

Postponed Relative Pronouns in Pindar

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Introduction

WHAT IS THAT PRONOUN DOING THERE?

Typical relative clauses in ancient Greek

- Relative pronoun: inflected subordinator followed by the rest of the relative clause
- Head: DP or pronoun, which can be:

1. external (preposed to the RC)

κωφὸς ἀνήρ τις, ὃς Ἡρακλεῖ στόμα μὴ περιβάλλει
“a man is mute **who** does not have Herakles on his lips”

P. 9.87

2. external (postposed to the RC)

οἷσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος
δέξεται, ἐς τὸν ὑπερθεὺς ἄλιον κείνων ἐνάτῳ ἔτει
ἀνδιδοῖ ψυχὰς πάλιν
“the ones **for whom** Persephona receives the payment of her ancient grief, she brings back again
their souls to the sun above on the ninth year”

fr. 133.1–3

3. internal

§ ὅσαι τ' εἰσὶν ἐπιχωρίων καλῶν ἔσοδοι | τετόλμακε.
“every *opportunity* there is for local excellence, he has dared to do”

P. 5.116–117

4. null

ἐν δὲ πείρα τέλος | διαφαίνεται ὧν τις ἐξοχώτερος γένηται
“in trial the accomplishment appears, **of that in which** one is the best”

N. 3.70–71

Puzzling relative clauses

1. οὐδ' Ἄϊδας ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον,
βρότεια σώμαθ' ἃ κατάγει κοίλαν πρὸς ἄγυιαν
Θνασκόντων; O. 9.33–35
“nor did Hades keep *his staff* unmoved, **with which** he leads the mortal bodies down to the hollow city of the dead”
 2. καὶ τὸ Μηδείας ἔπος ἀγκομίσει
ἐβδόμα καὶ σὺν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ Θήραιον, Αἰήτα τό ποτε ζαμενῆς
παῖς ἀπέπνευσ' ἀθανάτου στόματος, δέσποινα Κόλχων. P. 4.9–11
“and to carry out *the word of Medeia*, at the 17th generation, [*the word*] spoken at Thera, **which** Aietas' holy child once blew from her immortal mouth, the queen of the Colchians”
- In both cases, the relative pronoun appears after material belonging to the relative clause.
 - Descriptively, I will call them *postponed relative pronouns*.
 - What is puzzling about them is that they are rare (12.3%): in run-of-the-mill relative clauses in ancient Greek, the pronoun must be initial in the clause.

Why are postponed RPs problematic?

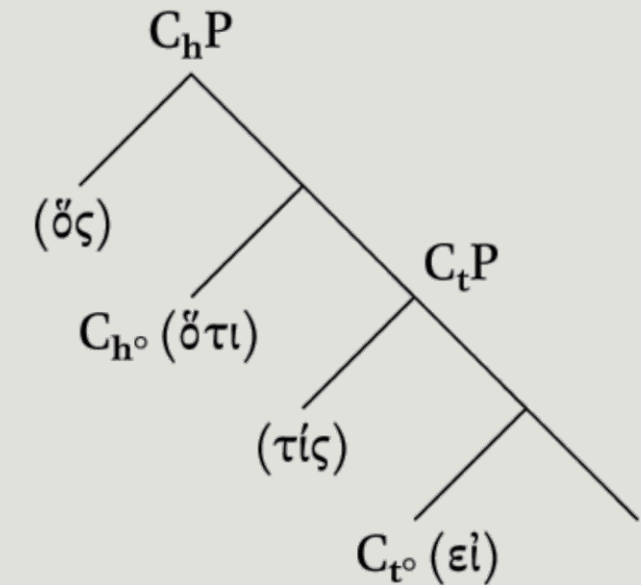
Relative pronouns are in the highest position in the clause structure.

- No extraction nor raising to object (prolepsis)

Both would imply a movement through Spec, C_hP, which is impossible since it is already occupied by the RP.

- No topicalization over the RP
- Counterexamples imply topicalized phrases pertaining to the matrix clause:

1. νέωτα δ' οὐδείς ὅστις οὐ δοκεῖ βροτῶν
Πλούτῳ τε κάγαθοῖσιν ἴξεσθαι φίλος.
“but for the new year there is no one who does not expect among the mortals to become friend of Wealth and noble men.”
Semonides fr. 1 9–10 West



Faure 2021: 160 (fig. 1)

A Pindaric peculiarity?

The postponement of the RP is attested in verse:

1. 7th–6th c. BCE

πόρνα δ' ὅ κέ τις δίδ[ω]

ἴ]σα κά[ς] πολίας κῦμ' ἄλ[ο]ς ἐσβ[ά]λην.

Alcaeus fr. 117b. 26–27 V.

“**who** makes a gift to a whore, it is as if he had thrown it in the wave of the salted sea.”

2. 6th c. BCE

ἔρρε, θεοῖσιν τ' ἐχθρὲ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἄπιστε,

ψυχρὸν ὅς ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν

Theognis 601–602

“begone, *you enemy of the gods and unfaithful to mankind*, **who** kept the cold colorful snake in your lap!”

3. 6th c. BCE

κληροπαληδὸν ὅς ἂν

πρᾶτος λάχη ἕκατι Μοιρᾶν

Stesichorus fr. 222b

“**who** has his lot come out first in the drawing of lots, by the will of the Moirai”

A Pindaric peculiarity?

4. 5th c. BCE

ἢ τὰν μεγαλώνυμον Αἴγιναν, μεγ[ίστ]ου
Ζην]ός [ἄ πλαθειῖσα λ]έχει τέκεν ἦρω

Bacchylides Ep. 9.55–56

“or the renown Aigina, **who** after approaching the bed of the Great Zeus bore a hero”

5. 5th c. BCE

φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν **ὅστις** ἔμπειρος κυρεῖ, | ἐπίσταται...

Aeschylus Pers. 598–9

“Friends, **whoever** has the experience of evil things, knows...”

6. 5th c. BCE

Ἦ Ζεῦ, τὸν Οἴτης ἄτομον ὃς λειμῶν' ἔχεις

Sophocles Trach. 200

“O Zeus, **who** owns Oite's unbreakable meadow”

7. 5th c. BCE

τὰς δὲ δαιμόνων τύχας | **ὅστις** φέρει κάλλιστ' ἀνήρ οὔτος σοφός

Euripides fr. 37

“any man **who** bears with utter nobility the fortunes sent by the gods, *this man* is wise”

A Pindaric peculiarity?

It is not attested in Homer nor in prose. Some of the examples adduced in the literature must be explained otherwise:

1. Τίνες ἵππους ἐπίστανται κολάζειν ὀρθῶς; πότερον οἴπερ βελτίστους ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἄλλοι; — Οἴπερ βελτίστους. — Τί δέ; κύνας οὐχ οἱ βελτίστους ἐπίστανται ποιεῖν, οὔτοι καὶ κολάζειν ὀρθῶς ἐπίστανται; [Plat.] Amat. 137c
“Who knows how to correctly flatter the horses? The ones who make them better or other people? — The ones [who make them] better. — Now, as for the dogs, the ones who know how to make [them] better, is it not those who know how to flatter them correctly?”
→ Topicalization pertaining to the matrix clause, not the relative.
2. Ἀχαιῶν ὅστις ἄριστος [sc. ἐστίν] Hom. Il. 7.50
“whoever is the best among the Achaeans”
→ Partitive genitives are not a part of the relative per se.

What is there to explain?

1.

What licenses the postponement of the relative pronoun?

2.

Why is there variability regarding its position (initial vs. postponed)?



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The data

AN OVERVIEW

The relative pronouns

As in Homer, the simple relative pronouns are the reflexes of **two different PIE roots**, both originally anaphoric-demonstrative pronouns:

- **ὄς, ἄ, ὄ (<*Hyo-)** : the classical relative pronoun
Cognate with anaphoric *iv*, Sanskrit RP *yáḥ*, Avestan RP *yō*, Lat. anaphoric *is*, etc.
- **ὁ, ἄ, τό (<*so-, *to-)** : identical with the definite article
Cognate with Sanskrit *sá, s̄a, tád*, Germanic *þar*, etc.
- Some forms are a priori ambiguous (*ἄ, οἰ, αἰ*), but were counted as reflexes of **Hyo-*. (Endingless masc. *ὁ* is demonstrably a philological chimaera (Probert 2005), and all instances were counted as reflexes of **so-*.)
- Both *ὄς* and *ὁ* can also be used as **demonstrative-anaphoric pronouns** in Pindar.
 - Probert (2015) makes a good case for attributing anaphoric uses of *ὄς* to a form **so-s*.
 - Earlier literature (Des Places 1947, Hummel 1993) relies on the “movement of the sentence” to set them apart, but this leads to a fuzzy and subjective classification.
- Stricter criterion: asyndeton secures a **relative** reading of the pronoun, whereas coordination leads to an **anaphoric** reading.

Repartition of forms

Singular		*so-	Init.	Post.	*Hyo-	Init.	Post.
Masculine	Nom.	ὁ	7	1	ὄς	52	8
	Acc.	τόν	32	1	ὄν	18	1
	Gen.	τοῦ	2	0	οῦ	1	0
	Dat.	τῷ	6	0	ῶ	3	1
Feminine	Nom.	ἡ			ἄ	11	1
	Acc.	τήν	17	2	ἄν	6	2
	Gen.	τῆς	6	0	ἄς	2	0
	Dat.	τῇ	1	0	ἄ	6	2
Neuter	Nom.	τό	0	0	ὄ		
	Acc.	τό	4	1	ὄ		
	Gen.	τοῦ	1	0	οῦ	2	0
	Dat.	τῷ	1	0	ῶ	1	0
Total		82	77	5	117	102	15

Plural		*so-	Init.	Post.	*Hyo-	Init.	Post.
Masculine	Nom.	τοί	5	1	οῖ	9	1
	Acc.	τούς	5	0	οῦς	1	0
	Gen.	τῶν	1	0	ῶν	7	0
	Dat.	τοῖς	3	0	οῖς	9	4
Feminine	Nom.	ταί	1	0	αῖ	1	1
	Acc.	τάς	0	0	ἄς	3	2
	Gen.	τῶν	1	0	ἄν	0	0
	Dat.	ταῖς	2	0	αῖς	2	0
Neuter	Nom.	τά	2	0	ἄ		
	Acc.	τά	2	0	ἄ		
	Gen.	τῶν	7	1	ῶν	2	0
	Dat.	τοῖς	1	0	οῖς	1	0
Total		32	30	2	43	35	8

The relative pronouns

- Other complex relative pronouns are attested in Pindar, all based on the relative root **Hyo-*:
 - ὅστις**: indefinite relative pronoun initial 18× postponed 0×
 - ὅσπερ**: specific relative pronoun initial 7× postponed 0×
 - ὅσ τε**: used when the relative clauses attributes a permanent property to the head noun initial 25× postponed 5×
 - οἷος / ὀποῖος**: relative pronoun of quality initial 15× postponed 3×
 - ὅσ(σ)ος / ὀπόσ(σ)ος**: relative pronoun of quantity initial 21× postponed 1×
- Moreover, other roots are used as adverbial relatives:
 - ἀνίκα**: “when” initial 8× postponed 1×
 - ἵνα**: “where” initial 15× postponed 3×
 - ἐνθα / ἐνθεν** “where, whither” initial 11× postponed 1×

The relative pronouns

Since relative pronouns are also used as interrogative pronouns, I excluded from the corpus:

- indirect interrogative clauses
- exclamative clauses
- comparative clauses

Other subordinators

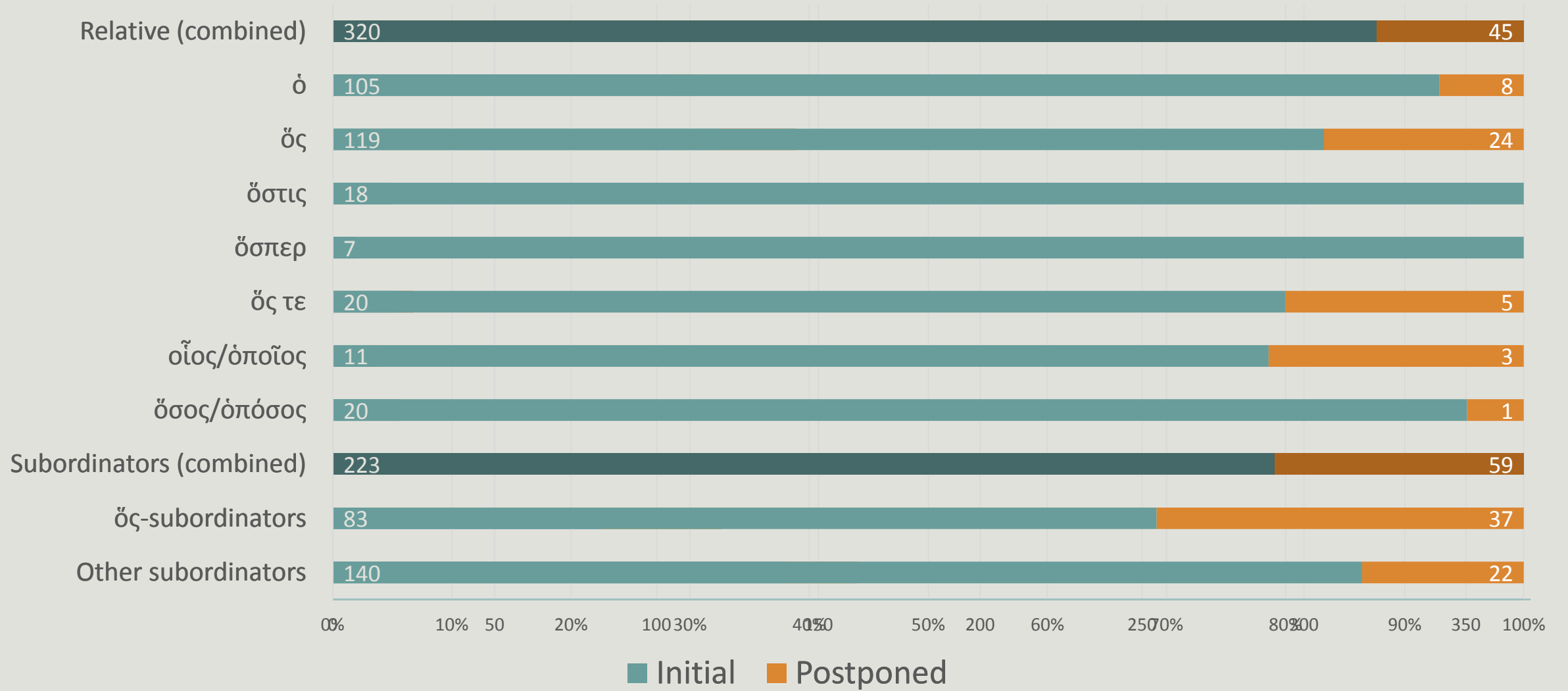
“Ος-SUBORDINATORS

- ὅπᾱ “to the point where”
- ὅποτε / ὅποταν “when, whenever”
- ὅτε / ὅταν “when, whenever”
- ὅτι “because”
- οὐνεκα / οὐνεκεν “because”
- ὅφρα “in order that”
- ὡς “how”
- ὅπως “how”
- ὥσπερ “just as”
- ὥστε “so as to”

OTHER

- εἰ “if”
- εἴπερ “if indeed”
- ἐπεὶ “after, when, as soon as; for”
- ἐπειδή “since”
- πρίν “before”
- εὔτε “when, after”

Position of subordinators

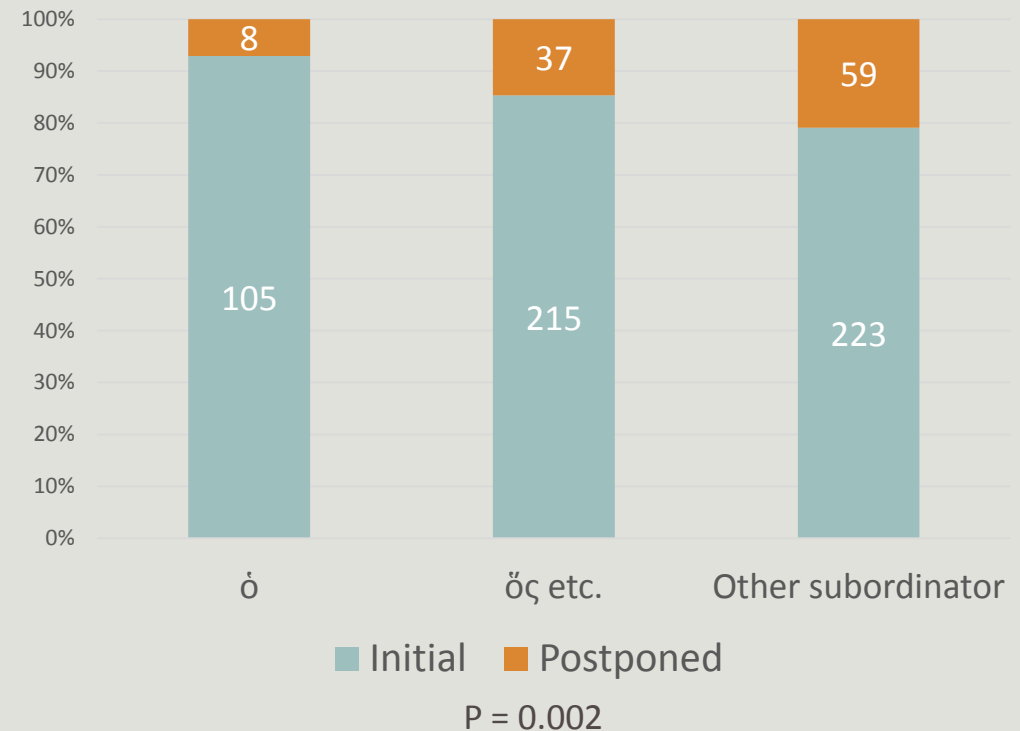


Subordinator type

The most obvious difference in the rate of postponement is the subordinator:

- the rate is **highest with non-relative subordinators**, which is expected since they do not occupy the Spec,C_hP.
- it is roughly as expected with all relative pronouns based on the root *Hyo- (öç etc.)
- the rate is **lowest with \acute{o} < *so-**: there seems to be a reluctance to postpone this pronoun, even though all examples are metrically secured.

Rate of postponement according to the lexical type of the subordinator



Crosslinguistic similarities

Language	Root	Restriction to poetry	Position	Optional
Latin	* <i>k^wis</i>	Yes	Clause-2 nd	Yes
Tokharian	* <i>k^wis</i>	Yes	Clause-2 nd In-situ	Yes
Oscan	* <i>k^wis</i>	No	?	Yes
Hittite	* <i>k^wis</i>	No	Clause-2 nd	Yes
Vedic	* <i>Hyo-</i>	Mostly	Preverbal In-situ	Yes

- Except in Vedic, the relative pronoun is **always a reflex of PIE **k^wis***, cognate (or identical) with the indefinite pronoun.
- Except in Oscan and Hittite, the postponement of the relative pronoun is a **poetic feature of the language**.
- In Hittite, the current theory is that there is a connection between the **semantics of the relative clause** and the option of postponing the pronoun.
- It has been claimed that in Tokharian and Vedic, **the relative pronoun is in situ**, or at least does not show wh-movement.



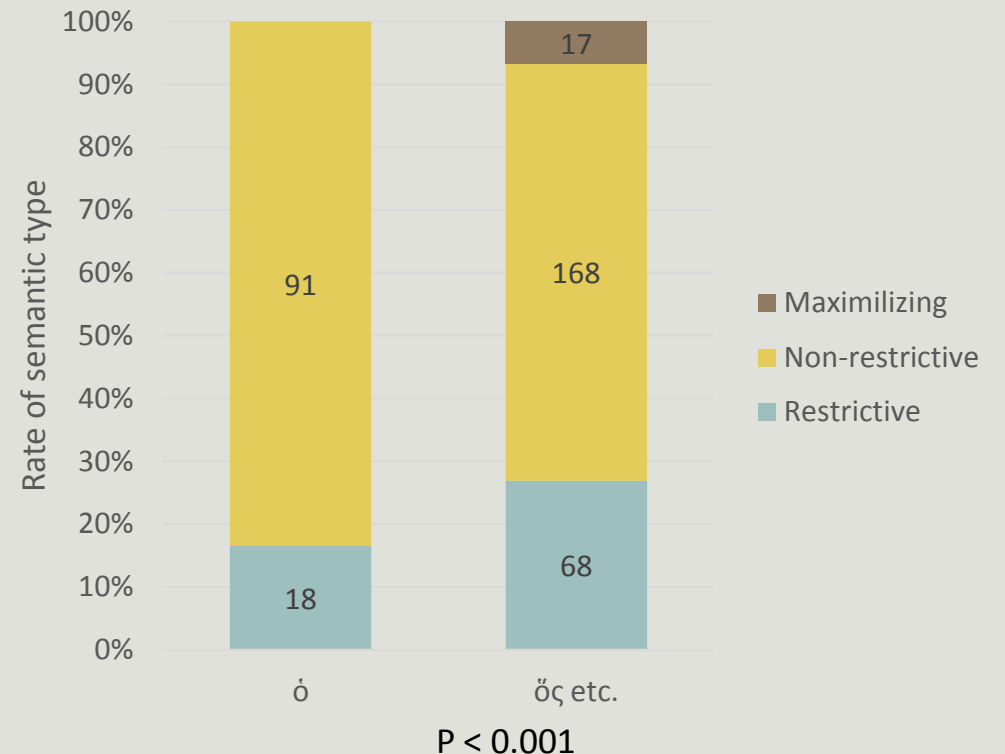


Semantics

Typology of relative clauses

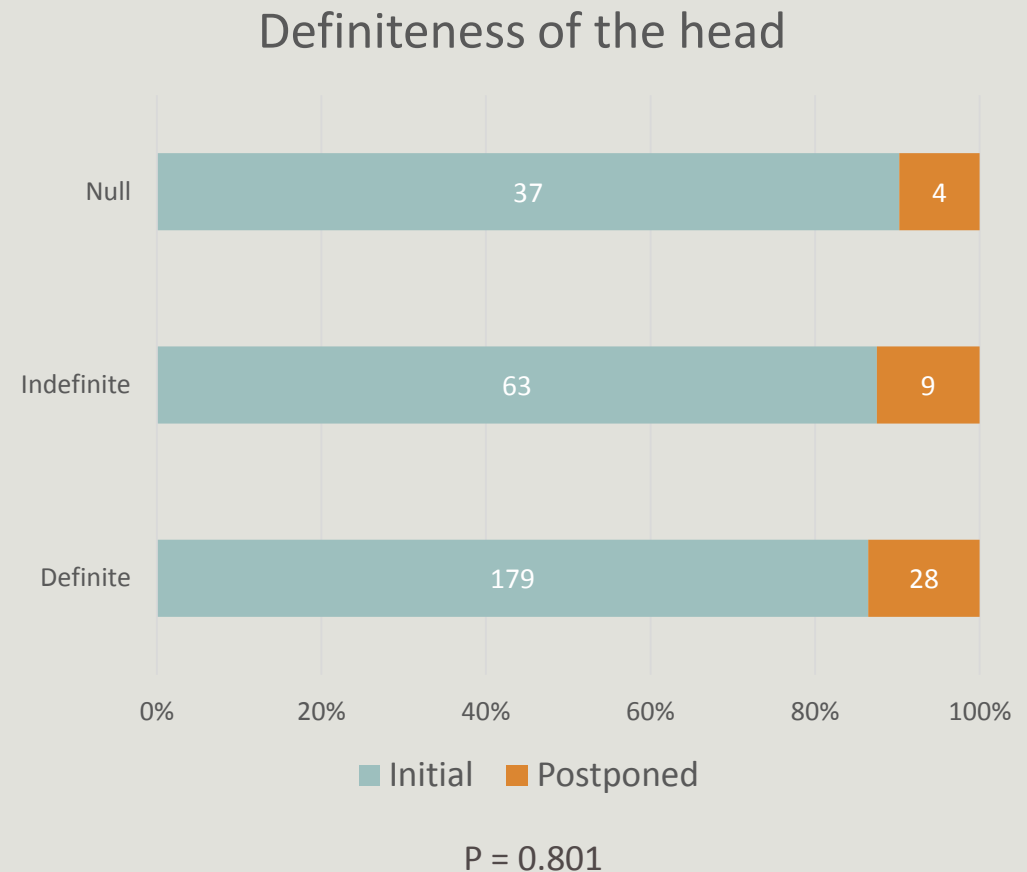
- AG relative clauses can be classified as **restrictive**, **non-restrictive** and **maximalizing**.
- No statistically significant difference between initial and postponed RPs
- Difference in the **choice between \acute{o} and $\acute{o}\zeta$** :
 - $\acute{o}\zeta$ is more frequent than expected with restrictive RCs
 - \acute{o} is more frequent than expected with non-restrictive RCs and unattested with maximalizing RCs
- This trend is in line with Homeric usage (Monteil 1963, Probert 2015), although Pindar allows for \acute{o} to appear in constructions where Homer only uses $\acute{o}\zeta$.

Choice of pronoun according to the semantic type of the relative clause



Definiteness of the head

- The definiteness of the head has been claimed to be the key in the optional postponement of the relative pronoun in Hittite.
- In Pindar, it is not always sure if the head is definite or indefinite:
 - no systematic use of the definite article in his dialect
 - rhetorical stance of the poet (in a mythological allusion, is the audience supposed to know the referent of the NP?)
- The definiteness of the antecedent NP has no influence whatsoever on the postponement of the RP.

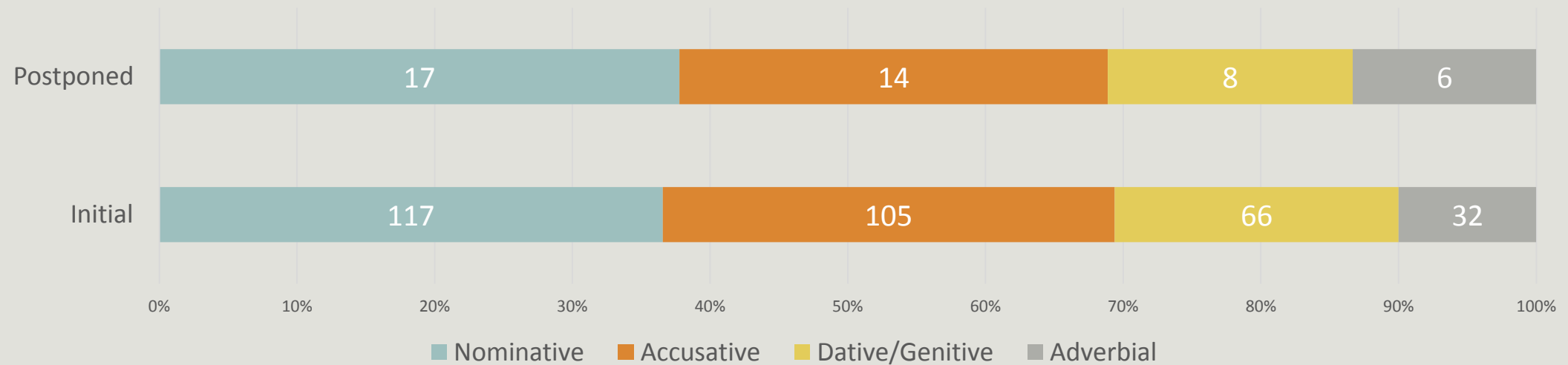




Syntax

Case accessibility hierarchy

1. subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > genitive > object of comparison
(Keenan and Comrie 1977)
- Case accessibility does not play any role whatsoever in the postponement of the relative pronoun.



P = 0.889

Headedness of the RC

▪ Ancient Greek relative clauses can be:

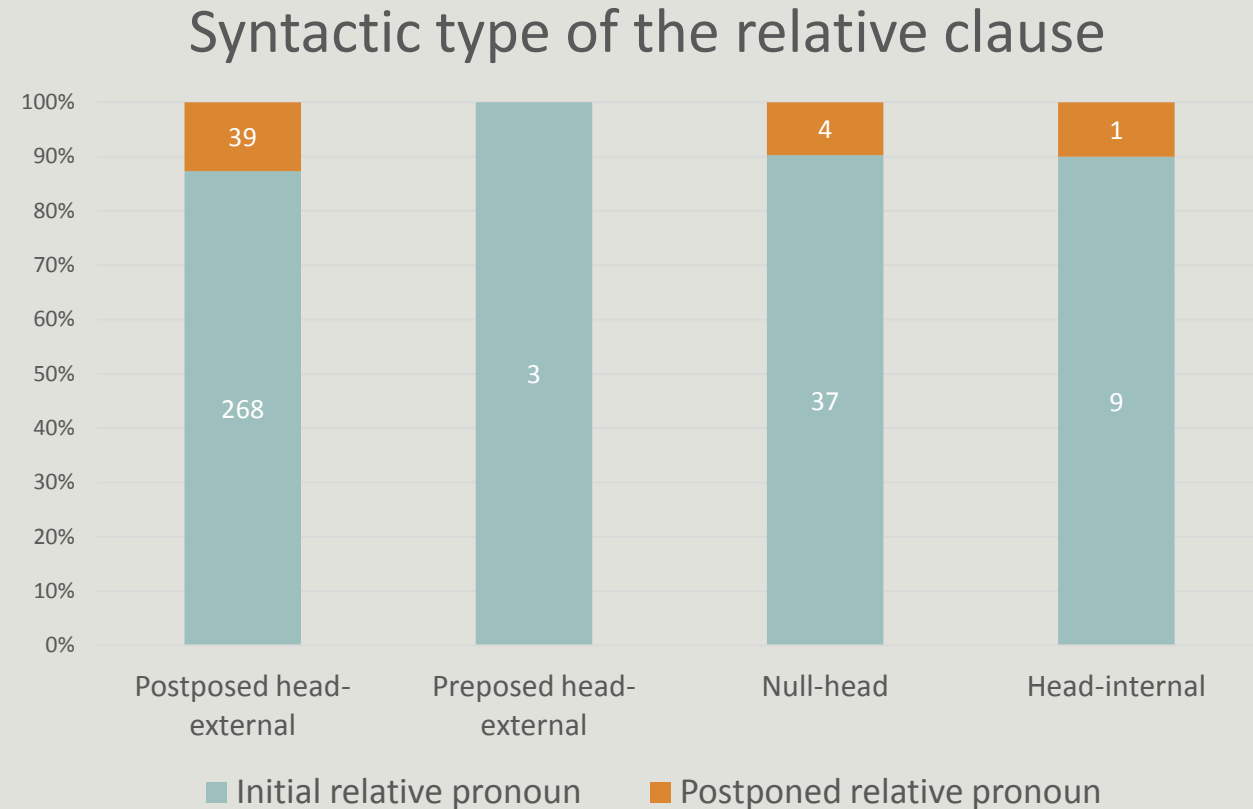
1. postposed externally-headed | 2. preposed externally-headed | 3. internally-headed | 4. null-head

▪ All those constructions allow for the postponement of the relative pronoun:

1. Κάδμοιο κόυραις, ἔπαθον αἷ μεγάλα O. 2.23
“to the daughters of Cadmos, **who** suffered a lot”
2. τὰς δὲ δαιμόνων τύχας | ὅστις φέρει κάλλιστ’ ἀνήρ οὔτος σοφός Euripides fr. 37
“any man **who** bears with utter nobility the fortunes sent by the gods, *this man* is wise”
3. ἐμοὶ δ’ ὁποῖαν ἀρετάν | ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ N. 4.41–43
εὖ οἶδ’ ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμέναν τελέσει.
“**which kind** of virtue lord Potmos gave me, I know well, that time passing will achieve it as fated”
4. θανεῖν δ’ οἷσιν ἀνάγκα [scil. ἐστι], τὰ κέ τις ἀνώνυμον O. 1.82–83
γῆρας ἐν σκότῳ καθήμενος ἔψοι μάταν [...];
“for those **who** must die, why would anyone follow in vain an anonymous old age, sitting in obscurity?”

Headedness of the RC

- Statistically, no difference is visible in the distribution of initial vs. postponed relative pronouns among those 4 categories.
- The syntax of each type is different, so we would expect a difference in the ratio of postponed vs initial RPs if their position was due to syntax.



P = 0.858

Rel-in-situ?

One possible explanation for postponed relative pronouns would be to allow them to remain in their base position, as has been advocated for other languages (de Vries 2002, 2005; Hindi: Mahajan 2000, Tokharian B: Hearn 2017; Hittite: Sideltsev 2015).

Problems:

- It doesn't explain why the pronoun is **always second in the relative clause** (either after the first word or the first constituent).
- It doesn't explain why **the negation and sentence clitics are blocked** from raising higher than the relative pronoun.
- It doesn't explain why it is **optional**.

Information structure

1. TOPIC

οὐκέτι πρόσω

ἀβάταν ἄλα κιόνων ὑπὲρ Ἡρακλέος περᾶν εὐμαρές,

§ ἦρως θεὸς ὅς ἔθηκε ναυτιλίας ἐσχάτας
μάρτυρας κλυτάς·

N. 3.21–23

“it is not easy to cross the trackless sea beyond the pillars of Herakles, **which** the hero-god set up as the famous witnesses of the limit of navigation”

2. FOCUS

ἐν τίν κ' ἐθέλοι, Γίγαντας ὅς ἐδάμασας, εὐτυχῶς | ναίειν

N. 7.90–91

“under your protection, you **who** subdued the Giants, would he gladly live”

3. UNCLEAR

ὅς πάχει μάκει τε πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κράτει,

τέλεσεν ἂν πλαγαὶ σιδάρου.

P. 4.245–246

“[a dragon] which in thickness and length surpassed *a fifty-oar ship*, **that** the blows of a hammer built”



Prosody

A LAST RESORT EXPLANATION

Contiguity

- The element above the relative pronoun is located **immediately before the pronoun** in all 45 instances but one.

1. τὸ δὲ παθεῖν εὖ πρῶτον ἀέθλων· εὖ δ' ἀκούειν δευτέρα μοῖρ'· ἀμφοτέροισι δ' ἀνὴρ
ὃς ἂν ἐγκύρση καὶ ἔλη, στέφανον ὕψιστον δέδεκται. P.1.99–100
“success is the best prize; good reputation is the second lot; with both of them, a man who
gains and takes them, gets the highest crown”

- Furthermore, only 11 occurrences have more than 1 lexical word before the pronoun, and never more than 1 constituent. As a rule, the relative pronoun is **second in the relative clause**, i.e. it is in the so-called Wackernagel position.
- **Inter-speaker variation** between prosodic word treatment and phonologic word treatment is expected (cf. Huggard 2015 for Hittite, Goldstein 2015 for Greek).
- Hypothesis: **the relative pronoun can be postpositive** in AG verse.

Domain interruption

- The postponed relative pronoun can **interrupt a syntactic domain**.

1. ματρομάτωρ ἐμὰ Στυμφαλῖς, εὐανθῆς Μετώπα,
§ πλάξιππον ᾧ Θήβαν ἔτικτεν, O. 6.84–85
“my mother’s mother the woman of Stymphale, fair-flowered Metopa, **who** bore the rider
Theba”

- A case of hyperbaton?

2. μῆτιν δ' ἀλώπηξ, αἰετοῦ ᾧ τ' ἀναπιναμένα ρόμβον ἴσχει I. 4.65
“in wisdom [he is] a fox, **which** forstalls the swoop of the eagle by falling on her back”

- Only 5 cases similar to (2), versus 13 cases similar to (1).

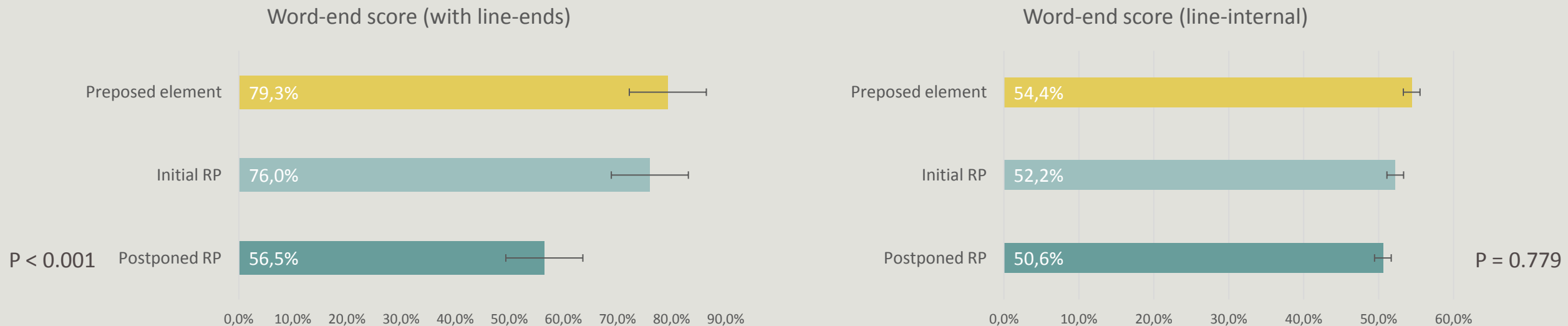
Prosodic breaks

Avoidance of line-ends before a postponed relative pronoun: only 4 instances where it is line-initial.

1. τὰς δὲ Θεοξένου ἀκτῖνας πρὸς ὅσων
μαρμαρυζοίσας δρακεῖς
ὄς μὴ πόθω κυμαίνεται, ἐξ ἀδάμαντος
ἢ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδίαν fr. 123.1–4
Participial clause
2. γλῶσσαν εὐρέτω κελαδῆτιν, Ὀρσοτριάνα
ἴν' ἐν ἀγῶνι βαρυκτύπου
θάλησε Κορινθίοις σελίνοις· N. 4.86–88
Local relatives
3. *Αἴγυπτίαν Μένδητα, πὰρ κρημνὸν θαλάσσης*
ἔσχατον Νείλου κέρας, αἰγιβάται
ὄθι τράγοι γυναιξὶ μίσγονται. fr. 201.1–3
Nothing special
4. οὐκ ἔμειν' ἐλθεῖν τράπεζαν νυμφίαν,
οὐδὲ παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων, ἄλικες
οἷα παρθένοι φιλέοισιν ἐταῖραι
ἐσπερίαις ὑποκουρίζεσθ' αἰοιδαῖς· P. 3.16–19
Nothing special

Prosodic breaks

- Responsion in the Pindaric stanza allows to detect **prosodic breaks within the line**.
- Score for word-ends: 1 for a lexical word-end, 0.5 for a clitic or appositive word-end, divided by the total number of responsions (expressed as a percentage).



- Average word-end score difference between first word of the RC and postponed RP: 22.37%.

Complex relative pronouns ὅστις, ὅσπερ and ὅστε

- Contrary to what is attested in other authors, in Pindar **relative ὅστις and ὅσπερ are never postponed.**
- Statistically significant for ὅστις (undecidable for ὅσπερ).
- Restriction on simplex relative pronouns (including οἷος and ὅσος)? But ὅστε is postponed 5× (20%).
- Possible explanation: ὅστις and ὅσπερ were not analyzable anymore by Pindar's time (at least by some speakers), whereas ὅστε was still felt as ὅς + “epic” τε.

Clitics and postpositives

When a clitic or postpositive with scope over the relative clause is present, it **never precedes the relative pronoun**.

1. χειρῶν ἄωτον Βλεψιάδαις ἐπίνικον,
ἕκτος οἷς ἤδη στέφανος περικείται φυλλοφόρων ἀπ' ἀγώνων. O. 8.75–76
“the finest victory of hands for *the Blepsiad*s, **whom** the sixth garland now crowns because of their fights full of leaves”
2. οἷα Συρακοσίων ἀρχῶν δαμασθέντες πάθον,
ὠκυπόρων ἀπὸ ναῶν ὅ σφιν ἐν πόντῳ βάλεθ' ἀλικίαν P. 1.73–74
“Such were their sufferings once they were vanquished by *the leader of the Syracusans*, **who** from their rapid ships flung their youths into the sea”
3. καὶ τὸ Μηδείας ἔπος ἀγκομίσει
ἐβδόμα καὶ σὺν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ Θήραιον, Αἰήτα τό ποτε ζαμενῆς
παῖς ἀπέπνευσ' ἀθανάτου στόματος, δέσποινα Κόλχων.
“and to carry out *the word of Medeia*, at the 17th generation, [*the word*] spoken at Thera, **which** Aietas' holy child once blew from her immortal mouth, the queen of the Colchians”

Clitics and postpositives

4. ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸν ἀδείμαντον Ἄλκμήνα τέκεν
παῖδα, θρασεῖαι **τόν** *≠*ποτε Γηρυόνα φρίξαν κύνες I. 1.12–13
“in which Alcmena bore *the dauntless son* as well **whom** once Geryon’s bold dogs feared”
5. τρέω τοι πόλεμον
Διὸς Ἐννοσίδαν τε βαρ[ύ]κτυπον
§ χθόνα **τοί** *≠*ποτε καὶ στρατὸν ἀθρόον
πέμψαν κεραυνῶ τριόδοντί τε
ἐς τὸν βαθὺν Τάρταρον fr. 52d.40–44
“I flee away from the war of *Zeus and loud-thundering Earthshaker*, **who** once sent the earth
and a compact army, with their lightning and trident, in the depths of the Tartaros”
- Only 5×, and almost always with *so- (even if *Hyo- relative pronouns are 7× more frequent overall).
 - The count is different if we add all instances of ὅστε counted as ὅς *≠*τε (5×).

Problems with a prosodic explanation

■ CLITICS AND NEGATIONS

Why can't a clitic or a negation appear to the left of the relative? There is not enough data to answer this question, but a solution might be that there was an ordered clitic chain (as there is with postpositive particles)

■ OPTIONALITY

Clitics and postpositives are lexically determined: a word is either a full lexical word or a clitic/postpositive.

A diachronic explanation

- In all other IE languages (except Vedic) where postponement of the RP is attested, the RP is a reflex of PIE **k^wis*, homophonous with the indefinite (clitic) pronoun.
- In AG, both relative pronouns are identical with anaphoric pronouns. Such pronouns are usually ratified topics, which are treated as postpositive in AG.
- When they acquired a relative function, they might have kept this placement property as an archaism.
- This property then extended to complex pronouns when they became unanalyzable.
- This would explain both the restriction of this postponement to verse and its optionality.



Conclusion

SUMMING UP

Dead-ends and a possible solution

- In Pindar (and other verse authors), the relative pronoun comes sometimes second in the relative clause.
- Relative clauses with a postponed pronoun do not differ from regular relative clauses:
 - no difference in their semantics
 - no difference in their syntax
- The solution to the problem lies in prosody: the ability of the relative pronoun to be treated as a clitic or postpositive word. This explains:
 - why the pronoun is always second in the clause;
 - why it can interrupt syntactic domains;
 - why there is fewer line-ends before the postponed relative pronoun than before the initial relative pronoun.
- The optionality is probably a result of diachrony.



Thank you!

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