization is a construction used to shift between constituents of a hierarchical question in discourse:¹⁹

- (12) QUD: *Who bought what?*
 i. Sub-QUD:
 What did Noa buy?
 ii. Sub-QUD:
 What did Olivia buy?

Contrastive topicalization is a linguistic construction that enables a speaker to move between sub-questions, such as between (12i) and (12ii):

- (13) I will tell you who bought what. Noa, she bought rice. And Olivia, she bought cough syrup.

There are sub-types of topicalization that are conditioned by the status of the question in the discourse (for a full account, see Goldstein 2016a: 121–173). For our purposes, the crucial fact is that contrastive topicalization involves a non-canonical surface position of the clitic and that we can motivate this position on the basis of the meaning of the construction.

A particularly clear example of contrastive topicalization is found in Herodotus' ethnography of the Persian empire, where he records that upon ascending the throne Darius divided his kingdom into twenty satrapies (subscript 'F' abbreviates 'focus'):

- (14) QUD: *What did Darius do as king?*
 i. Sub-QUD: *How did Darius organize the empire?*
 καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἀρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσ-
 εἶναι κατὰ ἔθνεά τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσω
 καὶ ὑπερβαίων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἐκαστέρω ἄλλοισι ἄλλα ἔθνεα νέμων.
 '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.' (Hdt. 3.89.1)

19 Contrastive topicalization is used here in a loose sense to refer to a surface construction that satisfies the following conditions: the proposed phrase is a maximal projection; it

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

ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσσοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον [κατὰ τὰδε]_F διείλε.

‘(Darius) divided the provinces and the annual revenue of tributes [as follows]_F.’ (Hdt. 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 paid is then evoked with (14). This is the same type of hierarchical QUD that we identified in (12), to which Herodotus offers a pair-list answer, as illustrated by the first entry:

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

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

[ἀπὸ=μὲν=δὴ Ἴώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων]_{CT} (εἷς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένος οὗτος φόρος) προσῆιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου.

‘[The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians]_{CT} (for one tribute was required of them) paid a revenue of four hundred talents of silver.’ (Hdt. 3.90.1)

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

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

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

[ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος=δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίας]_{CT} χιλιά=οἱ προσῆιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι.

does not instantiate the focus of the utterance; and it is accompanied by μὲν or δέ. There are cases of contrastive topicalization that fail to meet this last condition. This definition encompasses not only topicalization, but also switch-subject constructions, which are not discussed here (see Goldstein 2016a: 144–165). There are some constructions that do not appear in my sample of Homer, such as the topic-closing construction discussed by Goldstein (2016a: 140–144).

‘[From Babylon and the rest of Assyria]_{CT}, a thousand talents of silver came in to him and five hundred castrated boys.’ (Hdt. 3.92.1)

Thus we see that contrastive topicalization 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):

- (17) {{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.

So the question under discussion would be ‘Which political entity contributed what amount of revenue?’ To answer this question exhaustively, Herodotus has to name an amount for each political entity. Herodotus uses topicalization to go from one satrapy to the next, as in (14), where topicalization of the PP *from Babylon and the rest of Assyria* signals a topic transition.

Topicalization is also attested in Homer:

- (18) i. QUD: *How can one acquire gifts from the gods?*
 Sub-QUD: *Can one acquire gifts from the gods by one’s own will?*
 οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ’ ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα
 ὄσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν. [ἐκῶν=δ’]_{CT} οὐκ=ἄν=τις ἔλοιτο.
 ‘The glorious gifts of the gods are not to be cast aside, whatever they give of their own accord. [By one’s own will], one could not acquire them.’ (Il. 3.65–66)
- ii. QUD: *Which of the gods would you lull to sleep?*
 Sub-QUD: *Would you lull Zeus to sleep?*
 Ἥρη, πρέσβα θεὰ, θύγατερ μέγαλοιο Κρόνιοιο,
 ἄλλον μὲν κεν ἔγωγε θεῶν αἰειγενετᾶων
 ῥεῖα κατευνησάμι, καὶ ἄν ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα
 Ὠκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται:
 [Ζηγὸς=δ’]_{CT} οὐκ=ἄν ἔγωγε Κρονίουος ἄσσον ἰχοίμην
 οὐδὲ κατευνησάμι, ὅτε μὴ αὐτός γε κελεύοι.
 ‘Hera, revered goddess, daughter of great Cronus, any other of the eternal gods I would easily lull to sleep, even the streams of the river Oceanus, who is the source for (them) all. Zeus son of Cronus, however,

I would not approach or lull to sleep, unless he were to order (me) himself.' (*Il.* 14.243–248)

In example (18i), the question under discussion is 'How can one acquire gifts from the gods?' This is broken down into two sub-questions along the lines of 'Can one acquire gifts from the gods when they give them of their own accord?' and 'Can one acquire gifts from the gods by one's own will?' Topicalized *ἑκών* 'by one's own will' marks the transition to this second sub-question. Example (18ii) follows a similar pattern. Here the preposing of *Ζηνός* draws a contrast between Zeus and the rest of the gods in terms of whom the goddess Sleep would dare to lull to sleep.

Frame adverbials, which provide the temporal or spatial setting of the event described in the rest of the clause, are often found in this construction:

(19) QUD: *What happened?*

[πέμπτηι δὲ ἢ ἕκτηι ἡμέρηι ἀπὸ τούτων]_{CT} [τάδε]_F οἱ συνήνικε γενέσθαι.
 '[On the fifth or sixth day from these things]_{CT} [the following things]_F
 happened to him by chance.' (Hdt. 3.42.1)

There are two possible motivations for the preposing of the NP [πέμπτηι δὲ ἢ ἕκτηι ἡμέρηι ἀπὸ τούτων]. One is that the phrase is preposed on account of scope. Alternatively, this could be a case of contrastive topicalization in which 'the fifth or sixth day' from the anchoring event is being contrasted with other times. From context, the first analysis appears to be the better fit, but it does not seem possible to exclude the second. Examples of precisely this type are the motivation for the second-order category delimitation.

Concerning the syntax of topicalized phrases, they precede interrogative pronouns:

(20) i. [ἐμοὶ δὲ]_{CT}, τίς_F ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστεῶς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;

'[But for my part]_{CT}, who of the Persians would be the rebel who is usurping the name of Smerdis?' (Hdt. 3.63.3; cf. Hdt. 1.71.3, 3.127.3, 7.104.5)

ii. [τῶν δ' ἄλλων], τίς_F κεν ᾗσι φρεσὶν οὐνόματ' εἴποι,
 ὅσσοι δὲ μετόπισθε μάχην ἠγειραν Ἀχαιῶν;

'Of the others, who could recite from his mind the names of all those who thereafter woke the fighting spirit of the Achaeans?' (*Il.* 17.260–261; cf. *Il.* 19.81)

TABLE 7 *The frequency of the delimitation constructions*

Clitic	Author	Corpus	Tokens	Delimitation	Relative frequency (per 10k words)
μiv	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	338	10	295.85
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	312	4	128.2
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	324	36	1111.11
σε	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	124	4	322.58
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	155	4	258.06
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	74	3	405.4
μoi	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	336	13	386.9
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	441	9	204.08
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	216	36	1666.66
κε(v)	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	505	11	217.82
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	418	4	95.69
äv	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	156	9	576.92
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	111	12	1081.08
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	476 ²⁰	28	567.22

On the assumption that the *wh*-phrase occupies Spec,CP, I interpret the topicalized phrases as adjoined to CP. In Herodotus we find clauses with multiple topicalized XPs (Goldstein 2016a: 171–172), but I have found no examples of this sort in my Homeric corpus.

Table 7 details the frequency of the delimitation constructions. As wide-scope adverbials and topicalization are present in both Homer and Herodotus, the differences above reflect differences in *usage*, but not grammar.

5.2 *Non-Monotonic Focus*

In the previous section, I presented a topicalization construction in which the preposed constituent was not the focus of the utterance. In this section, I present a construction in which the preposed (sub)constituent is the focus of its utterance.

On a view of discourse governed by questions under discussion, focus is what fills in a variable:

20 A TLG search of *äv* will yield 490 tokens, 10 of which I excluded on textual grounds, and 4 because because they are cases of iteration (Goldstein 2013), which left 476.

- (21) A: Who's that?
 B: That's [my sister]_{Foc}.

The phrase *my sister* fills in the variable introduced by the interrogative pronoun *who*. It is clear that various types of focus have to be recognized (see, e.g., Gussenhoven 2007). Minimally, we need one that simply fills in requested information as in (22), and one that “overwrites” information that is already present (NMFoc abbreviates ‘non-monotonic focus,’ which is explained below):

- (22) QUD: *Do you prefer early or late Wittgenstein?*
 A: I heard you're a fan of [early]_{Foc} Wittgenstein.
 B: Seriously? No, that's crazy. I prefer [late]_{NMFoc} Wittgenstein.

If we imagine information in discourse as steadily increasing (i.e., monotonic), the function of this construction is to overwrite, as it were, information in the discourse. So in example (22), speaker B's assertion of a preference for late Wittgenstein overwrites the earlier belief in a preference for early Wittgenstein. On account of the ability of this construction to delete information, I refer to it as NON-MONOTONIC (for a full account of the construction, see Goldstein 2016a: 174–217). Preposed focus phrases do not host clausal clitics.

The following example, from Herodotus' description of the Egyptian Labyrinth, illustrates the construction:

- (23) QUD: *How much did the Egyptian labyrinth cost in comparison to that of all the buildings of the Greek world?*
 εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο, [ἐλάσσονος]_F πόνου τε ἀν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ἔοντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου.
 ‘For if someone should add up the walls (built) by the Greeks and the display of (their) works, they would clearly be of [less]_F toil and expense than this labyrinth.’ (Hdt. 2.148.2)

Herodotus claims that if one were to add up the toil and expense of all the Greek buildings and compare the numbers with those required for this one Egyptian building, they would add up to a lower amount. The information structure at work is as follows:

- (24) QUD: *How much labor the Egyptian Labyrinth require?*
 OPEN PROPOSITION: All Greek works combined required *x* labor and money in comparison to the Egyptian Labyrinth.
 EXPECTED: *x* = ‘more’
 ASSERTED: *x* = ‘less’

The adjective *ἐλάσσονος* ‘less’ is preposed because it overwrites the expected value ‘more.’ Non-monotonic focus preposing differs from contrastive topicalization in that constituents can be preposed, as in example (23). The preposed element does not co-occur with *μέν* or *δέ*.

On the basis of examples such as the following I locate the non-monotonic focus projection under CP:

(25) QUD: *Is it Apollo’s practice to deceive those who do good?*

ὁ δὲ εἶπε, “ὦ δέσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ [ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας]_F νόμος ἐστὶ οἱ.”

‘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]_F is his practice.”’ (Hdt. 1.90.2)

The focus constituent [ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας] intervenes between the complementizer *εἰ* and the host of the clausal clitics, *νόμος*. I assume that the common perception of Apollo would have been that deceiving those who do good was not his practice. The embedded question in (25) conflicts with that belief.

The question of focus preposing in Homer is complicated. There are examples (although very few) in which a focus constituent precedes the host of a clausal clitic:

(26) i. QUD: ‘If you do not anger me, you will return in what condition?’

ἀλλ’ ἴθι, μὴ μ’ ἐρέθιζε, [σᾶωτερος]_F ὥς κε νέηαι.

‘But go, do not anger me, so that you return [safer]_F.’ (*Il.* 1.32)

ii. QUD: ‘When would Diomedes attack Zeus?’

λίην ἄχθομαι ἔλκος ὃ με βροτὸς οὕτασεν ἀνήρ

Τυδεΐδης, ὃς [νῦν γε]_F καὶ ἄν Διὶ πατρὶ μάχοιτο.

‘I am in excessive pain on account of a wound that a mortal inflicted upon me, the son of Tydeus, who [now at least]_F would take on father Zeus.’ (*Il.* 5.361–362 = 5.456–457)

These two examples raise a number of issues. First, in the focus preposing construction in Herodotus, the focused constituent contravenes information that is in some way present in the discourse. Examples (26i) and (26ii) do not fit this profile. In the first example, *σᾶωτερος* appears to be simply the informational focus of the utterance, that is, the information that answers the

TABLE 8 *The frequency of the non-monotonic focus construction*

Clitic	Author	Corpus	Tokens	Non-monotonic focus	Relative frequency (per 10k words)
μιν	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	338	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	312	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	324	21	648.14
σε	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	124	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	155	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	74	2	270.27
μοι	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	336	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	441	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	216	9	416.66
κε(ν)	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	505	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	418	0	0
ἄν	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	156	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	111	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	476	27	567.22

immediate question under discussion. And in the latter, it is not entirely clear that νῦν is even focused, given the presence of the scalar focus expression [καὶ Διὶ πατρὶ] ‘even father Zeus.’ Either this clause has two focus constituents or νῦν is preposed for some other reason.

Furthermore, the position of the focused element in the focus preposing construction is at odds with what we find in Herodotus. As illustrated in example (26ii), the preposed focus element lies beneath c. In example (26i), however, the preposed constituent is in Spec,CP (or at any rate, above c). Given that these examples do not pattern with the Herodotean construction, they have not been classified as cases of non-monotonic focus preposing.

Table 8 provides a quantitative overview of the focus preposing in Homer and Herodotus. If further investigation demonstrates the absence of the non-monotonic focus construction in Homer, that would not affect the central claim of this paper, namely that there is no change in clitic distribution between Homer and Herodotus. The generalization would remain the same (clausal clitics are hosted by the first prosodic word in CP/S excluding any preposed constituents). The difference would lie in the number of preposed phrases from which clausal clitics are excluded.

5.3 *Participial Clauses*

When a circumstantial participial phrase occurs sentence-initially, a clausal clitic either occurs second within that constituent or second within the finite clause:²¹

(27) i. *Second within the participial phrase*

[ἔχων=δ' ἄν ταύτην] ἡγόραζε οὔτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὔτε λαοῦ οὐδενός.
 '[Wearing this] (Scyles) used to hang out in the agora with neither spearmen nor any entourage following him.' (Hdt. 4.78.4)

ii. *Second within the finite clause*

[γνώμη] γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος, ἐπιτροπεύει=ἄν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθους.
 '[For since (the monarch) uses such (good) judgment], he would govern the masses without fault.' (Hdt. 3.82.2)

In example (27i), the modal particle ἄν occurs second within the participial phrase, while in (27ii) it occurs second within the finite clause. (Note, however, that the explanatory particle γὰρ 'for' in (27ii) is not restricted to the finite clause: it appears second within the participial phrase.) I refer to the first type as VP-participial phrases and the second as participial clauses.

Participial clauses are s constituents that form an independent domain not only for second-position clitics, but also negation (for further properties of participial clauses, see Goldstein 2016a: 221–259):

(28) i. *Negated participial clause*

[_sοἱ δὲ οὐ δεκόμενοι] [_sἔλεγόν=σφι τάδε].
 'After they (= the Lacedaemonians) did not accept (the Plataeans), (they) said the following to them.' (Hdt. 6.108.2)

ii. *Negated finite clause*

[_sοὐ μέντοι ἀποδεξάμενος ὑβρίσματα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ] [_sοὔ=με ἔπεισας ἀσχήμονα ἐν τῇ ἀμοιβῇ γενέσθαι].
 '[Although you displayed insult in your speech], [you did not persuade me to become rude in my response].' (Hdt. 7.160.1; cf. Hdt. 4.83.2, 7.104.4)

iii. *Double negation*

[_sΦοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων] [_sοἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο].
 '[With the Phoenicians refusing (to fight)], [the rest (of Cambyses' forces) were insufficient].' (Hdt. 3.19.2)

21 Pronominal clitics that are exclusively arguments of the participle do not of course participate in this variation and such cases are not considered here.

TABLE 9 *The frequency of participial clauses*

Clitic	Author	Corpus	Tokens	Participial clause	Relative frequency (per 10k words)
μιν	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	338	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	312	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	324	37	1141.97
σε	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	124	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	155	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	74	4	540.54
μοι	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	336	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	441	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	216	9	416.66
κε(ν)	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	505	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	418	0	0
ἄν	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	156	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	111	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	476	28	588.23

iv. *Negation scopes over verb and embedded participle*

εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, [_S[_{VP}ἔσθιοντας-ἄν οὐ παύεσθαι]].

'If any (dessert) were put (before the Greeks), [they would never stop [eating]].' (Hdt. 1.133.2)

In example (28i), οὐ occurs inside the participial clause οἱ δὲ δεκόμενοι. Crucially, its scope is restricted to this domain as well. Negation occurs inside the finite s in example (28ii). Again, its scope is crucially limited to this domain. This analysis predicts that it should be possible to negate both a participial clause and a finite clause. Example (28iii) illustrates this possibility. Finally, example (28iv) bears witness to the prediction that clausal negation should include VP-participial phrases in its scope.

The evidence from the clausal clitics under investigation reveals no trace of participial clauses in Homer, as laid out in Table 9. Nevertheless, there does appear to be evidence for participial clauses in Homer. It comes from another clitic, namely ῥα:

- (29) ἔνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα: δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφρινός
 σμερδαλέος, τόν ῥ' αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ἦκε φῶς δέ,
 [βωμοῦ ὑπαίξας] [πρός-ῥα πλατάνιστον ὄρουσεν].

Then there appeared a great sign. A snake, its back spotted with blood, frightening, whom (the) Olympian himself sent into the light, [having darted from under the altar], [made its way to the plane tree]. (*Il.* 2.308–310; see also *Il.* 7.224–225, 11.743–744)

The final line of this example parallels the structure that we have above in example (27ii). The only problem with using ῥα as a diagnostic is that its meaning is not well understood. If the particle is in fact only a phrasal clitic (that is, it only scopes over *πρός πλατάνιστον*), then it is not telling us anything about the participial phrase. Most of the meanings that Cunliffe (1924: s.v. ἄρα) lists suggest that the particle has clausal scope, however.²² On this basis, I cautiously maintain that βωμοῦ ὑπαίξας is in fact a participial clause. Homeric syntax thus allows participial clauses, but they are (for whatever reason) only rarely used.

6 Homer and Herodotus Compared

We are now in a position to reassess the issue of canonical 2P behavior in Homer and Herodotus. By acknowledging the four constructions presented in the previous section, we have drastically reduced the number of non-canonical (that is, exceptional) examples in both Homer and Herodotus. Figure 7 presents a new view of the behavior of clausal clitics in these two corpora.

As detailed in Table 10, there are now 14 unclassified (or non-canonical) examples in Homer (out of 1090 total clauses), while in Herodotus there are 21 (out of 2896 total clauses). One could claim that what we are looking at here is syntactic change, but there is little appeal in such an analysis. First, as this class is not homogeneous, one would have to allege not one syntactic change, but several. Each would be then be based on slight evidence. Second, a χ^2 with Yates' continuity correction yields a *p*-value of .1345, which is well above the standard .05 threshold for significance. In other words, there is no reason to reject the null hypothesis that the samples are drawn from the same distribution.

22 E.g., his first two entries, “Expressing consequence or sequence” and “Expressing explanation, indicating a reason or cause”, suggest that the arguments of the particle are propositions.

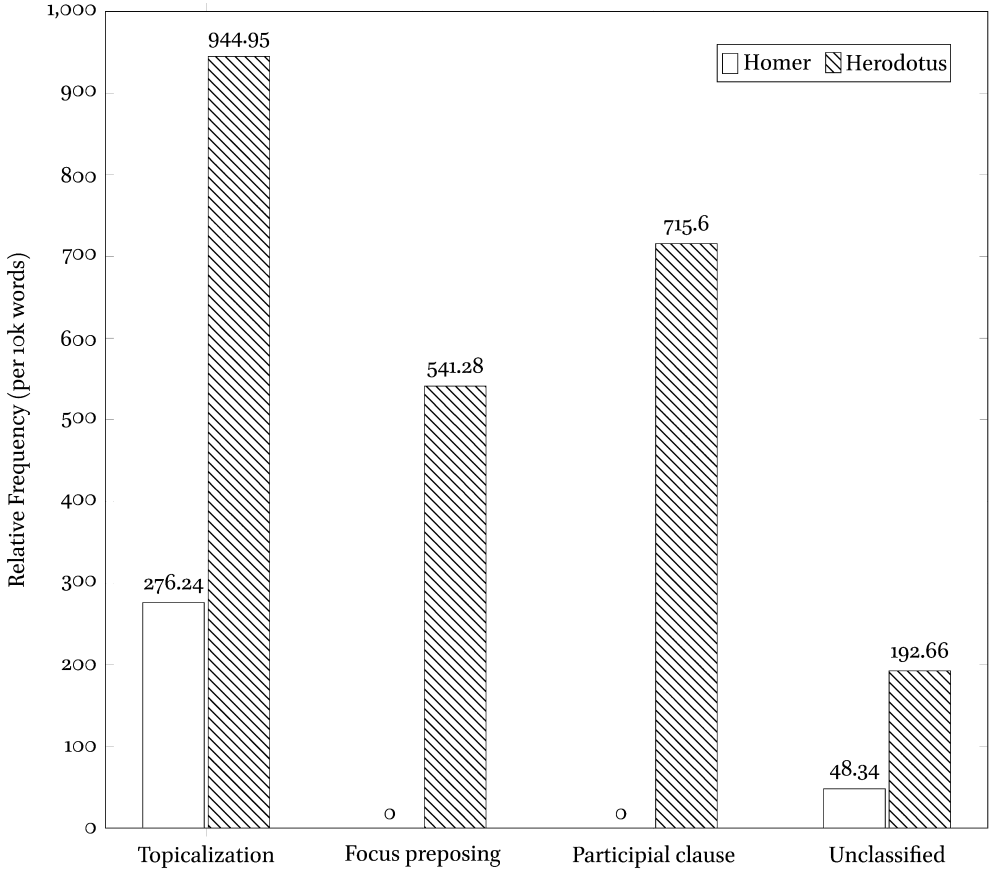


FIGURE 7 *Decomposing non-canonical clitics*

TABLE 10 *The raw frequency of 2P and non-canonical examples*
 $\chi^2(1) = 2.2396, p = .1345, \phi = .02$

	Homer	Herodotus	Total
2P	2875	1076	3951
Noncanonical	14	21	35
Total	2896	1090	

What Wackernagel and others observed was not then the rise of new clitic-distribution rules, but rather the frequency with which these four constructions are used (cf. Probert 2015: 443, who argues that the differences in relative clauses between Homer and Demosthenes are more stylistic than syntactic). As a consequence, nothing supports the view that the placement rules of clausal clitics changed between Homer and Herodotus. I want to emphasize that the claim pursued here is not that the clause structure of Homer and Herodotus is identical. The point is rather that my study provides no evidence for a difference in the distribution of clausal clitics between Homer and Herodotus.

6.1 *Explaining the Usage Variation*

On my analysis, the difference between Homer and Herodotus is to be attributed to synchronic usage variation. The reason why the rate of 2P behavior for clausal clitics is lower in Herodotus than Homer is because the former uses the constructions presented in section 5 more than the latter. This claim raises the question of why. Why does Herodotus use these constructions more? This is a challenging question and one whose answer lies well beyond the scope of this paper, as it would require a detailed discussion of the discourse features of these two corpora. Nevertheless, I would like to at least sketch three possibilities, which are not mutually exclusive, for the usage differences that we observe between Homer and Herodotus: text-type, style, and syntactic nascency.

By text-type, I mean that the nature of the discourse itself is what is responsible for the varying usage frequencies. For instance, it could be the case that there is a greater need for contrastive topicalization in historiography as compared to epic. On this view, the frequency of the various constructions would fall out from the internal needs of the discourse. It is also imaginable that the pressures are external. That is, it could have simply been a part of the profile of Homeric epic that topicalization is not often used. Wackernagel (1892: 341) seems to have something along these lines in mind, when he writes that the second-position tendency of $\nu\iota\nu$ is less robust in Pindar and the tragedians in comparison with Homer “wegen der grössern Künstlichkeit ihrer Wortstellung.” If this analysis is on the right track, we should expect the frequencies of the constructions in section 5 to correlate with other textual properties.

A related possibility is that the usage ranges are due to an author’s individual style. An adequate definition of style is notoriously difficult to come by, and here I conceive of it as the complement of the text-type properties mentioned in the preceding paragraph: these are features that exist solely at the level of the author and are not conditioned by the external or internal needs of the text-type. So on this view, a higher frequency of topicalization, for instance, would

be a property of Herodotean prose that is not the product of the text-type in any way. It is simply how Herodotus builds a narrative. It is obviously no easy matter to tease apart stylistic properties from those conditioned by text-type.

The third possibility diverges from the preceding two. The differences that we observe may have nothing to do with text-type or style, but may be due rather to the nascent status of the constructions in section 5. That is, if we accept the view that syntactic innovation follows an s-shaped curve (as illustrated by Figure 3 in section 4), then what we observe between Homer and Herodotus is the gradual blooming of the various constructions. While this may well be the case, it does push the question back. What we would now like to know is why these constructions come to be used more in the interval between Homer and Herodotus.

7 Conclusion and Conspectus

By adopting a more precise definition of “second position” in which both canonical and non-canonical examples follow the same distributional generalizations, I have argued against the long-held view that new rules of second-position clitic distribution arose between Homer and Herodotus. The distributional generalization for clausal clitics that I have proposed is just as robust in Herodotus as it is in Homer. Thus what Wackernagel and others have observed is a difference in usage between the two corpora. It remains an open question as to what lies behind the usage differences between the two authors.

As this analysis revamps the history of clitic distribution in Greek, it raises a number of new diachronic questions. Perhaps foremost among them is: When does the system of 2P distribution that we observe in Homer and Herodotus start to break down? How do we ultimately get to the head-adjacent clitics of modern Greek (see Condoravdi and Kiparsky 2002, 2004)? And looking back in time, how far back can we project the left periphery argued for here—is this a Greek innovation, or is it an inheritance? While I have every confidence that we will achieve new insights into these questions and the history of archaic Indo-European syntax more generally, I hope to have made it clear that the challenges of investigating diachronic syntax on the basis of a restricted range of text types are not insignificant.

Appendix

8 More on Second Position

For the quantitative profiles to have any meaning, it is essential to be explicit about what counts as exceptional. As established in section 2 above, the basic generalization is that the clausal clitic should be hosted by the first prosodic word of its clause. In the majority of cases, it is clear when an example violates this requirement. In some cases, however, it is not straightforward to apply. In the following sections I call attention to data that *prima facie* might seem exceptional but that were nevertheless counted as representing canonical 2P behavior for one reason or another.

8.1 *Multi-Word Expressions*

There are cases in which a clitic is hosted by a multi-word expression, such as *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὦς, δὴ τότε, ἦ μάλα, and τὰ τε ἄλλα* (see Goldstein 2016a: 71–72). One could analyze such a pattern as non-canonical, on the belief that the first element (or first two elements, in the case of expressions with three morphological words) of such strings should have been the host. For instance, since *ἦ* alone can host clitics, we would expect a clausal clitic to show up in between *ἦ* and *μάλα*, and not after them:

- (30) ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα=δὴ=με θεοὶ θάνατον δὲ κάλεσσαν:
 ‘Alas, the gods have in fact called me to my death.’ (Hom. *Il.* 22.297)

I counted examples such as this as canonical 2P behavior, because *ἦ μάλα* is either lexicalized (i.e., a single lexeme) or forms a single prosodic word (or both).

8.2 *Variation in the Distribution of the Modal Particle ἄν*

The modal particle *ἄν* shows two distributional patterns (for more on the distinction, see Goldstein 2016a: 92–96). In the first, it is hosted by a relative pronoun or complementizer in the so-called “indefinite construction”:

- (31) ὄν=δ’=ἄν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
 ἐλθόντ’ ἢ Τρῶεσσιν ἀρηγέμεν ἢ Δαναοῖσι
 πληγεῖς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐλεύσεται Οὔλυμπον δέ.
 ‘Whoever I notice willingly going, secretly from the gods, to assist either the Trojans or the Danaans will return to Olympus having been struck with indignity.’ (*Il.* 8.10–12; cf. *Od.* 4.420, 4.600, 15.446)

The relative pronoun ὅν hosts the particle ἄν and together they yield the meaning ‘whomever’.²³ By contrast, when the particle contributes a modal meaning to the verb, the complementizer does not host it (see also *Il.* 12.58, 14.91, 15.228, *Od.* 1.236)

- (32) i. τῶ κεν ἐελποίμην αἰρησέμεν, εἰ σύ γε θυμῷ
 σῶ ἐθέλεις, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄν ἐφορμηθέντε γε νῶϊ
 τλαίην ἐναντίβιον στάντες μαχέσασθαι Ἴαρηϊ.
 ‘These two (horses) I would hope to seize, if you at least agree (lit. are willing in your heart), since they **would** not stand up to our charge in battle.’ (*Il.* 17.488–490)
- ii. ἀμφὶ δ’ ἄρ’ Αἴαντας δοιοὺς ἴσαντο φάλαγγες
 καρπεραί, ἃς οὔτ’ ἄν κεν Ἴαρης ὀνόσαιτο μετελθῶν
 οὔτε κ’ Ἀθηναίη λαοσσός.
 ‘Around the Aiantes stood strong phalanxes, which neither Ares nor Athena the host-driver **would** disparage upon entering.’ (*Il.* 13.126–128)

In example (32ii), the relative pronoun ἃς does not have a meaning with ‘-ever’. The particle ἄν contributes instead to the modal interpretation of the optative verb ὀνόσαιτο.

8.3 Complementizers as Hosts

The position of pronominal clitics in clauses with complementizers and relative pronouns exhibits variation that is not well understood. Typically the pronominal clitic is hosted by the complementizer or relative pronoun (and thus is second within CP), but at other times it is second within S:

23 Goldstein (2016a: 92–96) characterizes ἄν in such cases as a domain-widener. While it is true that the combination REL-ἄν is often rendered ‘REL-ever’ in this construction, it may not be entirely accurate to describe the modal particle itself as a domain-widener. According to Probert (2015: 83–97), the “indefinite construction” denotes generic quantification over occasions. In any scenario in which the occasions quantified over contain individuals, those individuals will be in the scope of the generic quantifier, from which the ‘REL-ever’ meaning results. On this view, the ‘REL-ever’ meaning is only a by-product of the construction, and perhaps has more to do with English *-ever* than the Greek construction. At any rate, an exact semantics of the “indefinite construction” is not necessary for our purposes. The crucial point is that the modal particle occurs after the complementizer in this construction, in contrast to example (32i).

(33) *Complementizer hosts*

- i. Ζεὺ πάτερ, εἴποτε δῆσε μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ὄνησα
ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργω, τόδε μοι κρήνηνον ἐέλδωρ.
'Father Zeus, if I among the immortals ever benefited you in either
word or deed, bring this desire to fruition.' (*Il.* 1.503–504)
- ii. ὥς δέ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα.
'Since what he said was unintelligible to them, they again asked what
he meant.' (*Hdt.* 1.86.4)

(34) *Complementizer does not host*

- i. Ἑκτορα δ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἴδε κείμενον, ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
εἶαθ', ὃ δ' ἀργαλέω ἔχετ' ἄσθματι, κῆρ ἀπινύσσων
αἶμ' ἐμέων, ἐπεὶ οὖ μιν ἀφαιρούτατος βάλ' Ἀχαιῶν.
'He saw Hector lying on the plain. All around his comrades had sat
down. He was gripped with strained wheezing, stunned in his mind,
spitting up blood, since it was not the weakest of the Achaeans who
had struck him.' (*Il.* 15.9–11)
- ii. ὥς δὲ ἄρα πάντες οἱ ἐτετάχατο κατὰ ἔθνεα καὶ κατὰ τέλεα, ἐνθαῦτα τῆι
δευτέρῃι ἐθύοντο καὶ ἀμφοτέροι.
'After they had all then been arrayed by him according to nation and
battalion, both armies also offered sacrifice on the second day.' (*Hdt.*
9.33.1)

It is not clear what conditions this variation. All that can be said at this point is that if a complementizer or relative pronoun is present in a clause, it is far more common for it to host the pronoun than not to. As the above examples show, both patterns are found in both Homer and Herodotus. Given that the alternation could be semantically or syntactically conditioned as with ἄν above, neither of the patterns in examples (33) and (34) was coded as exceptional.

Before turning to the issues presented by conjunction and disjunction, I want to call attention to the fact that clausal clitics never occur inside morphologically complex complementizers (or complex negation, e.g., *Il.* 5.22):

(35) *Complex complementizers*

- i. [ἴνα μή]=σε παρεκπροφύγησιν ἄεθλα.
'(Bear in mind every kind of cunning) in order that prizes not escape
you.' (*Il.* 23.314)
- ii. ἀλλ' ἔρχευ. ἐμέ δ' ἄξει ἀνήρ ὄδε, τὸν σὺ κελεύεις,
[αὐτίκ' ἐπεί]=κε πυρὸς θερέω ἀλέη τε γένηται.

'But go. Me this man will lead, whom you command, as soon as I warm up the fire²⁴ and there is some heat.' (*Od.* 17.22–23; cf. *Hdt.* 7.28.2)

The inability of *σε* to intervene between *ἵνα* and *μή* in (35) is due either to the fact that that *ἵνα μή* is a complex lexical item occupying one syntactic node, or to the fact that together they form a prosodic word.

Similarly, clitics do not intervene between a focus operator and its argument:²⁵

- (36) i. ἦδ' ἔτι [καὶ νῦν]=μοὶ τόδ' ἐπικρήηγον ἐέλδωρ
 'And [now too] bring my wish to fruition again.' (*Il.* 1.455; cf. *Hdt.* 1.18.2)
 ii. [οὐδ' εἰ]=μοὶ δέκα μὲν γλώσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν,
 '[Not even if] I were to have ten tongues, ten mouths ...' (*Il.* 2.489²⁶)

In (36i), *νῦν* is the sole argument of *καί*. The pronominal clitic *μοι* accordingly does not intervene. The same holds true of *οὐδ' εἰ* in example (36ii). I attribute this inability to intervene to prosody: the focus operator and its argument form a single prosodic word, which then serves as the host of the clitic.

When the complement of the focus operator is complex, however, it can host a clausal clitic:

- (37) i. λῆγν ἄχθομαι ἔλκος ὃ με βροτὸς οὔτασεν ἀνήρ
 Τυδεΐδης, δς νῦν γε [καὶ=ἄν Διὶ πατρὶ] μάχοιτο.
 'I am in excessive pain on account of a wound that a mortal inflicted upon me, the son of Tydeus, who now at least would take on father Zeus.' (*Il.* 5.361–362 = 5.456–457)
 ii. Ἥρη, πρέσβα θεᾶ, θύγατερ μεγάλιο Κρόνιοι,
 ἄλλον μὲν κεν ἔγωγε θεῶν αἰειγενετᾶων
 ῥεῖα κατευνήσαιμι, [καὶ=ἄν ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα
 Ὠκεανοῦ], ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται:
 Ζηνὸς δ' οὐκ ἔγωγε Κρονίουος ἄσσον ἰκοίμην
 οὐδὲ κατευνήσαιμ', ὅτε μὴ αὐτὸς γε κελεύοι.
 'Hera, revered goddess, daughter of great Cronus, any other of the eternal gods I would easily lull to sleep, even the streams of the river

24 *LSJ*: s.v. *θερέω* takes this phrase along the lines of 'warm oneself at the fire.' Whichever sense one adopts is immaterial to my purposes.

25 See also *εἰ καί* at *Il.* 13.58 and 23.592 and *καὶ αἶ* at *Il.* 4.353 and 9.359. Hale (1987b: 108–109) observes similar behavior in Avestan.

26 See also *Il.* 8.478, 9.379, 9.385, 9.445, 19.372, 22.220, 22.439, 22.351, 23.346, *Od.* 14.140.

Oceanus, who is the source for (them) all. Zeus son of Cronus, however, I would not approach or lull to sleep, unless he were to order (me) himself.' (*Il.* 14.243–248)

8.4 *Variation with Disjunction and Conjunction*

Conjunctions and disjunctions are typically assumed to occupy a phrase-structure position above that of the clause. Consequently, they should be unavailable as a clausal-clitic host:

(38) *Conjunction does not host pronominal clitic*

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοσιν ἠέ περ ὑμῖν
ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα, καὶ οὐ̄ποτέμ' οἷ γ' ἀθέριζον.

'Once I kept company with men even more fierce than you, and never did they despise me.' (*Il.* 1.260–261)

As expected, the clitic pronoun *μιν* is hosted by the first prosodic word after the conjunction. Elsewhere, however, conjunction does host clausal clitics:

(39) *Conjunction hosts pronominal clitic*

i. στῆ δὲ παρ' Ἑκτορ' ἰὼν καί-μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν.

'He went and stood by Hector and said the following to him.' (*Il.* 7.46)

ii. τοῦ μὲν ἄρ' υἱὸς ἐπήλθε, Θεοκλύμενος δ' ὄνομ' ἦεν,
ὃς τότε Τηλεμάχου πέλας ἴστατο: τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν
σπένδοντ' εὐχόμενόν τε θοῆι παρὰ νηϊ̄ μελαίνῃ
καί-μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα.

'His son came up, Theoclymenus by name, who then stood near Telemachus. He found him pouring libations and praying by his swift black ship, and addressed him with winged words.' (*Od.* 15.256–259)

In example (39), we have two cases of the conjunction *καί* hosting the pronominal clitic *μιν*. Both are constructions that introduce speech. In all the examples of speech introduction that involve *καί* and *μιν*, the latter is always hosted by the former. Such consistent patterning raises the possibility that *καί* is a temporal adverb meaning 'then.' As an adverb it would occupy a node inside the clause (i.e., CP/S), and thus be able to serve as a host of clausal clitics. This alternation is also found with *ἀλλά* (e.g., *Il.* 1.508 and 23.523), *αὐτάρ* (e.g., *Il.* 6.157 and 23.95), and *ἦ* (e.g., *Il.* 8.13 and *Od.* 20.63).

TABLE 11 *The frequency of unclassified examples*

Clitic	Author	Corpus	Tokens	Unclassified	Relative frequency (per 10k words)
μιν	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	338	1	29.58
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	312	0	0
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	324	6	185.18
σε	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	124	0	0
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	155	2	129.03
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	74	1	135.13
μοι	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	312	4	128.2
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	441	1	22.67
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	216	12	555.55
κε(ν)	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	505	2	39.6
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	418	1	23.92
ἄν	Hom.	<i>Il.</i>	156	2	128.2
	Hom.	<i>Od.</i>	111	1	90.09
	Hdt.	<i>Hist.</i>	476	2	42.01

9 Unclassified Examples

Despite the greater empirical coverage of my analysis, there are still cases that lie beyond its reach. Table 11 tallies the frequency of outstanding examples. The following subsections provide a sample of the recalcitrant examples and call attention to patterns of clustering.

9.1 *Aberrant Preposing*

The following is an aberrant example of the topicalization construction presented in section 5.1.2:

(40) *Aberrant preposing*

πεντήκοντά μοι ἦσαν ὅτ' ἤλυθον υἱες Ἀχαιῶν.

ἐνεακαίδεκα μὲν μοι ἰῆς ἐκ νηδύος ἦσαν,

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μοι ἔτικτον ἐνὶ μεγάροισι γυναῖκες.

'I had fifty (sons) when the sons of (the) Achaeans arrived (here). Nineteen (of them were born) to me from a single womb. The others, women in the palace bore for me.' (*Il.* 24.495–497)

The phrase τούς δ' ἄλλους shifts between sets of sons, and thus fits the profile of contrastive topicalization. My account would predict that μοι surfaces after ἔτικτον, however. The reason for this divergence is unclear.

The following set of examples seems to pattern with the focus preposing construction presented in section 5.2, but they do appear not to have the correct information-structural profile:

- (41) i. ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πριάμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες
[ἄλλοι τε Τρώες] μέγα=κεν κεχαροῖατο θυμῷ
'Doubtless would Priam and the sons of Priam rejoice, as [other Trojans] would rejoice greatly in their hearts.' (*Il.* 1.255–1.256)
- ii. ἦ μὲν αὖτ' ἀγορή νικᾶς γέρον υἱας Ἀχαιῶν.
αἶ γάρ Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον
[τοιούτοι] δέκα=μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν Ἀχαιῶν.
'Clearly you have once again defeated the sons of the Acaean in debate, old sir. I only wish, father Zeus and Athena and Apollo, I had ten Achaean counselors [of this caliber].'
(*Il.* 2.370–372; cf. *Il.* 16.847–848)
- iii. καὶ νύ κεν εἴρυσσέν τε καὶ ἄσπετον ἦρατο κῦδος,
εἰ μὴ Πηλεΐωνι ποδὴνεμος ὠκέα Ἴρις
ἄγγελος ἦλθε θεοῦσ' ἀπ' Ὀλύμπου θωρήσσεσθαι,
κρύβδα Διὸς ἄλλων τε θεῶν. [πρὸ] γὰρ ἠκέ=μιν Ἥρη.
'He would then have dragged off the body and garnered inextinguishable fame, if Iris the messenger, who is swift as the wind on foot, came running down from Olympus (for him) to arm himself, in secrecy from Zeus and the other gods. For [beforehand] Hera (had) sent her (= Iris).'
(*Il.* 18.165–168)
- iv. [δεύτε] δύο=μοι ἔπεσθον.
'Two of you accompany me [there].'
(*Il.* 22.450)
- v. οἱ δὲ διὰ ξεστῶν κεράων ἔλθωσι θύραζε,
οἷ ῥ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι, [βροτῶν] ὅτε=κέν=τις ἴδῃται.
'Others come through the gate of polished horn, which yield reality, whenever a [mortal] witnesses (them).'
(*Od.* 19.566–567)
- vi. ταῦτ' ἔλθοῦσ' ἠγγεῖλε καὶ ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνέγειρεν,
τῷ=κε [τάχα] στυγερώς=μιν ἐγὼν ἀπέπεμψα νέεσθαι
αὐτίς ἔσω μέγαρον.
'Had (any of the other women) come and announced this news and woken me from (my) sleep, then I would have [quickly] dismissed her harshly to go back to the hall.'
(*Od.* 23.22–24)

In each example, one can make a case that the bracketed constituent is the focus of the utterance. But none of them seems to exhibit counterassertion, which is what one expects from the focus preposing construction. It may be the case that these examples provide as yet undeciphered clues to the structure of the left periphery.

9.2 *Post-Verbal Dative Pronominal Clitics*

In Herodotus, we find a number of exceptionally positioned non-argument datives (see further Goldstein 2016a: 113–118):

(42) *Head-adjacent datives*

- i. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἶη τῶν ὀρέων, φὰς Ἄστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν=μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι.
'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.' (Hdt. 1.111.3)
- ii. ἤδη ὦν ὀρθῶι λόγωι χρεωμένωι μέχρι Περσέος ὀρθῶς εἴρηται=μοι.
'Accordingly, I did reason correctly in claiming (that the Greek record is) accurate up to Perseus.' (Hdt. 6.53.2)
- iii. τετραμμένωι γὰρ δὴ καὶ μετεγνώκωτι ἐπιφοιτῶν ὄνειρον φαντάζεται=μοι, οὐδαμῶς συνέπαινον ἐὸν ποιέειν με ταῦτα.
'For since I turned and changed my mind, a dream keeps coming and appears to me, and it does not at all agree that I do these things.' (Hdt. 7.15.2)

Although these examples have yet to receive an adequate analysis, it is remarkable that they are all hosted by the verb.

9.3 *Embedded Participial and Infinitive Complements*

In some embedded participial and infinitive phrases, a pronominal clitic occurs *first* in the embedded phrase. This phenomenon is referred to as *ditropy*, as it involves a split in the constituency of the clitic (Cysouw 2005, Spencer and Luís 2012: 66–67; the term goes back to Embick and Noyer 2001). It forms a syntactic constituent with the material to its right and a prosodic constituent with the material to its left:

(43) *Ditropy in Homer*

οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ[σε μῆνιν ἀπορρίψαντα] κελοίμην
 Ἀργείοισιν ἀμυνέμεναι χατέουσί περ ἔμπης.

‘... I at least would not command you to cast aside your anger to defend the Argives, though they needed you sorely.’ (*Il.* 9.517²⁷)

(44) *Ditropy in Herodotus*

i. τί δὲ πάντως δέει[σε ναυμαχίησι ἀνακινδυνεύειν];

‘Why is it necessary for you to risk sea battles at all costs?’ (*Hdt.* 8.68.α.2)

ii. οὐκ ἔων[σε τὰ πάντα τῇ ἡλικίῃ εἶκειν] ...

‘not allowing you to give way to your youth in every way/always ...’ (*Hdt.* 7.18.2)

iii. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαι[σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι] ...

‘Since I am unable to convince you to expose (the baby) ...’ (*Hdt.* 7.35.2)

This is not a uniform pattern, as elsewhere pronominal clitics surface second in the embedded constituent.²⁸ It is not clear what conditions this variation. But for our purposes the crucial point is simply that this 1P pattern is attested in both Homer and Herodotus, and is therefore not a syntactic innovation.

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27 I have translated the participial phrase as the complement of the verb κελοίμην with the infinitive Ἀργείοισιν ἀμυνέμεναι an adjunct expressing purpose. It is also possible to parse μῆνιν ἀπορρίψαντα as a circumstantial participial phrase, in which case Ἀργείοισιν ἀμυνέμεναι would be the complement of κελοίμην.

28 These data do not lend support to the claim of Agbayani and Golston (2010) that “second position is first position.” First, their claim is meant to characterize all clitics in all contexts, which is empirically untenable. Second, they register no awareness of the restricted distribution of 1P patterns. Nothing in their account would account for why it only shows up in embedded contexts. Third, a strictly 1P account, such as they advance, brings with it the problem of being unable to account for the far more frequent cases in which the clitic shows up second in the embedded constituent.

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