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The Colon Hypothesis. Word order, discourse segmentation and discourse coherence in Ancient Greek

Frank Scheppers

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The Colon Hypothesis

Word order, discourse segmentation and discourse coherence
in Ancient Greek

Frank Scheppers

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Preface: About this book

(1) *What this book is about*

The present study deals with the notion of ‘elementary discourse unit’ (here called ‘colon’) and with the phenomena in Ancient Greek to which this notion applies. It aims at offering:

- (i) an account of the linguistic status of the notion of ‘colon’ itself and of the ways in which cola cohere so as to constitute discourse;
- (ii) an empirical approach to the formal features of Greek texts into which this segmentation into cola and the coherence between them reflect;
- (iii) an illustration of how the above mentioned aspects can contribute to a more ‘natural’ way of reading Ancient Greek texts and thus enrich our understanding of these texts.

In order to achieve these aims the book deals successively with three main issues, as is already suggested by its title: (a) word order; (b) discourse segmentation; (c) discourse coherence.

- (a) Building on previous work by i.a. J. Wackernagel, E. Fraenkel and K.J. Dover, this study develops the hypothesis that a number of Ancient Greek **word order rules** (most notably but not exclusively Wackernagel’s Law) apply to the ‘colon’, rather than to syntactic units such as the clause. In Part I of the book, a number of such word order rules are investigated, on the basis of a partly quantitative and partly qualitative analysis of a corpus comprising the whole Corpus Lysiacum and four Platonic dialogues. It is argued that the presence of colon boundaries is not just a word order phenomenon that can be invoked ad hoc to explain ‘exceptions’. On the contrary: the basic hypothesis in this study (*‘The Colon Hypothesis’*) is that the colon is the ‘elementary discourse unit’, i.e. that Ancient Greek discourse *essentially* comes in cola. Thus, the colon can be considered as being essentially the same phenomenon as the ‘intonation unit’ or ‘information unit’ (IU) as it is observed in spoken discourse in modern languages.
- (b) Since Ancient Greek discourse has come to us in the form of written texts in which colon boundaries are not systematically marked, the Colon Hypothesis turns **discourse segmentation** into a practical issue: in order to make the hypothesis applicable to continuous texts, we need to develop analytical tools that allow us to more or less reliably cut up the text into the cola that are supposedly underlying its structure qua discourse. In Part II of this book, I try to formulate a set of explicit criteria for the segmentation of Ancient Greek discourse into cola, based on (i) the word order rules uncovered in Part I and (ii) what the discourse-analytical literature teaches us about the nature and the typology of Intonation Units. I also try to show how a systematic segmentation of Ancient Greek texts into cola/IUs enhances our reading of these texts and opens the door to discourse-analytical approaches highlighting the oral character of Ancient Greek texts.
- (c) Within the approach adopted here, the issue of **discourse coherence** is closely related to the issue of discourse segmentation. I will argue that the colon/IU can best be viewed as a pragmatic unit and that its pragmatic functions coincide with its roles within the overall structure of the discourse of which it is part. Part III of this study offers a working model for

the description of discourse coherence, including a provisional typology of coherence relations between discourse segments.

(2) *Corpus and corpus database*

- (a) This study deals in the first place with a corpus of Classical Attic literary texts, consisting of two sub-corpora:
- (i) Lysias (all except fragmenta);
 - (ii) Plato *Cratylus*, *Sophista*, *Theaetetus*, *Politicus*.

This corpus has been selected for the fact that it consists of texts having the following characteristics. First, they belong to the same (Attic) dialect and grosso modo the same chronological stage (i.e. dialectological and diachronic factors can be expected to play only a minor role). Furthermore, as literary representations of ‘spoken’ Greek, they can be considered as consisting of relatively ‘natural’ discourse. The Lysias corpus consists of forensic speeches which can be assumed to have actually been delivered in ‘real-life’ trials or at least to have served as training materials (examples) for the writing of real-life speeches (cf. Todd 2007, 56-57). The status of Platonic dialogue (see section 13.3.5 below) is somewhat more difficult to assess, but it should be noted that the conversations represented are explicitly situated in everyday settings. Thirdly, they are sufficiently diversified to represent different discourse genres (dialogue, monologue; narrative, debate, expository / argumentative, ...).

For the purposes of this study, both sub-corpora will be considered as representative of the ‘same language’ or ‘variant’ (incl. dialect, diachrony, sociolect, ...). Possible differences between both will as such not be systematically explored, although, of course, differences in pragmatic context, genre, etc. will have to be taken into account.

- (b) The **editions** used are those included in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae CD-ROM: Albinus’s Lysias edition (Lysias & Albinus (ed.) 1955) and Burnet’s edition in the *Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Plato & Burnet (ed.) 1900). On some problematic occasions the apparatus criticus of other editions are consulted.

As a policy concerning **textcritical problems**, I refrain from discussing textcritical issues and take the TLG text as it is in Part I, for two reasons: (i) to avoid the circularity of reading what is most convenient for my purposes; (ii) to avoid the difficulty of knowing where to stop (which has been a major problem throughout the research process).¹ However, in the context of my close reading of excerpts from the corpus in section 11 and throughout Part III, it became unavoidable to take textcritical issues into account.

- (c) As a rule, I will not offer **translations** of the Greek quoted in Part I and most of Part II, for the same reasons that it would be difficult to imagine, for instance, Denniston’s *The Greek Particles* including translations of all the excerpts quoted: the book would have taken impractically large proportions and not much would have been gained by this in the context of discussions concerning formal features of the language. Wherever the contents of the

¹ Still, in some cases it proved necessary to take textcritical considerations into account, in that apparent exceptions to the word order rules under scrutiny were probably due to problems in the establishment of the correct text.

excerpts are included in the discussion, I do present a translation, especially so in section 11 (the ‘applications’ part of Part II) and throughout Part III.²

- (d) The corpus has been processed into a large-scaled **database** (for a methodological account of the construction and the uses of this database, see section 1.2 below). This database allowed for a quantitative approach to a number of issues, but –even though some of the quantitative results proved to be interesting as such (see e.g. section 4 below)– statistics are never used as an explanatory device in this study but rather as a heuristic and problem-raising device among others. Thus, the database served as a tool for exploring the relevant phenomena in the corpus: it allowed me to get a grip on the relatively large corpus and to investigate a large number of different types of patterns without having to manually browse through the entire corpus for each new issue.

(3) *Approach*

Four ingredients make up the general outlook of the approach adopted in this study:

- (a) traditional concerns and methods of Classical philology;
 - (b) discourse analysis;
 - (c) pragmatic theory;
 - (d) a structural approach to discourse coherence.
- (ab) The very old tradition of Classical philology and the more recent one of discourse analysis (in the ethnographical vein, as practiced by e.g. Wallace Chafe; see section 0.2 below) have a number of methodological features in common:
- both consist of an empirical, data-driven or at least analysis-driven, bottom-up approach;
 - both are characterized by a broad view on what the relevant data are, including contextual features (incl. ‘real-world’ circumstances);
 - both tend to focus (zoom in) closely on the data and crucially involve a ‘close reading’ of the texts.

In connection with the ‘bottom-up’ feature mentioned, it should be noted that the present approach is characterized by a strongly ‘heuristic’ or ‘exploratory’ attitude. No pre-established theoretical and/or methodological framework has been adopted from the outset. On the contrary, the methodology has emerged from the steps undertaken in order to tackle the issues under scrutiny (“bricolage” is the term famously used by Lévi-Strauss). Thus, theoretical and methodological considerations emerged from the issue-driven, data-driven and ‘problem-raising’ practice of analysis.

- (c) As for the third –slightly more ‘theoretical’– component mentioned above, ‘**pragmatics**’, it seems useful to try and briefly define the way in which this notion is understood in the

² Translations are (more or less loosely) based on the standard translations in the “Loeb” series: Lysias & Lamb (trad.) 1930; Plato & Fowler (trad.) 1921; Plato & Fowler (trad.) 1926; Plato & Fowler (trad.) & Lamb (trad.) 1925. I mostly consulted and also quote these translations in the versions published in the ‘Greek and Roman materials’ section of the ‘Perseus digital library’ website (<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus%3Acollection%3AGreco-Roman>). These translations will occasionally be modified for the purposes at hand, and sometimes in a rather drastic way. For an account of the translation policy followed in Part II and Part III, see section 11.0(3) below.

present context.³ A good starting point seems to be the ‘preliminary definition’ of ‘pragmatics’ in Jacob Mey’s article “Pragmatics” in the *Concise encyclopedia of pragmatics* (Mey 1998b, 724):

Pragmatics is the study of language in a human context of use. Language use is the process by which people communicate, for various purposes, using linguistic means. This process is governed by the conditions of society, inasmuch as these conditions determine the user’s access to, and control of, those means. Hence, pragmatics can also be described as a societally oriented and societally bound linguistics.

Starting from this definition of Mey’s, I can now formulate the way in which the notion of ‘pragmatics’ will be implemented in the present study:

- *The notion of ‘use’*: What is studied about discourse/language is the **action** of speaking/listening/writing/reading/... . In the present approach, the notion of ‘action’ is a crucial one and the correspondences between discourse (qua verbal action) and non-verbal types of action can be systematically exploited in the working model for the analysis of coherence, as introduced in Part III (see also Scheppers 2003 and Scheppers 2004a).
- *The notion of ‘context’*: A pragmatic analysis of discourse (qua action) involves a large number of non-linguistic factors. Mey stresses the societal factors, but the notion of context may also be construed so as to imply other non-linguistic factors, for instance: other cognitive modes involved in the activity of the participants to the discourse (vision, touch ...); the ‘real world’ spatio-temporal setting in which the discourse occurs; the encompassing practices in which the discourse is embedded, etc.
- *The notion of ‘linguistic means’*: As a sub-discipline within the field of linguistics, pragmatics aims at accounting for specifically linguistic phenomena as they manifest themselves in linguistic form. Still, as opposed to more traditional approaches, I will not primarily focus on linguistic form. The starting point is the analysis of what is ‘done’ by the utterance in terms of the activity it is part of and in terms of its impact on the distribution of the items which make up the contents of the discourse.

In the context of this framework I will formulate **the ‘Pragmatics First’ claim** i.e. the claim that the hierarchic structures which result from the analysis of the coherence relations between discourse segments in terms of the P(ragmatic)-tree device introduced in Part III underlie the other levels of linguistic analysis.

- (d) One of the main issues in this study is **discourse coherence** (see section 0.3.3 and the whole of Part III below). The approach presented here is -generally speaking- a structure-based approach to discourse coherence, i.e. an approach in which coherence is viewed as a matter of structural relations between segments. This type of approach is abundantly present in the literature, exemplified by works such as Mann & Thompson 1988; Polanyi 1988; Polanyi 2001; Grosz & Sidner 1986 (cf. also Chafe 1996). However, my approach is sufficiently different from the existing ones to make it hard to present it as a variant of any of them. The features that make this approach different include most notably (i) the fact that it takes spontaneous spoken discourse as its basic material and the Intonation Unit as its elementary

³ For a review of the history of the field of pragmatics and its movements, as well as for the various aspects that come into play in defining the specificity of this discipline and its delimitation with respect to neighboring fields, see Mey 1998b. For the application of pragmatic notions and tools to Classical languages, see e.g. Risselada 1993, Risselada (ed.) 1998, Slings 1992 and Slings 1997a.

segment (rather than the clause, as is typically the case), and (ii) that it aims at providing a homogeneously pragmatic typology of coherence relations (rather than a mixture of semantic, syntactic, interactional, pragmatic etc. relations).

(4) *Genesis*

In order to make a number of features of this book understandable to the reader, it may be useful to briefly mention its **genesis**.

- (a) The research presented below was conducted between 1990 and 2004 (in parallel with other academic endeavors) and gave rise to a number of lectures and contributions to conferences and workshops, a few publications (Scheppers 1993; Scheppers 1997; Scheppers 2003; Scheppers 2004a) and my doctoral dissertation (Scheppers 2004t).
- (b) The dissertation consisted of a long General Introduction and three parts: Part I dealt with *Discourse segmentation: Ancient Greek word order and the notion of 'colon'*; Part II carried the title *Discourse coherence: the P(ragmatic)-tree working model* and presented a working model for the analysis of discourse coherence, with the emphasis on methodological and theoretical aspects, including some philosophical reflections; Part III consisted of *Analyses* of a number of stretches of recorded conversation and of excerpts taken from the Ancient Greek corpus. This dissertation was not suitable for publication, not only because of its length but also because it was not geared at a well-defined readership: on the one hand, it was far too theoretical to be useful to Classical scholars; on the other hand, it contained too much Ancient Greek and detailed discussions of technical matters concerning Ancient Greek for the purposes of a book on linguistic theory.
- (c) In reworking the material of the dissertation into this book, I decided to focus on issues more or less straightforwardly related to Ancient Greek and to drop the more theoretical aspects as much as possible. Parts I and II of the present book are essentially a revised version of Part I of the dissertation; Part III is a partly reworked version of part of Part III of the dissertation. The more theoretical and technical materials of Part II of the dissertation are relegated to other publications (for a brief summary, see section 13 below).⁴ This rewriting process was rather arduous and I am afraid I have not been able to completely eliminate the traces of it in the final product. So be it.

(5) *Presentation*

This is in many ways an old-fashioned book: neither the way in which it presents its contents to its readership, nor its relationship with current trends in the various (sub-)disciplines involved in the research and the literature that comes with these disciplines, nor the way in which it was produced, belong to the type of scientific practice that is encouraged by the ways in which present-day academic networks and institutions are organized.⁵

⁴ Still, there is a strong theoretical bias underlying the research presented here. Although purely theoretical aspects have been excluded from the book, theoretical issues are taken seriously: my general approach does not share the theoretical eclecticism of e.g. traditional Classical scholarship.

⁵ I would like to take the opportunity to draw the attention to Ziman's seminal and -with hindsight- visionary article about the transition from 'academic' to 'post-academic' research modes (Ziman 1996/2000), which offers a broader socio-historical framework within which the circumstances related in this section and the previous one may become more obviously meaningful and relevant than they otherwise might seem.

- (a) This book is old-fashioned in that it is the result of research executed over an extended time span and of an equally lengthy and complex writing process (see (4) here above), to the extent that according to present-day standards its genesis could simply be regarded as a case of ‘bad project management’. Furthermore, the research was conducted as a relatively autonomous endeavor, outside any encompassing research projects and in relative isolation from existing academic networks and ‘schools’. These circumstances had obvious methodological consequences, in that the research followed its own internal logic and the tools for analysis were developed in a data-driven and analysis-driven way.⁶
- (b) The book is also old-fashioned insofar as a number of its formal features are concerned and I am grateful that the publisher has allowed me to publish it in a format that has become rare, even in specialized series.

The book is geared at a readership that knows Greek, and does not make many concessions towards a more general readership that might be interested in the more general linguistic issues. Thus, it contains a lot of (mostly untranslated) Greek. As Denniston famously said about his policy on citing many examples in his classic *The Greek particles*, “The reader should be able to *bathe* in examples. If I have selected and arranged mine reasonably well, the mere process of semi-quiet immersion may help him as much as hours of anxious thought” (Denniston 1934/1950, vi).

Also, the book is not always optimally ‘readable’ as a linear narrative: it is meant to be used as a tool by fellow-researchers and scholars and the reader may wish to skip parts that are not of immediate interest to him/her. A very systematic numbering of the sections and extensive cross-referencing, as well as a number of indices, allow for such non-linear ways of ‘reading’ the book.⁷

As for style, I sometimes allowed myself very dense modes of presentation but I sometimes also made room for digressions allowing me to focus on either broader or more detailed matters than strictly necessary for the purposes of the main line of argument. The book also contains many footnotes, which enabled me to expand on details that are interesting in se while maintaining a surveyable and ‘clean’ flow of the argument. Finally, I did not try to eliminate all traces of a personal auctorial voice in favor of a cleaner and more reader-oriented didactic persona.

- (c) I would like to think that these features of the book are not detrimental to its overall usefulness. In fact, I tried to produce (or indulged in producing) a book like the ones I personally like to peruse -such as Ruijgh’s *Autour de “TE épique”* (Ruijgh 1971), Denniston’s work on the particles, Dover’s commentaries, and the products of Classical scholarship in general-, without, of course, pretending to have attained the same levels of consistent quality present in the best products of this tradition.

(6) *Raison d’être*

Summarizing, I would like to clearly state that the main *raison d’être* of this book (i.e. the reason why I decided to make the effort of publishing it at all) is not its contribution to any

⁶ This also has obvious consequences for the way the literature on the various issues dealt with has been integrated into the book: it was not always possible to integrate this material in a way that does justice to it, mostly because many publications on related subject matters are written from points of view that proved very hard to integrate with the approach I adopt here.

⁷ However, the General Introduction, as well as all other introductory sections and conclusions to the various main sections of this book, *are* written in a style that is intended to be ‘didactic’ and ‘readable’.

particular school, network or research tradition (except perhaps the very broad tradition of Classical scholarship) nor the status quaestionis it might have offered, but consists in the detailed and systematic exploration of the corpus and the analysis-driven approach to the issues at hand, which yielded a lot of interesting material that would otherwise have remained unpublished.

(7) *Outline*

As a book, this study consists of the following main sections:

- (a) The General Introduction consists of a presentation of the issues dealt with in the book against the background of a selective status quaestionis. The main purpose is to provide the reader with a sufficient background to follow the more detailed lines of arguments in the other parts of the book and to give an overview of the interconnections between them.
- (b) In Part I I present the results of my partly quantitative partly qualitative analysis of a large number of word order phenomena in the corpus. Using a large-scale corpus database as a heuristic tool, I offer a more or less systematic exploration of the corpus in terms of the behavior of a number of lexical classes. At the end of Part I, I also try to reformulate the descriptive word order rules uncovered throughout my analyses into a more insightful account of the linguistic mechanisms underlying these ‘rules’.
- (c) Part II deals with the practicalities of segmenting Ancient Greek text into cola, using criteria distilled from (i) the word order rules elaborated in Part I of the book and (ii) what is known about the nature of IUs. It is shown how a systematic segmentation of Ancient Greek texts into cola/IUs enhances our reading of these texts and opens the door to discourse analytical approaches highlighting the oral character of Ancient Greek texts.
- (d) Part III deals with the issue of discourse coherence, starting from the idea that Ancient Greek discourse has the colon as its elementary unit and is structured in ways that closely remind us of spoken discourse. My analyses in this Part make use of an all in all rather simple device, called the “P(ragmatic)-tree model”. After a summary introduction of the P-tree model, I mainly offer a number of detailed analyses of excerpts from the Greek corpus, as well as some more general observations on a few aspects of the relation between discourse structure and linguistic form.
- (e) In the General Conclusion I briefly summarize the main contributions that this book has to offer to the various issues dealt with.
- (f) The indices, in combination with extensive cross-referencing in the text, should give the reader easy access to a wealth of detailed information concerning the various topics that are dealt with in the course of the analyses. The book ends with a selective bibliography.

(8) *Acknowledgements*

It is not only customary but also only fair to acknowledge the contributions that several people in various ways have made to this publication. The following scholars were members of the jury of my dissertation and have read and commented upon various aspects that may or may not have been taken up in this book: Albert Rijksbaron, Rodie Risselada, Cecilia

Saerens, Piet Van de Craen and Wilfried Van Rengen. Cecilia Saerens has been the ‘promotor’ of my dissertation as well as of most of my other academic activities between 1990 and 2004, and has been generous in commenting on various aspects of the reworked materials that make up this book.

Over the years, different versions of what makes up the contents of this book have been presented to different audiences, who may have contributed in different ways to some of the ideas presented in this study: the members of the Werkgroep Over Taal (WOT) and the Cercle Linguistique des Universités de Bruxelles (CLUB) of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB) and the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB); the participants at the *Secondo Incontro internazionale di Linguistica Greca / Second International Meeting of Greek Linguistics* (Trento, September 29th-30th 1995) and the International Colloquium *Les complétives en Grec ancien* (St-Étienne, September 3rd-5th 1998); the participants at a few meetings of the community of Dutch Hellenists; the students of Ancient Greek at the VUB in the years 2000-2003 and 2009-2011.

Various experts in different domains have occasionally been consulted on punctual matters (cognitive psychology, statistics, Greek, English, matters in widely divergent aspects of linguistics, philosophy, ...). The VUB staff has been solicited most often, but other interlocutors have also contributed in more or less important ways to the research of which this study is the result. For Ancient Greek, besides Cecilia Saerens (already mentioned), Wilfried Van Rengen has often served as an interlocutor, and discussions with a number of experts, most notably Anne-Marie Chanet, Helma Dik, Mark Janse and Gerry Wakker have been helpful at one time or another. As for the theoretical matters directly connected with the P-tree model, I should mention the contributions of a distinguished reviewer of the *Journal of Pragmatics* and of Frank Brisard, Piet Van de Craen and Luk Van Mensel, who have also supplied me with a number of comments on previous versions of what has become Part III of this study, as well as of a few philosopher-acquaintances (i.a. Hubert Dethier, Peer Hoekstra and Koen Vermeir), who have been willing to discuss successive versions of my ideas on these matters at great length. The brains of an indefinite number of innocent bystanders have been picked on a wide range of punctual and less punctual matters.

Evie Tops has helped me devising the lay-out of this book and producing the tree graphs and the indices; Luk Van Mensel has subjected the whole text to one last review (at short notice and under unfavorable circumstances) and also helped me producing the Greek and English indices; both have also taken a considerable burden off of my back by taking care of a number of chores (related to bibliography and cross-referencing, indices, lay-out, etc.) in the last months, weeks and days of the production of the book. Lene Hardy of VUBPRESS has offered an excellent, highly professional feedback during the entire production process.

Conventions

I would like to suggest that readers make a copy of this page, which will help them to get easy access to the contents of this book (especially Part I and Part II).

Apart from the above Preface, this book consists of three parts, preceded by a General Introduction and followed by a General Conclusion. As a whole, it is divided into 23 main sections, which are numbered continuously (0 = General Introduction; 23 = General Conclusion), which in their turn are subdivided into sub-sections (17.1, 17.1.1). Examples, figures and tables are numbered per (sub-)section, e.g. Example 17.2b, Figure 17.2a and Table 17.2c all occur in section 17.2. Cross-references within a (sub-)section will be indicated by “here above” / “here below”.

As for the grammatical terminology used, the traditional Latin terminology has been adopted for constructions in Ancient Greek, and I will also freely make use of the standard Anglo-Saxon terminology, without reference to the particular schools these terms originally stem from. I will also use the standard abbreviations VP (Verb Phrase), NP (Noun Phrase), PP (Prepositional Phrase).

The abbreviations P1, P2, P-ult stand for “first position”, “second position” and “ultimate position” respectively. In principle, this implies the position within an ‘elementary discourse segment’ (a ‘colon’ or ‘intonation unit’), but for the purposes of calculating the quantitative data in Part I editorial punctuation has been the criterion for segmentation.

In quotations from Greek texts, single-underlined words can be expected to take P1, double-underlined words can be expected to take P2; *italic* has been used to emphasize the words (or groups of words) under scrutiny. Straight vertical traits (|) have been used to indicate segment boundaries and a slash (/) indicates a turn-transition from one speaker to the next. It proved to be counterproductive to oversystematize the use of these conventions: sometimes not all the features of the quotation are highlighted by these means, for the sake of surveyability.⁸

Symbols between slashes (for instance: /p/, or /|p O q M r/) refer to conventions specific to this study (also summarized in Table 1.1 below):

- /p/ means ‘prepositive’ (mostly articles and prepositions);
- /q/ means ‘postpositive particle’;
- /r/ means ‘postpositive indefinite or personal pronoun or ἄν’; /s/ and /t/ refer to different types of potential /r/;
- /M/ means ‘mobile word’;
- /X/ means ‘any type of word’ (sometimes including word-like units);
- /| and /|/ mean the beginning and the end of a segment, respectively.

⁸ At the end of quotations from the Greek corpus, I will typically include the original punctuation mark at the end of the quotation (which is relevant with respect to the issues dealt with in this book). This practice often gives rise to inelegant collisions between the punctuation within the Greek text and the punctuation required by the English text. I have not been able to find a satisfactory solution for this problem and hence allowed for, for instance, many cases in which “;” stands for a Greek question mark at the end of what would require a full stop in the English text, or in which Greek punctuation marks are immediately followed by English ones.

General Introduction

0. General Introduction

The research presented in this book had two different, but complementary, starting points:

- (a) The first starting point is the following general observation. Discourse does not come as a homogeneous flux of syllables: as any other kind of human action,⁹ discourse is articulated, i.e. it consists of subsequent units that make up larger units, which in their turn make up still larger units, not unlike the traditional articulation of written discourse suggested by punctuation and lay-out practice (comma, colon, sentence, paragraph, chapter, ...). Punctuation practice is, however, highly conventional and cannot be expected to reflect the linguistically relevant articulation of discourse completely. In sub-domains of linguistics such as discourse analysis, conversation analysis and pragmatics, the matter of discourse segmentation is dealt with starting from the intonation unit ('IU') as the elementary unit for analysis (see section 0.2 here below). From this point of view, some of my basic research questions can already be formulated:
- What does it mean for a segment to be an 'elementary discourse unit', i.e. what is the status of the IU in a theory of language and discourse?
 - According to what mechanisms or principles do lower level segments cohere so as to make up higher-level segments or coherent discourse in general?
 - What are the operational criteria for distinguishing a linguistically relevant segment, whether elementary or of a higher level?
 - How can these criteria be operationalized with respect to an Ancient Greek corpus?
- (b) The second starting point is a matter of Ancient Greek word order, specifically the fact that certain words tend to take second position (P2) in a discourse segment, and -for that matter- the fact that other words tend to take first position (P1) in such a segment. The relevant segment for determining P1 and P2 appears not to be definable in terms of the traditional grammatical units of sentence and clause, but typically is a smaller (or rather: lower-level) unit, that in practice closely reminds us of IUs as studied in contemporary linguistics.

The research has proceeded from both these starting points and aimed at 'making both ends meet'. In this General Introduction I will start with the second aspect, chronologically the first as far as the research activity of which this book is the reflection is concerned (see Scheppers 1993), and also the subject matter of the first part of this book.

The purpose of this introduction is to introduce the main issues and to show how they are interconnected, by means of a summary status quaestionis on the basis of a very selective review of the relevant literature, of which I hope that it will provide readers with a sufficient background in order to be able to follow the lines of argument in the following parts of this study.

⁹ The parallelism between discourse and other types of action is interesting from a theoretical point of view and can be systematically exploited for the purposes of analysis (see Scheppers 2003, Scheppers 2004a, Scheppers 2004t and section 13.1 below).

0.1 Starting point I: Ancient Greek word order and the notion of ‘colon’

The notion of ‘colon’ has been introduced in modern studies of Ancient Greek word order in connection with Wackernagel’s Law (the P2-rule).¹⁰ Wackernagel’s Law is one of the best covered word order rules in the literature on Ancient Greek,¹¹ but has also been observed in a wide range of other Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages (see e.g. the different contributions to Halpern & Zwicky (eds.) 1996; for an extensive bibliography see Nevis & Joseph & Wanner & Zwicky (eds.) 1994 and Janse 1994a).

0.1.1 Wackernagel’s Law (the P2-rule)

The P2-rule known as Wackernagel’s Law, as it was originally conceived (Wackernagel 1892/1953), can be formulated as follows: *enclitics tend towards the second position of the clause/sentence* (“*Satz*”).

Although the P2-tendency for a large number of word classes in a large number of languages as such is not controversial and has been confirmed in numerous studies (see here above), some adjustments as to its formulation proved to be necessary - at least for Ancient Greek:

- (i) The items to which the rule applied were originally termed ‘enclitics’. However, as will be shown here below, the relevant feature is not accentual clisis, but rhythmic apposition. Furthermore, the rule need not be a uniquely phonological one, but also seems to involve lexico-morphological features. Following the usage introduced by Dover 1960/1968, I will henceforward speak of ‘**postpositives**’.
 - (ii) The P2-rule was originally conceived with respect to sentence or clause boundaries, but smaller (or rather: lower-level) units seem to regularly qualify as well (see below).
- (1) The words in Greek for which the P2-tendency has been observed include the following (see Dover 1960/1968, 12-13 and section 1.1 below):
- **particles**: ἄν, κε, κα; ἄρα (ῥα), αὐ̄, γάρ, γε, γοῦν, δαί, δέ, δή, δῆθεν, δήπου, δήπουθεν, δήποτε, δῆτα, θην, μέν, μέντοι, μεντ’ ἄν, μήν (μάν), νυ(ν), οὔν (ὄν), περ, που, ποτε, πω, τε, τοι, τοίνυν;
 - **indefinites** (pronouns, adjectives and adverbs): τις ..., πως, που, ποτέ, πω, πώποτε if unemphatic;
 - **personal pronouns**: με, μου (μεν), μοι, μιν (νιν), σφε; οί, σφι; the oblique cases of αὐτός in the anaphoric sense (not ‘self’); the oblique cases of σύ, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς if unemphatic;

¹⁰ Related but not identical uses of the same term have been common in other disciplines within Classical scholarship. Obviously, the term ‘colon’ is a common one in **metrics**. Although the relation between metrical units in poetry and the ‘natural’ linguistic segmentation into cola in the present sense of the term raises many interesting issues (see e.g. Janse 1998a; Bakker 1990), the present study is confined to prose. For a –in my opinion- very healthy way of combining strictly linguistic and metrical aspects of Greek poetry, see Dik 2007. Furthermore, the term ‘colon’ was already used in a sense akin to the present one in Ancient **rhetoric** (see Scheppers 1993). This usage has been taken up in some modern works on the stylistics of word order and prose rhythm in Ancient Greek and Latin (e.g. Schmid 1959; Primmer 1968; Habinek 1985).

¹¹ For an extensive overview of the older literature touching on issues concerning Wackernagel’s Law in Ancient Greek, see Janse 1994a.

- some **verb forms**: forms of εἶναι used as copula and the present tense of φάναι, though “with many qualifications and reservations” (Dover 1960/1968, 13).

Note that enclitics (verb forms, particles, pronouns and pronominal adverbs) are postpositive, but by no means all postpositives are enclitics: particles such as μέν, and pronouns such as ἡμᾶς (even if unemphatic) are conventionally spelled as orthotonics.

- (2) The P2-rule accounts straightforwardly for the position of the double-underlined words in the following examples, taken from the corpus studied in the present study (see the Preface above):¹² Plato *Sph.* 254a Ὁ μὲν ἀποδιδράσκων εἰς τὴν τοῦ μὴ ὄντος σκοτεινότητα, τριβῆ προσαιπτόμενος αὐτῆς, διὰ τὸ σκοτεινὸν τοῦ τόπου κατανοῆσαι χαλεπός· – Lysias 14,4 Εἰκὸς τοίνυν ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ... – Plato *Cra.* 388e ΣΩ. Νομοθέτου ἄρα ἔργῳ χρήσεται ὁ διδασκαλικὸς ὅταν ὀνόματι χρήται; / EPM. Δοκεῖ μοι. – Lysias 26,7 ἄρ' ἂν ὀλίγα τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ διαπράξασθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι.

However, many exceptions to the rule do occur, in that postpositives appear to occur later in the sentence or clause than would be predicted by the rule. These cases, in which the postpositive does not literally occur in P2 with respect to a clause boundary, are habitually called cases of “**deferral**” or “Nachstellung” of the postpositive (see e.g. Dover 1960/1968; Marshall 1987; Hajdú 1989). Thus for instance in the following examples: Lysias 26,7 ἄρ' ἂν ὀλίγα τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ διαπράξασθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι. – Plato *Plt.* 287c-d Καὶ νῦν δὴ ταῦτόν μὲν τοῦτο, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ τόθ' ἡμῖν ποιητέον. – Plato *Sph.* 224b Τῆς δὴ ψυχεμπορικῆς ταύτης ἄρ' οὐ τὸ μὲν ἐπιδεικτικὴ δικαιοσύνη λέγοιτ' ἄν, ... – Plato *Tht.* 144d καὶ μοι κέλευε αὐτόν ἐνθάδε παρακαθίζεσθαι. – Lysias 3,40 ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δὴ ἕνεκά γε τούτου διαφερόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτῳ μετέδομεν τῶν συνθηκῶν, τότε διηλλάγημεν. – Lysias 2,25 καίτοι πῶς εἰκός ἐστὶ τότε μὲν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνειν οἷα κατηγόρηκεν οὗτος, ἀποστερηῆσαι βουλομένους τὰς τριακοσίας δραχμάς, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεμαχεσάμεθα, τηνικαῦτα ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ, μήτε ἀφειμένους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων μήτε ἀνάγκης ἡμῖν μηδεμιᾶς γενομένης;

It is obvious from the above examples that not all cases of deferral are of the same type, i.e. not all cases in which a postpositive does not literally occur in P2 with respect to a sentence or finite clause boundary are due to the same cause. For instance in the following kinds of cases, the postpositive, though not *literally* occurring as the second word of sentence, does not appear to deviate in any real sense from the P2-rule.

(i) *clusters of postpositives*

Whenever two or more postpositives are immediately adjacent to each other so as to form a cluster, the different words making up this cluster can be safely considered as having the ‘same’ position; e.g. in both the following instances, all the underlined words may count as obeying the P2-rule, not only the first word of each cluster: Plato *Plt.* 297e κατίδωμεν γὰρ δὴ τι σχῆμα ἐν τούτοις αὐτοῖς πλασάμενοι. – Plato *Cra.* 405a ἄποπον γὰρ τί μοι λέγεις τὸ ὄνομα

(ii) *status of articles, prepositions, conjunctions*

In many cases a postpositive is ‘deferred’ from P2 only by articles, prepositions or conjunctions. It is intuitively obvious that these cases do not count as real counterexamples to the P2-rule, although it is not always immediately obvious how they should be analyzed (see sections 2.0, 2.1, 2.2 and 7 below), e.g.: Lysias 23,13 ἐν τῇ

¹² Except when indicated otherwise, all examples are my own.

ἀντωμοσία γὰρ τῆς δίκης ἦν ... – Lysias 1,1 Περὶ πολλοῦ ἄν ποιησαίμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ... – Plato *Tht.* 186a Καὶ τούτων μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρὸς ἄλληλα σκοπεῖσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν, ... – Plato *Cra.* 436c Ἄλλὰ τοῦτο μέν, ὠγαθὲ Κρατύλε, οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀπολόγημα. – Plato *Plt.* 294e Καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην τοίνυν ἠγάμεθα, ... – Plato *Sph.* 262a Οὐκοῦν ἐξ ὀνομάτων μέν μόνων συνεχῶς λεγομένων οὐκ ἔστι ποτὲ λόγος, οὐδ' αὖ ῥημάτων χωρὶς ὀνομάτων λεχθέντων.

(iii) *other boundaries than clause boundaries*

Coordinated or parallel structures, although not necessarily coinciding with a full sentence or a full finite clause, seem to provide sufficient boundaries for the P2 rule, as in: Plato *Sph.* 262a Οὐκοῦν | ἐξ ὀνομάτων μέν μόνων συνεχῶς λεγομένων | οὐκ ἔστι ποτὲ λόγος, | οὐδ' αὖ ῥημάτων χωρὶς ὀνομάτων λεχθέντων. – Lysias 2,25: καίτοι πῶς εἰκός ἐστι | τότε μέν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνειν οἷα κατηγόρηκεν οὗτος, ἀποστερηῆσαι βουλομένους τὰς τριακοσίας δραχμάς, | ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεμαχεσάμεθα, τῆνικαῦτα ἀποδοῦναι τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ, | μήτε ἀφειμένους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων | μήτε ἀνάγκης ἡμῖν μηδεμίᾳς γενομένης;

It is in the context of the discussion of this last factor (iii) that the notion of ‘colon’, which is crucial to this study, was introduced (see section 0.1.2 below).

- (3) Besides these cases, which deviate only apparently from the P2-rule, a fundamentally different mechanism has been proposed for the explanation of deferment of postpositives: *postpositives tend to cling to the words they syntactically belong with* (e.g. ἄν to the finite verb it modifies; see already Fraenkel 1933/1964). In that case, the postpositive would not need to be in P2 at all.¹³

This type of explanation is a priori plausible enough: especially the relations between ἄν and the verb and between (for instance) an indefinite pronoun and the noun it specifies are natural candidates for grammaticalization (for this concept, as applied to the matter of cliticization, see e.g. Janse 1998a), i.e. the combination of ἄν with its verb could easily give rise to a situation in which ἄν would become an affix to this verb and τις could easily develop into an indefinite article which could then develop into an affix as well. The tendency observed by Marshall can easily be interpreted as the first stage in such a development.

Still, in the present study, the position of postpositives is primarily relevant as a criterion for segmentation into cola. Therefore it seemed to be good methodological policy to do without the alternative explanation for as long as possible: making available the alternative explanation from the outset would lead to a situation in which any difficulty with the P2-rule could be explained away by invoking some other tendency (just as Marshall invokes ‘colon-formation’ only whenever a problem occurs with his rules); by ignoring the alternative possibility for as long as possible, the hypothesis under scrutiny has to be pushed to its

¹³ This tendency would also explain the phenomenon, already observed by Wackernagel (1892/1953) and specifically studied by Marshall (1987, 35-167), that ἄν as a rule does not stand later than directly after its verb (and the postpositive pronouns not later than the word they syntactically belong with). However, in practice, Marshall has to invoke ‘colon-formation’ quite often in order to deal with the details of his analyses (see especially Marshall 1987, 93-119 on the exceptions to the rule he postulates).

limits.¹⁴ However, in section 6.3 below, I present a few data that are relevant to the matter of the relation of ᾗv with its verb.

- (4) Furthermore, there seems to be a **diachronic aspect** to the matter of ‘deferment’: according to several authors (Dover 1960/1968, 14-16 et passim; Marshall 1989; Taylor 1990; Janse 1998a; etc.), the P2-rule seems to predict more accurately the observed facts in Homer than in later Greek. Different factors can be invoked to explain this development:
- loss of word autonomy for the article and the preposition can have given rise to the fact that these words form an uninterruptible unit with the following word (Dover 1960/1968, 15; see sections 6.1 and 7.1 below);
 - the tendency for the words under scrutiny to cling to the words they grammatically belong with seems to have become increasingly important so as to supplant Wackernagel’s P2 tendency completely in later Greek (see e.g. Marshall 1989);
 - overlapping with the previous factor, a formal syntactic explanation can be formulated in terms of profound typological changes in the grammatical structure of Greek (e.g. Taylor 1990).

As has been shown in Janse 2000, the evolution of the Greek (and Latin) clitics involves many factors, giving rise to “an intricate picture of variation, fixing of discourse strategies, grammaticalization and reanalysis”.

In this study I do not deal with the diachronic aspect (nor with dialectological matters): I have chosen a synchronic approach, involving a corpus consisting of Classical Attic prose (see the Preface above).

0.1.2 Fraenkel’s notion of ‘colon’

It is within the context of the explanation of cases of deferment that the notion of ‘colon’, which is fundamental for our purposes, first shows up in the modern linguistic literature, as far as Greek prose is concerned.

- (1) In the second article of a series of seminal studies (Fraenkel 1933/1964), Eduard Fraenkel showed that many of the cases in which enclitics/postpositives (esp. ᾗv) did not occur in the predicted position (i.e. cases of ‘deferment’) could be explained if one would take a smaller unit as the one to which the P2-rule applied. Fraenkel called this unit ‘Kolon’ (in the present study, I follow English usage and write ‘colon’).¹⁵

¹⁴ Furthermore, this policy is supported by empirical considerations: even when clinging to the word it belongs to, the postpositives under scrutiny are often in P2 anyway (see section 6.3 below).

¹⁵ The series of studies referred to consists of the following items: (i) “Kolon und Satz. Beobachtungen zur Gliederung des antiken Satzes. I” (Fraenkel 1932/1964): a preliminary study, mainly on those cases in which the end of the elegiac distich in Latin does not coincide with a sentence end; (ii) “Kolon und Satz. Beobachtungen zur Gliederung des antiken Satzes. II” (Fraenkel 1933/1964): mainly on Greek prose, using the position of ᾗv when it does not occur next to the verb it modifies, nor in actual second position with respect to a sentence boundary, as a criterion for segmentation into cola; (iii) “Nachträge zu ‘Kolon und Satz II’” (Fraenkel 1964a): a brief complement to the previous article, consisting of several short -though important- observations (for some of these, see here below); (iv) *Noch einmal Kolon und Satz* (Fraenkel 1965): introducing another criterion for segmentation into cola, i.e. the occurrence of short parentheses (vocatives, ἔφη) at the boundary of natural cola; (v) “Zur ‘Wackernagelschen’ Stellung von ἡμῖν, ὑμῖν, nobis, vobis” (Fraenkel 1966): mainly on Latin prose.

- (a) The following examples illustrate the kind of units to which Fraenkel's proposal for segmentation gives rise: Lysias 9,21 *τίνι γὰρ ἐπαρθέντα ἐλπίδι* | δεῖ με συμπολιτεύεσθαι, ... – Plato *Tht.* 155c *μηδὲν δὲ ἀπολλύς τοῦ ὄγκου* | οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐγινόμην ἐλάττω. – Lysias 26,7 *ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ* | οὐκ ἄν οἶμαι. – Plato *Sph.* 220b *Καὶ τοῦ πτηνοῦ μὴν γένους* | *πᾶσα ἡμῖν ἢ θήρα* | λέγεται πὸυ τις ὀρνιθευτική. – Lysias 1,23 *καὶ ἡ θεραπεία* | ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί. – Plato *Sph.* 262a *Τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄν δήλωμα* | ῥῆμά ποῦ λέγομεν. – Lysias 3,15 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* | τὸ μὲν μειράκιον | εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, | οὗτοι δὲ | συνεισπεσόντες | ἦγον αὐτὸν βίβλ., ... – Plato *Cra.* 406d *Οὐκοῦν* | τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ὄνομα αὐτῆς | οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν δι' ὃ κέεται.
- (b) In a separate contribution (Fraenkel 1965), Fraenkel formulates an additional formal criterion: **short parentheses** like vocatives and ἔφη often appear to occur on the boundaries of natural cola, e.g.: Lysias 1,15 *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, | *ὦ ἄνδρες*, | χρόνου μεταξύ διαγενομένου | *καὶ ἐμοῦ πολὺ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαντοῦ κακῶν*, | προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβῦτις ἄνθρωπος, ... – Lysias 34,3 *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν*, | *ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι*, | (οὔτε οὐσία) οὔτε γένει ἀπελανθόμενος, | *ἀλλ'* ἀμφοτέρω τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων πρότερος ὢν, | ἠγοῦμαι ... – Lysias 13,43 *Οὔτοι μὲν τοίνυν*, | *ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*, | ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπογραφέντες | ἀπέθανον. – Lysias 1,23 *ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης* | *ὦ ἄνδρες* | εἰσέρχεται, | *καὶ ἡ θεραπεία* | ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς | φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί. – Lysias 1,9 *Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν*, | *ὦ ἄνδρες*, | (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι) | οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ... – Plato *Tht.* 170a *Οὐκοῦν*, | *ὦ Πρωταγόρα*, | *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄνθρωποι*, | μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων δόξας λέγομεν, ...
- Such short parentheses, as parentheses, can be expected to constitute separate cola. This would account for the fact that they occur in between two segments that are 'normal' cola themselves. However, in some cases some of these short parentheses appear to behave in another way: Plato *Plt.* 277d *Παραδείγματα*, *ὦ μακάριε*, αὐ μοι | *καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα αὐτὸ δεδέηκεν*. – Plato *Sph.* 223b *Κατὰ δὴ τὸν νῦν*, *ὦ Θεαίτητε*, *λόγον*, | ὡς ἔοικεν, | ...
- In these cases the parenthetical expression seems to be inserted into a natural colon and sometimes seems to behave like postpositives themselves. Fraenkel already observed that the effect of such parentheses often is that either the preceding or the following word (or both) received particular emphasis (Fraenkel 1965, 30-41). For an account of this apparently anomalous behavior, see section 10.2.5(2).
- (c) As will be argued below, another segmentation criterion can be introduced: some words - most notably interrogatives, negatives, particles like *ἀλλά*, and relatives (including subordinating conjunctions)- clearly tend towards first position (P1) of a clause or sentence. Just as in the case of the P2-rule for postpositives, this **P1-rule** can be fruitfully extended to the colon; this extension accounts for a large number of instances in which these words do not occur sentence- or clause-initially.
- (2) An important observation is that cola can be characterized by a **phonological demarcation** (most often conceived of as a 'pause'), which suggests a comparison of the notion of 'colon' with the notion of 'intonation unit'. This observation has been formulated in the most explicit way by Fraenkel himself, especially in Fraenkel 1964a, in which he explicitly makes the link between his own work on 'cola' in Ancient Greek and contemporary work on the position of a certain enclitic in spoken Polish, which seems to take P2 in units demarcated by a pause.
- This characterization has been taken up by other authors, but often in a rather casual way. Thus, Dover 1960/1968, 17, after introducing the notion of 'word-group' (=colon, with a

reference to Fraenkel): “The example [Hdt. 1,10,2 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξίόντα] suggests that [postpositives] are not necessarily placed [in second position] of what would traditionally be defined as a ‘clause’, but may occupy a similar position within one of the word groups which constitute a clause; a ‘word-group’ being recognizable by the pauses which precede and follow it [with a reference to Fraenkel 1933/1964]”. Marshall makes only scanty and casual references to the fact that colon boundaries would be characterized by a pause (e.g. Marshall 1989, 96), and does not mention this aspect when he introduces the notion of ‘colon’ (Marshall 1989, 11). Ruijgh 1990/1996a mentions the phonologic nature of the colon and specifies that the pause at the end may also be ‘filled’ by the lengthening of the final syllable (with a reference to his own Ruijgh 1987/1996). The brief contribution Janse 1991, as well as Janse 1998a on metric cola in Homer, do take Fraenkel’s proposal into account.

The hypothesis of the phonological nature of the colon can give rise to a different approach to discourse segmentation in Ancient Greek, starting from primarily metrical data. Thus, Fraenkel’s first article on the notion of ‘colon’ (Fraenkel 1932/1964) started from cases in which the end of the elegiac distich in Latin does not coincide with a sentence end in order to determine colon boundaries. Likewise, Janse 1998a deals with the matter of Homeric caesura in terms of the ‘colon’ as a discourse unit. Devine & Stephens 1994 is a strictly phonetic-phonological study which involves the distinction of a number of ‘phonologic domains’ (e.g. the ‘appositive group’, the ‘minor phrase’ and the ‘major phrase’), all of which could have some pertinence to the present purposes, but which are defined in such a way that they are very hard to use outside the (primarily metrical) context of their study. Furthermore, they do not take into account the existing literature on Ancient Greek word order, nor the literature on intonation units that will be crucial to the present study.

- (3) Fraenkel’s proposal has been adopted by many subsequent authors on Ancient Greek word order (see here above), although it has not always been understood as it was intended (see section 0.1.4 below).¹⁶ Still, in many contributions to the problems concerning the position of clitics in Ancient Greek, Fraenkel’s contribution, modifying Wackernagel’s Law so that it applies to the colon rather than just the clause, has not been taken into account (e.g. Cervin 1990; Taylor 1990; Fraser 2001). However, quite recently, something very much like the colon hypothesis originally due to Fraenkel has independently been ‘rediscovered’ (see e.g. Taylor 1996, without reference to either Fraenkel, Dover or Marshall), following work on Sanskrit (Hale 1987; Hock 1992).

¹⁶ As a curiosum, I would like to point out one case in which Fraenkel’s work has been taken into account, but has been misunderstood in a most peculiar way. Consider the following quotations from Moorhouse’s *Studies in the Greek Negatives*: “There should be little need to stress that οὗ is in second place in *Il.* 1.198 τῶν δ’ ἄλλων οὗ τις ὀρᾶτο : [...]” (Moorhouse 1959,83), and “This [sic] in τῶν δ’ ἄλλων οὗ τις ὀρᾶτο (*Il.* 1.198) both δέ and οὗ are in second place, according to the two methods of estimation which are to be applied” [sic!, with a reference to Fraenkel]. I hope it is obvious (or will become so as the present exposition proceeds) that from a Fraenkelian ‘colon’-perspective τῶν δ’ ἄλλων constitutes a separate colon, in which δ’ indeed occupies P2, and οὗ τις ὀρᾶτο a second one in which οὗ occupies its expected P1.

0.1.3 Fraenkel's colon typology

Throughout his different studies on the subject Fraenkel presented his material using a fairly loose **colon typology**. Marshall summarized this typology as follows.

Table 0.1a: Fraenkel's colon typology (Marshall 1987, 11-12):

Type	Marshall's description	Marshall's examples
A	participia absoluta	Isaeus 3.51 <i>γενομένων δὲ τούτων</i> , δοκεῖ <u>ἄν</u> ... ἐπιτρέψαι
B	participia coniuncta	Hdt. 4.119.2 καὶ ἡμεῖς <i>ὑπακούσαντες</i> τὸντὸ <u>ἄν</u> <u>ὑμῖν</u> ἐπρήσομεν – Thuc. 2.87.3 καὶ <i>μὴ ἀπειρίαν</i> ... <i>προβαλλομένους</i> εἰκότως <u>ἄν</u> ἔν τινι κακοῦς γενέσθαι
C	prepositional expressions of content equivalent to a finite-verb clause	Thuc. 6.9.3 καὶ <i>πρὸς μὲν τούς τρόπους τούς ὑμετέρους</i> ἀσθένης <u>ἄν</u> μου ὁ λόγος εἶη
D	various infinitival and similar constructions	Demosthenes 4.31 δοκεῖτε δὲ μοι <i>πολὸ βέλτιον</i> <u>ἄν</u> ... <i>βουλεύσασθαι</i>
E	parallel and antithetic balances; the element carrying the point of an antithesis forms a separate colon; [...] This type is potentially of much wider application.	Hdt. 1.42.1 ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε <u>ἄν</u> οὐκ ἦα ... – Thuc. 1.70.4 οἴονται γὰρ οἱ <u>μὲν</u> τῆ ἀπουσίᾳ <u>ἄν</u> <u>τι</u> κτᾶσθαι – Thuc. 3.56.2 πόλιν γὰρ ... καταλαμβανόντας ... ὀρθῶς <u>τε</u> ἐτιμωρησάμεθα ... καὶ νῦν οὐκ <u>ἄν</u> εἰκότως
F	short expressions, often one word, isolated as cola for the sake of tabulation, summary, or emphasis [...]; the so-called <i>Kurzcola</i> include such expressions as νῦν δέ, μετὰ δέ, ὅμως δέ κτλ.	Hdt. 6.98.3 Δαρείου ... καὶ Ἄρτοξέρξου ... <i>τούτους</i> <u>μὲν</u> <u>δὴ</u> <i>τούς βασιλέας</i> ὧδε <u>ἄν</u> καλείειν ...
G	cola defined by the opening word of the trailing phrase rather than by the nature of the leading colon, that is, cola introduced by interrogatives or negatives [...].	Aeschylus <i>Agamemnon</i> 1018 τὸ <u>δ</u> ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσόν ... <i>μέλαν αἶμα</i> τίς <u>ἄν</u> πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ...

This typology is not a very insightful one:

- on the one hand it consists of rather heterogeneous classes: it is not clear at all in what way they constitute a single phenomenon;
- on the other hand, it can be shown to involve a number of redundancies.

In what follows, I review the different types and try and formulate some more insightful criteria for classification on the basis of Fraenkel's observations, but using a more modern terminology.

(1) *Types A to D*

Formulated in terms of traditional grammatical categories, these types are as such rather straightforward, although it should be noted that not all participles, infinitives or prepositional phrases have colon-status, as Fraenkel himself also observes: "Man wird nicht bezweifeln dass Sätze wie Arist. Vögel 1679 *παραδοῦναι λέγει* oder Plaut. Men. 538 *dicam curare?* oder Terent. Andr. 358 *negat vidisse* nur aus einem Kolon bestehen" (Fraenkel 1933/1964, 101; see also Fraenkel 1932/1964, 78-79 and 91 and Fraenkel 1933/1964, 95, on participles).

Still, it remains unclear -or rather unexplained- why these grammatical units would behave in such a way: obviously, not all grammatical constituents constitute separate cola and the

rationale determining the status of constituents (separate colon or not) requires a more explicit formulation. Note that many of the examples quoted involve a fronted constituent having the status of a separate colon (e.g. the examples quoted for type A and type C).

(2) *Type E*

Type E consists of a rather heterogeneous set of sub-types, a more subtle and elaborate typology of which is offered in Fraenkel 1965, 12-30. The following table summarizes Fraenkel's classification, with some of his examples.

Table 0.1b: a typology for Fraenkel's colon-type E (Fraenkel 1965, 12-30):

Type	Description	Examples (quoted from Fraenkel 1965)
E1	Antithetical (contrastive) cola	Thuc. 1,120,1 <i>τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ἃ ἄνδρες ζύμμαχοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασάμεθα ὡς ... (§2) ἡμῶν δὲ ἴσοι ζυνηλλάγησαν οὐχὶ διδαχῆς δέονται ὥστε</i>
E2	Answers and replies, with resumption of some element from the previous utterance or question. ¹⁷	Plato <i>Grg.</i> 452d (ΣΩ.) ἀπόκριναι <i>τί ἐστίν</i> τοῦτο ὃ φης σύ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ... / GOP. <i>ὅπερ ἐστίν</i> , ὃ Σώκρατες, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ... – Plato <i>La.</i> 201c (ΛΥ.) ἀλλά μοι οὕτως ἰποίησον· ... ΣΩ. ἀλλὰ ποιήσω, ὃ Λυσίμαχε, ταῦτα.
E3	Non-antithetical (non-contrastive) parallelisms	Lysias 3,15 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν <i>οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀδικήσας</i> , ὃ βουλή, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας ἡμῖν, καὶ <i>οὐκ ἐγὼ τοῦτω</i> , ..., μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν. – Plato <i>Chrm.</i> 161e καὶ γὰρ <i>τὸ ἰᾶσθαι</i> , ὃ ἐταῖρε , καὶ <i>τὸ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ τὸ ὑφαίνειν καὶ τὸ ἡτιοῦν τέχνη</i> ὅτι οὖν <i>τῶν τέχνης ἔργων ἀπεργάζεσθαι</i> πρᾶττειν <i>δήπου τί ἐστίν</i> .
E4	Appositions	Plato <i>Grg.</i> 454b ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς περὶ οὗτος λέγω, ὃ Σώκρατες, τῆς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄχλοις. – Plato <i>R.</i> 10,600b ὁ γὰρ κρεώφυλος, ὃ Σώκρατες ἴσως, ὁ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐταῖρος.
E5	Members of an enumeration or list	Demosthenes 4,16 πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις πενήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημί δεῖν, εἴτ' αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὡς ... – Plato <i>Phdr.</i> 81c ἐμβριθὲς δέ γε, ὃ φίλε, καὶ τοῦτο οἶεσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὄρατόν.
E6	Fronted element as a common basis to both members of a balance (antithetical or not)	Lysias 13,71 <i>Φρυνίχῳ γάρ</i> , ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, κοινῇ Θρασύβουλος τε ὁ Καλυδώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλόδορος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐπεβούλευσαν· – Lysias 16,19 ὥστε <i>οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπ' ὄψεως</i> , ὃ βουλή, οὔτε φιλεῖν οὔτε μισεῖν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῖν·
E7	Fronted discourse topics (“[...] Voranstellung eines Satzgliedes [...], das als Stichwort oder Überschrift eines folgenden Abschnitts dient”).	Plato <i>R.</i> 3,409a <i>δικαστῆς δέ γε</i> , ὃ φίλε, ψυχῇ ψυχῆς ἄρχει. The following paragraph (up to 409e) is about the δικαστῆς.
E8	Resumptive elements (“zurückblickende Zusammenfassung”)	Plato <i>Prt.</i> 322d <i>οὕτω δὲ</i> , ὃ Σώκρατες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἷ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ... ὄλγοις οἴονται μετεῖναι συμουλῆς. ... (323a) <i>αὐτῇ</i> , ὃ Σώκρατες, τοῦτου αἰτία.

Again the distinction between the different types is far from clear-cut and the criteria for distinguishing them heterogeneous (sometimes the criterion is formulated in terms of the

¹⁷ “Verwandt ist der antithetischen Gruppierung diejenige, bei der auf eine vorhergehende Frage ein Antwort oder Entgegnung folgt oder wo eine vorangegangene Äußerung eine nachdrückliche Wiederaufnahme erhält” (Fraenkel 1965, 17).

intrinsic features of the colon to the left of the boundary, sometimes in terms of features of the colon to the right). The examples are not always clear, and I found type E2 to be obscure. Note that the types E6 and E1 are defined in circular way: criterion E6 indicates that all members of a ‘balance’ constitute separate segments, which already implies that common elements, outside the ‘balance’, are autonomous as well.

In a more modern terminology, one could distinguish grosso modo the following types:

- **parallelism** does not occur within a single colon (cf. section 0.2.4 below, for a similar observation concerning intonation units); elements having **scope** over a parallel structure constitute a separate colon; this accounts for types E1, E5 and E6;
- **fronted elements** typically constitute separate cola:
 - **topics**, i.e. constituents ‘about which’ the ensuing stretch of discourse is (see section 0.2.5 below), often are fronted as separate cola (whatever the reason for their fronting); this accounts for types E7, E8 and many cases of E6;
 - **markers**, i.e. constituents that do not present any substantial content but indicate the function of the ensuing stretch with respect to the encompassing discourse structure (see section 0.2.5 below), likewise often are fronted as separate cola, e.g. $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu \mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron \nu\nu$; see also Types F3, F5 and F6 below;
 - Fraenkel mentions other, rather vaguely defined, types of fronted elements; one recurring type seems to be **resumptive elements**, which are typically ‘given’ in the local discourse context and hence can serve as a ‘starting point’ or ‘frame’ for the ensuing discourse, not unlike topics and markers;
- **appositions** typically are separate cola (cf. section 10.2.3 below).

(3) *Type F*

As is indicated by the term ‘Kurzkola’, the main criterion for a colon to belong to this class is its relatively limited size. In some of his later contributions on the subject, Fraenkel makes an interesting remark as far as the phonological aspect of the notion of ‘colon’ is concerned, introducing the term ‘Auftakt’ as a characterization of what he formerly called Kurzkolon (Fraenkel 1964a, 135-139; cf. also Fraenkel 1965, 41).

A somewhat more elaborate typology is given in Fraenkel 1965, 41-49 and summarized in the following table.

**Table 0.1c: a typology for Fraenkel's colon-type F "Kurzkola"
(Fraenkel 1965, 41-49):**

Type	Description	Examples
F1	Interrogatives (alone or with other constituents)	Plato <i>Euthd.</i> 280e ἄρ' οὖν, ἢ Κλεινία, ἤδη τοῦτο ἰκανὸν ...; – Plato <i>Prt.</i> 341b τί ἔλεγεν, ἢ Πρόδικε, τὸ 'χαλεπὸν' Σιμωνίδης;
F2	Relative pronouns or adverbs, subordinating conjunctions	Lysias 3,40 ὅτι μὲν οὖν, ἢ βουλή, οὐδενὸς αἰτιὸς εἰμι τῶν γεγενημένων, ἰκανῶς ἀποδοδεῖχθαι νομίζω – Aristophanes <i>Lys.</i> 341 ἄς, ἢ θεά, μή ποτ' ἐγὼ μιμπρασμένος ἴδομι, ἀλλὰ ... – Lysias 13,39 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἢ ἄνδρες δικασταί, θάνατος αὐτῶν κατεργάσθη
F3	καί, καίτοι, ἀλλά, εἴτα, πλὴν, ἔτι, with or without additional postpositive particles (cf. Moorehouse 1959, 85)	Plato <i>Euthd.</i> 304c καὶ μὴν, ἢ Σώκρατες, φιλήκοος μὲν ἔγωγε ... – Lysias 3,26 ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἢ βουλή, πάντα αὐτῷ ταῦτα σύγκειται
F4	Short adverbial time expressions	Lysias 30,1 ἥδη, ἢ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τινὲς εἰς κρίσιν καταστάντες ἀδικεῖν ... ἔδοξαν, ... – Plato <i>Chrm.</i> 155d τότε δὴ, ἢ γεννάδα, εἶδον ...
F5	Resumptive or concluding adverbs (zusammenfassende oder folgernde Adverbien)	Plato <i>La.</i> 194b οὐκοῦν, ἢ φίλε, τὸν ἀγαθὸν κυνηγέτην μεταθεῖν χρὴ ... For cases with οὕτω, see also type E8, above.
F6	Negation	Plato <i>La.</i> 199e οὐκ ἄρα, ἢ Νικία, μῦθον ἀρετῆς ἂν εἴη τὸ νῦν σοι λεγόμενον
F7	1st person pronoun (often followed by a particle)	Lysias 25,14 ἐγὼ γάρ, ἢ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὔτε τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐγενόμην ...

Again, this type consists of a quite heterogeneous class of cases, the only link being the relative 'shortness' of the units in question. Marshall observes: "It is not clear how distinct are types E and F; perhaps they amount to a single category of emphasis-motivated colon-formations divisible into several different sub-types" (Marshall 1987, 12). Indeed, one can recognize some of the same general types that constituted type E:

- F7 and the relative pronouns under F2 can plausibly be analyzed as **topics**;
- F3, F4, F5 and the conjunctions under F2 are structural discourse **markers**;
- interrogatives (F1) and negatives (F6) are illocutionary **markers**, indicating the type of speech act the ensuing segment will represent (question, negative assertion).

(4) Type G

As opposed to all the other types in Fraenkel's typology, type G is not characterized by any of its internal features, but with reference to a criterion that allows for the delimitation of the next (!) colon. This does not seem to be a very felicitous procedure and Marshall accordingly calls this type 'suspect' (Marshall 1987, 12). Furthermore, as pointed out by Marshall, most examples of this type overlap with other types. Consider e.g. the following examples (quoted from Marshall 1987, 12 and Marshall 1987, 28), which are supposed to illustrate colon-type G: Plato *Phd.* 93e τοῦτο δέ γε πεπονθυῖα ἢ ἄρ' ὄν ... – Thuc. 4.59.2 καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ... ἢ τί ὄν ... – Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1018 τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν πεσὸν ... μέλαν αἶμα ἢ τίς ὄν πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' – Hippocrates *Ant. Med.* 5.5 (Kuehlewein) τῷ δὲ εὐρήματι τούτῳ καὶ ζητήματι ἢ τί ὄν ... – Thuc. 6.79.1 τῶν δὲ ἐχθρῶν ἢ ἢν τίς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦ ...

Marshall points out (following Fraenkel himself) that the first two examples quoted above not only illustrate the suspect Type G, but also Type B (participium coniunctum) in the case of Plato *Phd.* 93e, and Type C (prepositional phrase) in the case of Thuc. 4.59.2. The other

examples, however, indeed do not fit any of the classes of Fraenkel's typology. Marshall attempts to deal with these cases by positing a word order rule according to which expressions of the type 'article or preposition + postpositive particle + regular word' occurring at the beginning of a sentence always constitute a separate colon (Marshall 1987, 28-29, *Rule XVII*).¹⁸ Note that this rule, as it is formulated, is completely ad hoc and completely un insightful.

However, it takes only a slight generalization of some of the observations made in the above in order to obtain a quite natural and insightful explanation for these cases (and many others): *fronted topic NPs constitute separate cola*. This 'rule' accounts for the cases quoted here above, but also for many cases that are in Fraenkel's typology dispersed over types E1, E3, E6, E7, E8, F2 and F7.

Rather than as a separate colon-type, the presence of interrogatives, negatives, relatives and similar words can thus be viewed as a separate criterion for segmentation, parallel to the P2-rule. In Part I of this study I will indeed investigate the possibility of formulating a P1-rule that determines the position of a wide range of words (see sections 2.1, 5.1, 5.2.2 and 7.0(3)).

(5) ***Summary: towards a more insightful colon typology***

Summarizing and rephrasing Fraenkel's typology and taking into account the critical observations made in the above, the following provisional typology of constituents that typically make up separate cola can be formulated:

- (a) **clauses and verbal constituents** which behave like clauses: in Greek, these include autonomous participle clauses (both *coniunctum* and *genitives absolutus* (see Fraenkel's types A and B) and some types of infinitival constructions (Fraenkel's type D);
- (b) **members of complex (coordinated, correlative, corresponsive, parallel) structures**, as well as elements which have scope over (are the common ground for) such structures (see various sub-types of Fraenkel's type E);
- (c) **syntactically non-integrated constituents**: appositions, parentheses, afterthoughts (see type E4 above);
- (d) a wide range of **fronted elements**, including topic NPs, resumptive elements, common grounds for complex structures (see (b) here above), fronted PPs and fronted discourse markers (for still other types of fronting, see section 10.2.4 below).

The following Table summarizes and illustrates the provisional segment-typology, which will be elaborated in Part II (section 10.2).

¹⁸ In fact, Marshall's rule is somewhat more complex and involves additional stipulations. It is not useful to go into details here; see section 2.4.3 below for the other aspects of Marshall's proposal.

Table 0.1d: a provisional and partial revision of Fraenkel's colon typology

Type	Description	Examples
(a)	autonomous verb clauses	
	<i>main finite clauses</i>	Lysias 26,7 ἄρ' <u>ἄν</u> ὀλίγα τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ διαπραΰσασθαι; ἐγὼ <u>μὲν</u> γὰρ οὐκ ἄν οἶμαι.
	<i>subordinate finite clauses</i>	Plato <i>Th.</i> 159c Ὅταν <u>δῆ</u> οἶνον πίνω ὑγαίνων, ἡ δὲ <u>μοι</u> φαίνεται καὶ γλυκύς; – Plato <i>Th.</i> 143d Εἰ <u>μὲν</u> τῶν ἐν Κυρήνῃ μάλλον ἐκηδόμην, ἡ δὲ Θεόδωρε, ἡ τὰ ἐκεῖ <u>ἄν σε</u> καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνηρώτων, ...
	<i>participle clauses</i>	Plato <i>Th.</i> 155c μηδὲν δὲ ἀπολλύς τοῦ ὄγκου ἢ οὐκ <u>ἄν ποτε</u> ἐγινόμην ἐλάττων. – Lysias 9,21 τίνι γὰρ ἐπαρθέντα ἐλπίδι ἢ δει <u>μὲ</u> συμπολιτεύεσθαι,
	<i>infinitival clauses</i>	Plato <i>Th.</i> 144d-e φησὶν γὰρ Θεόδωρος ἢ ἔχειν <u>μὲ</u> σοὶ ὅμοιον.
(b)	parallel members	Lysias 4,8 ἢ <u>δὲ</u> ἢ τοτὲ <u>μὲν</u> ἢ ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ἢ τοτὲ <u>δὲ</u> ἢ τοῦτόν <u>φησι</u> ποιεῖσθαι – Plato <i>Th.</i> 203b καὶ γὰρ δῆ, ἡ δὲ Σώκρατες, ἢ τό τε σίγμα ἢ τῶν ἀφώνων <u>ἐστί</u> , ἢ ψόφος <u>τις</u> μόνον, ἢ οἷον συριττούσης τῆς γλώττης; ἢ τοῦ <u>δ'</u> <u>αὐ</u> βῆτα ἢ οὔτε φωνῆ ἢ οὔτε ψόφος, ἢ οὐδὲ τῶν πλείστων στοιχείων.
(c)	syntactically non-integrated constituents	Lysias 1,9 Πρώτον μὲν οὖν, ἡ δὲ ἄνδρες, ἢ (δει <u>γὰρ</u> καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν διηγῆσασθαι) οἰκίδιον ἔστι <u>μοι</u> διπλοῦν, ...
(d)	fronted constituents	
	<i>topic NPs</i>	Lysias 26,7 ἐγὼ <u>μὲν γὰρ</u> ἢ οὐκ <u>ἄν</u> οἶμαι. – Lysias 4,8 ἢ <u>δὲ</u> ἢ τοτὲ <u>μὲν</u> ἢ ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ἢ τοτὲ <u>δὲ</u> ἢ τοῦτόν <u>φησι</u> ποιεῖσθαι – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 262a Τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄν δήλωμα ἢ ῥῆμά <u>που</u> λέγομεν. – Lysias 1,23 ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ἢ ὁ ἄνδρες ἢ εἰσέρχεται, ἢ καὶ ἢ θεράπεινα ἢ ἐπεγείρασα <u>μὲ</u> εὐθύς ἢ φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.
	<i>fronted PPs</i>	Lysias 3,15 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἢ τὸ <u>μὲν</u> μεράκιον ἢ εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, ἢ οὔτοι <u>δὲ</u> ἢ συνεισπεσόντες ἢ ἦγον <u>αὐτόν</u> βία, ... – Lysias 1,7 ἐν <u>μὲν οὖν τῷ</u> πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, ἢ ὁ ἄθνηαῖοι, ἢ πασῶν ἢ βελτίστη; – Plato <i>Cra.</i> 392e διὰ ταῦτα <u>δῆ</u> , ἢ ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢ ὀρθῶς ἔχει καλεῖν τὸν τοῦ σωτήρος ὄν Ἄστυνάκτα ... – Plato <i>Cra.</i> 408d περὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε <u>δὲ</u> ἢ τί <u>σε</u> κωλύει διελθεῖν, ἢ οἷον ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρον καὶ γῆς καὶ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρός καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ὠρῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ;
	<i>fronted markers</i>	Lysias 1,9 Πρώτον μὲν οὖν, ἡ δὲ ἄνδρες, ἢ (δει <u>γὰρ</u> καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν διηγῆσασθαι) οἰκίδιον ἔστι <u>μοι</u> διπλοῦν, ... – Plato <i>Th.</i> 203b καὶ γὰρ δῆ, ἡ δὲ Σώκρατες, ἢ τό τε σίγμα ἢ τῶν ἀφώνων <u>ἐστί</u> , ἢ
	<i>common grounds for complex structures</i>	Lysias 4,8 ἢ <u>δὲ</u> ἢ τοτὲ <u>μὲν</u> ἢ ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ἢ τοτὲ <u>δὲ</u> ἢ τοῦτόν <u>φησι</u> ποιεῖσθαι – Plato <i>Th.</i> 203b καὶ γὰρ δῆ, ἡ δὲ Σώκρατες, ἢ τό τε σίγμα ἢ τῶν ἀφώνων <u>ἐστί</u> , ἢ ψόφος <u>τις</u> μόνον, ἢ οἷον συριττούσης τῆς γλώττης; ἢ τοῦ <u>δ'</u> <u>αὐ</u> βῆτα ἢ οὔτε φωνῆ ἢ οὔτε ψόφος, ἢ οὐδὲ τῶν πλείστων στοιχείων.

A few general remarks have to be added:

- The application of a segmentation criterion always concerns two cola, e.g. a segment is fronted with respect to another segment, a parallel structure involves at least two segments (and possibly a third 'common ground'). In some cases the segmentation of discourse results in a number of 'regular' cola of a readily recognizable type but also one or more 'rest-cola' which are the residue of the segmentation (see section 10.2.5 below).
- Each segment of the types mentioned can consist of more than one colon: the segment-typology allows for **embedding** of one type in another.
- 'Common grounds' having **scope** over complex structures as well as 'resumptive elements' typically belong to one of the other types of fronted elements (e.g. topic NPs or markers).

This typology closely reminds us of the grammatical typologies of intonation units as will be discussed in section 0.2.4 below.

0.1.4 The status of the notion of ‘colon’

For Fraenkel -as for us-, the main issue was to reconstruct the natural segmentation of discourse into cola, and the position of postpositives was one of the criteria according to which this segmentation could be operationalized. The problem of the particular behavior of postpositives in word order was taken up by other authors (most notably Dover 1960/1968 and Marshall 1987, but see also e.g. Hajdú 1989, Ruijgh 1990/1996a, Janse 1998a), but these authors did not build on the notion of colon as a fundamental unit. On the contrary, the notion of ‘colon’ is often construed as an ad hoc device to ‘explain’ those cases where postpositives are found later in the sentence than the expected sentential or clausal P2, habitually labeled cases of ‘deferment’.

- (1) Thus, Fraenkel’s notion of ‘colon’ is most often interpreted as a device (among other devices) to explain cases of ‘deferment’. For instance, Marshall (1987, 10-12) mentions three “established reasons for deferment”:
- (a) **unit-formation:** “hereby postpositives become excluded from standing between or among groups of two or more words at the beginning of the sentence”; Marshall quotes two types:
 - the exclusion of postpositives from within clusters like ἀλλ’ ὅς, καὶ εἰ, εἰ μὴ, (see section 4.2 below) but also from the combination of an article or preposition with following word (see section 2.4 below), as in Plato *Smp.* 190c αἰ τιμαὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς and Plato *Smp.* 185d ἐν τῇ κάτω γὰρ αὐτοῦ.
 - groupings of regular words which for one reason or another come to be so closely connected as to exclude a postpositive from standing among them (see section 6 below), e.g. Demosthenes 21,25 *δίκας ἰδίαις μοι* προσῆκεν αὐτῷ λαχεῖν and Hom. *Od.* 2.379 *αὐτίκ’ ἔπειτά οἱ* οἶνον ... ἄφυσσεν.
 - (b) **colon-formation:** “hereby a sentence consists of two or more separate phrases and a postpositive is deferred through being assigned to the trailing phrase or ‘colon’. These phrases may result from the formation of a complex sentence out of two more simple sentences, or through the drawing together of words which for some reason invite such treatment, so that a simple sentence is sorted into separate phrases”;
 - (c) **pattern over principle:** “habitual combinations of words may establish themselves to the extent that on occasions grammatical rules are broken”; Marshall quotes the following ‘formulae’ as examples of this factor: *τάχ’ ἄν, οὐκ ἄν, ἠδέως ἄν, ἄλλο τι* (see section 6 below).

However, phenomenon (b) “colon-formation” seems to differ fundamentally from both other phenomena, even insofar as its impact on the position of the postpositives is concerned. Thus, (a) and (c) involve the ‘formation’ of units which as such show a word-like behavior, i.e. they are not permeable to other words (incl. postpositives) in the case of (a), or cannot be dissolved so as to allow the postpositive involved to take its regular position in the case of (b). Cola however need not constitute word-like units in any way and do not cause the ‘deferred’ postpositive to follow them without interrupting them (a colon itself obviously

can contain postpositives in P2), but imply a boundary with respect to which a postpositive takes P2 in the same way as if it were a clause boundary.

- (2) The kind of account in which the notion of ‘colon’ is construed as a phenomenon occurring occasionally and is used as an ad hoc explanation for cases of so-called ‘deferment’ of postpositives is a priori unsatisfactory:
- (i) The notion of ‘deferment’ is a priori an illegitimate concept outside a well-defined grammatical framework, in which a notion of normal ‘home location’ for words is explicitly defined, as well as the mechanisms that ‘move’ the word in question; this notion of ‘movement’ is illegitimate in a discourse analytic approach taking discourse as it develops in real time as its basic data and is -for that matter- left completely unspecified by those authors who use it.
 - (ii) As has been noted here above, ‘colon-formation’ is a phenomenon of a quite different order than unit-formation and formulaic patterns: whereas unit-formation and formulas seem to be morphological phenomena, involving word-like units, cola are units which - as far as word order is concerned- are clause-like rather than word-like.
 - (iii) The notion of ‘colon’ has not been given a theoretical status. Fraenkel’s criteria for ‘colon’-status and the ensuing colon types are heterogeneous and ad hoc: even in the somewhat more insightful revision formulated here above, it is not yet clear what the various types have in common.
 - (iv) Thus, the notion of ‘colon-formation’ itself is unsatisfactory: it is not clear what discourse could be ‘before it is articulated’ (before cola are formed).

Many of the unsatisfactory aspects of these approaches disappear if one takes the colon as a fundamental linguistic unit, the theoretical status of which is not limited to being an a posteriori device to account for word order phenomena that cannot be readily expressed in terms of traditional ‘grammatical’ (syntactic) notions. This approach, which follows Fraenkel’s original approach more closely than the approaches in terms of ‘colon formation’, is the one taken here.

0.1.5 The Colon Hypothesis

The main tenet of this study is what I will call the ‘Colon Hypothesis’, which determines the position adopted on the issues of Greek word order and which will define the basic unit for my analysis of discourse coherence.

The Colon Hypothesis:

- the colon is the unit to which Greek word order rules (P2-rules, P1-rules) are applicable;
- the colon is the elementary discourse unit, in other words: discourse *essentially* comes in cola.

Thus, from the point of view adopted here, the word order phenomena involving colon boundaries are not a matter of “colon-formation”, as if syntactic-semantic contents can after the fact be formatted in such a way that such boundaries now and then occur. On the contrary, it is claimed that word order rules such as Wackernagel’s law *apply to* the colon qua elementary discourse unit. Cola are not to be viewed as a side effect of word order or

syntax but as underlying syntax and word order. In other words: according to the Colon Hypothesis, Ancient Greek discourse should always and primarily be read as a string of cola. It is the primary aim of this study to try to produce a theoretical characterization of the colon qua elementary discourse unit as well as a practical approach enabling us to ‘reconstruct’ the discourse segmentation underlying written Ancient Greek texts.¹⁹

0.2 Starting point II: the notion of ‘Intonation Unit’ (IU) in discourse analysis and related disciplines

All of the research quoted here above has been -more or less explicitly- conducted within a traditional conceptual framework that (broadly speaking) can be termed as ‘grammatical’, i.e. semantic content as coded in syntactic structures is considered as the basic linguistic material, and segmentation into cola (as well as other aspects) is -more or less implicitly- considered as a ‘surface’ phenomenon, a matter of ‘packaging’ etc.

The Colon Hypothesis adopted here implies a **discourse analytical approach** akin to the approach of **Wallace Chafe**. Chafe’s point of departure and basic data are obviously quite different from the present ones: he stems from the tradition of American ethnolinguistics and has been concerned with the description of American Indian languages. His basic data consist of recorded spontaneous speech. Still, he has touched on many of the different issues that this study will touch upon (segmentation and coherence, the difference between speech and writing, focus, lexicalization, topic-hood, etc.).

Discourse Analysis as a current in linguistics (at least in the tradition which will be taken into consideration here) can be characterized by its strongly empirical bias (working with corpuses of actual data), a broad view on what are pertinent data (taking into account contextual features, the relationship between speaker and addressee, etc.), and the fact that there is no particular focus on ‘grammar’ as opposed to other features of linguistic performance.²⁰

Discourse analytical (or at least related) approaches have become more and more common in Latin and Ancient Greek linguistics in the last twenty years or so. See e.g. (some aspects of) the work of Egbert J. Bakker (1990, 1991a, 1991b, 1993, 1997a) and of S.R. Slings (1992, 1997a, 2002a, 2002b), as well as e.g. Buijs 2005 and various contributions to Bakker & Wakker (eds.) 2009; for Latin, see e.g. Risselada (ed.) 1998 and Hannay & Bolkestein (eds.) 1998.

0.2.1 Intonation Units (IUs) and the analysis of spoken discourse

In contemporary discourse analysis, conversation analysis and related areas of linguistics, it is common practice to take the **intonation unit** (henceforth ‘IU’, alternatively interpretable

¹⁹ This hypothesis will be fleshed out in the course of the investigations presented below. For a final reformulation, see the beginning of section 23 below.

²⁰ For a quite explicit argument as to the fact that in conversation analysis grammar is secondary to cognitive-pragmatic structure, see Schegloff 1996, 54-60 et passim. Beyond the differences in approach between various disciplines, the issue of the relations between grammar and discourse (incl. conversation) as such has given rise to an interesting and rapidly expanding body of work (see e.g. Givón (ed.) 1979; Klein-Andreu (ed.) 1983; Haiman & Thompson (eds.) 1988; Givón (ed.) 1997; Goldberg (ed.) 1996).

as ‘idea unit’ (Chafe 1980) or ‘information unit’ (Halliday 1985, 273-277) as the elementary unit for the segmentation of discourse.

- (1) In these disciplines, the most common basic data for analysis are **recorded speech**, transcribed with prosodic features such as pauses and stress indicated, and segmented into intonation units (for the issues concerning discourse transcription, see Edwards & Lampert (eds.) 1993; especially, Chafe 1993). When I need to refer to recorded speech in this study, I will make use of examples from the works of Wallace Chafe (except if indicated otherwise) and I will take over his mode of presentation and transcription (whenever I will deviate from this practice, I will say so). In the following table, the symbols Chafe uses in his *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time* (Chafe 1994) are summarized, insofar as they will be adopted here.

Table 0.2a: Symbols Used in Transcriptions of Speech (see Chafe 1994, xiii)

ˈ	primary accent (a pitch deviation accompanied by loudness or lengthening)
˘	secondary accent (a pitch deviation without loudness or lengthening)
..	a brief pause or break in timing
...	a typical pause (up to one second)
...(36)	a measured pause
=	lengthening of the preceding vowel or consonant
,	a terminal contour which is not sentence-final
.	a sentence-final falling pitch
?	a yes-no question terminal contour
@	laughter
[]	a segment of speech that overlaps with another segment

In Chafe’s transcriptions, the text is presented with every IU on a separate line. If different speakers participate in the stretch of discourse, they will be indicated by capital letters A, B, C, The following excerpts, all taken from Chafe 1994, illustrate the kind of data that are used and will serve as a source of examples for the remainder of this General Introduction and the rest of this study, whenever I will need to refer to various phenomena occurring in spontaneous speech.

- (a) Chafe’s indications on the context in which the following excerpt occurred are rather scanty, but should suffice: the preceding talk had been about a fatal accident that involved an elephant (Chafe 1994, 61) and in that tragic event someone had been trampled outside a car (Chafe 1994, 77).

Example 0.2a (Chafe 1994, 61-62)

- 1 A ...(0.4) Have the .. ánimals,
 2 A ...(0.1) ever attacked anyone ín a car?
 3 B ...(1.2) Well I
 4 B well Í hèard of an élephant,
 5 B .. that sát dówn on a `V`W one time.
 6 B ...(0.9) There's a gir
 7 B .. Did you éver hear thát?
 8 C ...(0.1) No,
 9 B ...(0.3) Some élephants and these
 10 B ...(0.1) they
 11 B ...(0.7) there
 12 B these gáls were in a Vólkwagen,
 13 B ...(0.4) and uh,
 14 B ...(0.3) they uh kept hónkin' the hónn,
 15 B ...(0.2) hóotin' the hóoter,
 16 B ...(0.6) and uh,
 17 B ...(0.4) and the ... élephant was in frónt of em,
 18 B so= he júst procèded to sit dówn on the `V`W.
 19 B ...(0.3) But thèy .. had .. mànaged to get óut first.

- (b) The following example illustrates a similar transcription but this time of a performance involving only a single speaker. No context is given.

Example 0.2b (Chafe 1994, 207)

- 1 ... I went òut for a stróll,
 2 on my first time on Chéstrnut Strèet.
 3 ... and just
 4 ... just ... was astóunded,
 5 at how pléasant things wère.
 6 And às I was òut for a stróll,
 7 ... a màn wàtering hi=s láwn,
 8 túrned to mè,
 9 .. as I wàlked pást,
 10 .. and sáid,
 11 ... góod èvening,

- (c) The last example is in some ways very similar to the previous one, but includes a number of phenomena that are not present in the previous excerpts. Again, no indications about the context are available.

Example 0.2c (Chafe 1994, 208)

1 Like óne day I was just
 2 .. I was .. uh càrrying my gárbage,
 3 to the gárbage dùmp.
 4 ... And this gùy came b`y on a mótorcycle.
 5 And thèn he went bàck in the óther dirèction,
 6 and wènt back in the óther dirèction,
 7 .. I was stìll càrrying my gárbage.
 8 And thén,
 9 .. I`m wáلكing =,
 10 .. like bàck to my hóuse and,
 11 .. this .. mòtorcycle gets sló=wer and slówer and slówer,
 12 ... and it`s like .. ró=lling,
 13 and fínally this gùy is sàying,
 14 ... I lóve you.
 15 ... I lóve you.
 16 ... I lóve you.

- (2) Chafe’s basic concerns -as are ours here- are the following: (1) the flow of speech and the flow of consciousness,²¹ i.e. the fact that the information which makes up the contents of a discourse is not presented (literally: made present to consciousness) all at once, but involves a flow-like development in which the different items succeed each other in time; (2) the fact that this flow is not homogeneous, but occurs in ‘spurts’, ‘chunks’, each IU -ex hypothesi- coinciding with exactly one such information chunk.
- (3) The elementary nature of the IU has been formulated from different points of view:²²
- phonologically, the IU is characterized by the presence of a single pitch contour, as well as by the presence of pauses at its boundaries; see section 0.2.2 here below;
 - from a cognitive point of view, an IU can be equated with the elementary unit (‘chunk’) through which information is processed in short term memory; see section 0.2.3 here below;
 - from a grammatical/syntactic point of view, IUs tend to coincide with full grammatical constituents; see section 0.2.4 here below;
 - pragmatically, the IU can be defined as the elementary verbal act, i.e. the elementary unit to which a distinct pragmatic function can be ascribed; see section 0.2.5 here below.

0.2.2 The IU as a phonological unit

The IU has been primarily defined from a **phonological** (prosodic) point of view:

- (i) the main characteristic of an IU is the presence of a single, coherent intonational contour;

²¹ Cf. e.g. the titles “The Flow of Thought and the Flow of Language” (Chafe 1979) and “The Flow of Ideas in a Sample of Written Language” (Chafe 2002).

²² Chafe 1987, 22: “An intonation unit is a sequence of words combined under a single, coherent intonation contour, usually preceded by a pause. An intonation unit in English typically contains about five or six words, and new intonation units typically begin about two seconds apart. Evidently active information is replaced by other, partially different information at approximately two seconds intervals”.

(ii) the presence of pauses at its boundaries is often quoted as an additional and optional feature.

(1) The phonological aspect of intonation has been studied from a number of different perspectives and involves i.a. the following types of research (for an overview of the various aspects see the classic Cruttenden 1986/1997):

- experimental acoustic and perceptual studies (for references, see Nootboom 1997);
- phonological studies in formal grammatical (most notably Generativist) frameworks attempt to formulate the rules that govern the intonational form and the links between these aspects of phonology and other levels of linguistic structure (e.g. Selkirk 1984; Zubizarreta 1998);
- research on the typology of intonation contours, often involving attempts at attributing functions to these contours (e.g. Bolinger 1985; Bolinger 1989);
- studies in the fields of discourse analysis and/or pragmatics, in which intonation is viewed as a reflection of information structure and other aspects of discourse structure (e.g. Gussenhoven 1983; Swerts & Geluykens 1994; for references see Brown & Yule 1983, 153-169; Couper-Kuhlen 2001).

(2) These approaches and their results are not of immediate importance for the present (discourse analytical) purposes. However, the phonology of intonation has to be taken into account for the purposes of discourse analysis in that it provides us with the criteria for segmentation into IUs.

The segmentation of discourse into IUs typically involves the convergence of a number of distinct criteria (see Chafe 1994, 56-63; Cruttenden 1986/1997, 26-67):

- the presence of a coherent **intonation contour** making up the internal prosodic structure of the segment (typically involving specific pitch patterns at the end of the segment, as well as the presence of (at least one) prominent pitch accent);
- the fact that the segment is preceded and followed by a **pause** (including filled pause or lengthening of the last syllable);
- other **prosodic variations**, such as anacrusis (the fact that the IU starts with a few accelerated syllables and then slows down; cf. Cruttenden 1986/1997, 21) or changes in voice quality or loudness.

These segmentation criteria are not completely waterproof: pauses can also occur within an IU and in that case typically reflect local processing problems (**hesitation pauses**) and intonation contours are not always clear-cut so that the segmentations of transcribers (even if they are experts) do not always converge. This of course creates problems for the segmentation of discourse into IUs (see Brown & Yule 1983, 157-169), but despite the technical difficulties in delimiting IUs according to these criteria, the concept has proven to be a fruitful point of departure in discourse analysis and pragmatics.

(3) One more aspect of the phonology of IUs has to be mentioned in that it directly relates to the matter of segmentation. The term **intonational sandhi** has been used for the merging of two basically independent IUs, i.e. for the phenomenon that prosodic boundaries between what could be realized as two separate IUs in actual realization have been blurred or weakened so as to constitute a single contour (Cruttenden 1986/1997, 36-37, 43 and 100; Bolinger 1985,

261-273). Cruttenden mentions three types of ‘problems in group delimitation’ that could be described in terms of ‘sandhi’²³:

- (i) final sentence adverbials (“He went away unfortunately.”);
- (ii) **vocatives** (“Get a move on, you stupid fool.”) and reporting clauses (“I’ll prove you wrong yet, I heard him say.”) in sentence-final position;
- (iii) an adverbial on a low pitch which semantically can belong to either the preceding or the following clause (“He went to the States of course he didn’t stay very long.”).

All of these can be uttered without the presence of any of the segmentation criteria mentioned above (or with only a few of them), although semantic/syntactic criteria suggest that there should be a boundary. Something similar can be observed for two other types of patterns:

- (iv) **discourse markers** (sentence adverbs, coordinating conjunctions, etc.; see section 0.2.5 below) sometimes constitute separate IUs, are often integrated with the next IU, but are sometimes integrated with the preceding IU as well, as can be seen in the following example (Chafe 1994, 208; cf. example 0.2c above):

And thén,
 .. I’m wáking =,
 .. like bàck to my hóuse and,
 .. this .. mòtorcycle gets sló=wer and slówer and slówer,
 ... and it’s like .. ró=lling,

In the first IU of the quotation, “and then” makes up a separate IU; in the last IU “and” is integrated with the ensuing clause, and in the third IU “and” has merged with the previous IU. The functions of the markers are comparable, but their status in terms of IUs is different.²⁴

- (v) Likewise, **topics** in initial position in a clause may be realized within the same IU as the rest of that clause, but can also be realized in separate fronted IU; compare the following cases:
 - topic in a separate IU: Example 0.2a, IUs 1-2 “... Have the .. ánimáls, I ... ever attacked anyone ín a car?” and Example 0.2b, IUs 7-8 “a màn wàtering hi=s láwn, I túrned to mè,”;
 - topic in the same IU: Example 0.2a “... and the ... élephant was in frónt of em,” (IU17) and “these gáls were in a Vólkswagen,” (IU12).

What is important about these phenomena -for the present purposes- is that constituents of the very same grammatical type and in quite similar discourse functions sometimes seem to constitute separate segments and sometimes seem to merge with the next (or even the previous) segment. Quite general **performance** factors such as the tempo and the deliberateness of the performance, but also the weight and complexity of the constituent in question, seem to be determining factors in this matter. Obviously, performance factors are not available for the analysis of Greek texts, but it is interesting to observe that the types of

²³ Apparently, Cruttenden uses the term ‘intonational sandhi’ only for the first type (?).

²⁴ It may be true that “and then”, being phonetically and informationally heavier than simple “and”, is more likely to constitute a separate IU, but “and then” can be merged with the next IU (see Example 0.2c, IU5 “And thén he went bàck in the óther dirèction”) and “and” can occur in a separate IU (see Example 0.2a here above, IU13 and IU16).

constituents which are somewhat ambiguous or problematic for the phonetics-based analysis of spoken performances coincide almost exactly with the type of constituents which proved to be not so clear-cut in the word order based analysis of Greek, e.g. ‘Kurzkola’ of the types ‘fronted marker’ (and sometimes ‘fronted topic’) and short idiomatic parentheses (vocatives, modal, evidential and reporting parentheses like εἴπερ σου, οἶμαί, and ἔφη, ... ; cf. section 10.2.3 below).

0.2.3 The IU as a cognitive unit

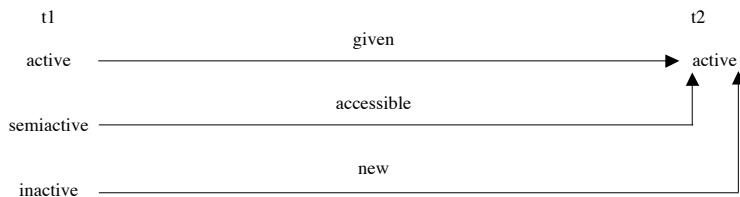
From a cognitive point of view, the IU has been defined as “a single focus of consciousness”, i.e. whatever is present to consciousness at any one time. Formulated in terms of cognitive psychology, an IU is then the amount of information that is processed at one time, i.e. a chunk in Short Term Memory (Chafe 1987, Chafe 1994).

- (1) It is a basic presupposition of this cognitive approach (whether or not the notion of Short Term Memory is used) that the amount of information that can be focused (or ‘activated’) at any one time is very limited. This has led to the use of the economical metaphor of ‘cognitive effort’ and ‘**activation cost**’.
- (a) Thus, Chafe (1987; 1994, 71-81) postulates 3 possible **activation states** for information at any one time:
- ‘active concepts’: information that is present in short term memory at a given moment in time;
 - ‘semi-active concepts’: information which is ‘accessible’ at a given moment in time, i.e. present in -what Chafe calls- “peripheral consciousness”;
 - ‘inactive concepts’: information in Long Term Memory, which is not readily accessible.

According to Chafe, the pause, which typically precedes an IU, is used to process the contents of this IU, which implies a change in “activation state”; there are three possible changes in activation state between any two IUs:

- (i) a change of a previously inactive concept to an active one.
- (ii) a change of a previously semi-active concept to an active one.
- (iii) a change of a previously active concept to a semi-active one.

Obviously, much of the active and semi-active information can remain (semi-)active from one IU to the next, as well. Thus, the transition between two successive IUs in terms of the ‘activation costs’ can be represented in the following diagram (Chafe 1994, 73, *Figure 6.1*):



It is understood that activating ‘new’ information is more ‘costly’ than keeping ‘given’ information active.

- (b) From this account Chafe deduces his “**one new concept at a time constraint**”: “This constraint follows naturally from what I take to be the cognitive basis of an intonation unit: the expression of a single focus of consciousness. Such a focus can evidently contain no more than one previously inactive concept.” (Chafe 1987, 32).
- (c) The notion of ‘activation’ cost and the distinction between ‘given’, ‘accessible’ and ‘new’ information in an IU yield an account for a number of formal linguistic phenomena, most importantly those related to the notion of ‘**focus**’:
- words expressing ‘new’ information are typically more prominent, informationally and phonologically (i.e. they typically bear ‘primary stress’);
 - words expressing ‘given’ information are often realized in a phonologically weaker form, i.e. they are either partially or completely destressed and/or can take the form of reduced forms or pronouns (or other ‘pro-forms’) or even zero-realization.

For some introductory remarks on the notion of focus, see section 0.3.4. here below.

- (2) The consequence of this cognitive account of the IU as the cognitively elementary discourse unit is that discourse is *essentially* processed IU by IU: ‘chunking into IUs’ is not primarily a ‘strategy’ or a ‘device’ which is ‘used’ in order to package some pre-existing material for some communicative *purpose*;²⁵ rather, discourse *comes in IUs*, i.e. a discourse necessarily and inherently consists of a sequence of IUs.

If it is true that discourse is processed from one IU to the next, it can be expected that this unit will constitute a unit from other (formal) points of view as well. Thus, at least some aspects of the prosodic nature of the IU immediately follow from this cognitive aspect: the single intonational contour characteristic of an IU is the motor reflection of its unity as far as processing is concerned, and the pauses which precede it can easily be viewed as the time it takes to plan its realization. Likewise, it can be expected that an IU will regularly correspond to a grammatical constituent as well: the formatting of the contents of an IU implies the processing of its grammatical form, which is obviously much easier if the chunk which is processed coincides with a full grammatical unit.²⁶

Still, some formal features of discourse obviously have a larger scope than the single IU, e.g. syntactic units such as the sentence regularly include more than one IU, and higher-level discourse units such as a story even more obviously so; hence, despite the apparent limitations of Short Term Memory, longer-term planning is obviously possible.²⁷

²⁵ This interpretation might be suggested by some of the terminology in e.g. Slings 2002a and Slings 2002b, in which the notion of segmentation into IUs/cola is embedded in the clause-based approach of Dik 1995.

²⁶ Furthermore, it can be expected that the grammar of a language itself will develop in such a way that contents that often occur in a single chunk can be processed in a single grammatical construction (for the link between grammaticalizability and IU-status, see the notion of grammaticalizability in Croft 1995). See also section 6 below.

²⁷ The problem of the punctuality of moments and the linearity of time is theoretically speaking a very important one (cf. Scheppers 2003 and Scheppers 2004t, section 14.4 on P(ragmatic)-time and the dynamics of cognition). For reasons explained in section (5) of the Preface, I will not go into these theoretical issues here.

0.2.4 The IU as a grammatical unit (GU)

As pointed out here above, it follows from the identification of the IU as the elementary ‘chunk’ in discourse processing, that IUs will typically coincide with grammatical constituents. Note that in the present context, the problem of the correlation between IUs and GUs is formulated in the opposite direction as compared with grammatical approaches of various schools (cf. e.g. Selkirk 1984, Selkirk 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, for generativist approaches; Dik 1989, 379-399, for a functional approach): in this study, it is argued that a certain content is formatted as a GU because it constitutes a discourse segment, whereas in grammatical approaches the content and its grammatical formatting are taken as given and the way this formatted GU is ‘cut up’ into IUs is taken as a posterior formatting.

- (1) It has often been observed that **the prototypical grammatical shape of an IU is the finite clause**, and most accounts of the syntactic features of the IU start from the expected correspondence between IU and simple main finite clause (see below).
- (a) However, if we look at actual data, a large number of IUs actually does not coincide with a full finite clause. For instance, in example 0.2a above, 6 IUs out of 19 constitute full main finite clauses:
- IU7: Did you éver hear *that*?
 - IU12: these *gáls* were in a *Vólkswagen*,
 - IU14: they uh kept *hónkin*’ the *hórn*,
 - IU17: and the ... *élephant* was in *frónt* of em,
 - IU18: so= he *jùst* *procèded* to *sìt* *dówn* on the *`V`W*.
 - IU19: But *thèy* .. had .. *màned* to get *óut* first.

Furthermore, IUs 4-5 of the same excerpt consist of a potentially complete finite clause (“well *Í* *hèard* of an *élephant*,”) and a grammatically complete subordinate clause (“that *sát* *dówn* on a *`V`W* one time”). However, the main finite clause is obviously part of an encompassing presentative construction including the relative clause (“I heard of an X, who/that Y”).²⁸ In example 0.2b, only IU1 “I went *òut* for a *stróll*,” could count as a full finite main clause, which however is completed in the next IU with the PP “on my first *tìme* on *Chéstrnut Strèet*.”; IU5 (“at how *pléasant* things *wère*.”) and IU9 (“as I *wàlked* *pást*,”) are full subordinate clauses. Thus, none of the 11 IUs actually constitutes a full main finite clause.

- (b) Thus it has been shown that even in recorded spontaneous speech in modern standard European languages with a relatively poor morphology the ‘one clause - one IU’ equivalence is only weakly valid. In Ancient Greek, characterized by a rich morphology and - consequently- a greater word autonomy, this equivalence can be expected to be even weaker.²⁹ Especially note the clause-like functions of participles and to a lesser extent infinitival constructions (see section 10.2 and 21.1 below) as well as the fact that the rich morphology and the free word order allow for the fronting of a number of constituents within a single clause, whereas e.g. in English and French similar patterns would require

²⁸ For various issues concerning presentative constructions, see e.g. sections 5.2.2 and 21.2 below.

²⁹ Contra e.g. the remark in Dik 1995, 36 that “Segmentation on the basis of postpositive placement can be seen to coincide with syntactically definable clauses for most of the time”; see also section 0.3.1 below.

special constructions involving separate clauses (for these differences, see the translation issues discussed in sections 11.0(3) and 12.2).

- (c) In the context of the present discussion of the relation between discourse units (IU and beyond) and syntax, we should also discuss the notion of **sentence**,³⁰ as defined by the presence of (at least) an overt grammatical subject and a main finite verb, which can be the grammatical core of an indefinite number of extensions. This notion of ‘sentence’ has been taken as the starting point of most of the traditional research on discourse structure.³¹ However, if we take the IU as the basic unit, the matter of sentence-closure becomes a secondary issue. Furthermore, experiments in which the same person was asked to tell the same story twice (Chafe 1979, 73-76; Chafe 1994, 143-144) have shown that IUs “do represent relatively stable units of remembering”, but that “the organization of intonation units into sentences shows little of the same stability” (Chafe 1994, 144). This empirical fact is obviously an argument in favor of the validity of taking the IU as a basic unit, rather than any larger unit and can be used to argue that the grammatical format of GUs is the reflection of their status as discourse units, rather than the other way round.
- (2) Corpus research on spoken language data has demonstrated that **IUs tend to coincide with grammatical units** (see e.g. Croft 1995; Cruttenden 1997, 68-73), although the theoretical accounts given for this coincidence can be highly divergent (cf. Ladd 1986; Selkirk 1984, Selkirk 1995; Croft 1995; Zubizarreta 1998). In what follows, I will take a merely descriptive stance, and, mostly following Croft 1995, I will concentrate on the typology of IUs in grammatical terms, in view of a comparison with the colon typology described in section 0.1 above.
- (a) Starting from a corpus of recorded narratives by 20 native speakers of English (borrowed from the project which gave rise to Chafe (ed.) 1980), consisting of 1989 IUs, Croft 1995 analyzes the relations between IU and GU, making use of both quantitative and qualitative elements. According to Croft’s calculations, an important number of IUs indeed consists of clauses (sometimes with additional elements), but still more than 45% of the IUs is of a lower level than the finite main clause and more than 36% of the IUs is even less than a clause, as can be seen from the following table.

³⁰ Sentence-hood can also be defined in prosodic terms (sentence-final falling pitch; see e.g. Cruttenden 1986/1997; Couper-Kuhlen 2001); both notions of ‘sentence’ often (but not necessarily always) overlap (Chafe 1980, 20-32). In any case, the issues concerning sentence closure remain the same for the present purposes.

³¹ Very notably so in Ancient Greek, see e.g. Müller 1980, with the telling title *Satzbau, Satzgliederung und Satzverbindung in der Prosa Herodots*; Dover 1997, 26-40, which under the heading ‘units of utterance’ deals with the sub-divisions ‘words’, ‘sentences’, and ‘substantival phrases’ and mentions ‘Period and Kolon’ in an appendix.

Table 0.2.4a: IUs and GUs (Croft 1995, 845)³²

Type	% of IUs	Type	% of IUs
Simple clauses with subject	38.1	Phrases	13.7
Clause + complement	8.2	Subjectless finite clauses	9.7
Clause + relative clause	2.5	<i>Lexical IUs</i>	6.2
Clause + adjunct	1.8	interjections	4.3
Coordinated sentences	3.1	adverbs	1.2
Other complex constructions	1.6	numerals in counting	0.3
<i>Total main clause or larger</i>	<i>55.3</i>	connectives/'sentence adverbials'	0.7
Complements	2.2	<i>non-GUs</i>	2.9
Relative clauses	3.3	false starts	0.8
Adverbial clauses	2.6	fragments	1.2
<i>Total subordinate clauses</i>	<i>8.1</i>	disjoint IUs	0.9
<hr/>			
<i>Total finite clause or larger</i>	<i>63.4</i>		

I have made a quick survey of a small spoken speech corpus of 191 IUs,³³ which yielded the following quantitative data (note, however, that I have made no effort to copy Croft's highly complex coding procedure, so any comparison between my data and Croft's should be interpreted with caution):

Table 0.2.4b: IUs and GUs (own recorded speech corpus)

full main finite clauses	72	37.7%
NPs	25	13.1%
interjections (mhm, oh, laughter)	24	12.6%
markers	17	8.9%
PPs	15	7.9%
false starts	15	7.9%
VPs (subjectless finite clauses)	12	6.3%
subordinate finite clauses	10	5.2%
adjective	1	0.5%
<i>Total IUs</i>	<i>191</i>	<i>100%</i>

Note the remarkable similarity in the percentage of IUs, which coincide with full main finite clauses in my data and Croft's. Also note the high percentage of lone NPs and lone PPs.

- (b) On the basis of his data, Croft (1995) calculated that -for his corpus- 97% of the IUs are Grammatical Units ('GUs'). An even stronger claim can be made (the '**Full GU condition**'): 91% of Croft's IUs consist of GUs possessing their full set of complements. Croft observes

³² Croft's way of presenting his quantitative data is not very transparent: I have tried to reconstruct the distribution of his classes and sub-classes into a single table, but have not succeeded in making the percentages tally completely.

³³ This corpus, which I used for the purposes of my dissertation (Scheppers 2004t), consists of the following excerpts: (i) a brief excerpt of a multi-party conversation mainly consisting of an anecdote about an accident involving an elephant (Chafe 1994, 61); (ii) a first-person anecdote about a speaker who is approached by 'a guy on a motorcycle' (Chafe 1994, 208); (iii) an anecdote about a university professor who had 'no contact with his students' (Chafe 1987; analysis published in Scheppers 2003); (iv) a joke in French about a crashing plane (original recording and transcription); (v) a two-party conversation on 'painting the house' (Chafe 1994, 123-127).

that among those IUs that cause exceptions to the ‘full GU condition’, many have specific discourse functions.

Among the most common types of IUs that are not full finite clauses are the following (Croft 1995, 846-847):

- **lone NPs:**
 - **Topic NP** (with resumptive pronoun in the finite clause), e.g. [.3] *and then a little boy*, | [.35] /about/ [.15] a big a red bicycle, | that was too big for him, | [.8] he stopped;
 - **Presentative NP** (without resumptive pronoun), e.g. .. some .. *a little boy*, | [.5] on a .. bicycle who’s coming by.
 - **Elaboration (apposition)**, e.g. [1.25] And then three boys happen by. | [.65] *Three boys*, | *three different sizes*, | *three different colored shirts*, | [1.65] oh goodness.
 - **Summarization**, e.g. ... *and everything*.
- **subjectless VPs**, e.g. in the following consecutive IUs:
 - A--nd [.15] he [.35] sees this three pear [.2] these three baskets of pears,
 - and then *sees this man up in the [.5] tree*,
 - and *decides [.45] that he’d like some pears*.
 - And at first *looks like he’s going to take one or two*, [...]

Interestingly, Croft notes that in English in many cases the difference between a really subjectless VP and a coordinated VP cannot be determined (e.g. in the two first italicized examples here above (“sees” resp. “decides”), and adds that “the distinction between subjectless VPs and full clauses is found in only about 10% of the world’s languages, namely those that disallow null subjects”. Indeed, for the present purposes, Greek subjectless clauses can be compared not only to English subjectless clauses *stricto sensu*, but also to English clauses with pronominal subjects (the difference between both being less pertinent).

- (c) One major exception to the ‘full GU condition’ is noted (Croft 1995, 848): **relative clauses** often occur in a separate IU, although they constitute a GU with their antecedent NP. However, this fact is subject to some qualifications as well:
- the clause before the relative clause (RC) is still in the form of a full GU;
 - the break between the antecedent NP and the RC occurs only when the RC is final, and the IU break always leaves the NP with the pre-RC clause;
 - in contrast, clause internal RCs are never separated from their head NPs, although the NP+RC GU is itself often split off from the rest of the clause.

These qualifications can most easily be interpreted in terms of the ‘**extraposition**’ of final RCs, an interpretation that would make these RCs separate GUs anyway. Thus, the full GU condition would be saved.³⁴

- (3) The converse of the full GU condition is obviously not the case: **not all GUs are themselves IUs**. Thus one can distinguish between (i) whole GUs (found in a single IU); (ii) broken

³⁴ However, these matters have no impact on segmentation issues in Ancient Greek: ἄν, τις, μου etc. always take P2 in such a clause and can hence always be considered as a separate colon. Thus, for all practical purposes the matter as to whether a RC is or is not merged with the colon containing its antecedent NP is a trivial problem. Similar remarks apply to the relations between a complement clause and its matrix predicate.

GUs (split across two (or rarely, more) IUs.³⁵ Croft stipulates three factors that appear to limit the applicability of the full GU condition and cause GUs to be broken into more than one IU:

(a) *parallelism (Croft 1995, 850-856)*

What Croft calls ‘the parallelism constraint’ consists in the claim that coordinate structures cannot appear within the same IU and implies that parallelism breaks a complex GU in 2 or more IUs. Avoidance of parallelism within a single IU is found at all levels of syntactic structure, i.e. a coordinated or otherwise complex GU is almost always broken into several IUs, whatever the syntactic status of a constituent (from NP to sentence).³⁶ On the basis of his corpus-data, Croft also made the following additional observations:

- the parallel structure is always GU-final;³⁷ one major exception can be noted: conjoined subject NPs are often non-final;
- the GU minus the extra conjunct or appositive typically still has the form of a full GU; actual occurrences of structures of the type “I think that Mary prefers, I and I know that you dislike, I corduroy” are very rare in spontaneous speech.

However, a number of exceptions to the parallelism constraint on IUs can be noted: short lexicalized parallel structures like ‘slow but dependable’ regularly occur within a single IU (see also Chafe 1994, 110-119).

(b) *complexity (Croft 1995, 856-859)*

There is an obvious correlation between the length of a grammatical unit and its chances to be broken into two or more IUs. Length is not a syntactic notion, but can be reformulated in terms of complexity, which is a syntactic notion (though -like parallelism- not a categorial one). Still, Croft has to mention that e.g. rate of speech (obviously a performance factor) seems to be a factor determining the breaking of individual NPs.

(c) *structural distance (Croft 1995, 860-864)*

The most important distinction with respect to this factor is the distinction between argument and non-argument GUs. Arguments can be defined as elements whose presence is semantically already asked for by some predicate in the grammatical/semantic matrix structure in which they are inserted (for references, see e.g. Scheppers 2002). Arguments, being grammatically closer to the verb, are less easy to separate from it, and occur less frequently in a separate IU. For instance, the ‘to’-phrase in “He went to the bar”, which is an argument of ‘went’, is much less

³⁵ Croft gives the following data on the various types of GUs in terms of the broken-whole distinction: Single words 0% broken; NPs 1% broken; PPs 1% broken; Clauses (simple main clauses, adjoined relative clauses, finite adverbial clauses) 5% broken; Clause+complement 18% broken; Clause+Relative Clause 25% broken; Clause+adjunct 77% broken; Presentatives 28% broken; Other complex constructions (clefts, conditionals ...) 29% broken; Coordinate sentences 25% broken. Croft notes that these scores may be somewhat overstated (Croft 1995, 849).

³⁶ It can be argued that the ‘1 main clause at a time’ constraint is just a corollary to the parallelism constraint. Two or more finite main clauses are necessarily parallel in two respects: (1) they are all of the same constituent type; (2) they have the same role in the coordinate structure. It follows that the upper limit of one finite main clause per IU is due to the fact that they must be coordinate.

³⁷ This reminds us of what has been said about the fronting of the common ground for a parallel structure in section 0.1.3.

likely to occur in a separate IU than the non-argument PP in “He went to his own surprise”.

- (4) For the present purposes, the most important issue is the **typology of IUs** in grammatical terms, which could shed new light on the issue of the typology of cola as addressed in section 0.1. Cruttenden (1986/1997, 68-73) offers a fairly detailed typology, which I have summarized in the following table.

Table 0.2.4c: a typology of IUs (Cruttenden 1986/1997, 68-73)

Type	Description	Examples
clause	simple sentence or part of a compound or complex sentence ³⁸	<i>He ran to the station and caught the train – Because he ran to the station he caught the train</i>
clause-modifying adverbials	these GUs can mark various aspects of the ensuing clause: message-attitudinal; message-likelihood; viewpoint; speaker/listener-oriented; style; validity; contingency; conjunctive; time and place. ³⁹	<i>In some cases the inducements handed out to industry ... – Apparently from all the evidence we get ... – During the last four years private enterprise in the United Kingdom ... – Therefore because of this and other important evidence ... – Seriously it seems to me that the crucial issue ... – Surprisingly he passed the exam ... – Unfortunately he hadn’t much experience at that sort of thing ...</i>
NPs	fronted NP fronted long subject NP; topicalized subject NP; topicalized and fronted object postposed NP recapitulated or enlarged topic at the end of the clause	<i>A friend of mine actually suffers from acute absentmindedness – Mr. White wants to know whether you would welcome an end to the myth that private enterprise is always efficient and public ownership means inefficiency – The first man on the moon was Neil Armstrong – A. I’m picking a few roses for that table in the main entrance / B. Always looks lovely that does / A. Mm. One or two of the big ones have dropped He behaved very well John did.</i>

³⁸ Two clauses within a single IU are rare and mostly restricted to cases in which both are short. The most frequent types of patterns are (i) reporting clause + reported clause (“He said he couldn’t come”) and (ii) conditioned clause + conditional clause (e.g. “I will if I can”).

³⁹ Cruttenden notes that these types of adverbials are much more often clause-initial than clause-internal (cf. our remarks on fronted markers in section 0.1.3; but see also examples like “Richard has resigned | officially” and “That nursery | incidentally | grows very fine tomatoes”). Furthermore, Cruttenden notes also that they can occur either in a separate IU or not, and more commonly do if the remainder of the clause is itself subdivided. Again, this reminds us of the colon typology discussed in section 0.1.3.

non-integrated constituents	tags vocatives appositions and parentheses (nouns, clauses)	Very fattening biscuits <i>aren't they?</i> <i>Johnny</i> will you just shut up Mr. Green <i>the butcher</i> 's become the new chairman of the Parent-Teachers Association – The murderer was finally arrested <i>would you believe it</i> by a man making a citizen's arrest – The fact is <i>and there are now books and articles on this</i> the fact is that an increase [...]
structural parallelism		... but above all <i>in formal sessions at Downing Street</i> <i>in long private talks</i> <i>right through the evening</i> <i>lasting far into the night</i> we discussed the problem ... – ... tonight I'm speaking to you against a background of <i>renewed fighting</i> <i>of aerial and naval bombardments</i> <i>of pitched battles and murderous guerilla warfare</i> <i>of the slaughter of brother by brother</i> [...]

Cruttenden makes a few interesting remarks to the effect that the IU-status of a number of constituents depends on the conversational setting and the **genre** of the utterance. For instance, the types 'fronted topic' and 'member of a parallel structure' seem to be typical of public speaking (prepared or unprepared) rather than of colloquial conversation.

- (5) In the context of this section the **theoretical matters** concerning the relation between grammar and segmentation into IUs cannot be dealt with (see, however, section 21 below for further discussion). Suffice it to note the parallelism between the IU-typology here above and the provisional colon typology formulated in section 0.1.3 above. Both typologies present the following types of items:
- clauses and clause-like items typically make up a separate IU/colon ;
 - fronted NPs and subjectless VPs (with the provisos about the notion of 'subjectless' noted above) often make up separate IUs/cola;
 - fronted markers (including temporal or spatial PPs) can be produced in separate IUs/cola or can be merged with the following segment (for this feature of Ancient Greek markers, see e.g. sections 2.0, 2.1, 4.1 and 4.2 below);
 - members of a coordinated or otherwise parallel structure do not occur within a single IU/colon;
 - parenthetic and postposed/extraposed constituents constitute separate IUs/cola (but can be merged with one of the neighboring segments as well).

Note that in studies like Croft's the delimitation of IUs is given, and the grammatical status of these IUs is investigated. This approach cannot directly be applied to an Ancient Greek corpus, since in this case the segmentation is not directly available. Of course, a plausible segmentation can be derived from (amongst other elements) word order cues, whenever the relevant phenomena occur, but this is not always the case. Thus, the upper limit for a colon cannot be determined in our Greek corpus, i.e. unexpectedly long cola cannot be ascertained. The converse argument can be held: it can be argued for a constituent to be a plausible separate segment because the cooccurrence of this segment with one of its neighbors would produce an unlikely long or unlikely complex IU.

0.2.5 The IU as a pragmatic unit

One of the tenets underlying the research presented in the present study is that the IU/colon should in the first place be defined in pragmatic terms.⁴⁰ The theoretical aspects are not a main topic of this study but the notion of IU/colon as a pragmatic unit will be fleshed out in Part III (see section 13). Suffice it here to already state the following:

- (i) from a pragmatic perspective, discourse is viewed as a species of human action and analyzed in its ‘real-life’ human context;
- (ii) the IU as a pragmatic unit can accordingly be defined as a *single discourse action, having a single pragmatic function* (‘point’);
- (iii) a pragmatic account of the IU/colon can be formulated in terms of the kind of contribution it makes to the overall effect of the discourse it is a part of: the pragmatic function of an IU (or any other discourse unit) is defined by its place within the encompassing structure that gives it its ‘raison d’être’ to begin with.

Thus, the issue of the definition of the IU in terms of its pragmatic functions is indistinguishable from the issue of discourse coherence (cf. section 0.3.3 below) and a typology of IUs will coincide with a typology of structural relations between discourse segments.

- (1) A good starting point for developing a typology of IUs/cola according to their pragmatic function is the typology of IUs introduced in Chafe 1994, 63-64. Chafe distinguishes the following types:

(a) *fragmentary IUs*

In spontaneous speech a more or less important number of IUs inevitably consists of false starts, aborted attempts at formulating an IU, etc. (e.g. example 0.2a above, IUs 9-12 “...(0.3) Some élephants and these | ...(0.1) they | ...(0.7) there | these gáls were in a Vólkswagen”). These IUs can be interpreted in cognitive terms (processing effort ...), but do not constitute a separate pragmatic point and are rather failures to make such a point (see Scheppers 2003 and Scheppers 2004a for the notion of ‘paracoherence’).

(b) *regulatory IUs*

In any type of speech an important number of IUs consists of items which have the function of regulating the discourse flow or the interaction between speaker(s) and addressee(s), without contributing any ‘substantial’ contents (see here below); Chafe distinguishes the following types of regulatory IUs:

- textual (e.g. “and then, ...”, “well, ...”);
- interactional (e.g. “mhm”, “you know”);
- cognitive (e.g. “let me see”, “oh”);
- validational (e.g. “maybe”, “I think”).

This type of IUs thus consists of what are called ‘discourse markers’ (note, however, that evidently not all discourse markers are separate IUs).

(c) *substantive IUs*

Of course, a large number of IUs conveys the information that intuitively constitutes the ‘substance’ of the communicative action (events, states, referents, ...).

⁴⁰ Cf. Scheppers 2003, Scheppers 2004a, Scheppers 2004t. For the notion of ‘pragmatics’ and the way this notion is implemented in this study, see section (3) of the Preface above.

Obviously, what is missing is an account of the different kinds of function the ‘substantive’ IUs can have. This is where a typology of the pragmatic functions of IUs comes in.

- (2) In order to illustrate the relational character of the pragmatic functions of IUs, we can simply look at a few common types of examples, taken from the stretches of recorded speech quoted in 0.2.1(1) above and refer to Part III for a fuller treatment.
- (a) The following IUs, taken from Example 0.2c, illustrate a very common type of IUs in narrative discourse:

4 ... And this gùy came b`y on a mótorcycle.
 5 And thèn he went bàck in the óther dirèction,
 6 and wènt back in the óther dirèction,
 11 .. this .. mòtorcycle gets sló=wer and slówer and slówer,
 12 ... and it’s like .. ró=lling,
 13 and fínally this gùy is sàying,

Obviously, the point of uttering these IUs at the moment they were uttered (i.e. their pragmatic function) can only be understood by the way they contribute to the overall structure of the story they are taken from. In this case, the function of the IUs quoted is intuitively clear: all of these IUs present successive events that make up the story as such, i.e. their function is ultimately determined by the narrative pattern that makes the story into a story (I will call this a **Plot** relation; see section 13.3.1(2) below). IUs with similar functions can easily be recognized in any other narrative, e.g. IUs 14-15 “... they [sc. the girls in the Volkswagen] uh kept hónkin’ the hón, l ... hóotin’ the hóoter,” and IU 18 “so= he [sc. the elephant in front of them] jùst procèeded to sít dówn on the `V`W.” in Example 0.2a.

- (b) Likewise, another very common pattern involves the type of IUs that were characterized as “fronted topics” in the above (section 0.2.4), such as Example 0.2b, IUs 7-11 “... a màn wàtering hi=s láwn, l túrned to mè, l .. as I wàlked pást, l .. and sáid, l ... góod èvening,”. The function of IU7 within the overall structure of the story is to introduce a new character, which can then serve as the main agent in a number of events.

In Part III (see especially section 13.3.2(2) below) I will subsume this pattern under the more general denominator of the **Topic-Comment** relation, according to which a stretch of discourse can be structured by first introducing an item in a separate Topic segment and then a number of events, states or facts in which that item serves as the central item to which these events (etc.) can be anchored.

Note that the Topic part of this pattern need not take the grammatical form of a fronted NP. For instance, in Example 0.2a, IUs 1-2 “... Have the .. ánimals, l ... ever attacked anyone ín a car?”, IU1 does not only contain the NP “the animals” but also the low-content finite verb “have” (which for obvious grammatical reasons has to take P1) and was uttered in the same IU as the Topic-NP. However, this does not change anything about the pragmatic function of that IU. Likewise, the Topic part of the Topic-Comment pattern can also take other grammatical shapes (see section 21.2), such as (very commonly) a separate clause, typically involving a low content verb offering hardly any substantial contents but functioning as a “staging” or “presentative” device. Thus e.g. IU12 and IU17 in the following excerpt (Example 0.2a) have for a function to introduce the two agents (the girls in the VW resp. the elephant in front of them) that function as the main agents for the ensuing events.

- 12 B these gáls were in a Vólkswagen,
 13 B ...(0.4) and uh,
 14 B ...(0.3) they uh kept hónkin' the hónn,
 15 B ...(0.2) hóotín' the hóoter,
 16 B ...(0.6) and uh,
 17 B ...(0.4) and the ... élephant was in frónt of em,
 18 B so= he júst procéeded to sit dówn on the `V`W.

- (c) In the same vein, it is also possible to discuss the pragmatic function of what Chafe calls 'regulatory IUs' in terms of their relations to the other segments of the discourse they are part of. This pattern may be dubbed a **Marker-Content** relation (see section 13.3.2(1) below), which has as its defining feature that the marker segment does not contribute any substantial contents to the discourse but serves to make the function of the content segment with respect to the encompassing segment more explicit.

0.3 The issues

As already indicated in the title and summarily discussed in section (1) of the Preface, this book primarily deals with three main issues, each of which will be discussed separately in this section:

- (1) Ancient Greek word order: in section 0.3.1 I offer a very summary overview of the various types of approaches to Greek word order in general and briefly recapitulate how the present approach intends to contribute to the issues.⁴¹
- (2) Discourse segmentation, and more specifically the notion of 'elementary discourse unit': in section 0.3.2, I address the theoretical status of the notions of 'colon' and 'IU', i.e. the issue as to how they fit in with a more encompassing view on language and discourse.
- (3) Discourse coherence: in section 0.3.3, I briefly introduce the issue of discourse coherence, which has been an important topic in discourse analysis and related disciplines for some time, and to which the approach presented in Scheppers 2003 and in Part III of this book aims to contribute.

In section 0.3.4, I briefly introduce a number of issues that show up throughout my investigations but that cannot be dealt with for their own sake within the scope of this book: (1) the notion of 'focus', (2) the linguistic status and the discourse functions of the various so-called particles in Ancient Greek and (3) numerous issues touching the heart of general linguistics as a theory.

Here below, I try to offer a very selective overview of the literature and to formulate a very summary status quaestionis on these issues, (hopefully) just enough to make the approach adopted in this study understandable.

⁴¹ The specific word order issues concerning Wackernagel's Law have been discussed at some length in section 0.1 above and I will not return to them here.

0.3.1 Ancient Greek word order

It is not my aim to present a review of the rich and expanding literature on Greek word order (for an extensive bibliography, see e.g. Janse 1994b; for a very brief overview, see Dik 1995, 259-281; see also de Jonge 2007). Here, I will focus on positioning the present study with respect to a few other types of approach.

(a) *Dover 1960/1968*

Kenneth J. Dover's classic *Greek Word Order* is characterized by the theoretical and methodological eclecticism but also the open mind and wide view on what are relevant factors that are typical of Classical philology. Dover does not present a coherent theoretical framework, but his work presents a number of observations and conceptual distinctions that will be important to this study. The diversity of factors taken into account can be seen from the titles of the chapters:

- *Lexical and semantic determinants*: in this chapter it is observed that the intrinsic lexical features of a word make its position in part predictable. Dover's categorization of the lexicon into prepositives, appositives and mobiles form the basis of the investigations presented in Part I of the present study (see section 1.1 below).
- *Syntactical determinants*: here, Dover discusses the possibility of describing Greek word order in terms of the order of subject, verb and object (see paragraph (b) here below).
- *Logical determinants*: under this heading Dover introduces the notions of Nucleus and Concomitant which can be viewed as more or less equivalent to what nowadays would be described as the distinction between focalized and non-focalized words (see section 0.3.4(1) below). This aspect of his work makes him an important precursor of the present-day cognitive and/or pragmatic approaches to Greek discourse.
- *Style*: in this very short chapter Dover mainly draws attention to various types of word order variation (diachronically, in terms of idiolect, in terms of register or genre, and within a single author or text).

(b) *Syntactic approaches (incl. typological approaches in terms of 'basic word order')*

Perhaps the most traditional 'modern' way of investigating Greek word order is the grammatical approach,⁴² starting from the grammatical constituency of the clause.⁴³ However, it is immediately clear that in the case of a 'free word order language' such as Greek it will be very difficult to achieve definite results by means of this approach, beyond merely statistical observations. Some of these approaches do not go beyond the mere establishment of statistical tendencies, sometimes supplemented by a comparison of different authors and/or diachronic observations (see e.g. Dover 1960/1968 or Fraser 2002). One of the main issues in this respect is the question as to whether typologically speaking Greek is a SOV, SVO or VSO (or a so-called 'non-configurational') language (see e.g. Cervin 1990). Taylor 1990 offers an interesting analysis in the Generativist tradition, involving the theory-internally defined notions of 'home domain' and 'movement' and presents very interesting statistics showing that the more movements a word order pattern

⁴² Note, however, that (non-grammatical) rhetorical approaches to the ordering of the elements of discourse have been around since Antiquity (for references, see e.g. Scheppers 1993).

⁴³ However, at the level of the internal structure of NPs and PPs, a number of morphosyntactic rules can apparently be formulated (see e.g. Biraud 1991). See also section 7.1 below.

implies the rarer it is. These types of approach will be almost completely ignored in this study.

(c) *Functional grammar (Dik 1995)*

Separate mention needs to be made of the Functional Grammar approach to word order developed through the efforts of a number of Dutch scholars in the footsteps of Helma Dik's classic *Word Order in Ancient Greek. A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (Dik 1995), because it has undoubtedly been the leading paradigm for the study of Ancient Greek word order since the mid-1990s and because it takes into account a number of pragmatic factors in a systematic way, as is the case in the present study.

The most important contribution of Dik 1995 is the proposal of a basic pattern which appears to govern the order of constituents within the clause, already presented in general terms in Simon Dik's *The Theory of Functional Grammar* (Dik 1989). By 2000, Helma Dik's work (see also Diki 2007) and some later results in the same line of thought were considered as sufficiently consolidated to be included in what is essentially a school grammar, which summarizes these results, including the following elements (Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 146-150):

- the basic clausal pattern is: 'Topic - Focus - Predicate - X' (e.g. Hdt. 1.188.1 'Ο δὲ δὴ Κῦρος_{TOPIC} ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα_{FOCUS} ἐστρατεύετο_{PRED});
- the Predicate can be Topic or Focus, which yields the following possible patterns: 'Topic - Predicate (=Focus) - X' and 'Predicate (=Topic) - Focus - X' (e.g. Hdt. 1.6.2 Κατεστρέψατο_{TOPIC} μὲν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ_{FOCUS}, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο_{TOPIC} Λακεδαιμονίους_{FOCUS}.);
- the Topic is optional and can be absent, which yields the following possible patterns: 'Focus - Predicate - X' (e.g. X. An. 1.1.2 Κῦρον δὲ _{FOCUS} μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς [...] ἀναβαίνει _{FOCUS} ὄν ὁ Κῦρος [...]) and 'Predicate (=Focus) - X';
- a Setting (consisting of background information) can be added before the Topic or in between Topic and Focus, which -in combination with the previous stipulations- yields a number of patterns: 'Setting - (Topic) - Focus - Predicate - X', '(Topic) - Setting - Focus - Predicate - X', 'Topic (=Predicate) - Setting - Focus - X' (e.g. Hdt. 1.166.1 στρατεύονται_{TOPIC} ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς_{postpos.} κοινῶ λόγῳ χρῆσάμενοι_{SETTING} Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι_{FOCUS}), 'Setting - Topic (=Predicate) - Focus - X', etc.

A few exceptions and special cases are noted as well:

- cataphoric demonstratives often occur at the end of clause (e.g. Hdt. 1.11.2 'Ως δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· ... ;
- interrogatives are always Focus, but still almost always occur in P1 (e.g. Hdt. 4.126 τί_{FOCUS} φεύγεις αἰεὶ_{TOPIC});⁴⁴
- in presentative constructions εἰμί often occurs in P1 (e.g. Hdt. 1.8.1 ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα).

These notions are applied to running discourse in Slings 2002a and 2002b, where the segmentation of discourse as studied here is taken into account. This application gave rise to a still more diversified range of patterns.

A comparison with Dik's approach is an excellent way of making clear the specificity of the present approach. I will therefore come back to this issue in the General Conclusion (section

⁴⁴ This claim seems to be too strong: fronted topic-NPs preceding the interrogative are not that rare (for examples, see e.g. section 2.1 below).

23.4(1) below). Suffice it here to already state that the present approach does not share a number of basic assumptions of Dik's approach, most importantly that the clause will not be assumed to be the basic unit of analysis in this study.

(d) *The Colon Hypothesis*

The approach to word order adopted in the present study starts from the Colon Hypothesis, as formulated in section 0.1.5 above. This assumption has important consequences for the way word order is approached:

- word order rules *stricto sensu* -i.e. rules applying to words as such- apply only inside the colon;
- the order of cola is determined according to other (pragmatic) principles;
- the clause (and a fortiori the sentence) is considered a *post hoc* phenomenon.

This approach will allow for a number of interesting generalizations as compared with e.g. Functional Grammar approach, in that the same pragmatic patterns can be observed within and beyond the clause, which yields a more economical formulation of the phenomena (and hence an obvious methodological advantage). On the other hand, of course, giving up the clause as the basic unit generates new problems concerning the reasons why clausal patterns and other syntactic patterns are what they are.

0.3.2 The linguistic status of the notions of 'colon' and 'Intonation Unit'

In the above, it has been suggested that the notion of 'colon', as it has been applied since Fraenkel to Ancient Greek word order phenomena, bears some resemblance with the notion of 'intonation unit' ('IU') as it is operationalized in discourse analysis and related disciplines. On the basis of these resemblances, it seemed a viable methodological option to try and bring the two methodologies together, under the assumption that many of the characteristics that can be attributed to IUs are applicable to cola as well. Still, the definitions of the two concepts, as well as the approaches that they stem from, are quite different. In the present section, I will try and elucidate the matter of how the two concepts can be related to each other theoretically and methodologically.

- (1) We have defined the colon -*ex hypothesi*- as the elementary discourse unit. The basic operational criterion for the segmentation into cola was the P2-rule that was said to apply to the colon. Students of Greek word order have observed that the colon (in this sense) coincides with a prosodic unit (most often described in terms of pause; cf. section 0.1.2). On the other hand, we have seen (section 0.2) that in contemporary discourse analysis it is common practice to take the intonation unit (IU) as the elementary discourse unit. And indeed, most of the cola that are generated by applying the operational P2-criteria, look like plausible intonation units.

Furthermore, many of the regularities that can be observed with respect to the grammatical and/or pragmatic status of cola correspond very well to the linguistic observations concerning intonation units, as could already be seen from the typologies in terms of grammatical constituency for both cola and IUs (section 0.1.3 resp. section 0.2.4 above). It is therefore methodologically reasonable to take into account the findings on intonation in our study of Ancient Greek cola.

Still, the differences in operational definition between the two notions (colon: in terms of word order; IU: in terms of prosody) - differences that correspond to differences in the

corpuses (Greek: written text; modern languages: recorded speech) - do give rise to problems, both methodologically/practically and theoretically. Since an Ancient Greek corpus only exists in the form of a written text (and no actual performances by native speakers are available), intonation as an acoustic phenomenon is not accessible to the researcher. This makes the methodological aspect of research into Ancient Greek cola rather different from the study of IUs in contemporary spoken corpuses, for instance unexpectedly long IUs cannot ever be ascertained, neither can merger phenomena between two IUs.⁴⁵ The following table summarizes the correspondences and divergences between the two notions.

Table 0.3.2: the notions of ‘colon’ and ‘IU’

colon	IU
<i>applied to:</i> Ancient Greek written corpus	<i>applied to:</i> transcriptions of recorded speech
<i>segmentation criteria:</i> - word order rules - syntactic cues	<i>segmentation criteria:</i> - intonation - optional: pause
<i>observed features:</i> - often corresponds to a GU - parallelism constraint applies - plausible prosodic unit in realization (pause)	<i>observed features:</i> - often corresponds to a GU - parallelism constraint applies
<i>theoretical status:</i> ‘elementary discourse unit’	<i>theoretical status:</i> ‘elementary discourse unit’

- (2) Whereas most features of the two notions converge (see also the similarities between the typologies in section 0.1.3 and in section 0.2.4), all the differences between the two notions - at first sight- depend on the ‘**speech vs. writing**’ distinction, obviously connected with the nature of the data: written text vs. (transcriptions of) actual speech. However, the speech-writing and speech-text distinctions are complex and it is not clear on what aspect of the differences we should focus:
- (i) written text and (transcriptions of) recorded speech can be compared as different types of linguistic objects, i.e. as different types of texts, e.g. insofar as the differences/similarities in linguistic form are concerned;
 - (ii) speech and writing can be compared as different activities or production modes (as well as their correlates reading and listening);⁴⁶
 - (iii) a written text (qua object) can be opposed to the different actual ‘real-life’ realizations (readings, performances, ...) to which it can give rise.
- (a) The issues about the difference between **speech and writing** (and the related but not identical difference between **orality and literacy**) have been the object of a whole field of linguistic research (see e.g. Tannen 1982; Chafe 1982; Chafe 1985; Chafe 1992; Chafe 1994). Many features specific to writing as opposed to spontaneous speech can be due to the obvious fact that writing allows for more elaborate planning because there is more time to process the information. However, as is shown by Chafe (e.g. Chafe 1992) many basic

⁴⁵ At least not in prose.

⁴⁶ At this level we can also mention the difference between orality and literacy as features of a culture (speech in a literate culture may be different from speech in an oral one, etc.).

features of speech (e.g. the chunking into IU-like units) are still present in writing,⁴⁷ furthermore “good writing” takes these processing issues into account (see e.g. the well-known case of Flaubert who tinkered with the rhythm of his texts by reciting them aloud to himself).⁴⁸

Some of these issues have also been addressed in connection with Ancient Greek, mostly in terms of the transition from a primarily oral culture to a primarily literate culture and the effects of this transition on the transmitted literature; the focus has mostly been on the distinction of ‘oral’ and ‘literate’ features of the Greek texts (Slings 1992; Slings 1997a; Bakker 1997a; Bakker 1999; Slings 2002a; Slings 2002b). However, these issues will not be dealt with directly in the present study, although the present investigation may have a bearing on them, and vice versa:

- the fact that the general cultural setting from which the Greek corpus stems is still mainly an ‘oral’ one may explain why the written texts show overt features of spoken discourse (thus, the direct reflection of ‘natural’ intonation in the word order of the written text may be interpreted as an indication of the fact that the production mode of these texts still had a strong oral component);
- likewise, it is well known that the texts which will be analyzed here (as most other Ancient texts) were primarily meant to be performed aloud, obviously so in the case of Lysias speeches, but evidently also in the case of Plato.⁴⁹

In any case, I think it is safe to state that writing in antiquity had a different relation to speech than in modern times, and that the language of speech and the language of writing were not so profoundly different as they are now.⁵⁰

- (b) For the present purposes, however, a different issue, related to the difference **text vs. performance**, is of greater importance. On the one hand, the segmentation into cola is not directly indicated in the written texts. On the other hand, it is a priori clear that a written text may give rise to more than one oral realization/performance. Furthermore, no actual realizations by actual speakers of Ancient Greek are available.

However, even when actual performances are available, the problem of the relation between the written text as such and the intonation of actual performance remains problematic. First

⁴⁷ Chafe 1992 reports on an experiment that consisted in having nine people read a letter aloud and analyze the transcription of their speech. Among his interesting results I quote the following: the segmentation into IUs in the oral renditions were remarkably uniform and not entirely parallel with the punctuation in the written text; the overall outlook of the IUs was much like those encountered in spontaneous speech (though they may perhaps be a little longer).

⁴⁸ It may be useful at this point to emphasize the fact that spontaneous speech need *not* be less clearly structured than writing. On the contrary, rhetorical engineering and typically literate patterns as the result of elaborate planning proved to be much harder to analyze structurally than the pragmatic patterns of spontaneous speech.

⁴⁹ Note the remarkable staging of this performance practice in the prologue to the *Theaetetus* (143c Ἄλλά, παί, λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε). See the beginning of section 19 below for a few remarks on the wonderfully complicated embedding of discourse scenes which results from this device.

⁵⁰ Cf. the considerable bulk of literature on the anthropological, sociological and sociolinguistic aspects of the modes of production and consumption of Ancient literature (see e.g. Goody 1987, Svenbro 1988, Chartier (ed.) 1995, Valette-Cagnac 1997, Bakker 1999, and sources cited there). For instance, Valette-Cagnac 1997 introduced the notion of ‘écriture orale’ in order to capture the specific ways (including many oral components) in which Ancient literature was ‘written’ so as to function as a support for oral performances. For a study in which this type of approach is explicitly combined with the type of discourse analytical approach developed here, see Pierrard 2006-2007.

of all, segmentation into IUs while reading aloud a written text, depends on rate of speech and -as many authors insist on stating- on speaker's choice. Though the notion of 'speaker's choice' is hard to construe theoretically, and the notion that those aspects which are encoded in writing are more basic than the segmentation of the text into IUs is incompatible with the present discourse analytical approach (in which the segmentation into 'cola' is epistemologically more basic than grammar), it is obviously true that 'the same text' can be performed/realized/'read' in different ways.

Given a written text (and given appropriate knowledge of the language), there are two different bases for divergent segmentation:

- (i) A single written text can give rise to pragmatically different interpretations, which can result in different prosodic realizations.

For instance, the following grammatically ambiguous passage (Lysias 3,16; see sections 11.2 and 16 below for an analysis of the passage) can give rise to two different segmentations, depending on whether one takes the participle ἐπιχειροῦντας as attributive with ἄλλους τινὰς, or as an autonomous participium coniunctum with both Μόλωνα and ἄλλους τινὰς:

- Μόλωνα δὲ τὸν γραφέα | καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας | συνέκοψαν. (Molon the fuller | and some others trying to protect the boy | they beat them up);
- Μόλωνα δὲ τὸν γραφέα | καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς | ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας | συνέκοψαν. (and Molon the fuller | and some others | when they tried to protect the boy | they beat them up).

Similar problems can be noted concerning the interpretation of the scope of corresponsive particles (many examples could be quoted from e.g. students' alternative interpretations (mistakes) in that respect).

- (ii) A single text, pragmatically interpreted, can still give rise to intonationally different realizations, i.a. depending on the rate of speech (**sandhi**, different choice of alloprosodies...), as in the following possible renditions of "And then I went away":

- and then I went away (one IU, no pause);
- and then .. I went away (one IU, pause after the marker);
- and then | I went away (two IUs, with or without pause).

The pragmatic function of "and then" is obviously the same in the three cases but various degrees of merger can occur, depending on non-structural (or at least not obviously pragmatic) features of the utterance (rate of speech, emotional state displayed by the speaker, ...).

This line of argument shows that the notion of colon (as an 'objective' property of a written text) cannot be defined in terms of purely phonological -let alone phonetic- criteria. Furthermore, it results in a more fundamental issue as to the linguistic status of the written text, as opposed to a reading/interpretation of it.⁵¹

- (3) For the practical purposes of an analysis of Ancient Greek texts in terms of cola, however, it is not necessary to resolve the theoretical issues mentioned here above, and I will leave them

⁵¹ Saussure's remark that it is one of the primary tasks of linguistics to determine what will be its object again proves to be pertinent.

open for the purposes of this study. Furthermore, the issue as to whether a potential colon of a certain type in a Greek text was actually realized (when? by whom?) as an IU is in practice often a trivial one as well, in that it cannot be checked anyway and not much hinges on it, especially given the fact that the cases in which the issue occurs are of a limited number of types (see section 0.2.2(3) above on intonational sandhi).

As a matter of terminology, I will usually adopt the convention of using the term ‘IU’ when dealing with recorded speech and ‘colon’ when dealing with Greek text. However, in the light of what has been said of the possibly variable realizations of the same underlying pragmatic structure, it may be interesting to make the following distinction:

- the notion of ‘IU’ designates a unit of an actually realized performance and is defined by strictly prosodic criteria;
- the notion of ‘colon’ designates an elementary discourse segment, defined in terms of the pragmatic function it has with respect to the pragmatic structure, which underlies the discourse.

It can then be postulated that a colon is typically realized as a single IU, and that an IU typically conveys a single colon. Thus, one can formulate the following possible exceptional cases:

- an actual IU can encompass more than one colon if (i) intonational sandhi gives rise to the merger of two or more cola, or (ii) elaborate planning (“engineering”) makes it possible to produce chunks which are more complex than a ‘natural’ colon;
- a ‘natural’ colon can be split up into several IUs (i) if a parenthesis splits up an otherwise normal colon (cf. the notion of rest-colon discussed in section 10.2.5) and (ii) in the case of special emphatic effects (as in the case of the single-syllable IUs mentioned in Cruttenden 1986/1997, 68).

0.3.3 Discourse coherence

Generally speaking, the issue of discourse coherence can be formulated as follows: how do segments relate to each other so as to make up a coherent whole? This issue has been the subject matter of a fairly important bulk of work in the fields of discourse analysis, conversation analysis and pragmatics (for a still excellent introduction to the issue, see Brown & Yule 1983, 190- 271; for excellent overviews of the existing literature, see Kroon 1995, 7-33 and the attempt at achieving a synthesis in Roulet & Fillietaz & Grobet & Burger 2001; see also Gietl & Lenk & Bublitz 1999⁵² and Moneva-Ruiz 2010).

- (1) Let us consider, for instance, the following excerpt of a conversation, already quoted as example 0.2a.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | A | ...(0.4) Have the .. animals, |
| 2 | A | ...(0.1) ever attacked anyone ín a car? |
| 3 | B | ...(1.2) Well I |
| 4 | B | well Í hêard of an élephant, |
| 5 | B | .. that sát dówn on a `VW one time. |
| 6 | B | ...(0.9) There’s a gir |
| 7 | B | .. Did you éver hear thát? |
| 8 | C | ...(0.1) No, |

⁵² See also the “Bibliography of coherence”, an update of Gietl & Lenk & Bublitz 1999, available (March 2011) at <http://www.liaomz.com/yuyong/uploadfiles/2010.../201011201021352968.doc>

- 9 B ...(0.3) Some *élephants* and these
 10 B ...(0.1) they
 11 B ...(0.7) there
 12 B these *gáls* were in a *Vólkswagen*,
 13 B ...(0.4) and uh,
 14 B ...(0.3) they uh kept *hónkin'* the *hórn*,
 15 B ...(0.2) *hóótin'* the *hóóter*,
 16 B ...(0.6) and uh,
 17 B ...(0.4) and the ... *élephant* was in *frónt* of em,
 18 B so= he júst *proccéed*ed to *sít* *dówn* on the `V`W.
 19 B ...(0.3) But *thèy* .. had .. *mànaged* to get *óút* first.

A minimal understanding of this stretch of discourse requires not only an understanding of its lexical, syntactic and semantic aspects and the general ‘encyclopedic’ elements involved (as are required for understanding e.g. each IU separately), but also the ability to see in what way the successive IUs make up a single discourse. Thus, one needs to grasp the fact that the contribution of speaker B is a *story*, consisting of a number of chronologically ordered events involving a limited set of agents (i.c. the girls and the elephant), as opposed to e.g. an enumeration of examples of IUs in a textbook on discourse analysis. Furthermore, understanding this discourse as such will minimally involve the ability to understand that some IUs cohere more closely with each other than others. For instance, IU4 and IU5 immediately belong together, whereas IU5 and IU6 are only indirectly linked; IU7 is directly linked to IU8, but the whole exchange IUs 7-8 is somewhat outside the remainder of the story.⁵³

As already pointed out in section 0.2.5 above, it is possible to distinguish a number of recurring relations between discourse segments. Thus, the relation between IU7 and IU8 is obviously a question-answer pair, which is also exemplified by the relation between IUs 1-2 on the one hand and IUs 3-19 on the other. In the latter case, the understanding that the whole anecdote is a reply to the question as to whether the animals ever attacked anyone in a car is crucial, in that this relation determines the point of telling this anecdote.

- (2) In Part III of this study, I will introduce a working model for the analysis of coherence in discourse (as well as non-verbal human behavior), which I have called the “**P(ragmatic)-tree**” model (see Scheppers 2003). The working model, qua practice-oriented analytical method, basically consists of the following steps:
- Starting point is the simple analytical device of drawing a tree representing the coherence relations between discourse segments (or segments of other types of human action). This device was applied to as large and varied possible a corpus of actual discourse, mostly spontaneous speech (different discourse genres) as well as excerpts from the Ancient Greek corpus which is the focus of this book.
 - Next, it involved recognizing a number of recurrent patterns and attempt devise an explicit typology of these patterns. The approach adopted here is based on the attempt to avoid mixing semantic, syntactic, interactional and pragmatic criteria and to achieve a purely pragmatic typology, stressing the commonalities between discourse and non-verbal behavior.

⁵³ However, this is not really an intrusion, as would have been the case if suddenly a speaker D would have appeared producing a completely unrelated utterance (e.g. singing “We are the champions”). The latter IU would obviously not be part of the same discourse.

- This analytical practice then can give rise to a reflection on the theoretical status of these patterns within a more encompassing view on language, discourse and human cognition and action in general. As already stated (see the Preface above), this aspect will not be developed as such in this book, but it proved impossible to not at least mention some of the more theoretical claims in the introduction to Part III (section 13 below).

In order to avoid considerable overlap with Part III I do not develop the P-tree model any further in this General Introduction.

- (3) Within the scope of this book, it is not possible to offer a status quaestionis on the very expansive and varied literature on discourse coherence. Suffice it here to briefly mention a few major contributors to the issues, insofar as they helped me develop the approach taken here, either by offering tools that could be easily integrated into the P-tree approach and/or confirming the validity of my results, or by forcing me to reflect on the reasons why I was not ready to follow the paths they offered and/or to formulate my points more explicitly and forcefully so as to account for the specificity of my approach and to (so to speak) ‘enter the debate’ with these alternative approaches:

(a) *Polanyi’s ‘Linguistic Discourse Model’*:

Polanyi (1988; 2001) somewhat bridges the gap between the formalist tradition, rooted in computational approaches, formal semantics and/or artificial intelligence (see e.g. Grosz & Sidner 1986; Asher 1993, 256-311), and the more ‘hermeneutic’ (in the sense of Van de Craen 1995) tradition in discourse analysis to which the present approach belongs. It may be a comforting thought that Polanyi’s work, despite the differences in aims and methods, does not end up with a typology of discourse coherence relations, which is in its outline -if not in the details- substantially different from the present one.⁵⁴

(b) *Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST)*:

The construction of a detailed typology of coherence relations has been the fundamental preoccupation of, most notably, Rhetorical Structure Theory (see Mann & Thompson 1988; Mann 1999/2005-2010; Mann & Matthiessen & Thompson 1992).⁵⁵ Some of the features of RST are similar to the P-tree model. RST, like the P-tree model, explicitly states that it does not take the ‘text’ as its research object but rather ‘discourse’, i.e. the text under interpretation. An effort is made to distinguish ‘subject-matter’ relations and ‘presentational’ relations, the latter being -at least in principle- akin to the ‘pragmatic’ relations which are the objective of the P-tree model.⁵⁶ The distinction between Nucleus-Satellite relations and Multi-Nuclear relations is akin to the difference between symmetrical and asymmetrical relations adopted in section 13 below (see section 13.2(4)). Throughout section 13, I will regularly refer to RST as an interlocutor on the issues under scrutiny.

⁵⁴ There is only a superficial resemblance between the fact that Polanyi’s model uses trees and the P-trees I will use in this study: Polanyi’s trees are parse trees whereas P-trees are intended to represent discourse structure as such, with the left right dimension representing linear time.

⁵⁵ For a critical summary of RST, see Kroon 1995, 20-24. See also various footnotes in section 13.3 below.

⁵⁶ However, this distinction is not construed in a satisfactory way in RST; see my footnote to section 22.2 below.

(c) *Functional Grammar (FG):*

For the present purposes, two related traditions can be subsumed under the heading of ‘Functional Grammar’ (henceforward FG):

- the ‘Systemic Functional Grammar’, associated with M.A.K. Halliday (see e.g. Halliday 1985): as far as discourse coherence is concerned, Halliday & Hassan 1976 has been seminal and has yielded an important body of work up until the present day (cf. e.g. Martin 2001);
- the Dutch ‘Functional Grammar’ tradition, as represented by the classic Dik 1989 and Dik 1997: this tradition is quite influential in Latin and Greek linguistics, and has resulted in the introduction of pragmatics into the study of these languages (cf. Dik 1995;⁵⁷ various contributions to Rijksbaron (ed.) 1997 and Bakker (ed.) 1997; Slings 1992; Slings 2002a; Slings 2002b; Wakker 1994; Wakker 1995; etc.).

More recently, the Dutch tradition of FG has shifted its focus to typical discourse related issues (see Kroon 1995; Connolly & Vismans & Butler & Gatward (eds.) 1997), which implies a considerable widening of the basic framework and even a departure from the strictly ‘grammatical’ stance (see various contributions to Bakker & Wakker (eds.) 2009).⁵⁸ The present approach does not share some of the most basic theoretical and methodological assumptions of the FG framework in general; I will come back to this issue in section 23.4(1) below.

(d) *Relevance Theory:*

Relevance Theory, as introduced in Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995, offers an approach to cognition in general and to discourse in particular which is based on a particular implementation of the notion of ‘relevance’. Researchers from this tradition have launched a frontal attack on approaches to discourse coherence that are based on the structural coherence relations between the parts of the discourse itself (e.g. Blakemore 2001; Unger 1996). The only reason I mention this approach here, although it is in some ways diametrically opposed to mine, is because the notion of ‘relevance’ (in a different sense) plays a role in my approach, as well. I will come back to this issue in section 13.1.3 below.

The P-tree approach adopted here will differ from either of these approaches in various ways. Apart from the theoretical and general methodological differences already briefly mentioned, the main problem for integrating the results of these approaches into the present approach was that these approaches typically take the clause as their basic unit for analysis, rather than the colon/IU. This difference in starting point obviously gives rise to quite different typologies.

⁵⁷ It is interesting to compare Helma Dik’s clause-based approach to Greek word order (Dik 1995; see section 0.3.1 above) with the present one. Thus, the patterns Dik describes in terms of the structure of the clause can often easily be reformulated in terms of P-tree patterns: for instance, the Topic-Focus-Verb pattern can be the result of the very frequent P-tree pattern in which a topic is fronted in a separate colon, after which the first word in the comment part is normally focused, etc. Note, however, that P-tree patterns like the Topic-Comment relation account for more phenomena than just clausal ones and that the fact that Dik’s clause pattern(s) do account for a number of cases can be explained by the fact that topic-comment patterns tend to (but my no means always actually do) coincide with sentence closure. See also section 23.4(1) below.

⁵⁸ I will briefly come back to the multi-level approach taken in Kroon 1995, which has had some influence in Ancient Greek linguistics, in a footnote to section 22.1 below.

0.3.4 Related issues

As can be seen in the above, the subject matter of this study involves many different aspects. Each of these involves a set of issues, a tradition of research and a body of relevant literature. Obviously, it is not possible to cover all these elements thoroughly within the scope of this book. Thus, a number of issues recur in the course of the arguments made, but cannot be dealt with for their own sake.

(1) *Focus*

Though only indirectly connected to the issue of discourse segmentation, the notion of focus should be at least mentioned in this introduction because it proved to be an important factor that is pervasively present throughout this study:

- focus is a defining feature for some of the basic concepts: appositivity depends on a lack of focus;
 - many particles are focus-markers;⁵⁹
 - there seems to be a link between P1 and focality in Ancient Greek;
 - the P-tree model for the analysis of discourse coherence adopted in Part III below suggests that there is a link between the pragmatic function of a discourse segment and the words that are focused in it (see section 21.4 below).
- (a) Focus is here defined in terms of the relative prominence/salience (both prosodic and informational) of certain words as compared to neighboring words within an IU. It is obvious that some words are more important / prominent / salient in a given stretch of discourse than others, but the mechanisms which determine the distribution of focus-related features appear to be very complex and involve syntactic, semantic, morphological and prosodic aspects (see e.g. Selkirk 1984, Rochemont 1986, Rochemont & Culicover 1990, Williams 1997, Zubizarreta 1998) which could not be dealt with in the present study.
- (b) As for the classifications of the different types of focus in terms of their pragmatic functions (or ‘communicative point’), a general distinction between ‘new’ focus and ‘contrastive’ focus can be adopted:
- a word or constituent that conveys ‘new’ information (see section 0.2.2 above) is focused, whereas a word/constituent conveying ‘given’ information is destressed;⁶⁰
 - a word conveying ‘given’ information may not be destressed if it is contrastive (for the notion of contrast, see section 13.2(9) below).

Thus, in the following excerpt from example 0.2a above, the notion of “car” in IU2 is destressed because in the immediately preceding discourse the notion was already involved in the story of an accident in which people were crushed by an elephant when *outside their car*; the preposition “in” in the same IU, which is normally destressed by default, carries primary stress in this case because it conveys the relevant contrast between *people being attacked by animals while IN their car* and *people being attacked by animals while OUTSIDE their car*.

⁵⁹ See section 7.2, in which it is argued that all particles may be viewed as focus markers.

⁶⁰ Note that it is not clear whether we should discuss the matter of focus in terms of the lack of prominence (‘de-stressing’) of non-focused elements or the prominence of focalized elements (see Scheppers 1997).

- 1 A ...(0.4) Have the .. animals,
- 2 A ...(0.1) ever attacked anyone in a car?
- 3 B ...(1.2) Well I
- 4 B well I heard of an elephant,
- 5 B .. that sat down on a V one time.

(c) The account of focus adopted by Simon Dik (1989, 277-287) presents a few aspects which are interesting in the context of the links between focus and pragmatic structure that will be addressed in Part III, specifically his typology of different types of focus according to “differences in communicative point”.

The distinction between ‘new focus’ and ‘contrastive focus’ is retained, but within the notion of ‘contrastive’ focus a number of sub-types are distinguished. The following table summarizes Dik’s typology (the second column, which I labelled ‘addressee’, represents - according to Dik- the ‘pragmatic information of the Addressee, and the third column ‘the change which the Speaker may wish to bring about in the pragmatic information of the Addressee’; Dik 1989, 277).

Table 0.3.4: Simon Dik’s Focus-typology in terms of ‘communicative point’ (Dik 1989, 282-285)

Type	addressee	speaker	expression type
Completive (=New)	gap	X	X!
Contrast			
Parallel	[⁶¹]		X is A, but Y is B!
Counter-presuppositional			
<i>Replacing</i>	X	Y	Not X, but Y!
<i>Expanding</i>	X	X and Y	Also Y!
<i>Restricting</i>	X and Y	X	Only X!
<i>Selecting</i>	X or Y	X	X!

What is interesting about this account for the present purposes, is that it can easily be reformulated in terms of discourse patterns such as those described by P-trees. In his exposition Dik does exactly that: he illustrates the different types by setting up a number of discourse patterns consisting of more than one segment, each carrying a separate ‘communicative point’ and in which every point corresponds to a focused word. For instance, Dik illustrates his ‘Replacing Focus’ by the following examples:

- Addressee:** John bought coffee
- Speaker:** (a) No, he didn’t buy COFFEE, he bought RICE. No, Rejection, Correction
 (b) No, he bought RICE, not COFFEE. No, Correction, Rejection
 (c) No, he didn’t buy COFFEE. No, Rejection.
 (d) No, he bought RICE. No, Correction.

Although Dik’s theoretical account of Focus (especially the place it gets within the architecture of his Functional Grammar) is not compatible with the present approach, it seemed interesting to note that in his account of the ‘communicative point’ which underlies focus his line of argument comes very close to suggesting the type of analysis suggested by the approach developed in Part III.

(d) Up until recently, the only major contribution dealing with focus in Ancient Greek in a somewhat systematic way, was -again- Dover 1960/1968, esp. Chapter IV *Logical*

⁶¹ Dik does not discuss ‘Parallel’ focus in terms of his account of ‘communicative point’.

Determinants (32-65), where a distinction is introduced between Nuclei (=focused words) and Concomitants (=non-focal words). Dover starts from the notions of ‘predictability’ and ‘dispensability’, which correspond more or less exactly to the cognitive notions of ‘given vs. new’ resp. to pragmatic notions such as the ‘focus-presupposition’ distinction. The main consequence of this distinction for Greek word order is the following: the relative order of Nuclei and Concomitants is such that Concomitants follow the first Nucleus of a sentence/clause/colon;⁶² this rule is obviously related to the P2-rule for non-focal pronouns and indefinites, and the latter may be viewed as a fully grammaticalized version of the former. Dover’s account presents a few problems as well,⁶³ which can easily be overcome by a colon-based account of word order and discourse coherence (see section 21.4 below). A few more recent contributions have also dealt with focus in Greek. Helma Dik’s notion that Focus is one of the slots in the basic clausal pattern in Ancient Greek (Dik 1995) has already been discussed in section 0.3.1 above. More recently, Devine & Stephens have dealt with the notion of Focus in their *Discontinuous syntax. Hyperbaton in Greek*, an interesting study in the Chomskyan tradition dealing with hyperbaton in Greek (Devine & Stephens 2000); this account could not be integrated with the present discourse analytical bias, because of obvious methodological incompatibilities.⁶⁴

- (e) Throughout the analyses in this study, focus will quite frequently prove to be a key concept and I will specifically address focus-related issues in sections 10.4, 13.1.5 and 21.4 below.

(2) *The Ancient Greek particles*

As with the matter of focus, the use of the particles is in se not a main issue in this study. It is not possible and not necessary to include a review of the rich literature in the field of particle research here. However, matters concerning particles recur in different aspects of the research presented here:

- many particles are postpositives and hence subject to the P2-rule which is a central issue (see section 0.1 above); many other particles as a rule take P1 (‘introductives’, e.g. ἀλλά, καίτοι, οὐδέ, οὐκοῦν; see section 2.1 below) and are hence likewise connected to the central issue of segmentation;
- some particles (both introductives like ἀλλά or καί, and postpositives like μὲν, δέ or γάρ) have the specific function of marking the segmentation of discourse and to mark the functions of the segments with respect to the overall discourse structure (cf. also section 21.3);
- other particles mark focus, which is in its turn related to our main issues (see above).

The main reference work on the particles remains Denniston’s *The Greek Particles* (Denniston 1934/1950), because of its scope and the richness of the data included. Still, its general linguistic outlook is completely outdated, which can be expected given the fact that

⁶² It is not entirely clear from Dover’s account which kind of segment he sees as the relevant domain for this and other rules. For the relation between P1 and focal status, see also e.g. Janse 1991a and Fraser 2001.

⁶³ For a critique of this aspect of Dover’s work from a Functional Grammar perspective, see Dik 1995, 262-265.

⁶⁴ Bruce Fraser’s 2001 article “The Clause Start in Ancient Greek: Focus and the Second Position” explicitly deals with Focus (though only in connection with P1, i.e. -in his case- P1 of the clause). Fraser defines ‘Focus’ -rather naively- in purely phonological/phonetic terms as ‘prosodic prominence’. For a more detailed account of the issues dealt with in Fraser 2001, see also sections 7.1 and 7.2 below.

linguistics has known many major developments since the 1930s. For a critique on Denniston 1934/1950, see Rijksbaron 1997a, the *Introduction* to the volume *New Approaches to Greek Particles* (Rijksbaron (ed.) 1997), which consists of the proceedings of a colloquium held in the honor of C.J. Ruijgh, but in which Denniston is the main interlocutor for most of the contributors. In the last few decades the ‘Partikelforschung’ has been quite fruitful, both in general linguistics and with respect to particular modern languages (for references, see e.g. Foolen 1996; van der Wouden & Foolen & Van de Craen (eds.) 2002). Of special potential interest to the present study is the discourse analytic and pragmatic body of work conducted in terms of the notion of ‘markers’ (discourse markers, pragmatic markers, ...), such as represented by e.g. Schiffrin 1987, Schiffrin 2001 and references quoted there, and the work on Latin particles, such as Kroon 1995. For Ancient Greek a number of important contributions have been made by Dutch scholars: Ruijgh 1971, Sicking 1986, Bakker 1988, Bakker 1993, Sicking 1993, van Ophuijsen 1993, Slings 1980, Wakker 1995, Wakker 1997 and the different contributions to Rijksbaron (ed.) 1997.

However, up until now these efforts have not given rise to a readily usable and generally accepted framework although the framework developed in Kroon 1995 and applied to Greek by i.a. Gerry Wakker (1995; 1997) has led to interesting results.

Throughout this study I will adopt a rather loose and traditional set of notions (connective particles, corresponsive particles, non-connective particles, focus-particles etc.) in a purely descriptive manner and without aiming at systematicity or theoretical insightfulness.

In the course of my investigations a number of data have shown up which might turn out to be relevant for particle research but which have not been exploited as such:

- A number of different data concerning the behavior of various particles in word order are produced throughout Part I (for an overview with references to the analyses, see section 7.0). Some of these data might bear upon issues concerning the particle-typology.
- Especially interesting are the data which suggest that the apparent similarities in behavior between postpositive particles and the other postpositives are only apparent, and that the e.g. the P2-tendency of the two categories are due to entirely different mechanisms. I will suggest that this may have a bearing upon the issue of the morphological status of the particles (see sections 7.1 and 7.2).
- Some particles (both introductives like *ἀλλά* or *καί*, and postpositives like *μέν*, *δέ* or *γάρ*) have the specific function of marking the segmentation of discourse and to mark the functions of the segments with respect to the overall discourse structure (cf. also section 21.3).

(3) *Theoretical issues in general linguistics*

It is clear from the outset that dealing with the issues mentioned so far will involve a number of theoretical matters, the consequences of which reach far beyond the aims stated and the limitations imposed on this book (see the Preface). Suffice it to mention just a few of those that are immediately related to the main concerns in this study.

- (a) Throughout the research presented here, we encounter a number of issues concerning the architecture of linguistic theory, in that the subject matter of this study cuts across all traditional levels of linguistic analysis, for instance: (i) the study of the postpositives involves morphological aspects (e.g. the status of the particles and other postpositives as opposed to affixes, see section 7 below) as well as phonological and syntactic aspects (cf.

e.g. the much discussed problem of cliticization); (ii) the Colon Hypothesis immediately gives rise to the problem of the status of this unit in syntactic, phonological and generally cognitive terms (see section 0.2 above) and so implies the issue of the relations between the these levels of analysis within linguistic theory; (iii) the model for the analysis of the pragmatic coherence of discourse developed in Part III raises the problem of the status of the resulting discourse structures and their relation to other levels of analysis.

In the present discourse analytic and pragmatic approach, neither syntax nor even semantic structure can be considered as the central or primary level of analysis. In Part III of this study I make this point of view explicit by formulating the 'Pragmatics First' claim, which obviously raises the issue of the relations between this level of structure and the other levels involved in linguistic analysis (see section 13.1 below).

- (b) As has been briefly discussed in section 0.3.2 above, the question as to the status of the notions of 'colon' and 'IU' immediately gives rise to a tangle of interrelated issues, touching upon such traditional dichotomies as speech-writing, language/competence-performance, langue-parole, language-discourse, text-discourse, etc. These issues are obviously avatars of the 'classical' problem of linguistics as a science which -according to Saussure- consists in 'defining its own object'.
- (c) As a general policy in writing this book, I have tried to avoid addressing these theoretical issues as much as possible, concentrating on the practical aspects of analyzing Greek texts and developing appropriate tools for this type of analysis and relegating theoretical aspects to other publications.

Part I: Word order rules

1. Introduction to Part I

Ancient Greek word order is said to be ‘free’. As opposed to ‘standard average European’ modern languages, the order in which constituents occur within the finite clause is in Greek not determined by syntactic function, at least not in an immediately obvious way: within the finite clause, there are no fixed positions for verb, subject, object and so on. However, this does not preclude that word order can be insightfully described by invoking non-syntactic (especially pragmatic and informational) factors.

In this Part, however, I will concentrate on a few purely lexical factors, i.e. show that the position of many words is to a certain extent predictable by virtue of their membership of certain lexical classes. More specifically, I will try to do the following :

- propose a categorization of the Greek lexicon into 5 classes (each comprising several sub-classes), defined in terms of the behavior of the words in question with respect to word order: introductives, prepositives, postpositives (two types), mobiles (see Table 1.1 below);
- formulate explicit word order rules involving these classes (for an overview, see section 1.3 below);
- check the validity of these rules by means of (i) a large scale quantitative treatment of a corpus of Classical Greek prose, as well as (ii) a review of the possible explanations of apparent exceptions (for a description of this approach, see section 1.2 below);
- attempt to give a theoretical account of the linguistic features and mechanisms that underlie the observed phenomena.

The main emphasis is on the behavior of words of different classes with respect to segment boundaries, i.e. in terms of first position (P1), second position (P2) and last position (P-ult) within a relevant segment. Besides the attempt to give a theoretical account of the observed phenomena, it is among the aims of Part I to make available some (quantitative and other) data for further research that falls outside the immediate scope of this study.

The purpose of Part I with respect to the overall aims of this study is to lay down an empirical basis for the segmentation criteria that will be formulated and applied in Part II and exploited in Part III.

1.1 Lexical determinants in Ancient Greek word order

- (1) In Chapter II of his *Greek Word Order*, Dover introduced a classification of the lexicon of Ancient Greek which started from a purely formal and methodologically neat criterion: whether words could occupy P1 and/or P-ult in a clause or not. This yielded the following classification (Dover 1960/1968, 12-14):
- (i) **postpositives** (symbol *q*): words that “never, or only in certain specifiable circumstances, occur at the beginning of a clause” (particles and unemphatic pronouns and adverbs);
 - (ii) **prepositives** (symbol *p*): words that “never, or only in certain specifiable circumstances, end a clause” (articles, prepositions, introductive particles, relative pronouns and relative adverbs);

- (iii) **mobiles** (symbol *M*): words that “may be found at the beginning of a clause, at its end, or in the middle”.

It follows from these definitions that **apositives** (prepositives and postpositives) cannot be autonomous, i.e. they cannot constitute an utterance of their own (e.g. “Κατά.”, “Μέν.” or “Με.” cannot be complete utterances). It is furthermore assumed that combinations of apositives (e.g. “Κατὰ μέν.” or “Κατὰ μέν με.”) are themselves not autonomous either.

Within the ‘mobile’ class, Dover distinguished a sub-class of ‘**preferentials**’ that statistically tend toward P1, including interrogatives and negatives, as well as i.a. emphatic personal pronouns, demonstratives, and some quantifiers (see Dover 1960/1968, 20-24; for an application to Herodotean Greek, see Morin 1961).

On the basis of this classification, it was possible to formulate a few descriptively adequate rules, beyond the behaviors that are predictable from the definitory features of the different classes, most importantly the fact that postpositives tend to cluster towards the beginning of a sentence, rather than that they are distributed throughout it. Marshall (1987) then built on this classification and formulated an elaborate collection of purely descriptive (but not very insightful) rules describing word order in Attic prose.

- (2) Before formulating in some detail the categorization that has been adopted as a basis for the present study, it seems useful to briefly discuss a few key concepts.
- (a) **Mobility**, as defined above, is a purely descriptive concept that can best be regarded as a side-effect of the more insightful notion ‘**autonomy**’, which, however, depends on the kind of segment that is taken as the relevant one (utterance, sentence, clause or smaller segments, like the intonation unit or the ‘colon’ (see above section 0.1):
- ‘autonomy’ is relatively straightforward in the case of **utterance-autonomy**: some words can constitute a complete utterance on their own, some cannot (except in the case of meta-linguistic quotations), e.g. interrogative pronouns can, particles like ἀλλά cannot;
 - if **colon-autonomy** is taken as the relevant notion, words are potentially autonomous if they can constitute a separate colon, in which case e.g. ἀλλά can be autonomous, not unlike markers like ‘but’, which can constitute a separate intonation unit in spoken English (see below section 2.0).
- (b) In any case, the potential for a word to be autonomous depends on its potential to bear focus, i.e. its potential to be informationally prominent in the segment, to bear the ‘point’ of this segment (for the notion of ‘point’, see section 0.2.5 above; see also section 13.1.5 below). Conversely, non-focal words -by definition- cannot bear the main point of an utterance or an utterance-segment, and hence are necessarily non-autonomous, i.e. they necessarily need other words to cling to in order to constitute a complete utterance.

The informational prominence of a word has a phonological counterpart in its **prosodic prominence**: focused words are phonologically heavier than unfocused words, which are phonologically weakened. In Greek a lack of phonological prominence (and hence autonomy) is not to be equated completely with the loss of word accent, but should be considered as a matter of rhythmic autonomy, i.e. syllabification (for resyllabification phenomena that are connected to the loss of (or the lack of) autonomy of some words, see Devine & Stephens 1994, 234-271). **Clitization**, defined in terms of accent, is not the proper

criterion:⁶⁵ different forms of the same paradigm can differ as to their status in terms of word accent (ὁ and τῶν, τι and τινός), although no difference in their respective behavior in terms of word order can be perceived. On the one hand, clitics (in the sense of words lacking a proper word accent) are, of course, always rhythmically non-autonomous, but on the other hand, many completely unautonomous words (e.g. many postpositive particles, like μέν and δέ) are accented, at least according to traditional orthographic practice.⁶⁶ In this study, no attempt will be made to investigate the phonological and phonetic side of the problem and no further attention will be paid to the problems of word accent or syllabification.

Most ‘regular words’ (say: nouns) can either be focused or not, depending on the context in which they occur. For some words, however, non-autonomy is lexically determined: these words can be said to be inherently **appositive**, needing another word to ‘lean on’ in order to constitute a complete segment; the direction of this leaning appears to be lexically determined as well:

- words that cling to the word that follows them are called **prepositives**;
- words that cling to the word that precedes them are called **postpositives**.⁶⁷

(c) A further distinction that has to be introduced here is the one between ‘**lexical words**’ and ‘**nonlexical words**’:

- (i) ‘content words’ or ‘lexical words’: typically nouns, adjectives, verbs, and some adverbs, i.e. words that have some ‘referential’ (or maybe rather: ‘denotational’) content;
- (ii) ‘function words’ or ‘functors’ or ‘nonlexical words’: pronouns, articles, prepositions, conjunctions, particles, modal (etc.) adverbs (see Devine & Stephens 1994, 291-303). One of the most obvious linguistic features in which distinction plays a role is the application of the rules that determine what a ‘minimal prosodic word’ is. It can be observed cross-linguistically that lexical words minimally are either disyllabic if the language is not quantity sensitive or bimoraic in quantity-sensitive languages like Ancient Greek (McCarthy & Prince 1995, 321-322), but this rule often does not apply to non-lexicals (McCarthy & Prince 1995, 324). For instance, in Ancient Greek, μέν, ὁ, πρὸς, τι, ὄς, etc. would not qualify as lexical words. It is true that some non-lexicals are always appositive, by virtue of their lexical features (many particles and the μ-forms of the first person personal pronoun). But many others

⁶⁵ The definition of the notion ‘clitic’ in terms of word accent is the most common one in the literature on Ancient Greek. However, contemporary linguistic literature (see Nevis & Joseph & Wanner & Zwicky (eds.) 1994) employs a somewhat wider definition, which would cover most appositives in the present sense. See section 7.1 below.

⁶⁶ Cf. Devine & Stephens 1994, 307: “In Greek, where accent and rhythm are not as highly correlated as in English, it is useful to distinguish the appositive group as a rhythmic domain from the clitic group as an accentual domain”. However, in many contributions to this issue, the notion ‘clitic’ is used in the sense of ‘postpositive’.

⁶⁷ Devine & Stephens 1994, 306: “The term appositive is commonly used to refer to the class of nonlexicals that have the potential for losing some degree of rhythmical autonomy, or to this class of words when they actually do lose rhythmical autonomy in any particular instance. A prepositive is an appositive which, when it is not autonomous, coheres rhythmically with what follows, and a postpositive is an appositive which, when it is not autonomous, coheres rhythmically with what precedes. The direction in which appositives cohere rhythmically with contiguous words is normally, but not uniformly, the same as that in which they cohere syntactically. The term appositive group properly refers to a prosodic structure that is made up of a host word, usually a lexical, and one or more nonlexicals, and that is not rhythmically identical either to the word or to the minor phrase”.

(personal pronouns in the oblique cases, anaphoric *ὄντ-*, indefinites, some introductives like *καί*) are quite often non-focal, non-autonomous and hence appositive, but can also very well be focused. Still others (demonstratives used ‘deictically’, nominative pronouns⁶⁸ and the *ἐμ-* forms of the personal pronoun in Greek) can be presumed to be always focal and hence non-appositive. Appositivity is then not simply a lexically inherent feature.

- (d) Apart from the matter of autonomy/appositivity, some functors have as a lexically determined feature that they tend toward P1 (e.g. interrogatives, relatives, and many connective particles like *ἀλλά*); I will call these words ‘**introductives**’.

Again, the matter of which segment is the relevant one is at issue:

- with the sentence as basic unit, interrogatives and introductive particles like *ἄταρ* and *οὐκοῦν* would qualify, but relatives or *καί* much less so;
- with the clause as unit, relatives and subordinating conjunctions would obviously qualify as well;
- with the colon as the relevant unit, other connective particles like *καί*, and even the simple negatives appear to have introductive status (see section 2.1 below).

- (e) In short, all of the words that are investigated here (see Table 1.1 here below, but also section 5 below, on potential preferentials) belong to the class of non-lexicals. However, by no means can a one-to-one relation between non-lexicity and appositivity be posited, in that many non-lexicals can be fully autonomous and focalized (contra Devine & Stephens 1994: throughout that study (especially 285-375), the class of non-lexicals seems to be considered as homogeneously appositive).

- (3) In this study, I will use a somewhat more elaborate **categorization** than Dover’s, which allows for a more economical and linguistically insightful formulation of the kind of word order rules under scrutiny. Major differences between the classification adopted here (see Table 1.1, below) and Dover’s original classification in terms of ‘prepositives’, ‘postpositives’ and mobiles (incl. preferentials) are the following:⁶⁹

- a distinction has been made between **two classes of postpositives**:
 - **/q/-postpositives** (postpositive particles, except *ἄν*);
 - **/r/-postpositives** (non-focalized indefinites (pronouns and adverbs) and pronouns, plus *ἄν*);⁷⁰
- a **separate class of /O/-introductives** has been introduced, defined by a tendency towards P1 (containing some of Dover’s prepositives and some of Dover’s ‘preferential mobiles’);

⁶⁸ For some provisos concerning nominative pronouns, see Dik 2003.

⁶⁹ For the purposes of this large-scale corpus-based primarily descriptive study, purely formal criteria had to be adopted, allowing for a non-circular treatment of the corpus texts, but also entailing some trivially un insightful ambiguities. No distinctions have been operated that would involve an interpretation of the text (beyond the most casual reading), such as the distinctions between focalized and non-focalized pronouns, or even between pronominal *ὁ* and the article (which -admittedly- proved to have been a not always felicitous methodological choice). Likewise, editorial punctuation has been adopted as the segmentation criterion for the purposes of this quantitative approach. Although in se not insightful, these criteria avoid circularity in the procedures.

⁷⁰ This distinction was already present in Marshall 1987, albeit only implicitly: the postpositive status of /q/-particles is taken for granted but not explicitly studied; the postpositives explicitly studied are what I call the /r/-postpositives.

- the ‘clause’ has been given up as the relevant segment for the word order rules, in favor of the ‘colon’ (for the purposes of the quantitative analyses in this Part: the orthographic segment, as defined by editorial punctuation).

Table 1.1: word classes

Sigla ⁷¹	Forms	Features
/O/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • introductive particles: ἀλλά, ἀλλά, ἦ, καί, καίτοι, οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε, οὔκουν, εἶτα, ἦ, ἄρα, οὐκοῦν, μῶν; • relatives (incl. indeclinables, i.e. relative adverbs and subordinating conjunctions); • interrogatives • negatives: οὐ(κ/χ), μή • interjections (e.g. ᾠ + voc.; νή, μά +acc.; ναί ...) 	introductives : words that have an intrinsic connection to P1
/p/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the article • prepositions 	pure prepositives : words that immediately precede the expression they syntactically belong with
/q/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the following particles: ἄρα, αὐ, γάρ, γε, γοῦν, δαί, δέ, δή, δήθεν, δήπου, δήπουθεν, δήποτε, δήτα, μέν, μέντοι, μεντ’ ἄν, μήν, νυ(ν), οὔν, περ, τε, τοι, τοίνυν⁷² 	postpositives tending towards P2, without qualification
/r/	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the modal particle ἄν • non-focalized indefinites (pronouns and adverbs) • non-focalized personal pronouns (oblique cases): με, μου, μοι; σε, σου, σοι 	postpositives tending towards P2, /p/ and /q/ not counting for position
(/s/)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ἦμ-, ὑμ-, ... • the oblique cases of αὐτός in the anaphoric sense 	potential /r/- postpositives with the complication that they are orthographically indistinguishable from focalized mobiles
(/t/)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the copula + (other) enclitic verb-forms 	postpositive behavior in some uses though not in others
/M/	all other words	‘mobiles’
] [segment boundary	editorial punctuation.

Note that this categorization yields classes that are more natural than Dover’s:

- the class /p/ consists of articles and prepositions, which both cling to the constituent they grammatically belong with, and have no particular link with any position in the clause;
- Dover’s postpositive class consisted of a rather heterogeneous set of words, but our class /q/ consists of only particles, and our class /r/ consists of pronouns or pronominal adverbs with the exception of ἄν (which could be considered as a separate class, while having sufficiently many features in common with the other /r/-postpositives as far as word order is concerned);
- the class of /O/-introductives is at first sight somewhat more heterogeneous, but the causes for their tendency to take P1 can readily be formulated in syntactic terms (see section 2.1 below).

The categorization itself (as used in the present corpus-research) reflects a major difficulty that consists in a systematic **category shift** for some relevant words (/r/, /s/): indefinites and

⁷¹ For the sake of typographical clarity, whenever reference is made to these word-classes (or patterns of these) in this study, their sigla (or strings of these) will be preceded and followed by a slash.

⁷² Only one case of νυν has been retrieved (Plato *Sph.* 257d ἴθι νυν τόδε μοι λέγε.) and only one of δήπουθεν (Lysias 6,35) and of δήθεν (Plato *Plt.* 297c). No cases have been found of δαί and θην.

personal pronouns are only postpositive if they are non-focal, if they *are* focal they are mobile:

- In the case of the first person singular personal pronoun, this distinction is phonematically marked in the distinction between μ -forms (/r/) and $\acute{\epsilon}\mu$ -forms (/M/).
- In the case of $\sigma\epsilon$, $\sigma\upsilon$, $\sigma\omicron\iota$ and in the case of the indefinites, the orthographic tradition makes a difference in accentuation: clitic (/r/) vs. accentuated word (/M/). However, the actual distribution of enclitic non-focal and non-enclitic focal indefinites is obscured by the orthographic practice according to which an indefinite (as opposed to the phonematically identical interrogative) is often automatically spelled as an enclitic (for examples, see e.g. section 2.0 and section 2.3).
- In the case of the other personal pronouns and $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau$ - in the anaphoric sense (coded /s/), the distinction is not marked at all in writing. Note that the alternation between focal and non-focal uses only applies to the oblique cases, since nominatives are necessarily - or rather: most often-⁷³ focal in Greek (see sections 5.0 and 5.1 below).

The distribution of all these words is difficult to assess, but especially for the classes coded /s/, since the difference between (i) a non-focal and postpositive /s/ and (ii) a focal and mobile pronoun by definition depends on non-orthographic factors and any attempt to formally code this distinction would be circular.⁷⁴ Therefore, in generating my quantitative data, I will as a rule take only those potentially postpositive forms into account that can be orthographically distinguished from their focalized allomorphs (i.e. only /r/ and not /s/). When discussing the data in a more qualitative way, examples involving /s/ (e.g. $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau$ -, $\acute{\eta}\mu$ -, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu$ -) will be taken into account.

As for the potentially postpositive verb forms coded /t/ (most notably the finite forms of the copula and of $\phi\eta\mu\acute{\iota}$), I will not include them in any of the discussions of the behavior of postpositives, but treat them separately in section 5.2, dealing with verbs in general.

Within the class of mobiles, I have distinguished several sub-classes, in order to be able to study most non-lexicals separately; see section 5 below.

- (4) The definitions of the word classes all involve the notion of position with respect to a segment boundary and hence depend on the **criteria for segmentation** adopted. Several different kinds of segments could qualify: the sentence, the clause, the colon (or intonation unit). In the literature, the clause and the sentence are the most common units. In the present study, the underlying hypothesis is in principle Fraenkel's colon hypothesis, according to which the segment relevant for Greek word order is the elementary discourse unit, *grosso modo* equivalent to the intonation unit as studied in contemporary discourse analysis (for the issue of this supposed equivalence, see section 0.3.2 above). However, for the purposes of this descriptive study based on a written corpus in a dead language, taking the colon as the basic unit would be circular: these units have to be reconstructed from the written text and some of the word order rules that are studied here are among the crucial criteria by means of which this segmentation can be operationalized. For methodological and practical reasons, editorial punctuation will be taken as the operational basis for segmentation.

⁷³ See Dik 2003, who argues for the existence of a non-focal use of nominative personal pronouns. Cf. also section 5.1 below.

⁷⁴ I find the ease and the assurance with which authors like Dover and Marshall seem to be able to distinguish focal and non-focal occurrences in Greek texts astonishing.

1.2 Approach

My starting point for the analyses in this Part is a purely descriptive (partly quantitative) approach of the corpus, by means of a database in which the corpus is coded word for word according to the purely formal criteria described above (see section 1.2.1 here below). This database allowed for a large-scale quantitative analysis of a large number of word order patterns in the corpus (see section 1.2.2). Although these quantitative data may sometimes be revealing as such, they do not offer any insight into the underlying features of the language itself, and require a careful interpretation (see section 1.2.3). Thus, an attempt will be made to interpret these data in a more insightful way, using them as an element amongst others within a more qualitative method of analysis, rather than as a self-sufficient methodology. In other words: the database is used as a heuristic tool to explore a number of relevant aspects of the corpus (see section 1.2.4).

1.2.1 Preparing the database

- (1) The following steps have led to the construction of the database:
 - (i) the entire corpus has been segmented into rather arbitrary units, according to the following, mostly practical, criteria: the units should be surveyable at a glance; they should comfortably fit on half a FileMaker record; they should be more or less interpretable without further context;
 - (ii) the corpus has been manually coded word for word (as a primitive kind of ‘tagging’) so as to allow for a number of search possibilities; for the details of the coding procedure, see here below.

- (2) The corpus has been coded by (a) assigning a symbol to every word, according to the word class it belongs to (in terms of the different sub-classes of /O/, /p/, /q/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /M/), and (b) bracketing every segment between punctuation marks in the text editions. This corpus has been stored in a FileMaker database, which allowed for:
 - (i) various **recategorizations** of the corpus for analyses in different degrees of detail, by means of a FileMaker script involving the Substitute function (e.g. articles and prepositions can be analyzed as such, or as both belonging to the class /p/ or as “any word” /X/); for instance, the original text *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν μειράκιον εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, οὗτοι δὲ συνεισπεσόντες ἤγον αὐτὸν βίᾳ, ...* (Lysias 3,15) was originally coded as /l (preposition) (DE) (demonstrative) (article) (MEN) (Mobile) (preposition) (Mobile) (finite verb)] [(demonstrative) (DE) (participle) (finite verb) (autos-anaphoric) (Mobile)]; this string could then be automatically recategorized at various levels of abstraction, e.g. in terms of the basic categories introduced above: /l p q M p q M p M M] [M q M M s M]/;
 - (ii) **counting the occurrences** of patterns consisting of sequences of coded words, by means of FileMaker Calculation Fields involving the “PatternCount” function and Summary Fields involving the “Total of” option.

- (3) It should be noted at the outset that the technical details of this coding and counting procedure occasionally give rise to a few idiosyncratic irregularities in the scores obtained:

- (i) Due to the way textcritical problems are treated, there are a few systematic differences between the more basic corpus searches (in terms of the major categories /O/, /p/, /q/, /r/ and /M/) and the more detailed searches (in which the sub-types of the major categories are taken into consideration):
- the ‘basic’ searches start from the manuscript text (insofar as it is rendered by the editors), i.e. excluding editorial additions (‘< >’) and including editorial omissions (‘[]’);
 - more detailed searches will be based on a text in which the textcritical diacritics have not been eliminated, which yields something close to a minimal text (i.e. a text in which all textcritically dubious passages are “blocked” for the purposes of retrieving them in the database).⁷⁵
- (ii) As a policy, whenever a coding error was discovered, it has been corrected, i.e. in the course of the elaboration of the present study slight changes in the corpus have occurred.
- (iii) Due to the fact that the original aim of the project was confined to the behavior of postpositives, longer stretches (up to 10 lines) of the Plato text that do not contain postpositives have not been coded (the Lysias text has been coded completely).
- (iv) For the purposes of coding my database I have had to make a number of methodological choices as to the categorization of the lexical classes, which can all be motivated as such, but which together give rise to a few idiosyncrasies. Thus, δῆποτε, οὔτε, καίτοι, ἦτοι and οὔτοι have been coded as two words (which makes it possible to study all types of καί-related particles together and all τοι-related and ποτε-related collocations together), but οὐδέ as a single word (especially in its adverbial use it cannot be expected to share the functions of δέ), as well as δῆθεν, δήπου, δήπουθεν. Similarly, περ and γε have been coded separately in ὅσπερ and ἔγωγε but not in ὡσπερ. Whenever this kind of choice will have an impact on the data under scrutiny I will mention them.

However, given the size of the corpus, these factors cannot be expected to have a systematic influence on the data. Still, data must not be extrapolated beyond the specific purposes for which they have been generated, i.e. they should not be compared across tables, both for the reasons quoted here above, and because of the fact that the corpus has sometimes been manipulated so as to make certain classes invisible (these manipulations will be explained when they occur, e.g. in section 2.0 and section 4 below).

⁷⁵ The **editions** used, especially the Lysias text (Lysias & Albinus (ed.) 1955; see the section ‘Corpus’ in the Preface), contain many editorial interventions. In the corpus, 524 words occur between square brackets (297 in Lysias), 370 between triangular brackets (315 (!) in Lysias); for our purposes, the following data are more telling: 41 /q/-particles occur between triangular brackets (37 in Lysias), 31 between square brackets (14 in Lysias); 48 /r/-postpositives occur between triangular brackets (40 in Lysias), 18 between square brackets (11 in Lysias). The expression “occurs between brackets” here includes both occurrences in which the word stands alone between brackets, and occurrences in which it is placed between brackets together with other words. Not all of these interventions (and potentially many others that have not been reported in the text itself) can be expected to be legitimate (especially the editorial additions in Lysias seem excessively numerous). On the other hand, it was obviously impossible to textcritically review the corpus for the purposes of the present linguistic study. Furthermore, for the fact that matters of word order (including the position of postpositives) may be subject to a more or less high degree of variation through manuscript tradition and may be underestimated in **editorial practice**, see Saerens 1990.

- (4) The quantitative data for both sub-corpus, Plato and Lysias (see the section ‘Corpus’ in the Preface above), will be presented separately but also as a whole (‘Total’). It is my aim to present some general features of the Classical Greek language itself, rather than to systematically discuss the differences between both authors. An insightful comparison between the two sub-corpus would involve too many idiosyncratic and uncontrollable aspects (e.g. differences in punctuation practice and orthographic conventions on the part of the respective editors, as well as differences related to the different genres and styles represented in both corpus).

1.2.2 Quantitative analysis of the corpus

- (1) Word order rules are formulated in such a way that their validity can be checked by means of a search in the corpus database, i.e. in terms of the occurrence or non-occurrence of patterns consisting of coded words and segment boundaries. For instance, the number of occurrences of /q/-particles at P2 can be calculated by generating a corpus in which all such particles are coded /q/ and all other words /X/, and then counting the number of occurrences of the pattern / [X q/. In some cases, the exceptions to the rule are so few that they can all be dealt with directly. In other cases, a more indirect approach will be adopted, involving a quantitative comparison between 2 probabilities:

- (1) the expected probability for a word of a certain class to take a certain position if the hypothesized rule were not relevant (i.e. if the words of that class behaved ‘normally’);
- (2) the observed probability for a word of that class to take the position predicted by the rule.

The most obvious expected probability with which one can compare observed probabilities is the one in which ‘any word’ is considered as belonging to the same class, i.e. which expresses the zero-hypothesis that the words under scrutiny do not behave differently from any other word. The following Table presents the probabilities for ‘any word’ to occur at P1, P2, P-ult and segment-autonomously in the corpus.

Table 1.2a: P1, P2, P-ult and autonomy for ‘any word X’

	Plato	Lysias	Total
P1: [X	11098 / 73404 (15.1%)	7516 / 56222 (13.4%)	18614 / 129626 (14.4%)
P2: [X X	10233 / 73404 (13.9%)	7401 / 56222 (13.2%)	17634 / 129626 (13.6%)
P-ult: X]	11117 / 7340 (15.1%)	7518 / 56222 (13.4%)	18635 / 129626 (14.4%)
autonomous: [X]	781 / 73404 (1.1%)	89/56222 (0.2%)	870 / 129626 (0.7%)

- (2) An analysis can then be made as to whether the difference between observed probability and expected probability is statistically significant, by means of a significance test for a difference in two proportions (z-test for independent samples).⁷⁶
- (a) It may be useful to remind the reader that ‘statistically significant’ only means that the observed difference can be extrapolated to the population of which the sample is supposed to be representative; since the present corpus is very large for statistical purposes, even the slightest difference becomes significant, as can easily be deduced from the following mathematical facts:

⁷⁶ The formula can easily be looked up on the internet.

fix the P-value at 0.05, which implies a z-value of 1.96 as a threshold for statistical significance (the usual threshold in the social sciences, which means that there is a 95% confidence that the observed effects are not due to chance); for this P-value, the following mathematical facts can be observed:

- whenever both denominators exceed 100, any difference of 13.9% between both ratios is always significant;
- whenever both denominators exceed 500, any difference of 6.2% between both ratios is always significant;
- whenever both denominators exceed 1000, any difference of 4.4% between both ratios is always significant;
- whenever both denominators exceed 5000, any difference of 2% between both ratios is always significant;
- whenever both denominators exceed 10000, any difference of 1.4% between both ratios is always significant;
- whenever both denominators exceed 100000, any difference of 0.5% between both ratios is always significant.

- (b) Furthermore, statistical significance tests do not yield any information about whether the observed difference is an important or even meaningful difference anyway, and hence in se are not a sufficient means for confirming or rejecting the scientifically meaningful hypotheses underlying statistical operationalizations. As a matter of practical convenience one may adopt the following measure for judging whether a difference is large or not:

take the difference between the relevant data for two sub-samples as a measure for the variation that can naturally occur between sub-populations of the population (in the present case the two sub-corpora Plato and Lysias are ‘natural’ and readily available sub-samples);

if the difference between observed and expected probabilities is larger than this difference, it can be considered as exceeding the normal degree of variability (heterogeneity) within the population, and can thus tentatively be accepted as meaningful.

- (c) In any case, the quantitative data, whether approached directly and exhaustively or indirectly (e.g. by means of a comparison between an expected probability and an observed probability), do not immediately yield insightful information and demand an interpretation in terms of the linguistic features that underlie these data.
- (3) For the purposes of this study, it proved not to be useful to spell out the results of the statistical treatments mentioned in this section: this would make the presentation considerably heavier without contributing much to the substance of the argument (for the reasons mentioned here above).⁷⁷

Still, the quantitative mode of presentation is a powerful one offering a means to come to grips with a large corpus, which could not be achieved otherwise. Thus, in the context of the

⁷⁷ This does not mean that other statistical methods could not be applied to the data that can be generated from the database. For instance, a cluster analysis could be used to automatically organize the lexicon by purely formal and statistical means into word classes behaving similarly as far as word order is concerned. Although in se interesting, this kind of analysis would not serve the specific purposes of the present study. Also, one might generate a corpus without punctuation and try to develop automatic punctuation scripts and test to what extent they generate adequate segmentations.

present study, the quantitative approach has a heuristic and structuring function, rather than a demonstrative one: it serves to organize the data in such a way that they become surveyable. By formulating explicit hypotheses concerning the (non-)occurrence of certain word order patterns, the scope of word order rules can be assessed, which in its turn allows me to investigate apparently exceptional cases in an organized way (see section 1.2.4 here below).⁷⁸

1.2.3 Interpreting the quantitative data: how to deal with apparent exceptions

If the difference between expected probability and observed probability is sufficiently large, the hypothesis holds at least as a statistical tendency. However, a rule *stricto sensu* as such is only confirmed if it holds for 100%; if this is not the case, the remaining occurrences need to be explained.

Exceptions to word order rules, i.e. occurrences of words of a certain class in positions that are predicted not to occur according to a certain rule (e.g. “deferment”: a word comes later than predicted with respect to a given boundary), can be explained either in terms of idiosyncrasies of the way the corpus has been prepared or by invoking a few quite general linguistic phenomena (cf. Marshall 1987, 10-12, Wills 1993, 64-65):

(i) *category shift / miscategorization:*

A first type of apparent exceptions is caused by the fact that a word that has been categorized according to some formal criterion as belonging to a certain class should in fact not be considered as a canonical member of this class in the occurrence in question; some systematic types of such category shifts can be specified:

- indefinites and personal pronouns are /r/-postpositive if non-focal, but /M/-mobile if focused;
- *ποτέ* and *που* (and less often *πώς* and *πῆ*) as indefinites can be /r/ or /M/, but can also be used as /q/-particles;
- *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *τό* is a /p/-prepositive if used as the article, but a preferential mobile if pronominal; one can argue for an /O/-introductory status for *ὁ μὲν... ὁ δέ...* ;
- the particle *αὖ* is in many respects a marginal member of the class /q/, always occurring as the last postpositive in a cluster of postpositives, and showing anomalous behavior in other ways as well;
- the status of /O/-introductives is ambiguous: in some cases they clearly count for position, in other cases they apparently do not; the latter can be interpreted in different ways.

(ii) *lexicalization/grammaticalization into units or formulas:*

A second type of exceptional occurrences is due to the fact that some sequences of words are to a certain extent lexicalized and can overrule general word order rules of the kind studied here (see section 0.1.4 above, and section 6 below):

- some collocations can operate as **units** that for the purposes of word order count as one word, such as: article+noun or preposition+noun;

⁷⁸ It should be noted that among the patterns that are counted as non-exceptional, an indefinite number may be irrelevant or only apparently non-exceptional. This is -again- an unavoidable feature of any large-scale and inevitably crude quantitative approach. Still, I have tried to check the outcome of the searches for systematic errors of this type as much as possible, simply by browsing a random sample of each outcome.

- some habitual and highly frequent patterns can be considered as **formulas**, i.e. whenever their constituent words co-occur, they tend to occur in a fixed order, even if this order overrules otherwise operational word order rules: e.g. relative+indefinite, relative+ὅν, οὐκ ὅν, τάχ' ὅν; interrogative+δή; some **clusters** of postpositives.

(iii) *punctuation does not correspond to the relevant segmentation into cola:*

A third type of exceptional word orders can be reduced to the fact that editorial punctuation as a criterion for the segmentation of the corpus often does not correspond to the linguistically relevant segmentation of the discourse. One of the major tenets of the present study is that the natural elementary unit to which word order rules in Ancient Greek apply is the colon (see the Preface and section 0.1.5 above). Special mention has to be made of short parentheses such as vocatives, ἔφη, or οἶμαι, which usually occur in between cola, but sometimes seem to have postpositive status themselves, and then can occur within an otherwise normal colon (see section 10.2.5(2) below).

(iv) *tendency for a postpositive to cling to the word it syntactically belongs with:*

A fourth possible explanation has been proposed, taking into account an alternative and altogether different principle that may determine the position of /r/-postpositives: their supposed tendency to cling to the word they syntactically belong with. As has been explained in section 0.1.1 above, as a matter of methodological policy, I will not take this explanation into account for as long as possible; however, in section 6.3 below, I will discuss a few data which concern the possible tendency for ὅν to cling to the verb it belongs with.

In the literature these explanations have often been invoked in a rather ad hoc manner and have never been extensively specified (see section 0.1.4 above). In this study I will try and take the first three of the above factors into account as explicitly and systematically as possible:

- the category shifts summed up under type (i) will be exemplified throughout Part I;
- in section 6 below, I will review the units and formulas that have been invoked to explain exceptions in this Part;
- the matter of segmentation into cola will be addressed in Part II.

1.2.4 Using the database as a heuristic tool

- (1) The research presented in this book has exploited the database (including the search functions and tools for quantitative analysis), as described here above, for a number of different purposes and in a number of different ways.
 - (a) Obviously, the database allows for a **quantitative approach** to the corpus as such. Throughout Part I, I will be testing hypotheses concerning the rules governing word order in the corpus using fairly standard statistical methods, typically by comparing observed probabilities with expected probabilities (see section 1.2.2 here above): in order to test the validity of this or that word order rule, I will compare, for instance, the probability of the patterns predicted by the rule with the probability of the patterns that would be expected if the rule did not apply.

However, within the approach I adopt here, these quantitative analyses are a heuristic tool amongst others, i.e. they serve mainly as a way to uncover a number of relevant patterns in the corpus: the results of my quantitative analyses are viewed as phenomena that in their turn require an explanation, rather than as an explanation in themselves.⁷⁹

- (b) Once a certain pattern is established as being a statistically valid word order rule, I will typically proceed to investigate the **apparent exceptions** to that rule. In some cases, it is possible to spell out all the apparent exceptions; in others, the exceptions may in their turn be analyzed quantitatively, after which the process described here can be repeated. If things work out right, this procedure yields a set of systematically recurring and linguistically meaningful patterns that help us prove that the rule under scrutiny is valid, even in these apparently ‘exceptional’ cases (see already section 1.2.3 here above).
 - (c) Besides its use as a tool for quantitative analysis, the database also provides me with a way of **browsing** through the corpus to find somehow ‘interesting’ or relevant cases. This aspect proved also useful for the essentially qualitative approach taken in Part II and Part III. Not unlike studies like Denniston 1934/1950, one of the ‘charms’ of the present study is to present a quite large corpus of ‘interesting cases’, i.e. a corpus of passages in which something is worth investigating or simply noting.
- (2) Summarizing, one should not take the quantitative approach for what it is not: I use it as a way to get a grip on a fairly large corpus and to help me explore that corpus in view of a detailed description of the relevant phenomena and -ultimately- a linguistically insightful account of these phenomena. The quantitative procedures and the ‘counting off’ of apparent exceptions in Part I should be understood as just this: a more or less systematic **exploration** of the corpus.

1.3 Outline of Part I

The main part of Part I mainly consists in a descriptive (and ‘exploratory’; see section 1.2.4 here above) approach to the corpus, by means of which the validity of some fairly general word order rules will be tested and the exceptions to these rules will be reviewed:

- In section 2 a number of word order rules that can be derived from the definitory features of the lexical classes (Table 1.1) will be tested:
 - appositives are non-autonomous, other words are potentially autonomous (section 2.0)
 - ‘introductives take P1’ (section 2.1);

⁷⁹ I strongly disagree with the idea that quantitative data as such ‘explain’ anything, or -more generally speaking- that a quantitative approach can serve any other purpose than an exploratory one (contra e.g. the approach taken in Duhoux 1999 and related publications). Furthermore, any linguistic corpus inevitably contains a lot of ‘noise’ on the data, due to both the tagging/coding procedures and the complexity of the data itself. Thus, the fact that the present corpus depends on editorial punctuation is an obvious source of such ‘noise’. This is another reason to not take the results of a purely quantitative approach too seriously as an ‘explanatory’ device. Of course, the data presented here are not less or more valid than any other quantitative data (taking into account a number of idiosyncrasies of the coding process and of the editions used, as explained in section 1.2.1(3)) and can be used by researchers with different methodological standards or inclinations.

- ‘prepositives never take P-ult’ (section 2.2);
- ‘postpositives never take P1’ (section 2.3);
- ‘/r/-postpositives do not immediately follow /p/-prepositives, whereas /q/postpositives readily do’ (section 2.4).
- In section 3 the order in which /q/- and /r/-postpositives tend to cluster will be investigated:
 - /q/-postpositives precede /r/-postpositives (section 3.1);
 - /q/-postpositives as a rule cluster in the following order: δέ, τε, μέν, γάρ, τοι, οὖν, δῆ, που/ποτε, ἄρα (section 3.2);
 - /r/-postpositives cluster in the following order: ἄν, indefinites, personal pronouns (section 3.3).
- In section 4, the rule that postpositives take P2 (Wackernagel’s Law) will be tested and reformulated:
 - /q/-postpositives as a rule take P2 without qualification (section 4.1);
 - /r/-postpositives take P2, but /p/-prepositives and /q/-postpositives are invisible for the purposes of this rule (section 4.2).
- Section 5 deals with the behavior with respect to word order of some classes of mobile words that can be expected to behave in a special way:
 - a wide range of non-lexical mobile words (‘preferentials’) tends towards P1;
 - the behavior of verbs will be reviewed in an exploratory way.
- In section 6, a review will be made of the formulaic patterns and units that appeared to overrule the word order rules of the previous sections and to give rise to exceptions.

Then, in section 7, an attempt will be made to describe the word order phenomena investigated in sections 1-6 in a linguistically more insightful way, and also to assess the scope of these rules by a quantitative analysis of the contours of segments in the corpus. Section 8 is a conclusion to Part I as a whole.

2. Prepositives, postpositives and introductives (definitory features)

In this section a few word order rules will be examined that immediately reflect the definitions of the basic word classes of Table 1.1 above. As we have seen, these classes are all defined in terms of the possibility/tendency for a word to (i) either immediately follow or immediately precede a segment boundary, i.e. either take P1 or P-ult, or (ii) immediately follow words of a certain class. However, we have also seen that the complementary notions of ‘appositivity’ and ‘mobility’ crucially depend on the notion of ‘autonomy’. Therefore, I will investigate the possibility for the word classes under scrutiny to be autonomous in a first introductory section (2.0).

2.0 Autonomy

In section 1.1 above, I have argued that autonomy is one of the most fundamental notions in the matters at hand. In this section the potential of the different word classes to constitute a separate discourse segment will be discussed. As elsewhere in this first Part, editorial punctuation will be taken as a starting point for segmentation. The following table presents the quantitative data concerning this matter.

Table 2.0a: autonomy

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[p]	0 / 10525 (0.0%)	0 / 9412 (0.0%)	0 / 19937 (0.0%)
[q]	0 / 7124 (0.0%)	0 / 4189 (0.0%)	0 / 11313 (0.0%)
[r]	0 / 2549 (0.0%)	0 / 1213 (0.0%)	0 / 3762 (0.0%)
[s]	0 / 1088 (0.0%)	0 / 1461 (0.0%)	0 / 2549 (0.0%)
[O]	235 / 12672 (1.9%)	15 / 8445 (0.2%)	250 / 21117 (1.2%)
[M]	528 / 36489 (1.4%)	71 / 29891 (0.2%)	599 / 66380 (0.9%)
expected			
[X]	781 / 73404 (1.1%)	89 / 56222 (0.2%)	870 / 129626 (0.7%)

any word = /X/

It has proven to be interesting to also calculate the autonomous occurrences of the same words with all /p/-prepositives and /q/-postpositives removed from the corpus, as if they were ‘invisible’ for the purposes at hand:⁸⁰ for instance, in Τί οὖν; the word Τί will count as a case of an autonomous /O/-introductive, and in Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὧ ἄνδρες, ... the word ταῦτα will count as a case of an autonomous /M/-mobile. This operation yields the following data.

⁸⁰ For some rules (see sections 2.4, 4.2, 5.2.1) /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles do not seem to count for the position of other words (are ‘invisible’ for the purposes of some rules), e.g. for the purpose of determining P2 for /r/-postpositives (as in Plato *Cra.* 435b τὴν γὰρ σιγὴν σου συγχώρησιν θήσω) these words do not count. This is one of the effects of the fact that these appositives are not really ‘words’ and always seem to form a word-like unit with their host word (see section 7.1).

Table 2.0b: autonomy (/p/ and /q/ invisible)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[p]	-	-	-
[q]	-	-	-
[r]	1 / 2549 (<0.1%)	0 / 1213 (0.0%)	1 / 3762 (<0.1%)
[s]	34 / 1088 (3.2%)	3 / 1461 (0.2%)	37 / 2549 (1.5%)
[O]	577 / 12672 (4.6%)	25 / 8445 (0.3%)	602 / 21117 (2.9%)
[M]	1098 / 36489 (3.0%)	165 / 29891 (0.6%)	1254/66380 (1.9%)

/q/-particles and /p/-prepositives have been excluded

These are very low percentages, due to punctuation conventions rather than to the linguistic features on which we are focusing here (obviously, traditional punctuation practice does not tend to distinguish single-word or otherwise very short segments). Therefore, it is not useful to concentrate on the quantitative data in se, but we can use the occurrences in which even editorial punctuation yields segment-autonomous words as a starting point for investigating the possible cases in which words belonging to the various lexical classes under scrutiny appear to be autonomous.

- (1) Unsurprisingly, we do not find any occurrences in which **appositives** (/p/-prepositives and both /q/- and /r/-postpositives) constitute a segment on their own. Segments that consist entirely of combinations of these do not occur either, except for 11 occurrences of \acute{o} followed by one or more /q/-particles; in these instances, however, \acute{o} is not the article but a pronoun, in which case it is not to be considered a prepositive at all (see also sections 2.2 and 2.4 below): Plato *Cra.* 383b \acute{o} δέ, "Οὔκουν σοί γε," ἦ δ' ὄς, "ὄνομα Ἐρμογένης, ..." — Plato *Cra.* 408a ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν, τὸ "εἶρειν" λόγου χρεία ἐστὶ, τὸ δέ, οἶον καὶ Ὅμηρος πολλαχοῦ λέγει, "ἐμήσατό" φησιν, τοῦτο δὲ μηχανήσασθαι ἐστίν. — Plato *Cra.* 439c τὸ δ', εἰ ἔτυχεν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει — Plato *Tht.* 149a οἱ δέ, ἅτε οὐκ εἰδότες, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ λέγουσι περὶ ἐμοῦ, ... — Plato *Tht.* 183a τὸ δ', ὡς εἴκειν, ἐφάνη, ... — Plato *Tht.* 209e τὸ γάρ, ἃ ἔχομεν, ... — Plato *Sph.* 220a ..., τὸ δέ, τῶν ἐμψύχων ζώων οὐσαν θήραν, προσειπεῖν ζωοθηρικῆν. — Plato *Sph.* 220c Τὸ μὲν, ὅτι ... — Plato *Plt.* 265a ..., τὴν δέ, ὅπερ ... — Plato *Sph.* 230a Τὸ δέ γε, εἷξασί τινες αἰ λόγον ἑαυτοῖς δόντες ἠγήσασθαι πᾶσαν ἀκούσιον ἀμαθίαν εἶναι, ... — Lysias 2,16 \acute{o} μὲν γάρ, καίπερ ὦν ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἴτιος ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, Here, as elsewhere, editorial punctuation is a major factor, and in many cases formal features can be adduced as arguments for considering pronominal \acute{o} + /q/-particle as a separate colon (see section 2.4.3 below); it can even be argued that this collocation is typically -if not always- to be considered as such. One more apparent occurrence has to be quoted, in which the indefinite pronoun (code /r/) is manifestly focal, and hence actually /M/-mobile: Plato *Tht.* 163e ΣΩ. Πότερον οὐδενὸς ἦ τινός; /ΘΕΑΙ. Τινὸς δὴ πού.

- (2) As for the /O/-**introductives**, it seems useful to first present the data for the different sub-classes making up this class. The first table here below counts all words in the corpus, the second one counts out /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles.

Table 2.0c: autonomy (introductives)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Introductory particles			
<i>καί</i>	0 / 3691 (0.0%)	0 / 2521 (0.0%)	0 / 6212 (0.0%)
<i>οὐδέ/μηδέ</i>	0 / 235 (0.0%)	1 / 239 (0.4%)	1 / 474 (0.2%)
<i>ἤ</i>	0 / 657 (0.0%)	0 / 399 (0.0%)	0 / 1056 (0.0%)
<i>other</i>	9 / 988 (0.9%)	0 / 534 (0.0%)	9 / 1522 (0.6%)
Interrogatives	78 / 1020 (7.6%)	0 / 215 (0.0%)	78 / 1235 (6.3%)
Simple negatives	8 / 1770 (0.5%)	1 / 1307 (0.1%)	9 / 3077 (0.3%)
Relatives	2 / 3027 (0.1%)	10 / 2755 (0.4%)	12 / 5782 (0.2%)
Interjections	137 / 680 (20.1%)	1 / 305 (0.3%)	138 / 985 (14.0%)

Table 2.0d: autonomy (introductives), /p/ and /q/ invisible

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Introductory particles			
<i>καί</i>	0 / 3691 (0.0%)	0 / 2521 (0.0%)	0 / 6212 (0.0%)
<i>οὐδέ/μηδέ</i>	0 / 235 (0.0%)	1 / 239 (0.4%)	1 / 474 (0.2%)
<i>ἤ</i>	0 / 657 (0.0%)	0 / 399 (0.0%)	0 / 1056 (0.0%)
<i>other</i>	72 / 988 (7.3%)	26 / 534 (4.9%)	98 / 1522 (6.4%)
Interrogatives	345 / 1020 (33.8%)	2 / 215 (0.9%)	347 / 1235 (28.1%)
Simple negatives	53 / 1770 (3.0%)	9 / 1307 (0.7%)	62 / 3077 (2.0%)
Relatives	13 / 3027 (0.4%)	21 / 2755 (0.8%)	34 / 5782 (0.6%)
Interjections	161 / 680 (23.7%)	6 / 305 (2.0%)	167 / 985 (17.0%)

/q/- particles and /p/-prepositives have been excluded

What is important with respect to the above data is the fact that -despite the strong tendency for punctuation practice to take most of the words under scrutiny with the following segment- many of them can still inherently be autonomous. Of course, the contexts in which this can be the case are different from one sub-class to another, as will be shown here below.

- (a) The large number of autonomous introductives in Plato as compared to Lysias (cf. Table 2.0a and Table 2.0b above), is obviously due to the very frequent occurrences of ‘**interjections**’ like “*Ναί*”, “*Εἶεν*”, “*Φέρε*”, etc., typical of dialogue. Likewise, the relatively high frequency of autonomous interrogatives is due to the specific features of the genre ‘Socratic dialogue’.
- (b) **Interrogatives and negatives** can be utterance-autonomous, and are quite frequently colon-autonomous, e.g. Plato *Cra.* 390b ΣΩ. *Τίς;* / EPM. Ὁ κιθαριστής. — Plato *Th.* 145a ΣΩ. Ἦ οὖν ζωγραφικὸς Θεόδωρος; / ΘΕΑΙ. *Οὐχ*, ὅσον γέ με εἰδέναί. The large difference between Plato and Lysias is obviously due to the fact that Platonic dialogue (as opposed to the monologues of Lysias) allows for many short questions and answers. Otherwise, negatives and interrogatives are separated from the following word in the following cases:
- if they are followed by a coordinated autonomous constituent: Plato *Plt.* 310d Πῶς, καὶ διὰ τί; — Plato *Th.* 149e Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτῆς.
 - if they are followed by a subordinate clause: Plato *Th.* 205a Πάλιν δὴ, ὅπερ ἄρτι ἐπεχείρουν, οὐκ, εἴπερ ἢ συλλαβὴ μὴ τὰ στοιχεῖα ἐστίν, ἀνάγκη αὐτὴν μὴ ὡς μέρη ἔχειν ἐαυτῆς τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἢ ταυτὸν οὖσαν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις γνωστὴν εἶναι; — Plato *Th.* 165b Οὐκ, εἰ τὸ ὄραν γε ἐπίστασθαι θήσεις.

- if they are followed by a vocative or some other **short parenthesis**: Plato *Cra.* 398e *Πόθεν, ὠγαθέ, ἔχω*; — Plato *Cra.* 438c *Πότερα, ὦ ἄριστε, τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν ἄγοντα ἢ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν φοράν*; — cf. also Plato *Th.* 200a — Plato *Plt.* 257c — Plato *Plt.* 262b — Plato *Plt.* 280a *Ποίων, εἰπέ, συγγενῶν*;

(c) **Introductory particles** (here including interrogative particles) are typically not utterance-autonomous, although they can be colon-autonomous; cf. the case of markers like ‘but’ in spoken English, which can sometimes constitute a separate intonation unit. In only a few contexts introductory particles are presented as separate cola by editorial punctuation:

- if they are followed by a subordinate clause (incl. elliptical and parenthetical ones), e.g. Plato *Cra.* 415a *ἀλλ’ ὅπερ νυνδὴ εἶπον, ...* — Plato *Sph.* 258a *Οὐκοῦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ...* ;
- if they are followed by a vocative or another parenthetical expression, e.g. Plato *Th.* 143c *Ἀλλὰ, παῖ, λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε*. — Lysias 1,28 *ἀλλ’ ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι ...*

As is already evident from a simple comparison between the two tables above, combinations of an /O/-particle and a /q/-particle are more frequently separated from a following word than introductory particles standing alone. In the corpus, the colon-autonomous introductory particles and autonomous combinations of introductory particles with /q/-particles include the following:

- 22 cases of ἦ γάρ; as a short idiomatic question in Plato (incl. Plato *Th.* 160e ἦ γάρ, ὦ Θεαίτητε;);
- 10 cases of ἀλλά alone, either followed by a subordinate clause (Plato *Cra.* 384c — Plato *Cra.* 415a — Plato *Th.* 146b) or a vocative (Plato *Th.* 143c — Plato *Cra.* 437d — Plato *Th.* 166c — Plato *Sph.* 243e — Lysias 1,28), to which the following cases without editorial punctuation could be added: ἀλλ’ οἶμαι in Plato *Th.* 180b and Plato *Plt.* 285d and 3 more cases of ἀλλά followed by an oath or curse (Plato *Th.* 185d *Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, ...* — Plato *Th.* 161a *ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν ...* — Lysias 19,54 *ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ...*);
- 13 cases of combinations of ἀλλά + a /q/-particle, all followed by a vocative: 7 times ἀλλὰ γάρ (4 in Lysias); 2 times Ἀλλὰ μέντοι (both Plato *Th.*); 1 case of Ἀλλὰ δῆτα (Plato *Cra.* 410e), 1 of Ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ (Plato *Cra.* 428b), 1 of Ἀλλὰ μὴν (Plato *Th.* 188a), and 1 of Ἀλλὰ τοι (Plato *Th.* 171c);
- 1 case of ἀτάρ (Plato *Th.* 154d *ἀτάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ...*);
- 28 cases of combinations of καὶ with one or more /q/-particles, all followed by a vocative: 14 cases of καὶ μὲν δὴ (2 in Plato), 5 cases of καὶ μὴν (all in Plato), 5 cases of καίτοι (all in Lysias), 2 cases of καὶ γάρ (Plato *Th.* 179e — Plato *Sph.* 259d), 1 of καὶ γὰρ δὴ (Plato *Th.* 203b) and 1 of καὶ γάρ τοι (Lysias 30,4). To these one can add a case of καὶ alone followed by a curse, though no editorial punctuation occurs: Plato *Th.* 155c *Καὶ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ...* ; to these, cases may be added in which καὶ is followed by an oath or curse formula (whether this formula is taken as a separate colon or as forming one colon with the particle), e.g.: Plato *Th.* 155c *Καὶ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὑπερφυῶς ὡς θαυμάζω τί ποτ’ ἐστὶ ταῦτα, ...* ;
- 2 cases of ἄρ’ οὖν (Plato *Cra.* 389d — Plato *Sph.* 216a), 1 case of ἄρά γε (Plato *Plt.* 267c) and 1 case of simple ἄρα (Plato *Th.* 202d) followed by a vocative; 1 case of simple ἄρα followed by a subordinate clause (Plato *Plt.* 296d); to these the following two cases can be added in which simple ἄρα is followed by an exclamation without

- editorial punctuation: Plato *Tht.* 152c Ἴαρ' οὖν πρὸς Χαρίτων ... — Plato *Sph.* 221d Ἴαρ' ὃ πρὸς θεῶν ἠγνοήκαμεν τάνδρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὄντα συγγενῆ;
- 6 cases of οὐκοῦν followed either by a vocative (Plato *Tht.* 170a — Plato *Tht.* 183b), by a subordinate clause (Plato *Cra.* 407d — Plato *Sph.* 258a — Plato *Plt.* 259c), or a short parenthesis (Plato *Tht.* 195d "Οὐκοῦν," φησί, ...);
 - 2 cases of εἶτα: Plato *Tht.* 149a Εἶτα, ὃ καταγέλαστε, οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι ὑὸς μαίας ... — Lysias 12,26 Εἶτ' ὃ σχετλιώτατε πάντων, ... (sic: no punctuation);
 - 1 case of τοιγάρτοι (Plato *Tht.* 174b Τοιγάρτοι, ὃ φίλε, ...), 1 case of μῶν (Plato 244b μῶν, ὃ παῖ, τὶ πλημμελήσομεν;), 1 case with οὐδέ (Lysias 13,15 οὐδ', ὡς φασί τινες, ...) and even 1 case of ἦ followed by a curse, without editorial punctuation (Plato *Sph.* 253c ἦ πρὸς Διὸς ἐλάθομεν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐμπεσόντες ἐπιστήμην, ...).

Word order considerations seem to indicate that these particles may be colon-autonomous in many other cases, in which editorial punctuation does not separate them from the following word, especially in those cases in which the particle has scope over ('is the common ground for') a complex structure. Cf. e.g. the following instances: Plato *Cra.* 406δ Οὐκοῦν | τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ὄνομα αὐτῆς οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν δι' ὃ κεῖται. — Lysias 3,44 οὐ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἔρᾶν τε καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, ἀλλὰ | τὸ μὲν τῶν εὐθησετέρων, | τὸ δὲ τῶν πανουργοτάτων. — Plato *Cra.* 386d Οὐκοῦν | εἰ | μήτε πάσι πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἅμα καὶ ἀεὶ, | μήτε ἐκάστῳ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον [τῶν ὄντων ἐστίν], | δηλον δὲ ὅτι ... — Lysias 12,82 ἀλλὰ γὰρ | εἰ τὰ χρήματα τὰ φανερά δημεύσατε, | καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ...

Many more examples can be found in Fraenkel's contributions, whenever he deals with what he calls 'Kurzcola' (see section 0.1.3 above). Of course, these fronted markers can in real life performance be realized as merged with the following colon ('sandhi').

Note that **ἦ** and **καί** have a number of uses in which they cannot be expected to constitute a separate colon. The adverbial uses of **καί** can safely be viewed as prepositive (clinging to the word or constituent it applies to) and when it occurs as linking two closely related concepts (esp. in the collocation ... τε καὶ ...) it is evidently non-autonomous as well (as in Plato *Cra.* 396a ὁ ἄρχων τε καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων). Likewise, **ἦ** can hardly be argued to be autonomous in Plato *Plt.* 286b ῥάων δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν ἢ μελέτη παντὸς πέρι μᾶλλον ἦ περὶ τὰ μείζω. Still, as has been argued by Fraenkel, even these particles in some cases have scope over complex structures and may then be argued to make up a separate colon, as in the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 387b-c Πότερον οὖν | ἦ ἂν τῷ δοκῆι λεκτέον εἶναι, | ταύτη λέγων | ὀρθῶς λέξει, | ἦ | ἐὰν μὲν ἦ πέφυκε τὰ πράγματα λέγειν τε καὶ λέγεσθαι καὶ ᾧ, | ταύτη καὶ τούτῳ λέγει, | πλέον τέ τι ποιήσει καὶ ἐρεῖ· | ἂν δὲ μή, | ἐξαμαρτήσεται τε καὶ οὐδὲν ποιήσει; — Lysias 18,20 Καὶ | εἰ μὲν ἐωρᾶτε, | ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | σφῶζόμενα τῇ πόλει τὰ ὑπὸ τούτων δημευόμενα, | συγγνώμην ἂν εἴχομεν· | νῦν δ' ...

- (d) **Relatives**, including subordinating conjunctions (complementizers, indirect interrogative pronouns and adverbs, etc.) can regularly make up a separate colon. Such segmentations often deviate considerably from punctuation practice, but actually yield plausible realization in a slow and deliberate tempo; even in English, in which relative pronouns and subordinating conjunctions can be expected to have less autonomy than the Greek counterpart, a word like 'which' or 'if' can easily be realized in a separate IU if heavily stressed and followed by a complex structure. The following examples illustrate cases in which the words under scrutiny are plausible cola.

- **relative pronouns (fronted topics):** Lysias 13,46 οὓς, | ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | ποῖαν τινὰ οἴεσθε γνώμην περὶ τούτου ἔχειν, ἦ ποῖαν τινὰ ἂν ψῆφον θέσθαι, ... — Plato *Tht.*

151a οὐς, | ὅταν πάλιν ἔλθωσι δεόμενοι τῆς ἐμῆς συνουσίας καὶ θαυμαστὰ δρῶντες, | ἐνίοις μὲν | τὸ γιγνόμενόν μοι δαιμόνιον ἀποκωλύει συνεῖναι, | ἐνίοις δὲ ἔἴ, | καὶ πάλιν οὗτοι ἐπιδιδόασι. — Plato *Tht.* 163e “Ὁ δὴ | εἶδέ τις, | μέμνηταί που ἐνίστε; — Plato *Tht.* 186c Ὁ δὲ | ἀληθείας τις ἀτυχήσει, | ποτὲ τούτου ἐπιστήμων ἔσται;

- **subordinating conjunctions:** Plato *Cra.* 435b ἐπεὶ, | ὃ βέλτιστε, | εἰ 'θέλεις ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν, πόθεν οἶει ἔξιν ὀνόματα ὅμοια ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπενεγκεῖν, ... — Lysias 13,50 “διότι” | φησὶν | “ἔδοξε τάληθῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι”. — Plato *Tht.* 154c Ἐὰν μὲν, | ὃ Σώκρατες, | τὸ δοκοῦν πρὸς τὴν νῦν ἐρώτησιν ἀποκρίνωμαι, ... — Plato *Cra.* 403b ὅτι τε γάρ, | ἐπειδὴν ἄπαξ τις ἡμῶν ἀποθάνῃ, ἀεὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστίν, φοβοῦνται, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ γυμνὴ τοῦ σώματος παρ’ ἐκείνον ἀπέρχεται, καὶ τοῦτο πεφόβηται.

The importance of these examples of autonomous /O/-introductives for the purposes of this study is evident: they show that some of these words can constitute separate cola in certain circumstances, which can serve as additional evidence when I will argue for such a status in cases where editorial punctuation practice does not create boundaries.

- (3) /M/-mobiles can a priori be expected to be readily able to be autonomous. However, this class is not entirely homogeneous for the present purposes, in that it includes a wide range of non-lexicals (including ‘preferentials’). A few aspects of the behavior of these words (including the matter of autonomy) will be investigated in section 5 below.
- (4) Introductives and mobiles (but also prepositives) seem to be more autonomous if followed by a /q/-particle. One could say that these particles “make” the word they cling to phonologically and informationally “heavier”,⁸¹ but it is perhaps more correct to say that the particles only ‘mark’ (or ‘make explicit’) the particular reason why the word is informationally prominent in the context.

2.1 Introductivity

/O/-introductives are defined as words that by virtue of their intrinsic lexical features are bound to take P1, as the result of grammatical rules and not as the result of some statistical tendency due to specific though frequent uses of these words (contrast below section 5, on ‘preferentials’), i.e. the occurrence of an /O/-introductive (say: an interrogative) elsewhere than in P1 needs to be explained, whereas in the case of preferential mobiles the fact that these words occur so often in P1 needs an explanation.

Three kinds of such words can be distinguished, according to the reason for which they are fronted, i.e. the specific function that causes their P1-tendency:

- (i) words marking grammatical subordination: ‘relatives’, in the broad sense adopted here (following Dover), i.e. including relative adverbs and/or subordinating conjunctions;
- (ii) words marking grammatical coordination: introductive connective particles, such as ἀλλά, ἀτάρ, ἦ, καί, καίτοι, οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε, οὐκουν, εἶτα;

⁸¹ For the issue of how phonological heaviness (“substance”) affects appositivity, see Devine & Stephens 1994, 346 et passim.

- (iii) illocutionary markers, indicating the kind of ‘speech act’ that is realized by the segment introduced by them: interrogatives and affirmatives (both the particles $\hat{\eta}$, $\hat{\alpha}\rho\alpha$, $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\omicron\upsilon\nu$, $\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$ and the interrogative pronouns/adverbs), negatives, and vocative and exclamatory particles (here called ‘interjections’, for the sake of convenience but admittedly somewhat inappropriately).

The position of all these introductives can easily be formulated in syntactic terms. However, for our purposes, what is important is the fact that the syntactic domains these words introduce as a rule coincide with ‘cola’, as opposed to e.g. the syntactic domains introduced by articles or prepositions, which -obviously- do not necessarily coincide with a colon.

In this case the number of relevant occurrences is sufficiently high to allow for an indirect quantitative approach as described in section 1.2.2 above. Two probabilities can be compared:

- (i) the observed data in Table 2.1a here below are the number of occurrences of each sub-class of the /O/-introductives in P1 divided by the total number of occurrences of this word class;
- (ii) the expected values are the number of words of any class occurring in P1 divided by the total number of words.

If there is no significant difference between both values, the words classes under scrutiny can be argued to have no particular tendency towards P1.

Table 2.1a: P1-tendencies of introductives

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Introductive particles	2007/5571 (36.0%)	1494/3693 (40.5%)	3501/9264 (37.8%)
<i>καί</i>	903 / 3691 (24.5%)	851 / 2521 (33.8%)	1754/6212 (28.2%)
<i>οὐδέ/μηδέ</i>	81 / 235 (34.5%)	95 / 239 (39.7%)	176 / 474 (37.1%)
<i>ἦ</i>	200 / 657 (30.4%)	88 / 399 (22.1%)	288 / 1056 (27.3%)
<i>other</i>	823 / 988 (83.3%)	460 / 534 (86.1%)	1283/1522 (84.3%)
Interrogatives	831 / 1020 (81.4%)	178 / 215 (82.8%)	1009/1235 (81.7%)
Simple negatives	722 / 1770 (40.8%)	615 / 1307 (47.1%)	1337/3077 (43.5%)
Relatives	1403/3027 (46.3%)	1557/2755 (56.5%)	2960/5782 (51.2%)
Interjections	667 / 680 (98.1%)	303 / 305 (99.3%)	970 / 985 (98.5%)

/q/-particles and /p/-prepositives have been excluded

expected			
[X	11098 / 73404 (15.1%)	7516 / 56222 (13.4%)	18614/129626 (14.4%)

any word = /X/

- (1) According to the criteria formulated in section 1.2.2 above all these words (except for $\hat{\eta}$) show a considerable P1-tendency (as was to be expected), though to different extents. However, in all these cases, a more or less important number of exceptional instances remains to be dealt with.
- (a) The extremely high scores for what I have called ‘interjections’ (mostly $\hat{\omega}$ +vocative; $\nu\acute{\eta}$ / $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ +accusative) are trivial and depend on orthographic convention (the only exceptions involve clusters of introductives, e.g. ($\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota$) ($\nu\alpha\lambda\iota$) $\mu\acute{\alpha}$ $\Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$). Note that -apart from punctuation conventions- the status of short parentheses (such as vocatives) is ambiguous: in some cases

they do not seem to have the status of a separate colon, but rather seem to show a particle-like behavior themselves (see section 10.2.5 below).

- (b) The very high scores for the ‘other **introductory particles**’ (i.e. *ἀλλά*, *οὐκουν*, etc.) are an obvious result of the fact that their specific function is to mark discourse segmentation and that they hence strongly correlate with punctuation; many of the exceptions are due to cases in which short constituents are coordinated by means of *ἀλλά* (e.g. Plato *Plt.* 303b *ὡς οὐκ ὄντας πολιτικούς ἀλλὰ στασιαστικούς*) in which case editors habitually do not punctuate.
- (c) However, some highly frequent introductory particles quite often occur in a late position without being exceptional: **καί** and **οὐδέ/μηδέ** both allow for two kinds of uses that do not immediately correlate with punctuation: (1) their so-called ‘adverbial use’, (2) their use as a coordinator between short constituents (as in *X τε καὶ Y*, or e.g. Plato *Cra.* 393d *τοῦ E καὶ τοῦ Y καὶ τοῦ O καὶ τοῦ Ω*). Likewise, *ἢ* is frequently used as a comparison marker and in that use mostly clings closely to the comparative (as in *μᾶλλον ἦ*).
- (d) **Interrogatives** (both particles and pronouns and adverbs) deviate from the expected P1 in two obvious cases: (i) trivial is the case of indirect questions (e.g. Lysias 34,6 *Εἶτα τοιούτων ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἐρωτῶσι τίς ἔσται σωτηρία τῇ πόλει ...*) in which editorial punctuation usually does not delimitate a separate segment (cf. (e) here below, on relatives); (ii) in many instances the interrogative clause starts with fronted material, which constitutes a separate colon; many cases of such fronting involve topics or markers (see paragraph (2) here below).
- (e) In the case of the **relatives** (here including adverbial relatives and subordinating conjunctions), which almost by definition introduce a finite clause, a strong correlation with P1 defined in terms of the colon is to be expected. In spoken language, the beginnings of relative clauses quite often -but by no means always- coincide with intonation unit boundaries, though of course a distinction should be made between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses, different kinds of adverbial clauses and complement clauses and perhaps also between final or internal positions of the respective clauses (for the complexity of such a categorization, see Croft 1995). Matters of actual phonetic realization set aside, for the purposes of our analysis it can be safely assumed that a finite clause introduced by a relative counts as a colon in the relevant sense. Orthographic convention is then a major, though trivial, factor.
- (f) Note that the **simple negatives**, which at first sight and from the point of view of modern languages have no special connection with P1, show remarkably high scores for P1 (up to 47% in Lysias). These scores can be considerably augmented if one takes into account the cases in which the negative introduces a separate colon (see here below).
- (2) As indicated already, a number of exceptions to the P1-rule for /O/-introductives is due to the fact that editorial punctuation does not coincide with the linguistically relevant **segmentation into cola**. In a considerable number of cases the introductory is preceded by one or more of the most common fronted constituents.
- (a) Most instances of ‘deferred’ **interrogatives** are preceded by either a fronted topic or a fronted marker: Plato *Cra.* 394c *καὶ "Ἀρχέπολις" γε | τῶν μὲν γραμμάτων | τί ἐπικοινωνεῖ;* — Plato *Cra.* 410b *ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀῆρ | ἀρᾶ γε, ὃ Ἐρμόγενης, ὅτι αἴρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, "ἀῆρ" κέκληται; ἢ ὅτι ἀεὶ ρεῖ;* — Plato *Tht.* 142c *ἀτὰρ | πῶς οὐκ αὐτοῦ Μεγαροῖ κατέλυνεν;* —

Lysias 22,18 καίτοι | πῶς ὄν οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἶη. — Plato *Plt.* 284e ἀλλὰ | τί δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο;

- (b) Likewise, **negatives** are very often preceded by a fronted topic and then introduce the comment corresponding to this topic, which may in its turn be preceded by other fronted constituents (for ‘multiple fronting’, see section 10.2.4(6) below). This applies to the simple negatives, but also to οὔτε and οὐδέ (as well as to complex negatives like οὐδείς, see section 5.1 below): Lysias 10,1 Μαρτύρων μὲν | οὐκ ἀπορίαν μοι ἔσεσθαι δοκῶ ... — Plato *Tht.* 154d ἡ μὲν γὰρ γλῶττα | ἀνέλεγκτος ἡμῖν ἔσται, | ἡ δὲ φρὴν | οὐκ ἀνέλεγκτος. — Lysias 26,4 ἐγὼ δὲ | πρὸς τούτους τοὺς λόγους | οὐ χαλεπὸν οἶμαι ἀντεπεῖν. — Plato *Tht.* 203b καὶ γὰρ δὴ, | ὦ Σώκρατες, | τό τε σῆγμα | τῶν ἀφώνων ἐστί, | ψόφος τις μόνον, | οἶον συριττούσης τῆς γλώττης· | τοῦ δ’ αὐ βῆτα | οὔτε φωνὴ | οὔτε ψόφος, | οὐδέ τῶν πλείστων στοιχείων. — Plato *Sph.* 253e Ἀλλὰ μὴν | τό γε διαλεκτικὸν | οὐκ ἄλλω δώσεις, | ὡς ἐγῶμαι, | πλὴν τῷ καθαρῶς τε καὶ δικαίως φιλοσοφοῦντι.

- (c) Subordinate clauses introduced by **relative pronouns**, **indirect interrogatives** or **subordinating conjunctions** seem to be cola by default in that ὅν, τι and other postpositives invariably take P2 in the subordinate clause if they grammatically belong in it; in real life performance some of these subordinate clauses (especially complement clauses and relative clauses) may be realized in a single IU with the matrix verb resp. with the antecedent NP, but there seems to be no means to verify this in Greek written texts; hence, I will -trivially- assume that these clauses are autonomous cola.

Still, one plausible exceptional pattern can be distinguished: when a complementizer introduces a complex structure (i.e. has scope over several cola) and the matrix verb is fronted along with the complementizer, it can be argued that **matrix verb plus complementizer** together constitute a separate colon, having scope over the same number of cola, as in the following examples (see also section 2.2 below):⁸² Lysias 18,20 νῦν δ’ | ἐπίστασθε ὅτι | τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφανίζεται, | τὰ δὲ πολλοῦ ἄξια ὄντα ὀλίγου πιπράσκειται. — Plato *Tht.* 199a Βούλει οὖν λέγωμεν ὅτι | τῶν μὲν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλει, ὅπῃ τις χαίρει ἔλκων τὸ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μανθάνειν, | ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀρισάμεθα ἕτερον μὲν τι τὸ κεκτῆσθαι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἔχειν, ὃ μὲν τις ἐκτῆται μὴ κεκτῆσθαι ἀδύνατόν φαμεν εἶναι, ὥστε οὐδέποτε συμβαίνει ὃ τις οἶδεν μὴ εἶδέναι, ψευδῆ μέντοι δόξαν οἶόν τ’ εἶναι περὶ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν; These complementizers introducing a complex subordinate clause of course still can be trivially argued to constitute separate cola on their own.

- (3) For all /O/-introductives, many occurrences that do not take P1 are due to **clusters of /O/-introductives** which in orthographic practice are almost never separated from each other:
- 1931 strings of the form /O O/ occur in the corpus (1083 in Plato, 848 in Lysias), of which 1281 are of the form /| O O/ (681 in Plato, 600 in Lysias);
 - among these, 120 are of the form /O O O/ (66 in Plato, 54 in Lysias), of which 103 actually /| O O O/ (53 in Plato, 50 in Lysias).

⁸² Cf. also e.g. Plato *Cra.* 413e δῆλον οὖν ὅτι οὐ πάση ροῇ ἡ ἐναντία ροῇ ἀνδρεία ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ρέουση· Examples with δῆλον as matrix predicate are interesting in this context because the collocation with ὅτι has become lexicalized as δηλονότι, which proves that the collocation of a matrix predicate + the subordinating conjunction introducing its complement can form a close unit.

Table 2.1b splits up 1884⁸³ clusters of more than one /O/-introductive according to the different sub-types, as follows:

- all sequences are represented as combinations of two adjacent /O/, e.g. an occurrence of ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰ counts as (i) an occurrence of an introductive particle + a simple negative; and (ii) an occurrence of a simple negative + a relative;
- the leftmost column indicates the preceding introductive and the top row the following introductive, e.g. there are 347 occurrences of the combination relative+simple negative in that order, and 70 occurrences of relative+relative.

Table 2.1b: Clusters of introductives

	οὐ/μή	relatives	καί	inter-rogatives	οὐδέ/μηδέ	ἤ	inter-jections	intro-ductive particles	<i>total</i>
relatives	347	70	144	10	40	5	1		617
καί	167	245		58	10		1	3	484
introductive particles	99	90	92	22	13	5	5		326
interrogatives	100	25	46	7	3	1			182
ἤ	53	57	32	30	2				174
οὐ/μή	13	39	14	1			3		70
οὐδέ/μηδέ	1	28							29
interjections							2		2
<i>total</i>	780	554	328	128	68	11	12	3	1884

For the present purposes, no really insightful conclusions can be drawn from these data; still, the following facts can be noted:

- relatives are very prone to enter into a cluster, both following and preceding other introductives;
- negatives tend to follow rather than precede other introductives;
- introductive particles are overwhelmingly more frequent as the first member of a cluster, as compared with a later position, and do not cluster with each other, except for καί, due to its 'adverbial' use;
- interjections are -unsurprisingly- never followed by another introductive;
- οὐδέ/μηδέ hardly ever precedes other introductives (except for relatives).

A generalized treatment of all such clusters of introductives does not seem to be available, beyond a few rather loosely formulated observations:

- with sequences of **relatives**, an analysis in which every relative is colon-initial is in principle always possible, although of course in actual realization intonational sandhi may always occur; the choice for one analysis rather than another is trivial;

⁸³ The difference between 1884 and the number 1931 above is due to (i) a different treatment of textcritical problems in the detailed calculation as compared to the gross one; (ii) a co-occurrence of a few idiosyncratic features of the coding system (see section 1.2.1 above). Most importantly, a few marginal sub-classes of the /O/-introductives (e.g. special uses of relatives such as ὡς and καθάπερ as comparison markers, and idiomatic use of οἷός τε). In the detailed numbers of Table 2.2b, most dubious cases have been automatically omitted.

- clusters of **introductive particles** can be expected to be more liable to formula-formation (cf. the treatment of such clusters in Denniston 1934/1950 and see section 6.2 below);
- special mention can be made of **adverbial καί and οὐδέ/μηδέ**, which can follow any word (incl. introductives) without there being any necessity to posit a segment boundary; thus several tens of instances of ἀλλὰ καί (cf. also the cluster καὶ δὴ καί) and of relatives followed by καί (e.g. εἰ καὶ ..., but also cases like Plato *Cra.* 398a ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς φησιν σιδηροῦν εἶναι γένος) can be retrieved;
- clusters involving **illocutionary markers** like Ἦ καί and Ἄρ' οὐ can be analyzed as unitary clusters but it is not a priori clear whether they should be analyzed as a separate colon or taken with the next colon, cf. e.g. Plato *Tht.* 171d Ἦ καὶ ταύτη ἄν μάλιστα ἴστασθαι τὸν λόγον, ἢ ἡμεῖς ὑπεγράψαμεν βοηθοῦντες Πρωταγόρα, ὡς τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἢ δοκεῖ, ταύτη καὶ ἔστιν ἐκάστω, ... Plato *Plt.* 283d Ἄρ' οὐ κατὰ φύσιν δοκεῖ σοι τὸ μείζον μηδενὸς ἐτέρου δεῖν μείζον λέγειν ἢ τοῦ ἐλάττωνος, καὶ τοῦλαττον ἀπὸ τοῦ μείζονος ἔλαττον, ἄλλου δὲ μηδενός; In both cases one might argue that καί resp. οὐ can be interpreted so as to belong with the next constituent, but in other cases (see here below) the cluster as a whole seems to have a much wider scope.

For instance, in Lysias 14,1 ὥστε καὶ εἰ μή τις ἰδίᾳ ἀδικούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει, ..., 'ὥστε' could easily be analyzed as a separate colon; for καὶ εἰ μή (with adverbial καί) an analysis as one cluster seems to be inescapable (cf. a more or less exact parallel in Plato *Tht.* 192e Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄ μὴ οἶδε, ...).

Note however that the notion of **scope** -again- can play a decisive role in the argument: if an /O/-introductive occurring in a cluster has a wider scope than the following one, it becomes more plausible that the first one constitutes a separate colon, as in the following examples in which the first introductive obviously has scope over a larger discourse segment than the following one: Plato *Cra.* 391c Ἀλλ' / εἰ μή ἀπὸ σε ταῦτα ἀρέσκει, / παρ' Ὀμήρου χρὴ μανθάνειν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ποιητῶν. — Plato *Tht.* 171c Οὐκοῦν / ἐπειδὴ ἀμφισβητεῖται ὑπὸ πάντων, / οὐδενὶ ἄν εἴη ἢ Πρωταγόρου Ἀλήθεια ἀληθής, οὔτε τινὶ ἄλλῳ οὔτ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ. — Lysias 24,6 πρόσσδος δέ μοι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη πλὴν ταύτης, / ἦν / ἐάν ἀφέλησθέ με, / κινδυνεύοισαμ' ὄν ὑπὸ τῆ δυσχερεστάτῃ γενέσθαι τύχη. — Plato *Sph.* 224b Τῆς δὴ ψυχεμπορικῆς ταύτης / ἄρ' οὐ / τὸ μὲν / ἐπιδεικτικῆ δικαιοτάτα λέγοιτ' ἄν, / τὸ δὲ / γελοῖον μὲν οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ πρόσθεν, / ὅμως δὲ / μαθημάτων οὔσαν πρᾶσιν αὐτὴν ἀδελφῷ τινὶ τῆς πράξεως ὀνόματι προσεῖπειν ἀνάγκη;

2.2 Prepositivity

Prepositivity is defined as the impossibility for a word to take P-ult. According to this definition, and as observed by Dover, both our /p/-prepositives (article and preposition) and some of our /O/-introductives could qualify as prepositive.

- (1) For our /p/-prepositives (article and prepositions) all exceptions are trivial category shifts:
- with the prepositions, there is the obvious exception of **anastrophe**, in which case the words in question should not be categorized as prepositions; 149 instances of anastrophe have been counted in the corpus (91 in Plato, 58 in Lysias), of which 26 in ultimate position (18 in Plato, 8 in Lysias);

- with $\acute{\omicron}$, $\acute{\eta}$, $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}$, the corpus yields only 5 exceptions, all of which involve an idiomatic use of **pronominal $\acute{\omicron}$** : 3 instances of idioms of the type $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ καὶ $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (Lysias 19,59; Lysias 1,23; Plato *Sph.* 244e, a quotation of Parmenides), and 2 contrasts (Lysias 2,9 ὑπὲρ μὲν $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\nu$,... ὑπὲρ δὲ $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ ἐτέρων,... — Plato *Th.* 166b μάλλον δὲ $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ εἶναι τινα ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦς); many occurrences of non-prepositive $\acute{\omicron}$ could be added to this list if one takes into account the instances of pronominal $\acute{\omicron}$ + particle, a combination that seems to have introductive status (e.g. Plato *Th.* 193b οὔτε γιγνώσκων οὔτε ἀγνοῶν ἄμφω, οὔτε $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ μέν, $\acute{\tau}\acute{\omicron}\nu$ δὲ οὐ γιγνώσκων·).

(2) In the sense of Dover's definition (prepositives are never clause-final), some **introductives** are prepositive.

(a) However, the problem of what is to be considered the relevant segment is at issue. If one takes the colon as the relevant segment, many of the introductives can be (colon-) autonomous and hence **non-prepositive**:

- **Interrogatives, negatives and introductive particles** can be (colon-)autonomous (see section 2.0 above) and are hence -trivially- not inherently prepositive in the strict sense of Dover's definition.
- **Relatives** (incl. subordinating conjunctions and indirect interrogatives) do regularly occur utterance-finally if they constitute by themselves an elliptical subordinated sentence (e.g. Plato *Sph.* 219e Λέγε ὅπη.). Furthermore, they occur at the end of a segment if the clause they introduce contains one or more embedded finite clauses or coordinated structures; in these cases punctuation practice fluctuates (probably reflecting plausible realization in performance): sometimes the relative is taken with the previous colon, esp. when this consists of a verbum dicendi or sentiendi, as in Lysias 25,25 εὖ γὰρ εἴσεσθε ὅτι, ἃ μὲν οὗτοι συμβουλευούσιν, οὐδεπώποτε ὑμῖν ἐλυσιτέλησεν, ... ; in other cases, the relative can be fully colon-autonomous (e.g. Lysias 2,81 οἵτινες, ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωμάτων ἔτυχον, ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον·); see sections 2.0 and 2.1, and section 0.1.3 on Kurzkola.

(b) Still, a number of /O/-introductives can be expected to be **prepositive** in the sense of 'clinging to the next regular word' in at least some of their uses:

- **Simple negatives** can be argued to cling to a negated word, especially when they do not negate a proposition as a whole, but only a single notion in it (as in the English expression "non-autonomous"); cf. the notion of 'special' (as opposed to 'nexal') negatives or 'word negatives' (as opposed to 'sentence negatives') in Moorehouse 1959; also cf. the fact that οὐ is treated as a proclitic in traditional accentuation practice. This is evidently the case in expressions like τὸ μὴ ὄν as a philosophical notion, but also in many other cases, like Lysias 22,17 νῦν δὲ | πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ἂν δόξαίτε ποιεῖν, εἰ or Lysias 16,10 Ἐγὼ γὰρ | πρῶτον μὲν | οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς | καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, As a matter of fact, the distinction between 'nexal' and 'special' negatives is a problematic one, as is also shown by the fact that even complex negatives like οὐδεῖς typically behave like any other negative (see section 5.1 below). The only clear cases of οὐ not clinging to the next word are those in which the negative is fronted and forms a separate colon (see section 2.0 above), and has scope over a complex sentence (often a rhetorical question), as in Lysias 29,3 οὐ | τῶν μὲν ὑμετέρων † πολιτῶν † αὐτὸν ἐξήγαγε, | τῶν δ' αὐτοῦ

χρημάτων ταμίαν ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τριήραρχον αὐτὸν κατέστησε; or in the combination ἵΑρ' οὐ discussed here above in section 2.1.

- The **'adverbial' uses of καὶ and οὐδέ** can be expected to be prepositive with respect to the following word, as in the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 398a ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς φησιν σιδηροῦν εἶναι γένος — Plato *Cra.* 429c Πότερον οὐδὲ ψεύδεται ὅταν τις φῆ 'Ερμογένη αὐτὸν εἶναι; μὴ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο αὐτῷ ἦ, τὸ τοῦτον φάναι 'Ερμογένη εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἔστιν; — Plato *Cra.* 394e ... εἴτε τις τύχη ἔθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα εἴτε καὶ ποιητῆς τις, ... — Plato *Sph.* 261b Θαρρεῖν, ᾧ Θεαίτητε, χρῆ τὸν καὶ σμικρόν τι δυνάμενον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἀεὶ προῖέναι.
- The subordinator **ὥς** (which -according to traditional orthography- is always proclitic, even when it introduces a complex complement clause) is plausibly prepositive if it is a comparison marker introducing a simple constituent, as in Lysias 24.2 εἰ δ' ὥς ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲ τιμωρεῖται, ἢ ψεύδεται.
- Trivially, **interjections** like ᾧ introducing a vocative and μά introducing an oath cling to the next word like a genuine prepositive.

- (3) Generally speaking, whether an introductive is realized as a prepositive, clinging to the following word, depends on its 'heaviness' in the context, which in turn can depend on performance factors such as tempo (see the discussion on sandhi in section 0.2.2 above).

One of the factors which determine the heaviness of an /O/-introductive is its scope: if it has scope over a long or complex discourse segment, i.e. if it marks a relatively important boundary, it is more likely to be realized as an autonomous word; conversely, if it applies to only a very small discourse segment (or a mere word), it can show prepositive-like behavior.⁸⁴ Likewise, in some circumstances even articles (normally always /p/-prepositive) seem to be heavier than would normally be the case. Especially articles introducing a participial (or infinitival) construction seem to behave not unlike relatives: they seem to be able to carry a clitic (see section 2.4.1 below) and even to have a certain degree of colon-autonomy (see section 2.4.2 below).⁸⁵

2.3 Postpositivity

The class of postpositives is defined by their inability to take P1. Our corpus database shows only 9 exceptional instances.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ For instance, the particle ἀλλά, which has been shown to be autonomous in many cases, is probably prepositive in Plato *Sph.* 267e ὁ γὰρ σοφιστῆς ἢ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς εἰδόσιν ἦν ἢ ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μιμουμένοις ὄν. Note that the collocation οὐκ... ἀλλά... here opposes two short constituents and that both introductives have scope over only these simple constituents.

⁸⁵ Also note that, as has been shown in section 2.0 above (esp. see Table 2.0c and 2.0d), the autonomy of some introductives increases considerably if they are followed by one or more /q/-particles. Thus, one might argue that prepositive behavior will be more common with simple introductives and colon-autonomy more common with introductives which reinforced by /q/-particles. However, no definite rule can be posited. Devine & Stephens 1994 (346 et passim) focus exclusively on the phonological substance of the non-lexicals they investigate, without taking into account the morphological status and the discourse functions of the words under scrutiny; their results look dubious to me. See also section 7.1(2) below.

⁸⁶ 1 additional apparent case is due to an obvious haplography in the MS tradition, accordingly resolved by editorial conjecture (Plato *Sph.* 263d Περὶ δὴ σοῦ λεγόμενα, <λεγόμενα> μέντοι θάτερα ὡς τὰ αὐτὰ

- (1) With the /q/-**particles**, which -plausibly- are never autonomous in Classical Greek, exceptions are limited to 2 cases of segment-initial $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$, each following a short and idiomatic **parenthesis**, which might be considered postpositive itself: Plato *Th.* 172a $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\alpha\tilde{\nu}\theta'$, $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$, $\alpha\tilde{\nu}$ $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\ \tau\epsilon$ $\sigma\omicron\mu\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$...; — Plato *Pl.* 277d $\text{Παραδείγματος, } \acute{\omega}\ \mu\alpha\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\epsilon, \alpha\tilde{\nu}\ \mu\omicron\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\iota\mu\mu\alpha$ $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\epsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$.
- (2) As for the /r/-**postpositives**, matters are complicated by the systematic category shift due to the alternation of focal (mobile) and non-focal (/r/-postpositive) uses of orthographically indistinguishable forms.
- (a) In the case of the initial **indefinites**, the instances are relatively few:
- in 4 of the 7 instances of initial indefinites, the opposition ‘something’ vs. ‘nothing’ is explicitly at issue and the word order is entirely unproblematic (Plato *Th.* 163e; Plato *Th.* 147b-c; Plato *Th.* 160b; Plato *Sph.* 262e);
 - in 1 other instance an ‘emphatic’ use of $\mu\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ (“will he EVER be ...?”) may be argued for: Plato *Th.* 186c $\text{Ὁ}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\tau\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota$, $\mu\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$; alternatively, one could argue for an interrogative reading ($\mu\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}$);
 - 2 more cases of segment-initial indefinites (which however again may be argued to be focal) follow **short parentheses**: Plato *Sph.* 244b $\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$, $\acute{\omega}\ \mu\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\tau\iota$ $\mu\lambda\eta\mu\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu$ — Lysias 30,1 $\text{Ἦδη, } \acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$, $\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\nu$, ...
- (b) As for the **personal pronouns and $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau$ -**, the matter of focality is more difficult to assess, because, obviously, both categories allow for a wide range of focal uses taking PI (focalized pronouns can be shown to be preferential, see section 5.1 below). I will only discuss a few examples to illustrate the matter:
- There is a large number of instances of clearly **focalized initial pronouns**, often followed by a /q/-particle, and often at the beginning of an entire sentence (e.g. Lysias 30,6 $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\iota\nu\nu$ $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}$, $\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\acute{\iota}$, ... — Plato *Th.* 195c $\text{Σὺ}\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\delta\eta$ $\tau\acute{\iota}$ $\delta\upsilon\sigma\chi\epsilon\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$); these cases are unproblematic (see section 5.1 below, on ‘preferentials’).
 - In other cases, the pronouns are not followed by a particle, but are clearly **contrasted**, and hence focal (e.g. Plato *Th.* 165a $\mu\omicron\iota$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\acute{\omicron}\pi\eta$, η $\theta\epsilon\alpha\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\tau\omega$).
 - There is a mobile use of $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau$ - that could be termed ‘**correlative $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau$ -**’, and that consists in taking up the item referred to in a preceding relative clause (e.g. Lysias 12,100 $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\upsilon\eta\phi\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\eta\phi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\mu\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ $\delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\nu$ $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omega\sigma\iota\nu$, $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\langle\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\rangle$ $\tau\iota\mu\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$),⁸⁷ or announcing a following relative (e.g. Plato *Th.* 208e ..., $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$ $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\omega\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ $\mu\acute{\rho}\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ η ν $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$).⁸⁸
 - In other cases, however, segment initial pronouns seem to be non-focal. All of the plausible examples I found in the corpus, immediately follow a **short parenthesis**,

$\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\eta$ $\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\alpha$, ...); another textcritical problem occurs in Lysias 13,49: $\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$ $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\nu\upsilon\sigma\epsilon$ $\tau\omega\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\omega\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta'$ $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$. ($\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda'$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}$) κ $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\iota\tau\omicron$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\delta\epsilon\mu\omicron\tau\epsilon$ [$\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\alpha\iota$].

⁸⁷ Cf. the ‘ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in apodosi’ quoted by LSJ, s.v. $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

⁸⁸ For other issues concerning the problem of distinguishing between the different uses of $\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau$ - and their consequences for word order, see Chanet 2003.

which in many cases can be argued to have postpositive status itself and not to constitute a real segment boundary (e.g. Plato *Plt.* 268d Τοῦτο τοίνυν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἡμῖν ποιητέον — Plato *Plt.* 258d Δεῖ γε μήν, ὃ Σώκρατες, αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ σὸν [sc. ἔργον] — Plato *Plt.* 265e Ταύτην δὴ δεῖ καθάπερ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡμᾶς δίχα διαστέλλειν).

2.4 Interactions between prepositives and postpositives (/q/ vs/ /r/)

The relevance of the distinction between /q/-postpositives and /r/-postpositives follows from the fact that it is involved in a few highly valid rules:

- (i) if several postpositives follow each other, /q/-particles always precede /r/-postpositives (see section 3.1 below);
- (ii) Wackernagel's Law has to be formulated differently for both classes, see section 4 below);
- (iii) /q/-particles readily follow /p/-prepositives, whereas /r/-postpositives generally do not (with some exceptions).

These rules can be summarized as follows: /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles are invisible for the position of /r/-postpositives (see section 7.1 below): /r/-postpositives need a 'full word' to cling to and /p/ and /q/ do not count as such. Rules (i) and (ii) will be treated below. In this section the interaction between both postpositive classes on the one hand and /p/-prepositives on the other will be studied: /q/-particles can be immediately adjacent to an article, whereas /r/-postpositives as a rule cannot. The following table summarizes the general quantitative data concerning this matter.⁸⁹

Table 2.4a: /p q/; not /p r/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
/q/	7880	4486	12366
/p q/	1346	824	2170
/p q q/	168	71	239
/p q q q/	4	0	4
/r/	2723	1292	4015
/p r/	35	3	38
/p q r/	22	3	25
/p q q r/	2	0	2

Before going into details concerning the apparent exceptions to this rule, we can make a few general remarks at once:

- (i) Apparent exceptions involving **που** are due to the fact that **που** (like **ποτε**) often loses its status of /r/-indefinite and is then used as a /q/-particle; for the 10 cases with **που** following /p (q...)/ (5 in the cluster **γάρ που**; 3 with **μέν που**; 2 with **μέν γέ που**) this looks like an adequate explanation.

⁸⁹ For the sake of completeness I add the data for the potentially /r/-postpositive classes coded /s/ and /t/, which, however, (as already stated) are not to be taken in absoluto, since they depend on circular criteria: the string /p s/ occurs 440 times in the corpus (139 in Plato, 301 in Lysias); the string /p t/ (philosophical uses of τὸ ὄν not counted) 20 times (14 in Plato, 6 in Lysias).

- (ii) For **άν** the rule applies almost without exceptions. No occurrences have been found of the strings article+άν or preposition+άν. The sequence pronominal ó(+particle)+άν does seem to occur (cf. e.g. Aeschylus *Supplices* 1054 τὸ μὲν άν βέλτατον εἶη·), though only one occurrence can be found in the present corpus (with an intervening indefinite): Plato *Plt.* 261d Τὴν γε μὴν τῶν ζώων γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν τὴν μὲν τις άν ἴδοι μονοτροφίαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ... . This occurrence is easily explained by the formula *τις άν ἴδοι* (a variant of *τις άν εἴποι* etc.), which as an epistemic quasi-parenthesis can occur immediately after anything. There remains one unexplained occurrence, in which τό cannot even be said to be pronominal (Plato *Cra.* 433c εἰ δὲ μή τι καλῶς ἐτέθη, τὸ μὲν άν πολὺ ἴσως ἐκ προσηκόντων εἴη γραμμάτων καὶ ὁμοίων, εἴπερ ἔσται εἰκῶν, ἔχοι δ' άν τι καὶ οὐ προσῆκον ...).

Two kinds of occurrences concerning the data in this table will be commented on within this section:

- (1) the exceptions to the rule that /r/ does not follow /p/, in section 2.4.1;
- (2) the quite frequent alternation of /p q M/ (e.g. Lysias 14,34 τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ...) and /p M q/ (Lysias 20,36 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίῳ μὲν ...), in section 2.4.2.

As a corollary to these data, an interesting but at first sight enigmatic fact will be commented on:

- (3) strings of the form /p q M r/ and /p M q r/ are unexpectedly rare, in section 2.4.3.

2.4.1 /r/-postpositives following /p/-prepositives

Only 55 apparently exceptional cases have been found involving 'regular' /r/-postpositives, though this number can be augmented by a large number of personal pronouns and forms of αὐτ- that could be postpositive as well (/s/).

- (1) For the **article** the number of exceptions is rather small (cf. Marshall 1987, Rule XVIII): no occurrences of the string 'ὀ + enclitic personal pronoun' have been found in the corpus, and only 6 with the indefinite. In addition to this I have counted 8 occurrences of the string 'ὀ + αὐτ-' except for those where the sense is 'the same', and only 4 with an oblique case of a personal pronoun (except for 9 cases with the emphatic ἐμ-). If one also counts the occurrences of ὀ followed by an /r/-postpositive, but with one or more intervening /q/-particles, 23 more instances can be added (among which 17 with an indefinite). Most of the 41 instances are reducible to a limited number of cases.
 - (a) 16 instances involve **pronominal ὀ** and hence are not really counterexamples to our rule: among these, 8 are of the form 'ὀ + one or more /q/-particles + an indefinite agreeing with ὀ', e.g. Lysias 3,12 καὶ οἱ μὲν τινες ... — Plato *Cra.* 413b ὀ μὲν γὰρ τίς φησιν ... ;⁹⁰ in another 8 instances, pronominal ὀ is followed by a /q/-particle and a genitivus partitivus, either of a personal pronoun (2 occurrences) or of anaphoric αὐτ- (6 occurrences), e.g. Plato

⁹⁰ In Plato *Cra.* 424a the indefinite is present in the Codex Venetus but not in any of the other important codices: Καὶ τί άν φαίης τὸν τοῦτο δυνάμενον, ὡσπερ τοὺς προτέρους τὸν μὲν μουσικὸν ἔφησθα, τὸν δὲ [τινα] γραφικόν. In one instance the indefinite adjective ποιός (not explicitly studied here), followed by a form of *τις*, seems to be mobile: Plato *Tht.* 182b μέμνησαι γὰρ που ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ὅτι οὕτως ἐλέγομεν, ἐν μηδὲν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ εἶναι, μηδ' αὐτὸ ποιῶν ἢ πάσχον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς ἄλληλα συγγυνομένων τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀποτίκτοντα τὰ μὲν ποι' ἄττα γίνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ αἰσθανόμενα.

Cra. 386c τοὺς μὲν ἡμῶν φρονίμους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἄφρονας — Plato *Sph.* 247c ... οἷ γε αὐτῶν σπαρτοὶ τε καὶ αὐτόχθονες ...; in the following instance an indefinite agrees with pronominal ὁ and is then followed by the genitive of αὐτ-: Plato *Cra.* 430a ἢ τὸ μὲν τι αὐτῶν ἀληθές, τὸ δὲ ψεῦδος; 2 occurrences imply pronominal ὁ followed by the dative of the personal pronoun ἡμ- (Plato *Sph.* 254b; Plato *Plt.* 257d).

- (b) In 18 occurrences⁹¹ the article introduces a **participial phrase** (15 instances) or an **infinitival phrase** (3 instances); again the matter of focality is at issue:
- in some instances the word following the potential /r/-postpositive is clearly focal, and no conclusion with respect to the rule can be drawn, e.g.: Plato *Sph.* 237d: Ἐρα τῆδε σκοπῶν σύμφης, ὡς ἀνάγκη τὸν τι λέγοντα ἔν γε τι λέγειν; — Lysias 30,16 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς φυγεῖν μέρος τι καὶ οὗτος συνεβάλετο, τοῦ δὲ τοῦτον κατελθεῖν τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον ἐγένετο.
 - in other cases, the pronouns may be genuinely non-focal, e.g. Plato *Plt.* 281e ... τὰς δὲ αὐτὰ θεραπευούσας καὶ δημιουργούσας ... — Lysias 12,92 ... τὰς ὑμῖν διὰ τούτων γεγενημένας συμφορὰς
- (c) Note the following 4 instances involving an adnominal genitive of αὐτ- in attributive position with respect to the noun modified by the article. A focal interpretation (“ipse”) would be convenient, but cannot always be proved: Plato *Tht.* 194a ... κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ αἴσθησιν ... — Lysias 12,19 εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπληστίαν καὶ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαντο· — Lysias 14,23 εἴ τις ὑμῶν τὸν Ἄλκιβιάδην ἀξιώσει διὰ μὲν τοὺς βοηθοῦντας σῶζεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ πονηρίαν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι. — Lysias 29,12 μᾶλλον δὲ προσεποιούντο πιστεύειν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἢ δεδιέναι τὰ αὐτῶν ἀμαρτήματα.
- (2) For the **preposition** the rule does not hold as absolutely as for the article. Marshall already noted the following (Marshall 1987, 30-31, Rule XIX): “A preposition is not directly followed by one of the postpositives studied [sc. our /r/-postpositives] unless the latter belongs to the prepositional phrase, (1) ἄν not so found at all, (2) αὐτ- and μ- not unless directly governed by the preposition, (3) τις not unless directly governed or in agreement or a genitival relation (either direction) with the word which is so governed [...]”. Still, it remains to be explained why in this case a postpositive would not need a ‘real word’ to cling to; again, it seems useful to start from the distinction ‘focal’-‘non-focal’:
- (a) The cases with a **focal pronoun** are not relevant for our word order rule: e.g. Plato *Cra.* 392b ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως μείζω ἐστὶν ἢ κατ’ ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ ἐξευρεῖν· — Lysias 12,26 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ σῶσαι Πολέμαρχον καὶ μή, — Plato *Cra.* 412c καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔοικε μέχρι μὲν του ὁμολογεῖσθαι παρὰ πολλῶν, — Plato *Sph.* 249c ὅς ἂν ἐπιστήμην ἢ φρόνησιν ἢ νοῦν ἀφανίζων ἰσχυρίζεται περὶ τινος ὀρηθῶν. In the last two cases, the enclitic spelling of the indefinites seems to be inappropriate (cf. the fact that the Codex Vindobonensis has τοῦ in Plato *Cra.* 412c).
- (b) In the cases with an unambiguously non-focal personal or indefinite pronoun the whole **unit preposition+pronoun** seems to have **postpositive** status and, as a unit, seems to obey the P2-rule:

⁹¹ Plus one overlapping with the previous category: Lysias 13,63: οἱ δ’ αὐτῶν περιγεγόμενοι καὶ σωθέντες,

- The only completely unambiguous cases are limited to 6 occurrences of *πρός με*:⁹² Plato *Cra.* 384a οὔτε ἀποσαφεῖ οὐδὲν εἰρωνεύεται τε *πρός με* — Plato *Tht.* 145b ὡς εἶ ἴσθι ὅτι Θεόδωρος πολλοὺς δὴ *πρός με* ἐπαινέσας ξένους τε καὶ ἀστοὺς οὐδένα πω ἐπήνεσεν ὡς σὲ νυνδὴ. — Plato *Tht.* 151b-c: προσφέρου οὖν *πρός με* ὡς πρὸς μαίας ἰὼν καὶ αὐτὸν μαιευτικόν ... — Plato *Tht.* 151c πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη, ὃ θαυμάσιε, *πρός με* οὕτω διετέθησαν, ... — Plato *Tht.* 170d Ὅταν σὺ κρίνας τι παρὰ σαυτῶ *πρός με* ἀποφαίνῃ περὶ τινος δόξαν, ... — Lysias 16,2 καὶ εἴ τις *πρός με* τυγχάνει ἀηδῶς [ἢ κακῶς] διακείμενος
- Many other cases with other pronouns can be added, e.g. Plato *Tht.* 195b Φῶμεν ἄρα ἐν *ἡμῖν* ψευδεῖς δόξας εἶναι; — Plato *Sph.* 232c Λέγεται γοῦν δὴ περὶ *αὐτῶν* ταῦτα. — Lysias 6,13 ἡμεῖς οὖν μὴ βούλεσθε εἰς *ὑμᾶς* τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην περιτρέψαι, ... — Plato *Sph.* 244a ἵνα μὴ δοξάζωμεν μανθάνειν μὲν τὰ λεγόμενα παρ' *ὑμῶν*, τὸ δὲ τούτου γίγνηται πᾶν τοῦναντίον — Plato *Tht.* 171e εἰ δέ που ἔν τισι συγχωρήσεται διαφέρειν ἄλλον ἄλλου,

(c) The configuration **preposition+indefinite+noun** is somewhat harder to evaluate as far as focality is concerned: though one might be tempted to speculate about a focal interpretation for the order prepositive+indefinite+noun and a non-focal one for prepositive+noun+indefinite, I could not find any regularities deciding between both orders, which seem to be freely available:

- with a substantival indefinite + a genitivus partitivus, compare e.g. Plato *Sph.* 218d (περὶ τινος τῶν φαύλων) and Plato *Tht.* 188d (περὶ τῶν ὄντων του);
- with an attributive indefinite, compare e.g. Plato *Sph.* 232a (πρὸς τινα τέχνην) and Plato *Cra.* 397a (εἰς τύπον τινὰ).

(3) The following conclusion can be formulated: prepositions and articles can generally speaking not serve as a host word for /r/-postpositives, because (i) they are phonetically and informationally not 'heavy' enough, and (ii) they constitute an uninterruptible unit with the main word they belong with.

A few exceptions can be noted:

- in some cases *ὁ* is heavier than usual and may carry an /r/-postpositive: pronominal *ὁ*, the article introducing complex constituents, the article introducing participles or infinitives;
- the preposition is much more commonly followed by an /r/-pronoun if this pronoun is syntactically governed by the preposition or governed by a word governed by the preposition; two types of this collocation can be easily explained: (i) the pronoun is actually focal and in that case there is no issue since the pronoun is not to be considered postpositive, or (ii) the preposition forms a unit with /r/-pronoun, in which case this unit as a whole seems to have postpositive status; other cases of preposition+/r/-postpositive are less clear as far as the status of the constituent words are concerned.

⁹² Of course, even here textcritical considerations may throw doubts on the reading *με* instead of *ἐμέ*.

2.4.2 /p q M/ (ὁ μὲν δεῖνα) vs. /p M q/ (ὁ δεῖνα μὲν)

Postpositive /q/-particles, as opposed to /r/-postpositives, readily follow /p/-prepositives. Still, an important number of cases occur in which the /q/-particle does not immediately follow the article or the preposition, but only the first mobile word of the NP or PP, as can be seen in the following table.⁹³

Table 2.4b: /p q M/ vs. /p M q/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
/p q M/	814 (64.1%)	565 (78.1%)	1379 (69.2%)
/p q q M/	109 (8.6%)	45 (6.2%)	154 (7.7%)
/p q q q M/	4 (0.3%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (0.2%)
<i>total /p q (q...) M/</i>	<i>927 (73.0%)</i>	<i>610 (84.4%)</i>	<i>1537 (77.2%)</i>
/p M q/	329 (25.9%)	108 (14.9%)	437 (21.9%)
/p M q q/	13 (1.0%)	5 (0.7%)	18 (0.9%)
<i>total /p M q (q...)/</i>	<i>342 (27.0%)</i>	<i>113 (15.6%)</i>	<i>455 (22.8%)</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>1269 (100%)</i>	<i>723 (100%)</i>	<i>1992 (100%)</i>

The 4 cases with 3 /q/-particles following the /p/-prepositive are the following: Plato *Th.* 171b (δέ γε αὐ̂): pronominal; Plato *Sph.* 219e (δέ γε μὴν); Plato *Plt.* 257d (μὲν γε οὖν) pronominal; Plato *Plt.* 307e (μὲν γὰρ δῆ).

The 18 cases in which a cluster of /q/ follows the mobile are the following: 4 times μὲν οὖν (Plato *Th.* 165a; Plato *Plt.* 273b; Lysias 2,54; Lysias 32,26); 3 times δέ γε (Plato *Plt.* 276c; Plato *Plt.* 278a; Plato *Plt.* 298e); 2 times μὲν γὰρ (Lysias 7,37; Lysias 9,20); 2 times γε μὴν (Plato *Plt.* 265a; Plato *Plt.* 269d); δ' οὖν (Lysias 30,6); τε οὖν (Plato *Sph.* 237b); γε αὐ̂ (Plato *Sph.* 263e); τοίνυν αὐ̂ (Plato *Plt.* 282c); τε δῆ (Plato *Plt.* 307c); τε αὐ̂ (Plato *Plt.* 309a); δέ τε at Plato *Th.* 207a is not relevant, because it involves a quotation from Hesiodus.

Thus, the order /p q M/ is much more frequent than the order /p M q/, in both authors: 77% of the relevant occurrences have the form /p q (q...) M/ (up to 84% in Lysias). Note, however, that the scores for the string /p q (q...) M/ can be expected to be overestimated, due to the highly frequent sequence 'pronominal ὁ+particle', which can be followed by a mobile word that is not part of the same constituent (e.g. Plato *Plt.* 280b τὴν μὲν διτετέμομεν ἄπ' αὐ̂τῆς νυνδῆ ... — Plato *Plt.* 265b Τῶ τῶν μὲν τὴν γένεσιν ἄκερων εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κερασφόρον.).

- (1) However, not all /q/-particles can be expected to behave in the same way. In the following table, the data have been spelled out for the different particles.

⁹³ For similar data for Pindarus, Bacchylides, Homer and Herodotus (though based on a much smaller sample than the present one), cf. Hajdú 1989, 2-11.

Table 2.4c: /p q M/ vs. /p M q/

	Plato			Lysias			Total		
	/p q M/	/p M q/	%/p M q/	/p q M/	/p M q/	%/p M q/	/p q M/	/p M q/	%/p M q/
μέν	219	18	7.6%	196	28	12.5%	415	46	10.0%
δέ	312	31	9.0%	264	46	14.8%	567	77	12.0%
γούν	5	1	16.7%	1	0	0.0%	6	1	14.3%
μέντοι	4	1	20.0%	2	0	0.0%	6	1	14.3%
γάρ	64	10	13.5%	28	21	42.9%	92	31	25.2%
γε	73	31	29.8%	9	0	0.0%	82	31	27.4%
τε	94	97	50.8%	56	7	11.1%	150	104	40.9%
ούν	9	8	47.1%	4	2	33.3%	13	10	43.5%
τούν	10	15	60.0%	5	4	44.4%	15	19	55.9%
μήν	2	5	71.4%	0	0	-	2	5	71.4%
δή	15	50	76.9%	0	1	100.0%	15	51	77.3%
ἄρα	2	21	91.3%	0	0	-	2	21	91.3%
αὐ	1	39	97.5%	0	0	-	1	39	97.5%

Particles that do not occur in the configurations under scrutiny have been omitted from the table.

Likewise, the following particles have not been retained: τοι (3 cases of /p q M/: Plato *Tht.* 190b, Plato *Sph.* 230b, Plato *Sph.* 261c) and δήπου (2 cases of /p M q/: Plato *Cra.* 394d, Plato *Plt.* 266a).

Again the scores for /p q M/ (esp. with μέν and δέ) has been overestimated because they include pronominal ὁ, but on the other hand the scores do not include the cases with a cluster of /q/ following /p/ (see Table 2.4c here above). It is interesting to note that the ranking of the particles according to their relative obedience to the rule is very much like the ones observed for other rules (see section 3.1 and section 4.1 below): purely connective particles, primarily marking boundaries in discourse structure, rank higher than ‘modal particles’ and focus-markers (cf. section 7.0(4) below).⁹⁴

- (2) Particularly interesting are cases in which both positions are present at once, i.e. in which one particle (or 2) immediately follows the article or the preposition and one or more follow the mobile: 25 examples of the pattern /p q M q/ occur (of which 23 in Plato, 2 being /p q M q q/), and 6 of the pattern /p q q M q/ (all in Plato). Of these 31 examples, 7 actually involve a pronominal ὁ probably constituting a separate colon and do not enter the present discussion.⁹⁵ The remaining 24 cases all belong to a few specific types:
- (a) A first type involves a simple NP in which a first /q/-particle or cluster (most often a connective) immediately follows the article and a second one follows the noun:
- article+connective /q/-particle+mobile+αὐ: Plato *Cra.* 417e τὸ δὲ "βλάπτων" αὐ σημαίνει "βουλόμενον ἄπτειν", with as exact parallels Plato *Tht.* 166d — Plato *Sph.*

⁹⁴ Again, a few marked differences can be observed between Plato and Lysias (see especially the scores for γάρ and τε; some other scores are too low to allow for a sensible interpretation); no insightful explanation occurred to me.

⁹⁵ E.g. Lysias 4,8 ἡ δὲ ἰ τὸτὲ μὲν ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ τὸτὲ δὲ τοῦτόν φησι ποιείσθαι - Plato *Sph.* 228d Τὸ δὲ γε ἰ ἄγνοιαν μὲν καλοῦσι ... — cf. also Lysias 4,8; Lysias 30,15; Plato *Sph.* 268b (twice); Plato *Cra.* 413c; Plato *Sph.* 224b.

259b; see also: Plato *Plt.* 311b Τὰ δ' ἀνδρεῖά γε αὖ⁹⁶ — Plato *Sph.* 219c Τὸ δὴ μαθηματικὸν αὖ);

- article+connective /q/-particle+mobile+**focus-particle**: Plato *Cra.* 408a τὸ δὲ λέγειν δὴ ἔστιν "εἶρην" — Plato *Tht.* 198c Τὸ δὲ ἀριθμεῖν γε — Plato *Tht.* 156e ὁ μὲν ὀφθαλμὸς ἄρα — Plato *Sph.* 239b Τὸν μὲν τοίνυν ἐμέ γε τί τις ἂν λέγοι; ("But our friend ME, what could anyone say about him?").

(b) In a second type the article (or preposition) followed by a connective /q/-particle (or a cluster of /q/ involving a connective) introduces more **complex or coordinated constituents**, in which cases the /p/-prepositive may have become more autonomous than usual (cf. English "the ... REASONABLY good, but not VERY good pupils ..."):

- /p/+connective+/M/+**τε...καί...** (with or without repetition of the /p/): Plato *Cra.* 392b ὁ δὲ Σκαμάνδριός τε καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάναξ (parallels: Plato *Cra.* 406a τὰς δὲ "Μούσας" τε καὶ ὅλως τὴν μουσικὴν — Plato *Tht.* 153a τὸ γὰρ θερμόν τε καὶ πῦρ — Plato *Tht.* 161e τὸ δὲ δὴ ἐμόν τε καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς τέχνης τῆς μαιευτικῆς — Plato *Tht.* 167c τοὺς δὲ γε σοφοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ῥήτορας — Plato *Tht.* 162b τῷ δὲ δὴ νεωτέρῳ τε καὶ ὑγροτέρῳ ὄντι — one instance involves a **preposition** instead of an article Plato *Tht.* 152d ἐκ δὲ δὴ φορᾶς τε καὶ κινήσεως καὶ κράσεως πρὸς ἄλληλα;
- also involving a **coordinated NP**, but of a more complex kind: Plato *Cra.* 424c πρῶτον μὲν τὰ φωνήεντα ...ἔπειτα ... τὰ τε ἄφωνα καὶ ἄφθογγα ... καὶ τὰ αὖ φωνήεντα μὲν οὐ, οὐ μέντοι γε ἄφθογγα — Plato *Plt.* 310d Ἡ δὲ αἰδοῦς γε αὖ λίαν πλήρης ψυχῆ καὶ ἀκέραστος τόλμης ἀνδρείας, ...;
- separate mention may be made of cases that can belong to one of the types mentioned here above, but which involve a **participle** introduced by the article in question: Plato *Tht.* 188e Ὁ ἄρα ἐν γέ τι ὄρων ὄν τι ὄρᾳ — Plato *Tht.* 191e Ὁ τοίνυν ἐπιστάμενος μὲν αὐτά, σκοπῶν δέ τι ὄν ὄρᾳ ἢ ἀκούει — Plato *Sph.* 223a Τὸ δὲ ἐπαγγελλόμενον μὲν ὡς ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα τὰς ὀμιλίας ποιούμενον, μισθὸν δὲ νόμισμα πραττόμενον, ἄρα οὐ ... — Plato *Sph.* 226d τῆς δὲ καταλειπούσης μὲν τὸ βέλτιον διακρίσεως, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον ἀποβαλλούσης ἔχω [sc. λεγόμενον]. — Plato *Plt.* 282e τὸ μὲν ἀτράκτω τε στραφέν καὶ στερεὸν νῆμα γενομένην — Plato *Plt.* 305e Τὴν δὲ πασῶν τε τούτων ἄρχουσαν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ συμπάντων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιμελουμένην καὶ πάντα συνυφαινούσαν ὀρθότατα For other indications that the article introducing a participle (or infinitive) is more autonomous (heavier) than usual, see section 2.4.1 here above.

(3) Concerning the position of /q/-particles with respect to the combinations of prepositions, articles and nouns that they cling to, the following conclusions can be formulated:

- the order /p q M/ is very much more frequent than the order /p M q/;
- however, which order is most frequent depends heavily on the particular /q/-particle and is subject to difference from one author to the other: for μέν, δέ, γοῦν and μέντοι, less than 15% of the relevant occurrences presents the order /p M q/ (in both authors); for μήν, δὴ, ἄρα and αὖ (which hardly ever occur in the relevant configurations in Lysias), more than 70% of the occurrences have the form /p M q/; for γάρ, γε, τε, οὖν and τοίνυν, the picture is less clear;
- clusters of /q/-particles tend to occur in the configuration /p q (q...) M/;

⁹⁶ Note that the presence of γε in this case -again- may be connected to the avoidance of hiatus.

- configurations of the type /p q (q...) M q (q...)/ are restricted to a limited number of types.

2.4.3 The configuration /p (q...) M (q...) r/

In the light of the word order rules under scrutiny, it should be expected that the configuration /p q M r/ would be perfectly normal; however, it has already been observed by Marshall that “When a sentence opens with pqM where p is an article or preposition, q a connective or similar particle, and M a mobile, ἄν and τις do not directly follow upon M, nor directly at the end of the whole articular phrase if it runs to more than just pqM [...]” (Marshall 1987, 28-29, *Rule XVII*).

In our corpus, both /p q M r/ (23 cases in Plato, 6 in Lysias) and /p M q r/ (10 in Plato, 3 in Lysias, plus 1 case of /p M q q r/ in Plato) are rare, although the configuration /p M r/, without a /q/-particle is more common (131 in Plato, 61 in Lysias).

- (1) Of the 43 apparent cases of the configuration under scrutiny 16 can immediately be discarded as irrelevant:⁹⁷
 - (a) 11 instances involve **indefinite adverbs in a particle-like use**: Plato *Tht.* 170c ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γάρ που συμβαίνει μὴ ... — Plato *Cra.* 410b οἱ γὰρ ποιηταὶ που τὰ πνεύματα "ἀήτας" καλοῦσιν· — Plato *Tht.* 147d ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ πως ἐνέσχετο. — Plato *Tht.* 163a εἰς γὰρ τοῦτό που πᾶς ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἔτεινε, — Plato *Sph.* 223e Τὸ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἴσως ἀγνοοῦμεν, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἕτερόν που συνίεμεν. — Plato *Sph.* 238a Τῶ μὲν ὄντι που προσγένειοι' ἄν τι τῶν ὄντων ἕτερον. — Plato *Plt.* 275e Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἦν τό γε θεραπεύειν που πᾶσι κοινόν, — Plato *Sph.* 252c Τῶ τε "εἶναι" που περὶ πάντα ἀναγκάζονται χρῆσθαι ... — Plato *Sph.* 253a καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων τὰ μὲν ἀναρμοστεῖ που πρὸς ἄλληλα, τὰ δὲ συναρμόττει. — Plato *Plt.* 275d Τοῦ τὰς ἀγέλας ἐκάστας τρέφειν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις που πᾶσι μέτεστι νομεῦσι, ... — Plato *Cra.* 415a τὸ γὰρ "μῆκος" πως τὸ πολὺ σημαίνει.⁹⁸
 - (b) 2 more instances involve a clearly **focal pronoun**: Plato *Tht.* 189a Καὶ ὁ ἀπτόμενος δὴ του ἐνός γέ του ἄπτεται καὶ ὄντος, εἴπερ ἐνός; — Plato *Sph.* 236e ... καὶ τὸ λέγειν μὲν ἄττα, ἀληθὴ δὲ μή, πάντα ταῦτά ἐστι μεστὰ ἀπορίας
 - (c) 3 more instances involve a **pronominal ὁ** + particle, forming a separate colon: Plato *Sph.* 263a Τὸν μὲν [sc. λόγον] ψευδῆ που [sc. φατέον], τὸν δὲ ἀληθῆ. — Lysias 12,11 ὁ δ' ἀγαπήσειν με ἔφασκεν, — Lysias 8,2 τοῖς δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν δόξαι μηδὲν ἀδικῶν τούτους ὑπὸ τούτων ἀδικεῖσθαι πρότερον. The following example may be analyzed so as to belong to this class as well: Plato *Sph.* 229d Τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις διδασκαλικῆς ἢ μὲν τραχυτέρα τις ἔοικεν ὁδὸς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἕτερον αὐτῆς μόριον λειότερον.
- (2) Of the remaining 26 cases many can be explained in more or less convincing ways by evoking factors that play similar roles elsewhere in this study:
 - (a) 5 instances involve the **formula μοι δοκεῖ** (Plato *Cra.* 403a οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν μοι δοκοῦσιν ... — Plato *Cra.* 435d κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν ὡς ... — Lysias 12,2 τούναντιόν δέ

⁹⁷ One more apparent case is actually due to a **textcritical** problem: Plato *Cra.* 407d περὶ δὲ ἄλλων (ἄν) τινων βούλει πρόβαλλέ μοι,

⁹⁸ To this an interesting case of a dative pronoun (coded /s/) in a particle-like function may be added: Plato *Sph.* 261c τό τοι μέγιστον ἡμῖν τεῖχος | ἡρημένον ἄν εἴη,

μοι δοκοῦμεν πείσεσθαι — Plato *Sph.* 223a τὸν γὰρ σοφιστὴν μοι δοκοῦμεν ἀνηυρηκέναί. 1 more involves a comparable juridical formula: Lysias 12,47 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους τοσαῦτα λέγω, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυράς μοι κάλει.

- (b) In 3 more cases the article introduces a **participial phrase**, in which case we have observed elsewhere (sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 above) that the article does not behave as a canonical prepositive: Plato *Tht.* 189a Καὶ ὁ ἄρα τι ἀκούων ἔν γέ τι ἀκούει καὶ ὄν [ἀκούει]. — Plato *Tht.* 188e Ὁ ἄρα ἔν γέ τι ὄρων ὄν τι ὄρῃ. — Plato *Plt.* 260b Ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῖς γε κοινῇ τι πράττουσιν ἀγαπητὸν ὁμονοεῖν.⁹⁹
- (c) 4 instances involve a first or second person personal pronoun in the **dative case**, which in some cases can be shown to behave not unlike /q/-particles (see section 7.0(4) below): Lysias 2,2 ὅμως δὲ ὁ μὲν λόγος μοι περὶ τούτων, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐ πρὸς τὰ τούτων ἔργα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότας. — Plato *Plt.* 308e Ταῦτόν δὴ μοι τοῦθ' ἡ βασιλικὴ φαίνεται ... — Plato *Plt.* 282c Τὸ συγκριτικὸν τοίνυν ἀδ σοι καὶ ταλασιουργικὸν ἅμα μόριον, ὃ Σώκρατες, διαιρετέον, ... — Plato *Tht.* 161c Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοι πάνυ ἠδέως εἴρηκεν,
- (d) In 9 occurrences, there is an **attributive relation** between the /t/-pronoun and the other words involved, in which case the configuration in question appears to be regular:
- either there is a genitival relation (either way) (Lysias 12,23 τὸν ἀδελφὸν γὰρ μου, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινε — Lysias 9,1 Τί ποτε διανοηθέντες οἱ ἀντίδικοι τοῦ μὲν πράγματος παρημελήκασι, τὸν δὲ τρόπον μου ἐπεχείρησαν διαβάλλειν; — Lysias 13,13 προσιόντες δ' αὐτῷ τῶν τε στρατηγῶν τινες καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων, — Plato *Cra.* 435b -τὴν γὰρ σιγὴν σου συγχώρησιν θήσω— Plato *Tht.* 164b Τῶν ἀδυνάτων δὴ τι συμβαίνειν φαίνεται ἔάν τις ἐπιστήμη καὶ αἴσθησιν ταῦτόν φη εἶναι.);
 - or there is a simple attributive agreement relation between the indefinite and the word that precedes it (Plato *Cra.* 432b τοῦ δὲ ποιοῦ τινος καὶ συμπάσης εἰκόνοσ μὴ οὐχ αὕτη (ἦ) ἡ ὀρθότης, — Plato *Sph.* 258e ἡμεῖς γὰρ περὶ μὲν ἐναντίον τινὸς αὐτῷ χαίρειν πάλαί λέγομεν, — Plato *Sph.* 266d τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ὄν, τὸ δὲ ὁμοιωμάτων τινῶν γέννημα. — Plato *Sph.* 229e ΘΕΑΙ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ τούτων ἐκάτερον λέγομεν; / ΞΕ. Τὸ μὲν ἀρχαιοπρεπὲς τι πάτριον, ...).
- (e) 3 instances involve the collocations **μὲν ἂν** or **γὰρ ἂν**, which may be argued to have the status of a **formula** (see section 6.2 below): Plato *Cra.* 419d ἐν δίκη μὲν ἂν "ἔρπουν" καλούμενον, ὑπὸ χρόνου δὲ "τερπνόν" παρηγμένον. — Plato *Sph.* 248d τάναντία γὰρ ἂν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λέγοιεν — Lysias 25,3 ... (ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα χρηματίζονται)
- (f) The remaining 2 cases do not seem to fit any recognizable type: Plato *Sph.* 247a Ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε δυνατόν τῷ παραγίνεσθαι καὶ ἀπογίνεσθαι πάντως εἶναι τι φήσουσιν. — Plato *Cra.* 440e Εἰς αὐτὴς τοίνυν με, ὃ ἑτάιρε, διδάξεις, ἐπειδὴν ἤκης: ... ¹⁰⁰
- (3) As for the explanation of this curious phenomenon, Marshall simply posits a separate rule (see here above). As an explanation, this rule is obviously not insightful. Marshall then observes that configurations of the form /p q M/ tend to form a separate colon and that what

⁹⁹ Cf. also Plato *Sph.* 245d-e Καὶ τοίνυν ἄλλα μυρία ἀπεράντους ἀπορίας ἕκαστον εἰληφὸς φανεῖται τῷ τὸ ὄν εἶτε δύο τινὲ εἶτε ἓν μόνον εἶναι λέγοντι.

¹⁰⁰ Note that the Codex Vindobonensis omits με in Plato *Cra.* 440e.

I call /r/-postpositives tend to occur in the trailing colon, which is still not very insightful an explanation. However, many of the strings under scrutiny can be shown to be fronted topics, in which case both the colon-status and the fact that ᾗν and the other /r/-postpositives (except if grammatically belonging with the topic) do not belong to the topic-colon are insightfully explained. Also note that the most frequent particles are μέν and δέ, which are - at least as a tendency- related to topic function (see section 7.1 and 21.3(2) below).

3. Postpositives I: clusters of postpositives

Postpositives tend to cluster, i.e. sequences consisting of different postpositives are quite frequent, i.a. due to the fact that all these words tend towards P2, and as a consequence more than one postpositive can tend towards the same P2. Within such clusters postpositives tend to occur in a fixed order, according to the kind of postpositives involved (see Ruijgh 1990/1996a and Wills 1993, both concerning Homeric Greek). This canonical order will be analyzed here in three steps, each formulated as a separate word order rule:

- (i) /q/ precede /r/ (section 3.1);
- (ii) if several /q/ follow each other, they occur in a canonical order (section 3.2);
- (iii) if several /r/ follow each other, the order ἄν < indefinite < personal pronoun/αὐτ- prevails (section 3.3).

3.1 /q/-postpositives precede /r/-postpositives: /q r/, not /r q/

If /q/-postpositives and /r/-postpositives cooccur in such a way that they have to be adjacent to one another, the /q/-particles always precede (cf. Marshall 1987, 26, *Rule XIV*). This rule is highly valid and genuine anomalies are readily perceived as such even by modern students of Greek.

Table 3.1: /q r/ vs. /r q/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
/q r/	453 / 492 (92.1%)	193 / 202 (95.5%)	646 / 694 (93.1%)
/r q/	39 / 492 (7.9%)	8 / 202 (4.0%)	47 / 694 (6.8%) ¹⁰¹

- (1) The 47 apparent exceptions to the rule can mostly be reduced to a very few easily recognizable types.
 - (a) A first series of apparent exceptions is due to the fact that some of the words involved are in fact not canonical members of the class they are supposed to belong to (category shift):
 - 5 instances are due to the tendency of the particle **αὖ** to be the last postpositive in a cluster of postpositives (though **αὖ** is involved in some of the examples dealt with under the following headings as well): Plato *Cra.* 437c ἐξ ὧν οἰηθείη **ἄν αὖ** πάλιν ... — Plato *Sph.* 225e Καὶ (τί) τις **ἄν αὖ** ... — Plato *Sph.* 230a εἴξασί **τινες αὖ** λόγον ἑαυτοῖς δόντες ἡγήσασθαι ... — Plato *Plt.* 262d ἢ τὸν ἀριθμὸν **τις αὖ** νομίζοι ... — Plato *Cra.* 415d καὶ ἴσως **με αὖ** φήσεις πλάττειν ... ; the last case looks suspect.
 - 9 instances are due to an anomalous position of the indefinite **πῶς/ποτέ**, coded /r/ but often used as a /q/-particle losing its locative (resp. locative-temporal) sense. 1 case

¹⁰¹ It may be interesting to note which /q/-particles are ‘deferred’ by an intervening /r/-postpositive: οὖν 14 (8 in Plato), ἄρα 11 (10 in Plato), αὖ 10 (all in Plato), μέντοι 3 (all in Plato), γε 2 (all in Plato), δήπου 2 (1 in Plato); μέν δή, γάρ, μήν, and δή each once in Plato. Of the 14 cases of ‘deferred’ οὖν, 7 are of the form ἄν οὖν (among which 5 ‘interrogative + ἄν οὖν ’). Note that pure connectives hardly ever take a position after /r/.

actually involves οὐδέποτε (Lysias 13,75), in 2 cases ποτέ follows a relative (Plato *Cra.* 391b ἥτις ποτ' αὐ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ἡ ὀρθότης. — Plato *Cra.* 422a with a possibly focal ποτέ: ἀλλ' ἐάν ποτέ γε λάβωμεν ...), and in 6 cases ποτέ occurs in combination with an interrogative (Plato *Sph.* 221d Τίνα ποτ' οὖν δὴ ... — Plato *Sph.* 233a Τί ποτ' οὖν ἂν εἶη ... — Plato *Sph.* 243d τί ποτε ἄρα ... — Plato *Sph.* 254e Τί ποτ' αὐ' ...), 2 of which involve the combination interrogative+δὴ+ποτέ (=δήποτε?) (Plato *Plt.* 283b τί δὴ ποτε οὖν ... — Plato *Plt.* 294c Διὰ τί δὴ ποτ' οὖν ...). ποτέ is involved in some of the instances dealt with under the other headings as well.

- 2 more instances are due to a **focalized use of the indefinite** (/M/ instead of /r/): Plato *Tht.* 147b-c τινὸς γὰρ ἐπιστήμην ἀποκρίνεται οὐ τοῦτ' ἐρωτηθεῖς. — Plato *Tht.* 163e ΣΩ. Πότερον οὐδενὸς ἢ τινὸς; ΘΕΑΙ. Τινὸς δὴπου).
- (b) The 32 remaining apparent exceptions are mostly due to recognizable **formulas and units**:
 - **relative+αὖν** (2 instances): Lysias 1,49 ὅ τι ἂν οὖν βούληται χρῆσθαι, ... — Plato *Cra.* 385d Ὅ ἂν ἄρα ἕκαστος φῆ ... ;
 - **relative+indefinite** (4 instances): Plato *Tht.* 185a Εἴ τι ἄρα περὶ ἀμφοτέρων διανοῆ, ... — Plato *Plt.* 296b Ἄν τις ἄρα ... — Plato *Plt.* 301b ... κἂν τις ἄρα ... — Plato *Tht.* 174e ... ὡς τις ἄρα ... ;
 - **negative+αὖν** (6 instances): Plato *Tht.* 154b ... οὐκ ἂν αὖ ... — Plato *Tht.* 162a ... οὐκ ἂν οὖν ... — Plato *Tht.* 178d ... Οὐδ' ἂν αὖ ... — Plato *Tht.* 193a οὐκ ἂν ποτε αὖ ... — Lysias 31,28 οὐ γὰρ ἂν δήπου ... — οὐκ ἂν ἄρα ἐτέθη;¹⁰²);
 - **interrogative+αὖν** (+οὖν) (5 instances): Lysias 20,16 πῶς ἂν οὖν οὐκ ἂν δεινὰ πάσχοιμεν ; — Lysias 1,45 τί ἂν οὖν ... — Lysias 8,7 πόθεν ἂν οὖν ... — Lysias 19,33 πῶς ἂν οὖν ... — Plato *Tht.* 160d πῶς ἂν οὖν ... ;
 - **ἄλλος+τις** (3 instances): Plato *Tht.* 189b Ἄλλο τι ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ ψευδῆ δοξάζειν τοῦ τὰ μὴ ὄντα δοξάζειν — Lysias 22,5 and Plato *Cra.* 401b, both Ἄλλο τι οὖν ... ;
 - **negative+adverbial τι** (4 instances): Plato *Sph.* 255a Ἄλλ' οὐ τι μὴν κίνησις γε καὶ στάσις οὐθ' ἕτερον οὔτε ταυτόν ἐστι — Plato *Tht.* 187a Ἄλλ' οὐ τι μὲν δὴ τούτου γε ἔνεκα ἠρχόμεθα διαλεγόμενοι — Plato *Plt.* 292e ... μὴ τι δὴ βασιλῆς γε — Plato *Tht.* 167a ἐπεὶ οὐ τί γε ψευδῆ δοξάζοντά τις τινα ὕστερον ἀληθῆ ἐποίησε δοξάζειν ; note the presence of γε in these 4 cases;
 - **adverb of degree + adverbial τι** (2 instances): Plato *Cra.* 386a οὐ πάνυ τι μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ οὕτως ἔχειν — Plato *Cra.* 401d σχεδόν τι αὖ
- (c) Only 6 occurrences cannot be reduced in a convincing way to an independently identifiable unit:
 - 2 cases involve ἂν immediately following the verb it modifies: Plato *Plt.* 278c Θαναμάζοιμεν ἂν οὖν ...; — Plato *Plt.* 300d μιμοῖντ' ἂν μέντοι παγκάκως ; for the possibly formulaic status of this collocation, see section 6.2 below;
 - the remaining 4 cases all involve an indefinite immediately following the constituent it syntactically belongs with, either agreeing with this constituent: Plato *Sph.* 245d ποσόν τι γὰρ ... — Plato *Plt.* 294a Τρόπον τινὰ μέντοι ... , or in a genitival relation to it: Plato *Tht.* 209a Τῶν κοινῶν τι ἄρα ... — Plato *Tht.* 181b ποῖον τί ποτε ἄρα

¹⁰² In this quotation, the first of the two instances (the second takes up the first) shows that γὰρ can intrude between the two words constituting the unit οὐκ ἂν.

- (2) The data suggest that the rule ‘/q/-particles precede /r/-postpositives’ is highly valid. As will be argued below, invoking other data as well, the explanation may be that /q/-particles form an uninterruptible unit with their host word, or with an already composite word-like host unit.

3.2 Clusters of /q/-postpositives

- (1) Clusters of immediately adjacent /q/-particles are quite common in Classical Greek, and especially so in Plato, as can be seen in the following table.¹⁰³

Table 3.2a: clusters of /q/-particles

	Plato	Lysias	Total
/q q/	756	298	1054
/q q q/	17	0	17
/q q q q/	0	0	0

The 17 strings of 3 /q/-particles are the following: γὰρ οὖν δὴ (6 times), δέ γε αὖ (twice), μὲν γὰρ δὴ (twice), μὲν γε δὴ, μὲν γε οὖν, μὲν οὖν δὴ, μὲν οὖν ἄρα, μὲν δὴ αὖ, δέ γε μὴν, περ γε δὴ.

- (2) It has been observed that, whenever /q/-particles cluster, their internal order is to a certain extent predictable. The following table represents the sequences of immediately adjacent /q/ occurring in the corpus, as follows:¹⁰⁴
- All sequences are represented as combinations of two adjacent /q/, e.g. an occurrence of μὲν γὰρ οὖν, counts as (i) an occurrence of μὲν γὰρ and (ii) an occurrence of γὰρ οὖν.
 - The leftmost column indicates the preceding particle and the top row the following particle; the particles have been arranged in the order suggested by their order of precedence in the particle chains found in the corpus. If this order were a fully fixed one, the triangle below the diagonal (indicated by “xxx”) would have been empty.
 - The indefinite adverbs (π-) have been counted as /q/ in this table, though elsewhere in this study they are a priori counted with the indefinites; δὴ+ποτε has been considered as one word here (though not elsewhere in this study).
 - Some (sequences of) particles have been omitted from the table: αὖ always comes last in a string of /q/;¹⁰⁵ likewise περ always clings very closely to the word to which it applies (in Classical Attic most often a relative) and always comes first if in combination with other particles; the combinations involving μὴν are limited to 16 occurrences of γε μὴν¹⁰⁶; the combinations involving γοῦν are limited to 4 occurrences

¹⁰³ Here the frequencies are sometimes much lower than in most other tables; extrapolatability may be less strong.

¹⁰⁴ The mode of presentation is taken over from “Table 1: Adjacent particle sequences in the Homeric corpus” in Wills 1993, 71. Cf. already Table 2.1b above.

¹⁰⁵ Except for one example of αὖ γε. Plato *Plt.* 307b Καὶ μὴν ὁπόταν αὖ γε ἀμφοτέρα γίγνηται ταῦθ’ ἡμῖν ἄκαιρα, μεταβάλλοντες ἐκάτερα αὐτῶν ψέγομεν ἐπὶ τάναντία πάλιν ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. The matter of hiatus may be argued to play a role. For the fact that αὖ seems to be a marginal member of the class of /q/-particles, see also section 7.0(4).

¹⁰⁶ For the fact that some ‘modal’ particles due to their inherent semantic functions cannot combine with one another - especially μὴν is supposed not to combine with either δὴ, τοι, or ἄρα -, cf.

of γοῦν δῆ; leaving aside 5 cases of καίτοι γε and 1 case of οὔτοι δῆ, combinations involving τοι are limited to 1 case of δέ τοι, 7 cases of γάρ τοι and 2 cases of γέ τοι; μέντοι/μεντῶν is twice preceded and twice followed by γε¹⁰⁷ and once followed by ἄρα.

- Collocations of not immediately adjacent particles (e.g. γε ... οὔν), as included in Denniston 1934/1950, could not be studied in the present study.

Table 3.2b: clusters of /q/-particles

	δέ	τε	μέν	γάρ	τοίνυν	οὔν	γε	δῆ-	π-	ἄρα	total
δέ	xxx	1				23	99	43	10	9	185
τε		xxx		34	2	5	1	6	1	5	54
μέν			xxx	145	48	272	11	53		16	545
γάρ				xxx		50		54	35		139
τοίνυν					xxx						0
οὔν						xxx		24	2		26
γε							xxx	11	9		20
δῆ/δῆπ-				1		12	1	xxx		1	15
π-						2	1		1	2	6
ἄρα										xxx	0
total	0	1	0	180	50	364	113	191	58	33	990

Exceptions to the rule represented by the table above are limited to 17 occurrences:

- the 1 occurrence of δέ τε is in a quotation from Hesiodus, at Plato *Tht.* 207a;
- on the 1 occurrence of δῆ γάρ at Plato *Plt.* 264d-e, Burnet remarks in his apparatus criticus: “δῆ seclisi: post γάρ transp. al.”; the position of δῆ need not be a problem: δῆλος seems to be one of the words that attracts δῆ (cf. Boessenkool 2000, 93, with reference to Plato *R.* 497c);
- the 1 occurrence of δῆ γε is Plato *Plt.* 294e;
- the 1 occurrence involving two π-forms is Plato *Tht.* 199b, with πού and ποτε both indefinite adverbs;
- of the 14 cases with an unexpectedly late οὔν, 12 involve the formulas ‘interrogative + δῆ(ποτε)’ or ‘interrogative + ποτε’ followed by οὔν; 2 more have ‘πάλιν δῆ οὔν’; in the only occurrence of πού/ποτε followed by γε (Plato *Cra.* 422b), ποτε is clearly the indefinite adverb and focalized.

(3) It might be interesting to try and interpret the ‘**ranking**’ of the particles in Table 3.2b. Although a fully adequate classification of these particles is not available at present (see section 0.3.4 above) and hence cannot be invoked in an insightful account for the observed word order data, a general tendency can be perceived:

- purely connective particles (δέ, but also the corresponsive particles μέν and τε) tend to come first;
- essentially non-connective particles (‘focus-particles’ or ‘modal particles’: γε, δῆ, ἄρα, πού) tend to come later on in the cluster;

Boessenkool 2000, 65-66: “Slechts twee partikels [sc. ‘modal’ particles] hebben een minder breed scala aan combinatiemogelijkheden, namelijk *mên* en *toi*”.

¹⁰⁷ On the thesis that Lysias, among other authors, would use μέντοι γε instead of the more common μέντοι ... γε in order to avoid hiatus after μέντοι, see Blomqvist 1969, 30-32.

- the connective particles ‘with something extra’ (γάρ, οὖν, τοίνυν) are between the two previous ones.

(4) It should be observed that many clusters only occur in very specific contexts. For instance, **οὖν δὴ** only occurs in the following cases:

- 14 out of 24 occurrences immediately follow an interrogative (cf. here above on δὴ οὖν): Plato *Cra.* 392a — Plato *Cra.* 398a — Plato *Cra.* 409e Τί οὖν δὴ; — Plato *Tht.* 165e τίς οὖν δὴ ὁ Πρωταγόρας, φαίης ἂν ἴσως, λόγον ἐπίκουρον τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐρεῖ; — Plato *Tht.* 186d Τί οὖν δὴ ἐκείνῳ ἀποδίδως ὄνομα, τῷ ὁρᾶν ἀκούειν ὀσφραίνεσθαι ψύχεσθαι θερμαίνεσθαι; — Plato *Tht.* 197b Τί οὖν δὴ φήσεις τοῦτο ἐκείνου διαφέρειν; — Plato *Sph.* 221d Τίνα ποτ’ οὖν δὴ ταύτην; — Plato *Sph.* 246c Πῶς οὖν δὴ ληψόμεθα; — Plato *Sph.* 248b Τίν’ οὖν δὴ λέγουσι λόγον; — Plato *Sph.* 256c Τί οὖν δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο; — Plato *Sph.* 261d Τὸ ποῖον οὖν δὴ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων ὑπακουστέον; — Plato *Plt.* 262c Ποῖον οὖν δὴ φράζεις διαιρουμένους ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἄρτι δρᾶν; — Plato *Plt.* 302b Τίς οὖν δὴ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶν πολιτειῶν τούτων ἥκιστα χαλεπὴ συζῆν, πασῶν χαλεπῶν οὐσῶν, καὶ τίς βαρυτάτη; — Plato *Tht.* 146a ἄρ’ οὖν δὴ ἔχομεν λέγειν αὐτό;
- 6 more occur in the cluster γὰρ οὖν δὴ: Plato *Tht.* 189b Οὐ γὰρ οὖν δὴ. — Plato *Tht.* 205d Οὐ γὰρ οὖν δὴ φαίνεται. — Plato *Plt.* 306b πάντα γὰρ οὖν δὴ ἀλλήλοις τά γε τῆς ἀρετῆς μόρια λέγεται που φίλια. — Plato *Plt.* 269a Λέγεται γὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο. — Plato *Plt.* 303e Λέγεται γὰρ οὖν δὴ ταῦτα οὕτω γίγνεσθαι. — Plato *Plt.* 270b ἔστι γὰρ οὖν δὴ τοῦτ’ αὐτό.;
- the remaining 4 instances are the following: Plato *Cra.* 440d ἴσως μὲν οὖν δὴ, ὦ Κρατύλε, οὕτως ἔχει, ἴσως δὲ καὶ οὔ. (note that this collocation involves the formulaic cluster μὲν οὖν) — Plato *Tht.* 195e ἴθι οὖν δὴ, σὺ ἀποκρίνου. — Plato *Sph.* 254b “Ὅτ’ οὖν δὴ τὰ μὲν ἡμῖν τῶν γενῶν ὁμολόγηται κοινωνεῖν ἐθέλειν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ μή, — Plato *Plt.* 269d ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ κεκοινωνηκέ γε καὶ σώματος.

Similarly, some clusters are so frequent and have acquired a specific set of uses to such an extent that they can be regarded as lexicalized formulas. This is obviously the case with μὲν οὖν (see also Denniston’s treatment of the various combinations of particles, Denniston 1934/1950, *passim*).

3.3 Clusters of /r/-postpositives

Just like /q/-postpositives, /r/-postpositives tend to cluster: 242 clusters of 2 /r/-postpositives are found in the corpus (166 in Plato, 76 in Lysias); 11 clusters actually consist of 3 /r/ (8 in Plato, 3 in Lysias). As a general rule, the order of these words within these clusters can be formulated in the following rule:

ἄν < indefinite < personal pronoun

The quantitative data with respect to this rule are the following.

Table 3.3: clusters of /r/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
ἄν + other /r/	107 / 134 (79.9%)	76 / 78 (97.4%)	183 / 212 (86.3%)
other /r/ + ἄν	27 / 134 (20.1%)	2 / 78 (2.6%)	29 / 212 (13.7%)
indefinite + /r/ (except ἄν)	67 / 81 (82.7%)	34 / 38 (89.5%)	101 / 119 (84.9%)
/r/ (except ἄν) + indefinite	14 / 81 (17.3%)	4 / 38 (10.5%)	18 / 119 (15.1%)

As can be seen in this table, there are only 47 exceptions to the rule, among which only 6 in Lysias:

- (a) 29 instances of an indefinite followed by ἄν:¹⁰⁸
- 16 instances involve a **unit** consisting of **introductive+indefinite**: 11 instances are of the form ‘interrogative+indefinite+ἄν’ (e.g. Plato *Sph.* 251d-e: τούτων, ᾧ Θεαίτητε, τί ποτ’ ἄν αὐτοὺς προαιρεῖσθαι φήσομεν; Plato *Sph.* 220d ἢ τί τις ἄν, ᾧ Θεαίτητε, εἴποι κάλλιον;), 3 of the form ‘negative+indefinite+ἄν’ (e.g. Plato *Tht.* 166c ἢ ὡς ἰδίων γιγνομένων οὐδέν τι ἄν μᾶλλον τὸ φαινόμενον μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ γίγνοιτο, ...); 2 have ‘relative+indefinite+ἄν’ (e.g. Plato *Plt.* 293c ... ἐν ᾗ τις ἄν εὕρισκοι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀληθῶς ἐπιστήμονας καὶ οὐ δοκοῦντας μόνον, ...);
 - 5 occurrences involve a lexical mobile word followed by the **cluster ποτ’ ἄν** in which ποτε can be argued to be a /q/-particle (e.g. Plato *Tht.* 201c Οὐκ ἄν, ..., ὀρθά ποτ’ ἄν δικαστῆς ἄκρος ἐδόξαζεν ἄνευ ἐπιστήμης. — Lysias 13,86 (οὐκ) οἴομενοι Ἀγοράτῳ συμπράττειν ποτ’ ἄν δισχυριζομένῳ, ...);¹⁰⁹
 - 2 occurrences involve **τι as an adverb** of degree, which use tends towards a /q/ status (Plato *Tht.* 148c ἤττον τι ἄν οἶει ἀληθῆ τόνδ’ ἐπαινέσαι; — Plato *Tht.* 197a φαίνεται γάρ μοι προὔργου τι ἄν γενέσθαι.);
 - 3 instances involve the **formula** εἴποι τις ἄν (Plato *Sph.* 229a; Plato *Sph.* 230a; Plato *Plt.* 291d; cf. also Plato *Sph.* 220, already quoted here above); 1 more εὔροι τις ἄν (Plato *Plt.* 290e) and 1 τις ἄν ἴδοι (Plato *Plt.* 261d);
 - 1 occurrence involves the sequence καὶ τις ἄν (Plato *Plt.* 310b Τὰ μὲν πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεων ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις διώγματα τί καὶ τις ἄν ὡς ἄξια λόγου σπουδάζοι μεμφόμενος;), in which the indefinite is obviously focused (“anyone ever”).
- (b) 18 instances of a non-focal personal pronoun or non-focal αὐτ- followed by an indefinite:¹¹⁰
- 8 instances involve the **dative of first person personal pronouns** (5 μοι, 3 ἡμῖν; no second person pronouns have been retrieved), quite often even followed by π-indefinites in their particle-like use (Plato *Sph.* 237d Καὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν που φανερόν, ὡς ...); this phenomenon could be explained by the not infrequent use of first person datives as so-

¹⁰⁸ 21 additional apparent exceptions in Lysias are entirely due to an orthographical convention used by the editor, though not by others (20 times ὅ τι ἄν, and Lysias 25,12 ἀνθ’ ἧς τινος ἄν ...) and have not been counted. Potential occurrences of non-focal personal pronouns or anaphoric αὐτ- followed by ἄν could not be searched for in a systematic way (see section 1.1 above); note however e.g. Plato *Tht.* 158e Εμοῦ τοίνυν ἄκουε οἶα περὶ αὐτῶν ἄν λέγοιεν In Plato *Plt.* 306d (Ἄρ’ οὐκ δυνατὸς αὐτὸ ἄν γενόμην, ὡς περ καὶ διανοοῦμαι, διὰ λόγων ἐνδείξασθαι σοι; αὐτὸ can be said to be correlative (with the ὡς περ-clause) and hence focal (cf. section 2.3 above).

¹⁰⁹ Another 5 instances of ποτ’ ἄν have already been included in the 11 instances of the unit ‘interrogative + indefinite’.

¹¹⁰ This number is of course not objective and reliable, because of the orthographical ambiguity between focal and non-focal; however, 6 instances involve the unambiguous μ-forms of the first person singular.

called ‘dativi ethici’ and in a wide array of more or less similar uses in which the dative is not the complement of a verb nor a clear case of the ‘dativus commodi/incommodi’ (e.g. Plato *Sph.* 261e ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν που τῶν τῆ φωνῆ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δηλωμάτων διττὸν γένος); in such cases, the dative pronouns function much like /q/-particles; this /q/-like status may then have extended to uses that -grammatically speaking- are better analyzed as other kinds of datives (e.g. Lysias 1,15 προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβύτες ἄνθρωπος — see also Plato *Cra.* 428c; Plato *Cra.* 399e; Plato *Cra.* 428c; Plato *Sph.* 254c; Lysias 3,19; Lysias 25,13);

- 2 more instances involve a first person pronoun in the accusative followed by an indefinite: Plato *Tht.* 187c-d (Θράττει μέ πως νῦν τε καὶ ἄλλοτε δὴ πολλακίς) and Lysias 20,30, which, however, involves an editorial addition (δεῖ ἡμᾶς <τι> πάσχειν); note that the pronoun in both cases clings to the verb;
- 8 more instances involve αὐτ- preceding an indefinite, without there being any convincing explanation at hand: Plato *Tht.* 192c ἐὰν ἄρα ἐξ αὐτῶν τι μᾶλλον μάθω· — Plato *Sph.* 233b σχολῆ ποτ’ ἂν αὐτοῖς τις χρήματα διδοὺς ἤθελεν ἂν τούτων αὐτῶν μαθητὴς γίνεσθαι. — Plato *Sph.* 235a Γόητα μὲν δὴ καὶ μιμητὴν ἄρα θετέον αὐτόν τινα. — Plato *Sph.* 242d πολεμεῖ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐνίοτε αὐτῶν ἄττα πη, ... — Plato *Sph.* 268c μιμητὴς δ’ ὢν τοῦ σοφοῦ δῆλον ὅτι παρωνύμιον αὐτοῦ τι λήψεται, — Plato *Plt.* 259d Πρόσεχε δὴ τὸν νοῦν ἂν ἄρα ἐν αὐτῇ τινα διαφυὴν κατανοήσωμεν. — Plato *Plt.* 285e ὅταν αὐτῶν τις βουλευθῆ τῷ λόγον αἰτοῦντι περὶ τοῦ μὴ μετὰ πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ χωρὶς λόγου ῥαδίως ἐνδείξασθαι· ... — Plato *Plt.* 299a ὦν δ’ ἂν καταψηφισθῆ τιμᾶν ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν αὐτῶν τινας ἢ ἀποτίνειν.

Although the rule ‘ἄν < indefinite < personal pronoun’ seems to be descriptively adequate, no theoretically satisfactory account for it is available. For Homeric Greek, Ruijgh simply invokes a ‘canonical order’, with reference to the one for French clitic pronouns (Ruijgh 1990/1996a, 223-224; see also Wills 1993, 72).

4. Postpositives II: the P2-rules (Wackernagel's Law)

As has been explained in the General Introduction (section 1.1 above), Wackernagel's Law is a well-established and well-covered rule (both in Ancient Greek and other languages). In this section, I will investigate the P2 behavior of the two different classes (/q/ and /r/) that are supposed to be subject to this rule, according to the classification introduced in section 1.1 above, and systematically review the apparent exceptions.

Due to the very large number of relevant occurrences in the corpus, an indirect quantitative approach involving a comparison between an expected probability and an observed probability will be applied in this section, as described in section 1.2 above. Which value one needs to take as expected value depends on the zero-hypothesis chosen, which in its turn is a direct reflection of the claim one tries to corroborate (or rather: of the opposite of this claim).

4.1 The P2-rule for /q/-postpositives

As a general fact, the P2-tendency for the /q/-particles (in the present corpus limited to ἄρα, αὖ, γάρ, γε, γοῦν, δέ, δή, δῆθεν, δήπου, δήπουθεν, δήποτε, δήτα, μέν, μέντοι, μεντ' ἄν, μήν, νυ(ν), οὖν, περ, τε, τοι, τοίνυν) is well-established, but subject to a few factors causing apparent exceptions:

- in clusters of /q/-particles (see section 3.2 above) all particles obviously take the same P2;
- unit-formations may cause the /q/-particle to take P2 after a word-like unit instead of literally after the first orthographic word; a very common type of unit is the combination of an article or preposition and the noun or adjective which follows it (see section 2.4.2 above);
- /O/-introductives (esp. introductive particles) regularly precede the word or word-like unit after which a /q/-particle occurs.

In this section I will investigate the impact of the various factors on the statistical P2-tendencies of the /q/-particles, by discounting them from the bare figures. Furthermore, I will spell out the different tendencies for the different /q/-particles. Finally, I will review a few of the more common patterns in which the apparent 'deferment' of /q/-particles appears to be due to the fact that a colon boundary was not taken into account by editorial punctuation.

(1) /q/-particles in P2

The hypothesis that it is a specific feature of /q/ to take P2 will be investigated by comparing it to the zero-hypothesis "all words have an equal probability to take P2", in other words: the observed frequency of /q/-particles at P2 will be compared to the expected frequency if all words would have the same probability to take P2.

Table 4.1a: P2-tendency of /q/-particles

	Plato	Lysias	Total
P2: X q	4794 / 7880 (60.8%)	3115 / 4487 (69.4%)	7909 / 12367 (64.0%)
P3: X X q	675 / 7880 (8.6%)	390 / 4487 (8.7%)	1065 / 12367 (8.6%)
P4: X X X q	202 / 7880 (2.6%)	99 / 4487 (2.2%)	301 / 12367 (2.4%)
P5: X X X X q	105 / 7880 (1.3%)	31 / 4487 (0.7%)	136 / 12367 (1.1%)

every word except /q/-particles = /X/

expected			
P2: X X	10233 / 73404 (13.9%)	7401 / 56222 (13.2%)	17634 / 129626 (13.6%)

every word = /X/

The following observations can immediately be made:

- Not surprisingly, the data show that the hypothesis is confirmed: the P2-tendency of /q/-particles is enormously stronger than the zero-hypothesis would predict (up to 56% difference) and more than 60% of the occurrences (almost 70% in Lysias) is straightforwardly accounted for by the rule.
- The next lines in the table show that an increase of the distance of a /q/-particle to the next punctuation mark on its left goes together with a decrease of probability for the resulting pattern.

The apparent exceptions to the rule (36% of the total) are for the largest part limited to a few types.

(2) Clusters of /q/

A first obvious type of exception is due to the very frequent clusters of /q/-particles (see section 3.2 above). This clustering phenomenon accounts for the position of more than 8% of the remaining occurrences, as can be seen in the following table.

Table 4.1b: /| X q q (q...)/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
X q q	698 / 7880 (8.9%)	287 / 4487 (6.4%)	985 / 12367 (8.0%)
X q q q	16 / 7880 (0.2%)	0 / 4487 (0.0%)	16 / 12367 (0.1%)
Total X q (q...)	714 / 7880 (9.1%)	287 / 4487 (6.4%)	1001 / 12367 (8.1%)

(3) Units

As has already been shown in the above in connection with other word order rules, unit-formation is a recurrent factor giving rise to apparently exceptional positions.

- (a) A number of apparent exceptions of this type are due to the presence of units of the forms **article+mobile** and **preposition(+article)+mobile**, as discussed above in section 2.4.2 and observable in the following cases : Plato *Cra.* 387a *Κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄρᾳ φύσιν καὶ αἱ πράξεις πράττονται, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν δόξαν.* — Lysias 2,40 ... ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δὲ ἐμβάντες, ... — Plato *Tht.* 165a *Εἰς τὸ κοινὸν μὲν οὖν, ἀποκρινέσθω δὲ ὁ νεώτερος.* — Plato *Plt.* 265a *ἐν μέρει γε μὴν* δῆλον ὅτι δυνατόν. — Plato *Cra.* 384c *εἰς τὸ κοινὸν δὲ καταθέντας χρῆ σκοπεῖν εἴτε ὡς σὺ λέγεις ἔχει εἴτε ὡς Κρατύλος.* — Lysias 16,10 *πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ'* οὕτως ἐνειμάμην ὡστ' ἐκείνον πλεον ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν

έμοῦ τῶν πατρῶων, ... — Plato *Plt.* 307a τὸ τῆς ἡρεμαίας αὐ γενέσεως εἶδος ἄρ' οὐ πολλάκις ἐπὴνέκαμεν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πράξεων;

This type of explanation straightforwardly accounts for more than 2% of the 'deferred' /q/-particles, as can be seen in the following Table.

Table 4.1c: /[p (p..) M q (q...)]

	Plato	Lysias	Total
/[p p q (q...)	3 / 7880 (0.0%)	0 / 4487 (0.0%)	3 / 12367 (0.0%)
/[p M q (q...)/	132 / 7880 (1.7%)	81 / 4487 (1.8%)	213 / 12367 (1.7%)
/[p p M q (q...)/	21 / 7880 (0.3%)	4 / 4487 (0.1%)	25 / 12367 (0.2%)
/[p q (q...) M q/	27 / 7880 (0.3%)	2 / 4487 (0.0%)	29 / 12367 (0.2%)
<i>Total</i>	183 / 7880 (2.3%)	87 / 4487 (1.9%)	270 / 12367 (2.2%)

The following observations concerning these data should be added:

- Some of the strings counted here above are not actually relevant instances of the phenomenon in question: within the string /p q M q/, the string /p q/ often corresponds to the combination of pronominal ὁ with μέν or δέ, in which case the next mobile is in P1 of a next colon (see section 2.4.2).
 - As has been noted above (section 2.4.2), some particles occur late in the unit more often than others.
- (b) Next, a number of cases involve **units consisting of two mobile words**, as in the following examples: Plato *Tht.* 145e (cf. Plato *Plt.* 292c): *Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοίνυν* ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπορῶ ... — Plato *Sph.* 263a *Σὸν ἔργον δὴ* φράζειν περὶ οὗ τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτου. — Plato *Tht.* 170e *Νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, μάλα μυρῖοι δὴτα*, φησὶν "Ὁμηρος, οἳ γέ μοι τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα παρέχουσιν. — Plato *Cra.* 384a ..., οὐτε ἀποσαφεῖ *λοῦδὲν εἰρωνεύεται τε* πρὸς με, ... It is impossible to estimate the number of occurrences of this type using the database available.

(4) /O/-introductives in P1

Another type of exception involves /O/-introductives in P1, the ambiguous status of which has already been noted. Two interpretations are possible: either the introductive has to be considered as a prepositive, clinging to the following word, or it has to be considered as constituting a separate colon (see sections 2.0, 2.1 and 2.3 above). Whichever interpretation is the most plausible one in any particular instance, the fact that /q/-postpositives often do not occur literally in P2 is quite often due to the presence of one or more /O/-introductives in P1. This is evident from the examples below, which illustrate that this can occur with many types of /O/-introductive and many different /q/-particles: Lysias 34,9 *νῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐκείνων μὲν* ἀπάντων μάχη ἐστερήμεθα, ἡ δὲ πατρὶς ἡμῖν λέλειπται, ἴσμεν ὅτι ὁ κίνδυνος οὗτος μόνος ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας. — Plato *Tht.* 143a *ἀλλ' ἐγραψάμην μὲν* τότε εὐθύς οἴκαδ' ἐλθὼν ὑπομνήματα, ὕστερον δὲ κατὰ σχολὴν ἀναμνησκόμενος ἔγραφον, ... — Plato *Sph.* 266c *ἄρ' οὐκ αὐτὴν μὲν* οἰκίαν οἰκοδομικῆ φήσομεν ποιεῖν, γραφικῆ δὲ τιν' ἑτέραν, ... — Plato *Sph.* 248c *ὅτι γενέσει μὲν* μέτεστι τοῦ πάσχειν καὶ ποιεῖν δυνάμεως, ... — Plato *Sph.* 240b Οὐδαμῶς ἀληθινόν γε, *ἀλλ' εἰκόσ μὲν*. — Plato *Cra.* 386a Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, *ἀλλὰ πολλάκις δὴ* αὐτὸ πέπονθα, ὥστε μοι δοκεῖν πάνυ πονηροὺς εἶναι τινὰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μάλα συχνοὺς. — Lysias 32,21 *οὐκ ἄτοπον γάρ* μοι δοκεῖ καὶ περὶ τούτου μνησθῆναι — Plato *Cra.* 394c καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἃ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ βασιλέα σημαίνει· καὶ ἄλλα *γε αὐ* στρατηγόν οἶον [...]. καὶ *ιατρικά γε* ἕτερα ... — Plato *Plt.* 283b *Καὶ θαυμαστόν γε* οὐδὲν· ... — Plato *Sph.* 240b *Ἄλλ' ἔστι γε μὴν* πως. — Lysias 3,30 *καὶ*

τότε μὲν ἄρα, ἵνα μὴ ... — Plato *Sph.* 258a *Καὶ τὰλλα δὴ* ταύτη λέξομεν, ... — Plato *Sph.* 255e *Ὁὐ στάσις ἄρ'* ἐστίν.

The following table gives an impression of the number of instances that may be explained by these considerations (more than 6%).

Table 4.1d: P2-tendency of /q/-particles: /O/-introductives in P1

	Plato	Lysias	Total
/ O M q/	257 / 7880 (3.3%)	131 / 4487 (2.9%)	388 / 12367 (3.1%)
/ O p q/	94 / 7880 (1.2%)	90 / 4487 (2.0%)	184 / 12367 (1.5%)
/ O p M q/	47 / 7880 (0.6%)	14 / 4487 (0.3%)	61 / 12367 (0.5%)
/ O O q/	76 / 7880 (1.0%)	49 / 4487 (1.1%)	125 / 12367 (1.0%)
Total / O X q/	474 / 7880 (6.0%)	284 / 4487 (6.3%)	758 / 12367 (6.1%)

(5) ***P2-tendency of /q/-particles: summary of the quantitative data***

If we take into account the types of apparent exceptions mentioned in (1), (2) and (3) above, the percentage of cases in which the P2-rule for /q/-particles applies increases considerably (from 64% to 80%), as can be seen in the following summary table.

Table 4.1e: P2-tendency of /q/-particles (summary)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[X q	4794 / 7880 (60.8%)	3115 / 4487 (69.4%)	7909 / 12367 (64.0%)
[X q (q...)	714 / 7880 (9.1%)	287 / 4487 (6.4%)	1001 / 12367 (8.1%)
[p (p...) M q (q...)	183 / 7880 (2.3%)	87 / 4487 (1.9%)	270 / 12367 (2.2%)
/ O X q/	474 / 7880 (6.0%)	284 / 4487 (6.3%)	758 / 12367 (6.1%)
Total P2:	6165 / 7880 (78.2%)	3773 / 4487 (84.1%)	9938 / 12367 (80.4%)

Thus, in more than 80% of all occurrences in the corpus, /q/-particles in fact are in a regular P2 of an orthographic segment; as we have seen in paragraph (4) here above, one should add a indefinite (but probably small) number of units which have escaped our sifting. This leaves us with a little less than 20% of occurrences to account for in other ways.

(6) ***Different P2-tendencies for different /q/-particles***

It should be noted that not all /q/-particles tend towards P2 to the same degree. The details for the separate particles have been spelled out in the following table.

Table 4.1f: P2-tendency of different /q/-particles

	Plato	Lysias	Total
γούν	42 / 43 (97.7%)	7 / 7 (100%)	49 / 50 (98.0%)
δέ	1647 / 1699 (96.9%)	1637 / 1737 (94.2%)	3284 / 3436 (95.6%)
μέντοι	63 / 72 (87.5%)	19 / 19 (100%)	82 / 91 (90.1%)
μήν	179 / 206 (86.9%)	11 / 12 (91.7%)	190 / 218 (87.2%)
τοι	23 / 36 (63.9%)	105 / 113 (92.9%)	128 / 149 (85.9%)
γάρ	694 / 785 (88.4%)	474 / 613 (77.3%)	1168 / 1398 (83.5%)
τοίνυν	120 / 172 (69.8%)	109 / 132 (82.6%)	229 / 304 (75.3%)
περ	126 / 197 (64.0%)	42 / 69 (60.9%)	168 / 266 (63.2%)
δή	401 / 707 (56.7%)	19 / 53 (35.8%)	420 / 760 (55.3%)
οὖν	279 / 555 (50.3%)	101 / 222 (45.5%)	380 / 777 (48.9%)
μέν	521 / 1000 (52.1%)	442 / 996 (44.4%)	963 / 1996 (48.2%)
ἄρα	84 / 183 (45.9%)	4 / 9 (44.4%)	88 / 192 (45.8%)
δήπου	9 / 17 (52.9%)	0 / 13 (0.0%)	9 / 30 (30.0%)
γε	277 / 895 (30.9%)	9 / 85 (10.6%)	286 / 980 (29.2%)
τε	267 / 1019 (26.2%)	132 / 438 (30.1%)	399 / 1457 (27.4%)
αὖ	33 / 266 (12.4%)	2 / 3 (66.7%)	35 / 269 (13.0%)

The following rare particles have been omitted from the table: δήπουθεν (once in Lysias, P2), μεντ' ἄν (11 times in Plato, all P2), νυν (once in Plato, P2), δηῖτα (18 out of 21 P2; 1 out of 2 in Lysias), δήθεν (once in Plato, not P2).

- (a) The following basic facts can be observed:
- γούν, δέ, μέντοι, μήν, and γάρ occur in over 70% of the cases in P2 in both authors; τοίνυν comes very close to this;
 - ἄρα, μέν, οὖν, δή, and περ all are in the range from 44% to 64%;
 - γε, τε and αὖ have P2-tendencies under 30%; δήπου is rare in both authors and does not yield a clear picture.
- (b) Note that the ranking in this table shows some similarities (but also some salient differences) to the ones in Table 2.4c and Table 3.2b. For some particles the relatively weak P2-tendency can easily be explained by the data in these two tables:
- (i) by the fact that they tend to occur more often in the configuration /p M q/ (Table 2.4c), many of which can be expected to occur at the beginning of a segment:¹¹¹ most notably, 104 occurrences of τε, 21 occurrences of ἄρα, 39 of αὖ, 19 of τοίνυν, 5 of μήν, 51 of δή;
 - (ii) by the fact that they tend to come later in clusters of /q/-particles, cf. Table 3.2b above:¹¹²
 - οὖν occurs late in a cluster 364 times; in 263 of these the cluster μὲν οὖν occurs in actual P2 and in 50 more the cluster γὰρ οὖν is in P2;
 - likewise, γάρ occurs late in a cluster 180 times; in 141 of these the cluster μὲν γάρ occurs in actual P2, in 34 the cluster τε γάρ is in P2;

¹¹¹ It did not seem worthwhile to have the computer run a script for more than two hours, just to calculate these data.

¹¹² These clusters, of course, could not be reduced for the purposes of Table 4.1f.

- δὴ occurs late in a cluster 191 times; in 41 of these γὰρ δὴ is in P2, in 42 δὲ δὴ is in P2, and in 45 more μὲν δὴ is in P2;
 - 48 occurrences of μὲν τοίνυν occur in P2;
 - γε occurs late in a cluster 113 times; 95 cases of δέ γε are in P2.
- (c) Conversely, the relatively strong tendency for some /q/-particles to occur in P2 may be due to the fact that they occur very often in a formula involving an /O/-introductive. The following table presents the percentage of occurrences of each particle under scrutiny in P2 after an introductive in P1.

Table 4.1g: /q/-particles in P2 following an /O/-introductive in P1: /[O q/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[O q	1583 / 7880 (20.1%)	863 / 4487 (19.2%)	2446 / 12367 (19.8%)
[O δέ	308 / 1699 (18.1%)	233 / 1737 (13.4%)	541 / 3436 (15.7%)
[O γάρ	263 / 785 (33.5%)	180 / 613 (29.4%)	443 / 1398 (31.7%)
[O οὖν	172 / 555 (31.0%)	43 / 222 (19.4%)	215 / 777 (27.7%)
[O δὴ	204 / 707 (28.9%)	9 / 53 (17.0%)	213 / 760 (28.0%)
[O τε	120 / 1019 (11.8%)	76 / 438 (17.4%)	196 / 1457 (13.5%)
[O μήν	158 / 206 (76.7%)	11 / 12 (91.7%)	169 / 218 (77.5%)
[O περ	126 / 197 (64.0%)	42 / 69 (60.9%)	168 / 266 (63.2%)
[O μέν	52 / 1000 (5.2%)	114 / 996 (11.4%)	166 / 1996 (8.3%)
[O τοι	17 / 36 (47.2%)	105 / 113 (92.9%)	122 / 149 (81.9%)
[O τοίνυν	28 / 172 (16.3%)	30 / 132 (22.7%)	58 / 304 (19.1%)
[O γε	37 / 895 (4.1%)	4 / 85 (4.7%)	41 / 980 (4.2%)
[O ἄρα	31 / 183 (16.9%)	4 / 9 (44.4%)	35 / 192 (18.2%)
[O μέντοι	28 / 72 (38.9%)	6 / 19 (31.6%)	34 / 91 (37.4%)
[O αὐ	22 / 266 (8.3%)	1 / 3 (33.3%)	23 / 269 (8.6%)
[O δῆπου	2 / 17 (11.8%)	0 / 13 (0.0%)	2 / 30 (6.7%)
[O γοῦν	1 / 43 (2.3%)	0 / 7 (0.0%)	1 / 50 (2.0%)

If we compare these figures with the percentages for P2 in Table 4.1f above, the following salient facts can be observed:

- Almost 20% of the /q/-particles immediately follows an /O/-introductive in P1; since 64% of the /q/-particles is literally in P2 (Table 4.2a), one out of three /q/-particles in P2 occurs in this configuration.
- However, this need not be due to formulas in the strong sense of the word. Due to the inherent P1-tendency of /O/-introductives and the inherent P2-tendency of /q/-particles the collocation of both is bound to be frequent. Thus, for most of the particles the number of occurrences in the configuration /[O q/ does not seem to be especially large.
- For some /q/-particles, however, the configuration /[O q/ accounts for a more than substantial part of the occurrences in P2:
 - μήν: 169 out of the 190: most of them due to collocations like ἀλλὰ μήν and καὶ μήν; also note the formulaic question Τί μήν; in Plato;
 - τοι: 122 out of 128: most of them actually lexicalized collocations (114 times καίτοι, twice ἦτοι, once οὔτοι), plus 3 times ἐπεὶ τοι, and twice ἀλλά τοι;

- περ: 168 out of 168: of which 165 due to the often lexicalized collocation relative + περ, plus 3 cases of initial καίπερ;¹¹³
 - οὖν: 215 out of 380: 93 of the form interrogative pronoun + οὖν, 49 more of the form interrogative particle + οὖν, 50 of the form relative + οὖν (many of which εἰ/ἐάν οὖν).
- (d) Thus, some of the basic facts concerning the differences between the P2-tendencies of the different /q/-particles can be readily accounted for by a few general considerations:
- δέ (and to a lesser degree μέντοι, οὖν, τοίνυν, γάρ and γοῦν) have the specific function to mark important discourse boundaries (see section 21.3 below), which can be expected to be always marked by editorial punctuation; this fact straightforwardly accounts for the relatively high scores for these particles; the scores for οὖν which are - from this point of view- unexpectedly low, can i.a. be due to the highly frequent cluster μὲν οὖν (see paragraph (b) here above);
 - μὲν and τε, although they are primarily connectives (be it corresponsive ones), occur remarkably often in a late position; however, it is evident that both particles often introduce rather low-level structures which are often preceded by some common ground (see paragraph (7) here below); especially τε (e.g. in the collocation ...τε ...καί...) can connect very short constituents which need not make up separate discourse segments;
 - γε, περ, δῆ, ἄρα, τοι and μήν are not primarily connectives, and in se need not be expected to occur very often at major boundaries; the relatively high ranking of most notably μήν (but also δῆ) can be accounted for by their very frequent appearance in clusters with introductives (see paragraph (c) here above);
 - αὖ again appears to be a marginal member of the class /q/, i.a. due to the fact that it always comes last in a cluster of postpositives (see section 3 above).

(7) *Segmentation into cola*

Because many of the most frequent /q/-particles (μέν, δέ, ...) have the specific function to mark discourse articulation, many of the cola in which these particles take P2 coincide with segments marked by editorial punctuation. Still, quite a number of these particles do not occur in P2 even if one takes into account the unit-formations mentioned above.

- (a) In most of these cases, **corresponsive μὲν** is preceded by the common ground for both the μὲν-part and the δέ-part of the contrast, as in the following cases: Plato *Th.* 150b Τῆ δέ γ' ἐμῆ τέχνη τῆς μαιεύσεως | τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὑπάρχει ὅσα ἐκείναις, διαφέρει δέ ... — Plato *Pt.* 279c-d καὶ τῶν ἀμυντηρίων | τὰ μὲν ἀλεξιφάρμακα καὶ θεῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ προβλήματα· τῶν δὲ προβλημάτων | τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὀπίσματα, τὰ δὲ φράγματα· — Lysias 3,15 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα | τὸ μὲν μειράκιον εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, οὗτοι δὲ συνεισπεσόντες ἤγον αὐτὸν βίβη, — Plato *Th.* 205e ὃς ἂν λέγῃ | συλλαβὴν μὲν γνωστὸν καὶ ῥητόν, | στοιχείον δὲ τούναντίον. — Lysias 2,55 μετὰ πλείστων γὰρ πόνων καὶ φανερωτάτων ἀγόνων καὶ καλλίστων κινδύνων | ἐλευθέραν μὲν ἐποίησαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, | μεγίστην δ' ἀπέδειξαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα, ...
- (b) Something similar can be observed for **corresponsive τε** (either in the pattern ...τε ... καί or in the pattern ...τε τε): Plato *Cra.* 390a Οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην | τὸν τε ἐνθάδε | καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις, — Plato *Pt.* 270d περὶ δὲ τούτους | ἄλλα τε παθήματα πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ καινὰ συμπίπτει, — Plato *Cra.* 390c Τίς δὲ | τῷ τοῦ

¹¹³ See previous note; but ὥσπερ has been treated as a single word.

νομοθέτου ἔργῳ | ἐπιστατήσιε τ' ἂν κάλλιστα | καὶ εἰργασμένον κρίνειε καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις; ἄρ' οὐχ ὅσπερ χρήσεται; — Lysias 12,64 νῦν δὲ ὀρῶ | τὰς τε ἀπολογίας εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἀναφερομένας, | τοὺς τ' ἐκεῖνῳ συνόντας τιμᾶσθαι πειρωμένους ὅσπερ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίου ἀλλ' οὐ μεγάλων κακῶν γεγεννημένου. — Lysias 31,25 ..., τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγουμένους εἶναι | τοὺς τε κακοὺς τιμᾶν | καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμνημονεῖν· — Plato *Tht.* 205c καὶ αὕτη δὴ ἡ αἰτία | ἄλογόν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον αὐτὸ ποιοῖ;¹¹⁴

The second member of a ...τε...τε... pattern (or even both members) can be left unmarked by editorial punctuation as well, as in the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 384a ..., οὐτε ἀποσαφεῖ λοῦδὲν εἰρωνεύεται τε πρὸς με, ... — Plato *Sph.* 254a ... ἕτερον μὴν τρόπον | ἢ τε τοῦ σοφιστοῦ χαλεπότης | ἢ τε τούτου. — Lysias 19,13 ὁ δὲ ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς | ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου τε πεπιστευμένους | γεγονότας τε ἐπιεικεῖς | τῇ (τε) πόλει ἔν γε τῷ τότε χρόνῳ ἀρέσκοντας, ...

- (c) Particles which are not primarily connective (esp. **γε**, **δή**, **τοι**, **ἄρα**) yield a somewhat more complicated picture, in that they are not inherently connected to major discourse boundaries.¹¹⁵

Some occurrences do not yield an immediately satisfactory analysis in terms of colon boundaries: Plato *Sph.* 224e Ἔτι δὴ σκοπῶμεν εἴ τιτι τοιῷδε !? προσέεικεν ἄρα τὸ νῦν μεταδιωκόμενον γένος. — Plato *Sph.* 229a Οὐκοῦν | καὶ περὶ μὲν ὕβριν καὶ ἀδικίαν καὶ δειλίαν | ἢ κολαστικὴ πέφυκε | τεχνῶν !? μάλιστα δὴ πασῶν προσήκουσα Δίκη. — Plato *Plt.* 299c γραψάμενον εἰσάγειν τὸν βουλόμενον οἷς ἔξεστιν !? εἰς δὴ τι δικαστήριον· ...

In the case of *γε* a number of occurrences might be analyzed as involving parenthetical or afterthought-like additions ('at least as far as X is concerned'?) having colon-status (see section 10.2.5 below): Lysias 19,13 ὁ δὲ ὀρῶν αὐτοὺς | ὑπ' ἐκεῖνου τε πεπιστευμένους | γεγονότας τε ἐπιεικεῖς | τῇ (τε) πόλει !? ἔν γε τῷ τότε χρόνῳ !? ἀρέσκοντας, ... — Lysias 13,7 τούτους οὖν ἐβούλοντο !? ἀμῶς γε πῶς !? ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ῥαδίως ἂ βούλοιντο διαπράττειντο. — Plato *Cra.* 400b Πολλαχῇ μοι δοκεῖ !? τοῦτό γε. — Plato *Cra.* 419d παντὶ γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι | ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐ τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν ψυχὴν συμφέρεσθαι | τοῦτο ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα, | "εὐφεροσύνην" !? τὸ γε δίκαιον·

Still, many occurrences can be accounted for by invoking colon boundaries of regular types: Plato *Cra.* 420a-b "ἔρως" δέ, | ὅτι εἰσρεῖ ἔξωθεν | καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἐστὶν ἢ ροὴ αὕτη τῷ ἔχοντι | ἀλλ' ἐπέσακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, | διὰ ταῦτα | ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσρεῖν | "ἔσρος" | τὸ γε παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο—τῷ γὰρ οὐ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠ ἐχρώμεθα— | νῦν δ' | "ἔρως" κέκληται διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὠ ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ μεταλλαγῆν. — Plato *Sph.* 229c Τί δὲ δὴ | τῷ τῆς διδασκαλικῆς ἄρα μέρει τῷ τοῦτο ἀπαλλάττοντι λεκτέον; — Plato *Plt.* 304c (Τὴν) εἰ δεῖ μανθάνειν ἢ μὴ | τῆς μανθανομένης καὶ διδασκούμενης ἄρα | σύ γε ἀποφαίνῃ δεῖν ἡμῖν ἄρχειν; — Plato *Sph.* 221d μανθάνω γὰρ ὃ λέγεις, ὡς παντὸς δεῖ τοιοῦτος εἶναι | τὸ γε ὄνομα τοῦτο ἔχων. — Plato *Plt.* 285d Ἡ που | τὸν τῆς ὑφαντικῆς γε λόγον αὐτῆς ταύτης ἕνεκα θηρεῦειν | οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐθελήσειεν νοῦν ἔχων· — Plato *Tht.* 190b Ἀναμιμνήσκου δὴ εἰ πάποτ' εἶπες πρὸς σεαυτὸν ὅτι παντὸς μᾶλλον | τὸ τοι καλὸν | αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν | ἢ | τὸ ἄδικον | δίκαιον. —

¹¹⁴ In this case, however, the two members of the coordination need not make up two separate cola (see section 6.1 below).

¹¹⁵ Also note that there seems to be a special relationship between these particles and (adverbial?) *καὶ* and *οὐδέ*, in which case these particles come after the first mobile word in the expression, as illustrated by the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 386d Ἀλλὰ μὴν | οὐδὲ κατ' Εὐθύδημόν γε | οἶμαι | σοὶ δοκεῖ πᾶσι πάντα ὁμοίως εἶναι ἅμα καὶ ἀεὶ· — Plato *Cra.* 394e Καὶ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς ἄρα γενομένου ἀσεβεῖ τὸ τοῦ γένους ὄνομα ἀποδοτέον. — Plato, *Sph.* 241d Πῶς γὰρ οὐ φαίνεται | καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο τυφλῷ; — Lysias 18,14 καὶ περὶ τούτων δὴ ἀμφοτέρων Ἀθηναῖοι, παρανόμως φεύγοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρός, τάναντία σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐψηφίσαντο.

Plato *Plt.* 306a ἦ | χαλεπὸν ἐνδείξασθαι πρῶγμα | ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα γέγονεν, ὡς φαίνεται.
 — Plato *Tht.* 145b ὡς εἶ ἴσθι ὅτι Θεόδωρος | πολλοὺς δὴ πρὸς μὲ ἐπαινέσας ξένους τε καὶ
 ἀστοὺς | οὐδένα πῶ ἐπῆνεσεν ὡς σὲ νυνδὴ. — Plato *Tht.* 156c ὅσον μὲν οὖν βραδύ, ἐν τῷ
 αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πλησιάζοντα τὴν κίνησιν ἴσχει | καὶ οὕτω δὴ γεννᾷ, | τὰ δὲ γεννώμενα |
 οὕτω δὴ θάττω ἐστίν. — Plato *Sph.* 258a Καὶ τὰλλα δὴ | ταύτη λέξομεν, | ἐπεὶ περ ἢ
 θατέρου φύσις ἐφάνη τῶν ὄντων οὐσα, | ἐκείνης δὲ οὐσης | ἀνάγκη δὴ | καὶ τὰ μόρια
αὐτῆς | μηδενὸς ἦττον ὄντα τιθέναι. — Plato *Sph.* 267e ὁ γὰρ σοφιστὴς | οὐκ ἐν τοῖς
 εἰδόσιν ἦν | ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μιμουμένοις δὴ. — Plato *Plt.* 276c Μετὰ ταῦτα δέ γε, | ὦ
 Σώκρατες, | ἄρ' ἐννοοῦμεν ὅτι | πρὸς αὐτῷ δὴ τῷ τέλει | συχνὸν αὖ διημαρτάνετο;

4.2 The P2-rule for /r/-postpositives

Whereas the P2-rule for /q/-particles has often been taken for granted, the /r/-postpositives have received a lot of attention in this respect (see e.g. Marshall 1987).

(1) Hypothesis 1: /r/ take P2

The procedure is -at this stage- the same as with /q/-particles. However, two different expected probabilities may here be interesting as a basis for comparison:

- (i) the probability for any word to take P2 (as in section 4.1 above);
- (ii) the probability for /q/-particles to take P2 (as calculated in Table 4.1a above).

The former expected probability expresses the zero-hypothesis “/r/-postpositives do not tend toward P2”; the latter expected probability expresses the zero-hypothesis “there is no difference in behavior between /q/-postpositives and /r/-postpositives as far as their P2-tendency is concerned”.

Table 4.2a: P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives (hypothesis 1)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
P2: X r	522 / 2722 (19.2%)	305 / 1292 (23.6%)	827 / 4014 (20.6%)
P3: X X r	577 / 2722 (21.2%)	319 / 1292 (24.7%)	896 / 4014 (22.3%)
P4: X X X r	294 / 2722 (10.8%)	151 / 1292 (11.7%)	445 / 4014 (11.1%)
P5: X X X X r	216 / 2722 (7.9%)	110 / 1292 (8.5%)	326 / 4014 (8.1%)

every word except /r/-clitics = /X/

expected 1			
	Plato	Lysias	Total
P2: X X	10233 / 73404 (13.9%)	7401 / 56222 (13.2%)	17634 / 129626 (13.6%)

every word = /X/

expected 2			
	Plato	Lysias	Total
X q	4794 / 7880 (60.8%)	3115 / 4487 (69.4%)	7909 / 12367 (64.0%)

cf. Table 4.1a

The following observations can immediately be made:

- The probabilities for a /r/-postpositive to take P2 are significantly and considerably higher than those for ‘any X’ (+7%, up to +10% in Lysias): our class /r/ shows a P2-tendency.

- Still, the probabilities are enormously lower than the ones for a /q/-particle to take P2 (-23%, -25% in Lysias): our class /r/ appears to be a different class indeed with respect to its P2-tendency.
- The gradual decrease of probability with an increase of the distance to the next punctuation mark to the left does not show up here.

The latter two observations, as well as the -all in all- (unexpectedly?) low percentages, are indications that the P2-rule should be formulated differently for /r/ than for /q/.

(2) Hypothesis 2: /r/ take P2, but /p/ and /q/ are invisible

Two obvious reasons why /r/-postpositives do not literally take P2 are the following:

- in clusters of postpositives /r/-postpositives as a rule follow /q/-particles (see section 3.1 above);
- /r/-postpositives do not (normally) follow /p/-prepositives (see section 2.4.1).

For (i.a.) these reasons, it seems reasonable to formulate the hypothesis that /r/-postpositives do tend toward P2, but that /p/ and /q/ are invisible to this rule. Three different expected probabilities, corresponding to three different zero-hypotheses can be used here:

- (i) the probability for any word to take P2, as a test for the P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives in general (as in paragraph (1) here above);
- (ii) the probability for /q/-particles to take P2, as a test for the difference between /q/-particles and /r/-postpositives (as in paragraph (1) here above);
- (iii) the data from Hypothesis 1 (Table 4.2a, here above), in order to test the hypothesis that the P2-rule for /r/-postpositives does not take into account /p/ and /q/ for the determination of P2.

Table 4.2b: P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives (hypothesis 2), /p/ and /q/ invisible

	Plato	Lysias	Total
P2: [X r	917 / 2722 (33.7%)	488 / 1292 (37.8%)	1405 / 4014 (35.0%)
P3: [X X r	480 / 2722 (17.6%)	267 / 1292 (20.7%)	747 / 4014 (18.6%)
P4: [X X X r	269 / 2722 (9.9%)	148 / 1292 (11.5%)	417 / 4014 (10.4%)
P5: [X X X X r	183 / 2722 (6.7%)	84 / 1292 (6.5%)	267 / 4014 (6.7%)

/p/ and /q/ have been omitted
every other word (except /r/-clitics) = /X/

expected 1			
P2: [X X	10233/73404 (13.9%)	7401 / 56222 (13.2%)	17634 / 129626 (13.6%)

expected 2			
[X q	4794 / 7880 (60.8%)	3115 / 4487 (69.4%)	7909 / 12367 (64.0%)

cf. Table 4.1a

expected 3			
P2: [X r (hyp. 1)	522 / 2549 (20.5%)	305 / 1213 (25.1%)	827 / 3762 (22.0%)

cf. Table 4.2a

The omission of /p/ and /q/ from the corpus (i.e. the adoption of the hypothesis that these classes are invisible for determining the position of /r/) has had an important impact on the results:

- The observed probability for /r/ to take P2 (35%; up to 38% in *Lysias*) is now well above the expected probability for ‘any /X/’ (13.6%) and the scores have improved much as compared with hypothesis 1 (increase of 15%).
- Furthermore, the probabilities now gradually decrease with an increase of the distance to the segment boundary. Note, however, that almost 19% of the occurrences are in P3, which cannot be expected to be due to segmentation into cola, or -for that matter- to a purely random effect. A possible explanation for this may be that the word immediately preceding /r/ is often preceded by an /O/-introductive (see paragraph (4) here below).

These results suggest that hypothesis 2 is correct, and I will henceforward adopt it (i.e. I will not count /p/ and /q/ in the following Tables). Still, the scores stay well below the scores for the /q/-particles (64%; a difference of -29%), and up to 60% of the occurrences do not literally obey the P2-rule. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the possible causes for these apparent exceptions.

(3) *Clusters of /r/*

As has been noted in section 3.3 above, 242 clusters of 2 /r/-postpositives are found in the corpus, of which 11 actually consist of 3 /r/. As has been argued for the /q/-particles, it is evident that the /r/ which are part of such a cluster all take ‘the same’ position as far as the word order rules under scrutiny are concerned. The following table presents the relevant data.

Table 4.2c: P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives (hypothesis 2): clusters of /r/ reduced

	Plato	Lysias	Total
P2: [X r	917 / 2722 (33.7%)	488 / 1292 (37.8%)	1405 / 4014 (35.0%)
P2: [X r r	71 / 2722 (2.6%)	33 / 1292 (2.6%)	104 / 4014 (2.6%)
P2: [X r r r	4 / 2722 (0.1%)	1 / 1292 (0.1%)	5 / 4014 (0.1%)
<i>Total [X r (r...)</i>	<i>992 / 2722 (36.4%)</i>	<i>522 / 1292 (40.4%)</i>	<i>1514 / 4014 (37.7%)</i>

/p/ and /q/ have been omitted
every other word (except /r/-clitics) = /X/

The number of occurrences accounted for by the P2-rule has thus increased by another 3%. This is much less, however, than was the case for the /q/-particles (+8.1%), which is an obvious reflection of the fact that clusters of /q/-particles are far more numerous than clusters of /r/-postpositives (cf. sections 3.2 and 3.3).

(4) *The interaction of /r/-postpositives with /O/-introductives*

An important factor causing /r/-postpositives not to occur at the expected P2 involves the fact that the word immediately preceding it is often preceded by an /O/-introductive, as suggested in paragraph (2) above on the basis of the large number of /r/ in P3 (cf. also Table 4.1d above, for the fact that at least 6.1% of the cases of ‘deferred’ /q/-particles could be explained by this factor).

The following data give an indication of the extent to which this factor may be determinant in accounting for the apparent ‘deferment’ of /r/-postpositives.

Table 4.2d: P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives (hypothesis 2): /O/-introductives in P1

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[O M r (r...)	185 / 2722 (6.8%)	84 / 1292 (6.5%)	269 / 4014 (6.7%)
[O O M r (r...)	49 / 2722 (1.8%)	16 / 1292 (1.2%)	65 / 4014 (1.6%)
[O O O M r	3 / 2722 (0.1%)	1 / 1292 (0.1%)	4 / 4014 (0.1%)
[O O r (r...)	105 / 2722 (3.9%)	113 / 1292 (8.7%)	218 / 4014 (5.4%)
[O O O r (r...)	10 / 2722 (0.4%)	13 / 1292 (1.0%)	23 / 4014 (0.6%)
[O O O O r (r...) ¹¹⁶	0 / 2722 (0.0%)	1 / 1292 (0.1%)	0 / 4014 (0.0%)
<i>Total [O (O...) X r (r...)</i>	<i>352 / 2722 (12.9%)</i>	<i>228 / 1292 (17.6%)</i>	<i>579 / 4014 (14.4%)</i>

/p/ and /q/ have been omitted

Thus, the number of /r/-postpositives which follow the P2-rule can be increased by no less than 14% (up to 18% in Lysias) if we take into account the status of /O/-introductives.

A possibly important element in this matter is the fact that the succession of an /O/-introductive and an immediately adjacent /r/-postpositive is subject to certain conditions, as was already observed by Marshall:

- (a) Marshall 1987, 31-34, Rules XX-XXIII, in which it is stated that many introductive particles are not immediately followed by many /r/-postpositives;
- (b) Marshall 1987, 23-26, Rules XI-XIII, in which it is observed that /r/-postpositives do not stand alone between various collocations of /O/-introductives, i.e. that configurations of the type /O r O/ are rare.

On the other hand, a large number of very frequent occurrences of the string /O r/ are highly formulaic. I will now review the different cases which occur in the corpus.

- (a) A total of 1182 occurrences of the string **/O/-introductive + /r/-prepositive** can be retrieved from the corpus (732 in Plato, 456 in Lysias).

The largest part of this number is constituted by a few highly frequent (often **formulaic**) collocations, accounting for 72.5% of the occurrences (=857 occurrences):

- relative + ἄν: 191 occurrences (143 in Plato, 48 in Lysias);
- relative + indefinite: 326 occurrences (160 in Plato, 166 in Lysias);
- interrogative + indefinite: 70 occurrences (62 in Plato, 8 in Lysias);
- interrogative + ἄν: 53 occurrences (22 in Plato, 31 in Lysias);
- simple negative + ἄν: 134 occurrences (57 in Plato, 77 in Lysias);
- simple negative + indefinite: 83 occurrences (63 in Plato, 20 in Lysias).

Introductive particles are only rarely followed by an /r/-postpositive:

- introductive particle + ἄν: this collocation is very rare; not counting 34 cases of οὐδ' ἄν or μηδ' ἄν, which can be seen as variants of the formula simple negative + ἄν, it consists of only the following 17 instances: 1 case of οὐκ οὖν ἄν (Plato *Sph.* 238a); 6 cases of the collocation ἄρ' ἄν (Plato *Cra.* 430b, Plato *Cra.* 432b, Plato *Plt.* 272b, Plato *Plt.* 283e, Plato *Plt.* 288c, Lysias 26,7); 10 cases of κἄν;
- introductive particle + personal pronoun: not counting 57 instances of the type καὶ μοι/σοι, only the following 8 cases can be retrieved: 6 instances of ἀλλά μοι (Plato *Cra.* 440d, Plato *Tht.* 151d and 4 instances involving the formula μοι δοκεῖς/δοκῶ/δοκεῖ: Plato *Cra.* 401a, Plato *Cra.* 433b, Plato *Tht.* 183d, Plato *Tht.* 184d) and 2 instances involving the introductive ἦ (Plato *Sph.* 236d, Lysias 8,4);

¹¹⁶ Lysias 14,1 ὥστε καὶ εἰ μὴ τις ἰδίᾳ ἀδικούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνει, ...

- introductive particle + indefinite: this combination is less rare, containing 53 examples of οὐδέ/μηδέ+indefinite (including the lexicalized or formulaic combinations with ποτέ, πω, and πόποτε), 48 cases of ἤ + indefinite, 16 cases of καί + indefinite, 29 cases with interrogative and other introductive particles (ἄρά ποτε, μὴν τι, ἦ που, ἦ μὴν, and a few examples with ἀλλά).
- (b) As for the fact that /r/-postpositives rarely stand in between introductives, only 43 cases of the string /O r O/ have been found in the corpus (31 in Plato, 12 in Lysias).
- 8 instances are not really relevant to the present purposes:
 - 2 occurrences can immediately be excluded: one (Lysias 4,10) is due to the editorial orthography ὄ τι for ὄτι; and in Plato *Th.* 182a the expression ποιόν τι is used as an abstract noun, not as a real interrogative;
 - in 2 more cases the **indefinite** is clearly focal: Plato *Cra.* 421c ὡς τινες καὶ ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτό, — Plato *Th.* 160b ὥστε εἴτε τις εἶναι τι ὀνομάζει, τινὲ εἶναι ἢ τινός ἢ πρὸς τι ῥητέον αὐτῷ, εἴτε γίνεσθαι ... ;
 - 2 instances involve uses of **οἶον** that are not introductive: Plato *Sph.* 241d Μή με οἶον πατραλοῖαν ὑπολάβῃς γίνεσθαι τινα. — Plato *Sph.* 236d Ἄρ' οὖν αὐτὸ γιγνώσκων σύμφης, ἢ σε οἶον ῥύμη τις ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου συνειθισμένον συνεπεσπάσατο πρὸς τὸ ταχὺ συμφῆσαι;
 - 1 instance involves an idiomatic use of **ἀλλά**, in which the particle is evidently not introductive: Lysias 10,15 ἐάν πως ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παιδευθῆ ... ;
 - 1 instance involves the formula **τί ποτε**, in which ποτέ can be considered as a /q/-particle rather than an /r/-postpositive (Lysias 31,10 τί ποτε ὡς μὴ ἐβουλόμην ἄ γε πρᾶττοντας ἐποίησεν ἄν;).
 - In 15 instances the second /O/-introductive in the string /O r O/ is **καί**, in its adverbial use: Plato *Cra.* 395c Οἶόν που καὶ κατ' ἐκείνου λέγεται ... — Plato *Th.* 146c ἄν τι καὶ ἀμάρτω ... — Plato *Th.* 181c ἄν τι καὶ δέη ... — Plato *Th.* 186c οἷς ἂν καὶ παραγίγηται ... — Plato *Cra.* 407e ἐπειδὴ με καὶ οὐ φησιν Κρατύλος Ἑρμογένη εἶναι. — Plato *Sph.* 217c οἶόν ποτε καὶ Παρμενίδη ... — Plato *Pl.* 281d πρὶν ἂν καὶ ταύτας αὐτῆς πάσας περιέλωμεν; — Plato *Sph.* 241c ἐάν πη καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ παρασπασώμεθα οὕτως ἰσχυροῦ λόγου; — Plato *Pl.* 289c ἐν οἷς που καὶ μαντεύομαι ... — Plato *Pl.* 294a ἦ τι καὶ δυσχεραίνεις τῶν λεχθέντων. — Plato *Pl.* 295d ἦ τι καὶ ἄλλο ... — Lysias 1,42 τί γὰρ ἦδειν εἴ τι κάκεινος εἶχε σιδήριον; — Lysias 19,5 πρὶν ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἴπωμεν ... — Lysias 19,54 οἱ ἂν καὶ σιωπῶντες ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ βίῳ παρέχωσι σάφρονας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ δικαίους. — Lysias 20,8 εἴ τις καὶ ἐβούλετο ἐναντιοῦσθαι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν,
 - In 11 instances the second /O/-introductive in the string /O r O/ is a **negative**, which then can often be interpreted as clinging closely to the word negated (like a /p/-prepositive), rather than introducing the sentence at large: Plato *Cra.* 421c ὃ ἂν μὴ γιγνώσκωμεν ... — Plato *Th.* 171c οὐδ' ἂν μὴ μάθη ... — Lysias 14,5 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁπόσοι ἂν μὴ παρῶσιν ἐν τῇ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ. — Plato *Th.* 192a ὧν τι μὴ αἰσθάνεται ... — Plato *Th.* 167e ὅταν τις μὴ χωρὶς μὲν ὡς ἀγωνιζόμενος τὰς διατριβὰς ποιῆται, χωρὶς δὲ διαλεγόμενος, ... — Plato *Pl.* 289b εἴ τι μὴ μέγα λέληθεν, ... — Plato *Pl.* 310c εἴ τι μὴ κατὰ τρόπον πράττουσιν ... — Lysias 19,37 καὶ εἴ τις μὴ κτησάμενος ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παραλαβὼν τοῖς παισὶ διένεμεν, ... — Plato *Cra.* 427d ὥστε με μὴ δύνασθαι εἰδέναι ... — Lysias 22,18 καίτοι πῶς ἂν οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἴη ... — Plato *Th.* 187a ἵνα εὐρωμεν τί ποτ' οὐκ ἔστ' ἐπιστήμη, ἀλλὰ τί ἔστιν

- 3 instances involve the string **ὥσπερ ἄν εἰ** (Plato *Cra.* 395e; Plato *Cra.* 410b; Plato *Cra.* 430a) and 4 the string **κἄν εἰ** (Plato *Sph.* 256b; Plato *Sph.* 267d; Plato *Sph.* 224d; Plato *Plt.* 308c); one more involves **τί ἄν εἰ**, introducing an elliptical question: Lysias 12,34 Φέρε δὴ, *τί ἄν εἰ* καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτύχετε αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ ὑεῖς; ἀποψηφισαίσθε;
- 1 case involves the formula **εἴ τις**: Lysias 23,11 εἴ τις ἢ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τοῦτον (ἀφαιροῖτο) ἢ ἄγοι φάσκων ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι ... ; note that *τις* is fronted together with *εἰ* and that both words have scope over the members of a parallel structure.

Summarizing the above data on the interaction /r/-postpositives with /O/-introductives, we can draw the following conclusions:

- some combinations of the type /O r/ are formulaic and frequent: relative + ἄν; relative + indefinite; interrogative + indefinite; interrogative + ἄν; simple negative + ἄν; simple negative + indefinite; these account for 72.5% of the occurrences of the string /O r/;
- all other combinations are very rare, and restricted to a very limited number of types;
- combinations of the type /O r O/ are almost exclusively limited to cases in which the second /O/ is καί or a negative.

(5) *Category-shifts: focal personal and indefinite pronouns and adverbs*

In sections 2.0, 2.3, 2.4 and 3.1 above, I have pointed out that in many cases an indefinite or a potentially postpositive personal pronoun is focalized and therefore not an instance of an /r/-postpositive but of a mobile word. In those cases, the word need not take P2. It is obviously impossible to estimate how many of the apparently exceptional cases are due to this factor.¹¹⁷

(6) *Units*

Evidently, a large number of apparent exceptions to the P2-rule for /r/-postpositives can be due to units involving /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles, but these cases have already been eliminated in Table 4.2b above. The number of the other types of units which may account for ‘deferred’ /r/-postpositives is impossible to estimate. The following examples illustrate some of the possible types:

- in Plato *Sph.* 234a Παιδιὰν λέγεις τινά, the expression παιδιὰν λέγεις may be compared to παίζεις; however, one could also argue that the P1 of παιδιὰν is a case of emphatic fronting;
- adverb (of degree or similar) + adjective: Plato *Cra.* 403e οὕτω καλοῦς τινας, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπίσταται λόγους λέγειν ὁ Ἄιδης, — Plato *Sph.* 238d Ἐὰρ οὖν ἐψευδάμην ἄρτι λέγων τὴν μεγίστην ἀπορίαν ἐρεῖν αὐτοῦ πέρι, τὸ δὲ ἔτι μείζω τινὰ λέγειν ἄλλην ἔχομεν;
- adjective + noun: Plato *Tht.* 209e Εἰ τὸ λόγον, ὦ παῖ, προσλαβεῖν γινῶναι κελεύει, ἀλλὰ μὴ δοξάσαι τὴν διαφορότητα, ἡδὺ χρήμ’ ἄν εἴη τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν περὶ ἐπιστήμης λόγου. — Lysias 30,20 εἷς τε *τάς θυσίας* *τάς πατρίους* ἄν ἐξήρκεσε καὶ

¹¹⁷ An interesting example of focal indefinites is Plato *Tht.* 160a Ἀνάγκη δὲ γε | ἐμέ τε | τινὸς γίνεσθαι, ὅταν αἰσθανόμενος γίνωμαι· αἰσθανόμενον γάρ, | μηδενὸς δὲ αἰσθανόμενον, ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι· | ἐκεῖνό τε | τινὶ γίνεσθαι, ὅταν γλυκὺ ἢ πικρὸν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον γίνηται· γλυκὺ γάρ, | μηδενὶ δὲ γλυκὺ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. Both indefinites are clearly focal (‘something’-‘nothing’ contrast); if one takes into account the fact that ἐμέ τε and ἐκεῖνό τε are clearly fronted topics, the indefinites both take P1 in a separate colon (which is the position associated with focality); note that a ‘blind’ search of the corpus would count these occurrences as cases of indefinites in P2.

- τρία τάλαντα ἄν περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει. — Plato *Sph.* 223a τοῦτ' οὖν ἔγωγε εἰπὼν | τὸ προσῆκον ὄνομ' ἄν ἡγοῦμαι καλεῖν αὐτόν. ;
- quantifier + noun (with or without articles and prepositions): Plato *Th.* 153d εἰ δὲ σταίη τοῦτο ὡσπερ δεθέν, πάντα χρήματ' ἄν διαφθαρεῖ καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον ἄνω κάτω πάντα; — Plato *Sph.* 220a Ζφοθηρικῆς δὲ | ἄρ' οὐ | διπλοῦν εἶδος ἄν λέγοιτο ἐν δίκη, — Lysias 30,20 εἷς τε τὰς θυσίας τὰς πατρίους ἄν ἐξήρκεσε καὶ τρία τάλαντα ἄν περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει ;
 - noun + genitivus: Lysias 24,2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ | ἔνεκα χρημάτων με συκοφαντεῖ—· εἰ δ' | ὡς ἐχθρόν ἐαυτοῦ με τιμωρεῖται, | ψεύδεται· ;¹¹⁸
 - negative + verb: Plato *Sph.* 261b καὶ πέρας, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν φανήσεται ποτε. ;
 - modal verb + infinitive: Plato *Cra.* 413b ἱκανῶς γὰρ μέ φασι πεπύσθαι [ἀκηκοῖναι] καὶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν, βουλόμενοι ἀποπιμπλάναι με, ἄλλος ἄλλα ἤδη λέγειν, καὶ οὐκέτι συμφωνοῦσιν ;
 - attributive interrogative + noun: Plato *Plt.* 279a Τί δῆτα παράδειγμά τις ἄν, ἔχον τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτικῇ πραγματείαν, σμικρότατον παραθέμενος ἱκανῶς ἂν εὔροι τὸ ζητούμενον; — Plato *Sph.* 242b Φέρε δῆ, | τίνα ἀρχὴν τις ἄν ἄρξαιτο παρακινδυνευτικοῦ λόγου. ;

(7) Different P2-tendencies for different /r/-postpositives

As has been done for the /q/-particles, it may be interesting to see whether there are any differences between the different sub-types of /r/-postpositives as far as their P2-tendency is concerned.

Table 4.2e: P2-tendency of different /r/-postpositives

	Plato	Lysias	Total
ἄν	308 / 739 (41.7%)	270 / 516 (52.3%)	578 / 1255 (46.1%)
indefinites	479 / 1569 (30.5%)	186 / 490 (38.0%)	665 / 2059 (32.3%)
personal pronouns	217 / 422 (51.4%)	131 / 326 (40.2%)	348 / 748 (46.5%)

every word except /r/-clitics = /X/

clusters of /O/s have been reduced to single /X/

/p/ and /q/ have been omitted

For the generation of these data, clusters of /r/ could obviously not be reduced. Therefore, the following data should be taken into account:

- to the occurrences of indefinites at P2, 55 cases with an intervening ἄν should be added (34 in Plato, 21 in Lysias), and 4 cases with an intervening enclitic personal pronoun (3 in Plato, 1 in Lysias); adding these occurrences to the score in the table yields a score of 35.2% for the indefinites;
- to the occurrences of enclitic personal pronouns at P2, 9 cases with an intervening ἄν should be added (3 in Plato, 6 in Lysias), and 19 cases with an intervening indefinite; this yields a score of 50.2%.¹¹⁹

These data show that among the /r/-postpositives, the P2-tendencies of the relevant personal pronouns and of ἄν are relatively strong and comparable to each other, whereas the

¹¹⁸ Note that ὡς as a comparison marker here seems to behave like a /p/-prepositive.

¹¹⁹ Besides these additional occurrences 11 clusters of 3 /r/s could be taken into account.

indefinites are clearly less reliable in this respect. This may be an indication that they more often do not occupy P2. Two possible reasons for this behavior can be mentioned a priori:

- (i) indefinites are more often focal than is commonly assumed;
- (ii) in Classical Greek, indefinites can also obey other word order principles than the P2-rule, even if they are non-focal, especially forming a unit with the NP they modify.

Preference for this alternative positioning rule is indeed a priori more expectable for indefinites than for the other /r/-postpositives: whereas ὅ can be conceived as modifying not just the verb (i.e. the specific semantic content of the verb) but as modalizing the whole clause, and personal pronouns (except for attributive genitives) do not cling more closely to e.g. the verb or another NP than other NPs, indefinites have an attributive use in which they function within an NP that is not necessarily connected to the beginning of the clause or the colon (e.g. the NP need not be focal).

(8) *Summary of the quantitative data*

In the previous paragraphs I have shown how the P2-rule accounts for the position of a fair number of /r/-postpositives, if we take a number of factors into account:

- the bare P2-rule without qualifications accounts for the position of only 20.6% of the occurrences of /r/-postpositives (Table 4.2a above);
 - if we discount /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles, this number increases to 35.0% (Table 4.2b);
 - if we then reduce clusters of /r/-postpositives, the number increases to 37.7% (Table 4.2c);
 - taking into account the presence of /O/-introductives before the word or word-like unit preceding /r/ (Table 4.2d) increases the number with another 14.4%.
- (a) As can be seen in the following Table, the P2-rule thus accounts for the position of 52.1% of the occurrences of /r/-postpositives.

Table 4.2f: /r/-postpositives in P2 (summary)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[X r (r...)	992 / 2722 (36.4%)	522 / 1292 (40.4%)	1514 / 4014 (37.7%)
[O (O...) X r (r...)	352 / 2722 (12.9%)	228 / 1292 (17.6%)	579 / 4014 (14.4%)
<i>Total P2</i>	<i>1344 / 2722 (49.4%)</i>	<i>750 / 1292 (58.0%)</i>	<i>2093 / 4014 (52.1%)</i>

/p/ and /q/ have been omitted

- (b) It has also been observed that a great many occurrences involve formulaic collocations of an /O/-introductive and a /r/-postpositive (see paragraph (4) above). The following table shows that more than 19% of the total number of /r/-postpositives actually take P2 after an /O/-introductive in P1.

Table 4.2g: /r/-postpositives in P2, /[O r/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[O r	436 / 2722 (16.0%)	266 / 1292 (20.6%)	702 / 4014 (17.5%)
[O r r	43 / 2722 (1.6%)	21 / 1292 (1.6%)	64 / 4014 (1.6%)
[O r r r	2 / 2722 (0.1%)	1 / 1292 (0.1%)	3 / 4014 (0.1%)
Total / [O r	481 / 2722 (17.7%)	288 / 1292 (22.3%)	769 / 4014 (19.2%)

/p/ and /q/ have been omitted

(9) *Segmentation into cola*

Segmentation into cola is a much more important factor in accounting for the position of /r/-postpositives than it was for /q/-postpositives: since a considerable number of /q/-particles are connectives (having the function of marking segmentation), cola connected by /q/ much more often coincide with punctuation practice. Therefore, the P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives is far more important in the context of the present study, because it provides us with a criterion for segmentation in contexts where no other such criterion is present, as in the following examples: Plato *Sph.* 265b ἡ γάρ που μίμησις | ποιήσις τίς ἐστίν, εἰδῶλων μέντοι, φαμέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐκάστων. — Lysias 1,23 καὶ ἡ θεράπεινα | ἐπεγείρασά μῆ εὐθύς | φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί. — Plato *Sph.* 229d Τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις διδασκαλικῆς | ἡ μὲν | τραχυτέρα τίς ἔοικεν ὁδὸς εἶναι, | τὸ δ' ἕτερον αὐτῆς μόριον | λειότερον. — Lysias 8,15 οὗτος δὲ | πάντ' ὅν μᾶλλον διεπράττετο. — Plato *Cra.* 388b-c Ὅνομα ἄρα | διδασκαλικὸν τί ἐστιν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας | ὥσπερ κερκὶς ὑφάσματος. — Plato *Cra.* 397b τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἡρώων καὶ ἀνθρώπων λεγόμενα ὀνόματα | ἴσως ὅν ἡμῶς ἐξαπατήσειεν. ... τὰ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα | δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι ἔαν. — Plato *Sph.* 253e Τὸν μὲν δὲ φιλόσοφον | ἐν τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ τόπῳ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνευρήσομεν ἐὰν ζητῶμεν, — Plato *Th.* 144d-e φησὶν γὰρ Θεόδωρος | ἔχειν μῆ σοὶ ὅμοιον. — Plato *Cra.* 395a Κινδυνεύει γὰρ | τοιοῦτός τίς εἶναι ὁ "Ἀγαμέμνων," — Plato *Pl.* 262a καὶ μοι δοκεῖ | τῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων | ἕτερα τίς εἶναι, τῶν δ' αὖ θηρίων | ἄλλη τροφή. — Plato *Cra.* 387b Ἄρ' οὖν | οὐ καὶ τὸ λέγειν | μία τίς τῶν πράξεων ἐστίν; — Plato *Pl.* 285d Ἡ που | τὸν τῆς ὑφαντικῆς γε λόγον αὐτῆς ταύτης ἕνεκα θηρεῦειν | οὐδεὶς ὅν ἐθελήσειεν νοῦν ἔχων. — Lysias 8,19 ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν | ὑμεῖς μῆ μόνοι κακῶς λέγετε. — Plato *Sph.* 217d Ἐξεστι τοίνυν | τῶν παρόντων | ὃν ὅν βουλευθῆς ἐκλέξασθαι, | πάντες γὰρ | ὑπακούονται σοι πράως. συμβούλω μὴ ἐμοὶ χρώμενος | τῶν νέων τινῶν αἰρήση, | Θεαίτητον τόνδε, | ἡ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων | εἰ τίς σοι κατὰ νοῦν.

5. Special mobiles

In section 1.1 above I adopted a categorization of the lexicon into introductives, prepositives, postpositives and mobiles. Mobiles were defined as words which can, in principle, occur anywhere in a discourse segment. However, this class -thus defined- is quite heterogeneous and contains i.a. a large number of non-lexicals. Therefore, a further categorization within the class of mobiles was introduced, yielding a classification through which most classes of non-lexicals can be studied separately. The following table summarizes the classification adopted in this study.

Table 5a: non-lexical sub-classes of the class of /M/-mobiles

Complex negatives	οὐδεῖς..., μηδεῖς..., οὐδέτερος..., οὐδαμοῦ, οὐδαμόσε, οὐδαμόθεν, οὐδαμῶς, οὐδαμῆ, οὐκέτι/μηκέτι
Personal pronouns	
<i>nominative</i>	ἐγώ, σύ, ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, ...
<i>focalized</i>	all personal pronouns in oblique cases, except those that are likely to be non-focal (/r/, /s/)
<i>αὐτός (ipse)</i>	αὐτ- except “same” and potentially postpositive anaphoric use
<i>possessive</i>	ἐμός, σός, ἡμέτερος, ...; ἀλλότριος, ...
<i>reflexive</i>	ἑαυτ-, αὐτ-, ἑμαυτ-, σ(ε)αυτ-; αλσο ἀλλήλ-...
Demonstratives	ὅδε..., οὗτ-, ταυτ-, τοιουτ-, τοιαντ-, τοσουτ-, τοσαντ-, τοιόσδε, τοσόσδε, ἐκει-, τηλικ-, τηνικ- (incl. adv.); ἐνθάδε, ἐνταῦθα, ἐνθεν, ἐνθενδε, ἐντεῦθεν, τότε, ἐμπροσθεν, πρόσθεν, ἔπειτα
Modal adverbs	
<i>degree</i>	μᾶλλον/μάλιστα, ἥττον/ἥκιστα, πάνυ, σφόδρα, σχεδόν, παντάπασιν, ὅλως, πάντως, λίαν, μόλις, ἄγαν, ὀλίγου, ...
<i>sentence adverbs</i>	ὅμως, ἴσως, τάχα, κοιμῆ, ὄντως, ἀναμφισβητήτως, ὁμολογουμένως, διαφερόντως, φανερώς; ἄλλως, ἀμφοτέρως, ὡσαύτως, ἐναντίως, ἀτεχνῶς, ἔργω/λόγῳ, ...
<i>spatio-temporal</i>	αὐθις, εὐθύς, πάλιν, ἀνάπαλιν, ἔτι, προσέτι, ἤδη, νῦν, νυνδή, ἄρτι, νεωστί, πάλαι, ἅμα, παραχρῆμα, αὐτίκα, αὐτόθι, αὐτοῦ, ὁμοῦ, πολλάκις, ἐκάστοτε, αἰεῖ, ἐνίοτε, πανταχῆ, ...
Quantifiers	
<i>ordinals</i>	ordinals, incl. πρῶτος..., πρότερος..., ὕστερος..., τελευταῖος...
<i>cardinals + quantifiers</i>	cardinals; πᾶς..., ἅπας...; πολὺς...; ἕκαστος..., ἐκάτερος...; ἐνίοι...; ὀλίγος, ἐλάττων...; μόνος...
<i>(‘all’, ‘some’, ‘a few’ + opposites)</i>	
‘Same’	ὁ αὐτός
‘Other’	ἄλλος..., ἕτερος..., ...

Furthermore, proper names and verbs have been distinguished as separate classes (with separate codes for finite and infinite, εἶναι, φημί and οἶμαι).

- (1) Practical considerations played a considerable part in devising this categorization, so that this classification is not optimally insightful. At this point, it seems useful to indicate a few of the somewhat idiosyncratic features of the classification which has been adopted here (cf. already section 1.2.1 above):

- (a) personal pronouns are coded in four different categories:
- personal pronouns in the nominative case are given a separate code and have been considered as /M/;
 - non-focal personal pronouns which can be orthographically distinguished from focal ones have been considered a sub-class of /r/ (see Table 1.1 above);
 - potentially non-focal personal pronouns which cannot be distinguished from focal ones on an orthographic basis have been considered a sub-class of /s/ (see Table 1.1 above);
 - personal pronouns of the previous class that are clearly focal in the context in which they occur (e.g. if followed by a /q/-particle or if clearly contrasted) are given a separate code and have been considered as /M/.
- (b) forms from the paradigm of ἀυτός can be coded in the following four ways:
- forms of ὁ αὐτός is coded under the heading ‘the same’ and have been considered as /M/;
 - nominatives of αὐτός (exc. ‘the same’) are give a separate code and have been considered as /M/;
 - oblique cases of αὐτ- which are potentially anaphoric and non-focal have been considered as a sub-class of /s/ (see Table 1.1 above);
 - oblique cases of αὐτ- which are probably focal have been given a separate code and have been considered as /M/.
- (c) different kinds of negatives have been distinguished:
- οὐ/μή have been coded as a sub-class of the /O/-introductives (see Table 1.1 above);
 - οὔτε/μήτε have been coded as two words: a simple negative and the /q/-particle τε;
 - οὐδέ/μήδε have been coded as a subclass of the /O/-introductives, just like καί;
 - complex negatives like οὐδέν (see Table 5a here above) are coded as a sub-class of the /M/-mobiles.
- (2) In this section I will describe a few regularities in the behavior of the various sub-classes of the mobile class. It is a well-documented fact that some words, though technically speaking mobile, statistically tend to take P1 rather than other positions (Dover 1960/1968, 20-24; Morin 1961). In this section, three kinds of data will be presented:
- (i) data concerning the possibility for the various classes within the class of mobiles to be autonomous (section 5.0);
 - (ii) data concerning the P1-tendency of a whole range of non-lexicals, which may or may not be so-called ‘preferentials’ (section 5.1);
 - (iii) data concerning the behavior of verbs in general and the copula in particular (section 5.2).

5.0 Autonomy

The following table presents the data concerning the ability of the words in question to constitute a segment on their own. The same remarks as have been made in section 2.0 concerning similar data on the other word classes apply here: obviously, traditional punctuation practice does not tend to yield single-word or otherwise very short segments.

Hence, the data here below can only be used as a starting point for showing that a word of this or that class *can be* autonomous.

Table 5.0a: autonomy (mobiles)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Complex negatives	35 / 465 (7.5%)	4 / 420 (1.0%)	39 / 885 (4.4%)
Personal pronouns			
<i>nominative</i>	26 / 355 (7.3%)	29 / 402 (7.2%)	55 / 757 (7.3%)
<i>focalized</i>	10 / 236 (4.2%)	10 / 320 (3.1%)	20 / 556 (3.6%)
<i>αὐτός (ipse)</i>	2 / 403 (0.5%)	1 / 300 (0.3%)	3 / 703 (0.4%)
<i>possessive</i>	0 / 82 (0.0%)	0 / 305 (0.0%)	0 / 387 (0.0%)
<i>reflexive</i>	3 / 335 (0.9%)	0 / 326 (0.0%)	3 / 661 (0.5%)
Demonstratives	88 / 2708 (3.2%)	23 / 2237 (1.0%)	111 / 4945 (2.2%)
Modal adverbs			
<i>degree</i>	176 / 702 (25.1%)	0 / 269 (0.0%)	176 / 971 (18.1%)
<i>sentence adverbs</i>	44 / 306 (14.4%)	8 / 102 (7.8%)	52 / 408 (12.7%)
<i>spatio-temporal</i>	20 / 980 (2.0%)	18 / 425 (4.2%)	38 / 1405 (2.7%)
Quantifiers			
<i>ordinals</i>	9 / 246 (3.7%)	7 / 251 (2.8%)	16 / 497 (3.2%)
<i>cardinals + quantifiers</i>	16 / 1966 (0.8%)	4 / 1441 (0.3%)	20 / 3407 (0.6%)
‘Same’ (ὁ αὐτός)	1 / 235 (0.4%)	0 / 140 (0.0%)	1 / 375 (0.3%)
‘Other’	11 / 905 (1.2%)	2 / 361 (0.6%)	13 / 1266 (1.0%)
Verbs			
<i>finite</i>	332 / 7412 (4.5%)	97 / 6049 (1.6%)	429/13461 (3.2%)
<i>infinite</i>	46 / 4940 (0.9%)	26 / 5611 (0.5%)	73 / 10551 (0.7%)
Proper names	8 / 730 (1.1%)	12 / 711 (1.7%)	20 / 1441 (1.4%)
‘Regular mobiles’ (except verbs)	422/11468 (3.7%)	51 / 8560 (0.6%)	473/20028 (2.4%)
<i>/q/- particles and /p/-prepositives have been excluded</i>			
expected			
[X]	781 / 73404 (1.1%)	89 / 56222 (0.2%)	870/129626 (0.7%)

any word = /X/

As has been pointed out here above, the data as such cannot be expected to yield insightful results. Note, however, that almost all of the classes (except for possessives) do have autonomous uses and hence are not inherently appositive (contra Devine & Stephens 1994, who seem to consider each non-lexical as automatically appositive). The following observations can be made:

- the remarkable score for adverbs of degree in Plato (25.1%, as compared to 0.0% in Lysias) is due to short and formulaic answers of the type Πάνυ μὲν οὖν;
- complex negatives, nominative and focused personal pronouns, demonstratives, modal adverbs, ordinals, finite verbs, and ‘regular mobiles’ all score well above the expected values;
- reflexives, αὐτός (‘ipse’), cardinal numbers, ‘same’ and ‘other’ have very low scores for autonomy, and possessives even happen not to occur segment-autonomously at all in the present corpus; note however that this does not mean that these words cannot be focal: cf. cases like Plato *Plt.* 258c Τοῦτ’ ἤδη σὸν οἶμαι τὸ ἔργον, ὃ ξένε, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐμὸν γίγνεται. See also Plato *Sph.* 263a ΞΕ. Σὸν ἔργον δὴ φράζειν περὶ οὗ τ’ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτου. / ΘΕΑΙ. Δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ἐμοῦ τε καὶ ἐμός., in which it is clear that the possessives

carry the main point of the whole utterance, and hence can be considered as virtually autonomous.

For some of these word classes, the scores would increase enormously if one would take **colon boundaries** into account:

- (a) **Demonstratives and personal pronouns** (esp. nominatives), which are already relatively frequently in P1 in the corpus as it was punctuated in the editions used, are often fronted as a topic in a separate colon, or in a PP as a marker, as can be seen in the following examples: Lysias 8,15 *οὗτος δὲ* | πάντ' ἄν μᾶλλον διεπράττετο. — Lysias 26,7 *ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ* | οὐκ ἄν οἶμαι. — Lysias 3,15 *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* | τὸ μὲν μειράκιον | εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, | οὗτοι δὲ | συνεισπεσόντες | ἦγον αὐτὸν βία, ... — Lysias 3,5 *οὗτος δὲ* | βέλτιστος ἄν εἶη καὶ σωφρονέστατος, — Plato *Thi.* 144a *ἐγὼ μὲν* | οὐτ' ἄν φόμπη γενέσθαι οὔτε ὀρῶ γιγόμενον. — Lysias 7,14 *οὗτος μέντοι* | οὐκ ἄν ἔχοι ἀποδείξειν ... — Plato *Plt.* 294a *ταῦτα δὴ* | συγχωροῦμέν πῶς; — Plato *Cra.* 413d Φαίνη μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, | *ταῦτα μὲν* | ἀκηκοέναι τοῦ | καὶ οὐκ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. — Plato *Cra.* 430b — ἴσως γὰρ | *ἐγὼ* |? *οὐ* μανθάνω ἅττα ποτ' ἔστιν ἃ λέγεις, | *σὺ δὲ* | *τάχ'* ἄν ὀρθῶς λέγοις— — Plato *Thi.* 147d *ἡμῖν οὖν* | εἰσηλθέ τι τοιοῦτον, — Lysias 16,7 *ἐμὲ τοίνυν* | οὐδεὶς ἄν ἀποδείξειεν | οὐτ' ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων | οὔτε παραδοθέντα τοῖς συνδίκους οὔτε κατάστασιν καταβαλόντα. — Plato *Cra.* 426b *σὺ δ'* | ἄν τι ἔχῃς βέλτιόν ποθεν λαβεῖν, πειρᾶσθαι καὶ ἐμοὶ μεταδιδόναι. — Plato *Cra.* 440c *ταῦτ' οὖν* | πότερόν ποτε οὕτως ἔχει ἢ ἐκείως ... — Plato *Sph.* 263b *Τούτων δὴ* | ποιὸν τινα ἑκάτερον φατέον εἶναι; — Lysias 12,34 *τοῦτο μέντοι* | οὐ φεύγω, | ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶ σοι, εἰ βούλει, ἀντειπεῖν. — Plato *Plt.* 309a ..., *τούτων* | τὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν μᾶλλον συντεινούσας, οἷον στημονοφῶδες νομίσασ' αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ στερεὸν ἦθος, τὰς δὲ
- (b) **Modal adverbs** (in the present large sense of the term) and **ordinals** are often fronted as discourse markers in a separate colon: Plato *Thi.* 166b *ἀντίκα γὰρ* | δοκεῖς τινά σοι συγχωρήσεσθαι μνήμην παρεῖναι τῶ ὧν ἔπαθε, τοιοῦτόν τι οὔσαν πάθος οἷον ὅτε ἔπασχε, μηκέτι πάσχοντι; — Plato *Cra.* 402e *τάχα δὲ* | οὐκ ἄν τοῦτο λέγοι, | ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ σίγμα δύο λάβδα τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέγετο, — Plato *Cra.* 429d *ὅμως μέντοι* | εἰπέ μοι τοσονδε. — Plato *Cra.* 430b — ἴσως γὰρ | *ἐγὼ* |? *οὐ* μανθάνω ἅττα ποτ' ἔστιν ἃ λέγεις, | *σὺ δὲ* | *τάχ'* ἄν ὀρθῶς λέγοις— — Plato *Sph.* 247d *τάχ' οὖν* | ἴσως ἄν ἀποροῖεν. — Lysias 18,17 *νυνὶ δὲ* | πάντες ἄν ὁμολογήσατε ὁμόνοιαν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι πόλει, στάσιν δὲ πάντων κακῶν αἰτίαν, ... — Plato *Thi.* 169d *νῦν δὲ* | *τάχ'* ἄν τις ἡμῶς ἀκύρους τιθεῖ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὁμολογίας. — Plato *Thi.* 178a *Ἔτι τοίνυν* | ἐνθένδε ἄν μᾶλλον πᾶς τις ὁμολογήσειεν ταῦτὰ ταῦτα, εἰ ... — Plato *Plt.* 302a *ὅμως* | ἔνιαί τινες αὐτῶν | μόνιμοί τέ εἰσι | καὶ οὐκ ἀνατρέπονται. — Lysias 13,50 *πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ* | τὰ ψηφίσματα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ (τὸ) τοῦ δήμου καταμαρτυρεῖ, διαρρήδην ἀγορεύοντα "περὶ ὧν Ἄγορατος κατεῖρηκεν". | ἔπειτα

5.1 P1-tendencies of non-lexical mobiles (preferentials)

Besides the distinction between prepositives, postpositives and mobiles (see section 1.1 above), Dover's *Greek Word Order* has also introduced the notion of 'preferential mobile', for those words which are "disproportionately common at the beginning of a clause - or more precisely, as near the beginning as *p* [prepositive, in Dover's sense, i.e. incl. some /O/]

will allow them to get” (Dover 1960/1968, 20-24; see also Morin 1961). Most of the non-lexical classes singled out in Table 5a here above are supposed to be preferential. The following table presents the data concerning the P1-tendencies of these non-lexicals in the present corpus. The scores for ‘regular mobiles’ and proper names have been added for comparison; for the P1-tendencies of verbs, see section 5.2 below.

Table 5.1a: P1-tendencies for potentially preferential non-lexical /M/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Complex negatives	149 / 465 (32.0%)	139 / 420 (33.1%)	288 / 885 (32.5%)
Personal pronouns			
<i>nominative</i>	155 / 355 (43.7%)	245 / 402 (60.9%)	400 / 757 (52.8%)
<i>focalized</i>	102 / 236 (43.2%)	112 / 320 (35.0%)	214 / 556 (38.5%)
<i>αὐτός (ipse)</i>	71 / 403 (17.6%)	66 / 300 (22.0%)	137 / 703 (19.5%)
<i>possessive</i>	16 / 82 (19.5%)	43 / 305 (14.1%)	59 / 387 (15.2%)
<i>reflexive</i>	23 / 335 (6.9%)	36 / 326 (11.0%)	59 / 661 (8.9%)
Demonstratives	932 / 2708 (34.4%)	795 / 2237 (35.5%)	1727/4945 (34.9%)
Modal adverbs			
<i>degree</i>	359 / 702 (51.1%)	72 / 269 (26.8%)	431 / 971 (44.4%)
<i>sentence adverbs</i>	174 / 306 (56.9%)	73 / 102 (71.6%)	247 / 408 (60.5%)
<i>spatio-temporal</i>	296 / 980 (30.2%)	204 / 425 (48.0%)	500 / 1405 (35.6%)
Quantifiers			
<i>ordinals</i>	72 / 246 (29.3%)	124 / 251 (49.4%)	196 / 497 (39.4%)
<i>cardinals + quantifiers</i>	431 / 1966 (21.9%)	353 / 1441 (24.5%)	784 / 3407 (23.0%)
‘Same’ (ὁ αὐτός)	38 / 235 (16.2%)	34 / 140 (24.2%)	72 / 375 (19.2%)
‘Other’	202 / 905 (22.3%)	84 / 361 (23.3%)	286 / 1266 (22.6%)
Proper names	50 / 730 (6.8%)	110 / 711 (15.5%)	160 / 1440 (11.1%)
‘Regular mobiles’ (except verbs)	2027/11468 (17.7%)	860 / 8560 (10.0%)	2887/20028 (14.4%)
<i>/q/- particles and /p/-prepositives have been excluded</i>			
expected			
P1: [X	11098 / 73404 (15.1%)	7516 / 56222 (13.4%)	18614 / 129626 (14.4%)

any word = /X/

- (1) First, it should be observed that, according to the data above, a few of the classes of non-lexicals that have been investigated should not be considered as preferentials at all:
- the scores for reflexive personal pronouns (ἐαυτ-, αὐτ-, ἐμαυτ-, σ(ε)αυτ-and ἀλλήλ-...), possessive pronouns, αὐτός (“ipse”) and ὁ αὐτός... (“idem”) are too low or do not differ sufficiently (according to the criteria formulated above in section 1.2.2) from the expected frequencies for “any word X” to be considered preferentials;
 - the words for “other” (ἄλλος..., ἕτερος...) -though statistically ‘preferential’- show a relatively weak P1-tendency;
 - it is nice to be able to observe that ‘regular /M/’ are fairly close to the expected value.

The other non-lexicals show clear preferential tendencies, but to different extents. Here below, I will review the various categories under scrutiny.

(a) *Personal and demonstrative pronouns and adverbs*

The strong P1-tendency of nominatives¹²⁰ and clearly focal oblique cases of the **personal pronouns** as well as **demonstratives** can at least partly be due to the fact that they are frequently used as topics and are hence fronted. For examples, see the examples in section 5.1.1 here above and the following additional examples: Plato *Th.* 169d *Τούδε τοίνυν* πρῶτον πάλιν ἀντιλαβόμεθα οὐπὲρ τὸ πρότερον, ... — Lysias 10,22 *Οὗτος οὖν* ἔνοχος μὲν ὢν τῇ αἰτίᾳ, ἐλάττονος δὲ οὐσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς, οὐ μόνον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠλεήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα ἠτίμωσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ | ... — Lysias 9,19 *Οἶδε μὲν οὖν* ἐκ παντὸς [τοῦ] τρόπου προθυμοῦνται με τῇ δίκῃ ἀλῶναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ | μήτε ταῖς τούτων διαβολαῖς ἐπαρθέντες ἐμοῦ κατανηφίσησθε, μήτε τοὺς βέλτιον καὶ δικαίως βουλευσαμένους ἀκύρους καταστήσητε. — Plato *Pl.* 258a *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν* | εἰς αὐθις, σοὶ δὲ | νῦν ἀποκρινέσθω.

However, especially the demonstratives are often in P1 in a segment in which they are not the topic, as in the following examples: Lysias 4,10 ἢ πρῶτον μὲν | *τοῦτ' ἄν* κατεῖπεν, — Plato *Th.* 154e Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε | *τοῦτ' ἄν* βουλοίμην. — Plato *Sph.* 257d Ἴθι νῦν | *τόδε μοι* λέγε. — Lysias 8,16 *τοιούτους προφάσεις* προφασιζόμενοι | *τότε* μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ Θρασυμάχου συνουσίας ἐστὲ φανεροί, νῦν δὲ ... — Plato *Sph.* 216a Κατὰ τὴν χθὲς ὁμολογίαν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἤκομεν | αὐτοὶ *τε* κοσμίως | καὶ *τόνδε τινι* ξένον ἄγομεν, ... — Plato *Sph.* 253e Τὸν μὲν δὴ φιλόσοφον | ἐν *τοιούτῳ τινι* τόπῳ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνευρήσομεν ἐὰν ζητῶμεν, ...

Especially note **correlative constructions** with the demonstrative in P1 of one of the members: Plato *Sph.* 233c Δοκοῦσι γὰρ | οἶμαι | *πρὸς ταῦτα* ἐπιστημόνως ἔχειν αὐτοὶ | πρὸς *ἄπειρ* ἀντιλέγουσιν. — Plato *Pl.* 265a Καὶ μὴν | ἐφ' ὃ *γε* μέρος | ὥρμηκεν *ἡμῖν* ὁ λόγος, | *ἐπ'* ἐκεῖνο | δύο *τινῶν* καθορᾶν ὁδῶ τεταμένα φαίνεται, ...

Demonstrative adverbs often function just as the demonstrative pronouns, e.g. Lysias 28,6 οὕτως, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνέπληντο καὶ (τῶν) ὑμετέρων ἀπέλαυσαν, ἀλλοτρίους τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὺς ἠγήσαντο. Some of these adverbs function as discourse markers, quite comparable to introductory particles, esp. *ἔπειτα* in enumerations or sequences of events (often correlative with πρῶτον).

Note that **proper names** do not infrequently function in similar ways, e.g. Plato *Pl.* 258a Θεαιτήτῳ μὲν οὖν | αὐτὸς τε συνέμειξα χθὲς διὰ λόγων καὶ νῦν ἀκῆκοα ἀποκρινομένου, Σωκράτους δὲ | οὐδέτερα· The statistics do not reflect this use, due to other, even more frequent uses, most notably vocatives preceded by ὃ.

(b) *Modal adverbs*

Under this heading, I distinguished three (not completely homogeneous) classes of non-lexical adverbs, which are often fronted in some of their uses.

Some **spatio-temporal modal adverbs** often function as a discourse marker, and are then very similar to introductory particles. Note the highly frequent use of νῦν δέ (e.g. introducing the counterpart to an irrealis, but also in other contrastive structures) and of ἔτι δὲ or ἔτι τοίνυν (e.g. in enumerations). Other such adverbs have comparable uses, although they are not always as easy to classify, e.g.: Plato *Cra.* 434b Ἴδῃ τοίνυν καὶ σὺ κοινῶν τοῦ λόγου οὐπὲρ ἄρτι Ἐρμογένης. — Lysias 8,15 *εὐθύς δ'* ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὸν Μηνόφιλον ἐβάδιζε μετ' ἐμοῦ. — Plato *Th.* 192e *Οὐκοῦν* καὶ ἄ μὴ οἶδε, πολλάκις μὲν ἔστι μηδὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι μόνον;

¹²⁰ For some cases in which nominatives do seem to be non-focal, see Dik 2003.

Likewise, **modal sentence-adverbs** often function as a fronted discourse marker (see already section 5.1.1 here above): Plato *Cra.* 391a ἴσως μέντοι | οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστιν οὕτως ἐξαίφνης πεισθῆναι, ... — Lysias 6,12 ὅμως μέντοι | ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τούτου τοιούτου ὄντος πράγματ' ἔχοι, δοὺς ἀργύριον ἀπηλλάγη. — Plato *Cra.* 429d ὅμως μέντοι | εἰπέ μοι τοσόνδε. — Plato *Sph.* 258a Ὀμοίως ἄρα | τὸ μὴ μέγα καὶ τὸ μέγα αὐτὸ εἶναι λεκτέον; — Plato *Sph.* 261a Κομιδῆ δέ γε, ὃ ξένε, ἔοικεν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν κατ' ἀρχὰς λεχθέν, ... — Plato *Plt.* 257a Τάχα δέ [γε], ὃ Σώκρατες, ὀφειλήσεις ταύτης τριπλασίαν. Note also the frequent use of some of these adverbs in short formulaic answers in Plato, like “Κομιδῆ μὲν οὖν.” (e.g. Plato *Sph.* 226a or Plato *Plt.* 293c), or “Ἴσως.” (e.g. Plato *Tht.* 147a).

As for the **adverbs of degree**, note the large difference between the scores of Lysias and Plato. The exceptionally high scores in Plato appear to be due to the highly frequent short and formulaic affirmative answers, like Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν and Πάνυ γε, typical of Socratic dialogue.

(c) *Quantifiers*

The scores indicate that the **cardinal numerals** and words like **πᾶς**, **ὀλίγος** and **ἔνιοι** generally show a relatively weak preferential tendency. Except in counting, there is in fact no particular a priori reason why these words should be preferential (but see here below for the liability of these words to be subject to emphatic fronting). As for the **ordinals**, the scores are much higher, which can be explained by their frequent use as a discourse marker (e.g. in Πρῶτον μὲν ...).

(d) *Complex negatives*

Complex negatives often behave like simple negatives, in that the negative element contained in them seems to function as an ‘illocutionary marker’ (see section 2.1 above and section 13.3.2(1c) below), i.e. they often introduce a segment the pragmatic function of which is to negate a certain fact: e.g. Lysias 22,17 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀπολογίαν ἐποιοῦντο, οὐδεὶς ἄν εἶχε τοῖς ἀποψηφισαμένοις ἐπιτιμᾶν. ... · νῦν δὲ In many cases in which the complex negative does not seem to take P1, a colon boundary could be invoked, e.g. Plato *Tht.* 158c ἅ τε γὰρ νυνὶ διειλέγμεθα | οὐδὲν καλῦει καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπῶφ δοκεῖν ἀλλήλοις διαλέγεσθαι. This is, however, not always the case, e.g. Plato *Cra.* 434b Οὐκοῦν ὡσαύτως καὶ ὀνόματα οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὅμοια γένοιτο οὐδενί, εἰ μὴ ... , where οὐδενί appears to behave as a ‘normal’ mobile.

(2) Some regular lexical mobile words may because of their meaning be especially liable to take P1, e.g. because they have an emotional overtone which has a correlation with **emphatic fronting**. I just mention the case of **δεινός**:

- The word δεινόν is often used in an impersonal construction, followed by a complement clause (often introduced by εἰ, but accusativus cum infinitivo and declarative finite complement clauses also occur), e.g. Plato *Tht.* 184d Δεινὸν γὰρ που, ὃ παῖ, εἰ πολλαὶ τινες ἐν ἡμῖν ὡσπερ ἐν δουρεῖσις ἵπποις αἰσθήσεις ἐγκάθηται, ... — Plato *Tht.* 195b Δεινὸν τε, ὃ Θεαίτητε, ὡς ἀληθῶς κινδυνεύει καὶ ἀηδὲς εἶναι ἀνὴρ ἀδολέσχης. — Lysias 34,11 δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ, ... ; . This use has given rise to the full-blown **formula** δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ ... in Lysias (Lysias 20,10 — Lysias 22,13; with a vocative: δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ ... in Lysias 30,32 and Lysias 15,7, δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἶναι, εἰ ... in Lysias 14,17; with different complement clauses: Lysias 30,8

δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι [ᾧτι], εἰ ... — Lysias 7,29 Δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὑμᾶς μέν, ... μήθ' ὡς ἐπεργαζόμενον πόποτε ζημιῶσαί (με) ... ; an oblique version of the same formula is Lysias 3,17 δεινὸν δὲ ἡγησάμενος εἶναι καὶ αἰσχρὸν περιδεῖν οὕτως ἀνόμως καὶ βιαίως ὑβρισθέντα τὸν νεανίσκον,

- Besides these more or less formulaic functions, δεινός is also used as a regular adjective, in which function it also seems to tend towards P1: Plato *Tht.* 199c δεινότερον μέντοι πάθος ἄλλο παραφαίνεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ. — Plato *Sph.* 249a Δεινὸν μεντᾶν, ᾧ ξένε, λόγον συγχωροῖμεν. — Plato *Tht.* 173b ὅσθ' ὑγιές οὐδὲν ἔχοντες τῆς διανοίας εἰς ἄνδρας ἐκ μειρακίων τελευτῶσι, δεινοί τε καὶ σοφοί γεγονότες, ὡς οἴονται. — Lysias 20,36 δεινὰ δ' ἂν πάθοιμεν, εἰ ... — Lysias 28,15 ὅταν γὰρ ἡγησώμεθα σωτηρίας ἀντειληφθαι, δεινότερα ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀρχόντων πάσχομεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. — Lysias 7,23 Δεινότατα οὖν πάσχω, ... — Lysias 16,16 (εἰκότως, ᾧ βουλή· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀγαπητῶς ὀλίγω πρότερον σεσωσμένους ἐφ' ἕτερον κίνδυνον ἰέναι).

Other words which may be expected to be liable to undergo emphatic fronting include quantifiers like *πολύς* and *πᾶς* and words like *μέγας* as well as superlatives. However, there may be syntactic reasons for those words to occur more often in P1 as well, in that they are more liable to take what has been called a 'predicative position' (for a syntactic-semantic account for the word order of a whole range of non-lexicals, see Biraud 1991).

5.2 Verbs

In the literature on word order, much attention has been given to the behavior of verbs. Suffice it here to just refer to a few issues in the context of which verbs have been discussed with respect to word order:

- (i) an important issue has always been the debate on 'basic word order', i.e. whether Ancient Greek is basically a SOV (subject-object-verb), a SVO, or a VSO language (for references, see e.g. Cervin 1990);
- (ii) according to Wackernagel (1892/1953), the verb in Proto-Indo-European was in general enclitic; in Greek, the copula (esp. the third persons of the present indicative) is supposed to be postpositive, as well as some forms of the present indicative of *φημί*;
- (iii) according to the Functional Grammar approach to Greek word order, as presented in Dik 1995 (and taken over in Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 146-150), the structure of the Ancient Greek clause provides for a specific slot for the verb after a Topic and a Focus slot (see section 0.3.1 above).

In this section, the position of verbs will be investigated according to the same large-scale quantitative methodology already employed in the sections above. This investigation is an exploratory one: not much hinges on the results for the purposes at hand and no effort will be made to formulate definite conclusions, but since the data are readily available and may contribute to issues that are present in the literature, it seemed worthwhile to present them here.

5.2.1 Verbs in P2

Proto-Indo-European verbs are thought to have been postpositive, even enclitic (Wackernagel 1892/1953). For Greek, this postpositive status is assumed for at least some verb forms (the ones that are accentless according to traditional orthographic practice). If this is the case, verbs would tend towards P2 not unlike /r/-postpositives. This hypothesis is tested in the following table.

Table 5.2a: P2-tendency of verbs

	Plato	Lysias	Total
verbs (exc. εἶναι)			
<i>P2(finite)</i>	1534 / 6666 (23.0%)	1050 / 5532 (19.0%)	2584 / 12189 (21.2%)
<i>P2(infinite)</i>	615 / 5301 (11.6%)	704 / 6091 (11.6%)	1319 / 11392 (11.6%)
εἶναι			
<i>P2(finite)</i>	210 / 938 (22.4%)	114 / 599 (19.0%)	324 / 1537 (21.1%)
<i>P2(infinite)</i>	116 / 903 (12.8%)	55 / 567 (9.7%)	171 / 1470 (11.6%)
every word except verbs = /X/ clusters of /O/s have been reduced to single /X/ /p/, /q/ and /r/ have been omitted			
expected			
P2: [X X	10233 / 73404 (13.9%)	7401 / 56222 (13.2%)	17634 / 129626 (13.6%)

Two interesting conclusions can be drawn from the above data:

- Finite verbs seem to have a P2-tendency, though much less so than regular /r/, despite the fact that /p/, /q/ and /r/ have been made invisible.
- Against expectations, the copula seems to behave just as any other verb.

- (1) Thus, the data in the corpus suggest that the predicted P2-tendency of verbs is not convincingly borne out in Greek. If there is still a considerable number of verbs in P2, this may be due to a more indirect discourse related factor instead of to an inherent feature of the Greek verb. Thus, the autonomy of verbs has been said to be intermediary between nouns and functors (Devine & Stephens 1994, 301-303), which is understandable from the fact that many verbs have relatively less informational content than the arguments of that verb. For instance, in “He took a knife”, the word “knife” is normally focused as being the most salient part of the whole clause, whereas the verb “take” -a typical low-content verb- is typically distressed (see also section 13.1.5 below). Given the fact that non-focal words in general (Dover’s ‘Concomitants’; see section 0.3.4 above) seem to tend toward P2, a certain P2-tendency for verbs can be predicted, but as a discourse-related contextually determined pattern and not as an inherent feature of the verb (for examples see also section 6.3 below).
- (2) The postpositive-like behavior of some forms of εἶναι, if used as a copula, as well as of some forms of φημί, is well-established in the literature and canonized by orthographic practice in that some of these forms are accentuated as enclitics. Still, this feature -rather unexpectedly- seems to have no bearing on the overall statistics for εἶναι in P2 in our corpus. This may be due to the high frequency of other uses of εἶναι (see section 5.2.2 here below), but also to a variety of other uncontrollable factors. Although the

present database might offer some possibilities for setting-up a separate investigation of the behavior of εἶναι and other ‘special’ verbs, this investigation would involve many factors which are well beyond the scope of the present section (for the difficulties of classifying the uses of εἶναι, see e.g. the discussion between Kahn 1973 and Ruijgh 1979).

Consider e.g. the following examples, in which the copula seems to be in P2:

- In many cases a potentially postpositive verb appears in P2 of a colon preceded by a fronted topic: Plato *Cra.* 387c Οὐκοῦν | καὶ τὸ ὀνομάζειν | πρῶξις [τίς] ἐστίν, ... — Plato *Cra.* 388b-c Ὅνομα ἄρα | διδασκαλικὸν τί ἐστίν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας | ὥσπερ κερκὶς ὑφάσματος. — Plato *Sph.* 265b ἡ γὰρ ποῦ μίμησις | ποιήσις τίς ἐστίν, εἰδῶλων μέντοι, φασί, ἀλλ’ οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐκάστων· ἢ γάρ; — Lysias 31,5 Ἐγὼ γὰρ | οὐκ ἄλλους τινάς φημι δίκαιον εἶναι βουλευεῖν περὶ ἡμῶν, ἢ τοὺς πρὸς τῷ εἶναι πολίτας καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντας τούτου. — Lysias 24,6 παῖδες δέ μοι | οὐπὼ εἰσὶν οἱ με θεραπεύσουσι. — Plato *Cra.* 408a τὸ "εἶρεῖν" | λόγος χρεῖα ἐστὶ — Plato *Tht.* 190b ... οὐδ’ ἐν ὑπῶ πώποτε ἐτόλμησας εἰπεῖν πρὸς σεαυτὸν ὡς παντάπασιν ἄρα | τὰ περιττὰ | ἄρτιά ἐστίν | ἢ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον.
- In other cases, the copula appears in the same colon as what might be a fronted colon (topic or other): Plato *Cra.* 431a Τουτί ἐστὶ σὸν ὄνομα — Plato *Cra.* 383b Οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν, ὅπερ καλοῦμεν ὄνομα ἕκαστον, τοῦτό ἐστίν ἐκάστω ὄνομα; — Plato *Sph.* 256c Λέγωμεν δὴ πάλιν· | ἢ κίνησις ἐστίν ἕτερον τοῦ ἕτερου, | καθάπερ ταυτοῦ τε ἦν ἄλλο καὶ τῆς στάσεως; — Plato *Cra.* 398a τεκμήριον δέ μοί ἐστίν ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς φησιν σιδηροῦν εἶναι γένος. — Plato *Cra.* 393b Δίκαιόν γέ τοι ἐστίν, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τὸν λέοντος ἕκγονον λέοντα καλεῖν καὶ τὸν ἵππου ἕκγονον ἵππον. — Plato *Cra.* 385c Ὁ λόγος δ’ ἐστίν ὁ ἀληθῆς | πότερον μὲν ὄλος ἀληθῆς, | τὰ μόρια δ’ αὐτοῦ | οὐκ ἀληθῆ; — Lysias 20,32 περὶ ἡμῶν γὰρ ἐστὶ ψῆφος ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐ περὶ χρημάτων. In some of these cases (e.g. the last one quoted) one might wonder if ἐστὶ is not in fact in P1 of the next colon, as seems to be probable in Lysias 1,9 οἰκίδιον | ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν,

As a matter of policy, I will remark on the potentially postpositive status of ἐστίν, εἰσὶν and other such forms whenever this seems plausible in a particular context, but will refrain from investigating the matter in a systematic way.

5.2.2 Verbs in P1

VSO and VOS orders have received a lot of attention from the point of view of language typology and formal grammar. The matter of initial verbs in Ancient Greek has been studied from a basically grammatical and/or typological point of view but with some attention devoted to the discourse functions of this word order in e.g. Luraghi 1995 and Cuzzolin 1997. Chapter 7 “Predicates can be Topics” of Dik 1995 specifically deals with verbs in - what she calls- the Topic-slot of the clause.

Let us first look at the quantitative data generated from the database in a now familiar way.

Table 5.2b: P1-tendency of verbs

	Plato	Lysias	Total
verbs (exc. εἶναι)			
<i>PI(finite)</i>	931 / 6666 (14.0%)	568 / 5532 (10.3%)	1499/12189 (12.3%)
<i>PI(infinite)</i>	333 / 5301 (6.3%)	581 / 6091 (9.5%)	914 / 11392 (8.0%)
εἶναι			
<i>PI(finite)</i>	117 / 938 (12.5%)	15 / 599 (2.5%)	132 / 1537 (8.6%)
<i>PI(infinite)</i>	23 / 903 (2.5%)	5 / 567 (0.9%)	28 / 1470 (1.9%)
expected			
P1: X	11098 / 73404 (15.1%)	7516 / 56222 (13.4%)	18614 / 129626 (14.4%)

It is evident from these data that verbs in general statistically do not tend toward P1 in Ancient Greek. A few remarks can be made on the basis of these results alone:

- Infinite verbs are less frequent at P1 than finite verbs, especially with ‘to be’.
- The finite forms of ‘to be’ are only slightly less frequent at P1 than other verbs in Plato, but enormously less frequent in Lysias. A possible explanation may be that the ‘existential use’ of ‘to be’ is much less common in Lysias, whereas the philosophical subject matter in Plato, in which the concept of ‘being’ is a central one, may have caused the verb ‘to be’ to be used more frequently in its non-copular functions.
- As usual, the fact that editorial punctuation cannot be expected to always coincide with colon boundaries has certainly had an influence on the data (underestimation of the frequencies). At least one such case should be mentioned: fronted topics or markers often constitute a separate colon, not delimited by punctuation; in many cases the verb has P1 in the next segment, e.g. in the following examples: Plato *Plt.* 294a ταῦτα δὴ | συγχωροῦμέν πῶς; — Plato *Cra.* 413d Φαίνη μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, | ταῦτα μὲν | ἀκηκοέναι τοῦ | καὶ οὐκ αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. — Plato *Tht.* 147d ἡμῖν οὖν | εἰσῆλθέ τι τοιοῦτον, — Plato *Tht.* 166b αὐτίκα γὰρ | δοκεῖς τινά σοι συγχωρήσεσθαι μνήμην παρεῖναι τῷ ὧν ἔπαθε, τοιοῦτόν τι οὔσαν πάθος οἷον ὅτε ἔπασχε, μηκέτι πάσχοντι; — Plato *Cra.* 429d ὅμως μέντοι | εἰπέ μοι τосόνδε. — Plato *Sph.* 220b Καὶ τοῦ πτηνοῦ μὴν γένους | πᾶσα ἡμῖν ἢ θήρα | λέγεται πῶς τις ὀρνιθευτική. — Lysias 1,23 ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης | ὦ ἄνδρες | εἰσέρχεται, | καὶ ἡ θεράπινα | ἐπεγείρασα με εὐθύς | φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.

In what follows, I will try and formulate a few regularities which can be observed in those cases in which the verb does occur in P1.

- (1) A few contributions have dealt specifically with verbs in P1 in Ancient Greek:
- (i) In her article “The pragmatics of verb initial sentences in some ancient Indo-European languages” (Luraghi 1995), Silvia Luraghi specifically deals with the issue of initial verbs in Ancient Greek, while attempting to use discourse analytical notions. She distinguishes the following cases (Luraghi 1995, 379): descriptions of places; descriptions of accompanying circumstances (imperfect tense); sentences that provide confirmatory information as to the validity of a statement; presentative sentences; sentences which convey foregrounded information (aorist tense or historical present). Some aspects of Luraghi’s categorization of these uses are not really convincing: the notion that foregrounded information *and* backgrounded information gives rise to a verb

in P1 is puzzling; likewise, the notion of ‘description of places’ does not sound like an insightful discourse analytical category.

- (ii) In the Functional Grammar approach to Greek word order, as introduced by Dik 1995, it has been argued that the Topic-slot in the structure of the clause can be occupied by the verb (see section 0.3.1 above). It should be noted, however, that Dik’s notion of Topic is fairly wide and in any case much wider than the notion of ‘topic’ used in the present study (see section 13.3.2(2) below).

This section is not the proper place to discuss theoretical controversies; therefore, I will simply enumerate in a purely descriptive manner a few of the patterns dealt with by the authors quoted as well as a few patterns which emerged from the present research.

- (2) First, one can distinguish a few classes of verbs or verb forms which can be expected to occur quite often in P1:
- (a) Some verbs function as an **illocutionary** marker, i.e. they typically indicate the kind of speech act the segment in question is (wish, command, proposal, ...): imperatives, first person subjunctives ‘deliberationis’, optatives expressing a wish, and ‘performative’ verbs have a typical use as illocutionary markers; in Greek these illocutionary markers tend towards P1, for instance: Plato *Cra.* 392d *Σκοπῶμεν δὴ διὰ τί ποτε.* — Plato *Plt.* 263e *πειραθῶμεν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἐξευλαβεῖσθαι πάνθ’ ὅποσα τοιαῦτα.* — Plato *Tht.* 143c *Ἄλλὰ, παῖ, λαβὲ τὸ βιβλίον καὶ λέγε.* — Lysias 6,50 *Ἀθηναῖοι, μνήσθητε τὰ πεποιημένα Ἄνδοκίδη, ἐνθυμήθητε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς, ...* (a number of examples in the ensuing paragraph).
- (b) **Verba dicendi** (Cuzzolin 1997, 92), *verba percipiendi*, *verba sentiendi* (incl. evidential expressions like *δοκεῖ* or *ἔοικε*) are often fronted and followed by a complement clause, as in the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 408c *Οἶσθα ὅτι ὁ λόγος τὸ πᾶν σημαίνει καὶ κυκλεῖ καὶ πολεῖ αἰεὶ, καὶ ἔστι διπλοῦς, ἀληθὴς τε καὶ ψευδής.* — Plato *Tht.* 158e *λέγουσι δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὕτως ἐρωτῶντες:* “Ω Θεαίτητε, — Plato *Cra.* 423d *Ἔοικε τοίνυν οὐκ ἐάν τις ταῦτα μιμῆται, οὐδὲ περὶ ταύτας τὰς μιμήσεις ἡ τέχνη ἢ ὀνομαστικὴ εἶναι.* — Plato *Tht.* 181a *δοκεῖ οὖν μοι τοὺς ἐτέρους πρότερον σκεπτέον, ἐφ’ οὔσπερ ὠρμήσαμεν, τοὺς ρέοντας, ...*
- (c) In the same vein, many **modal verbs** like *δεῖ*, *ἀνάγκη*, *χρή*, etc. typically occur in P1: Plato *Plt.* 277a *δεῖ δὲ μὴ σοὶ μόνῳ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κάμοι μετὰ σοῦ κοινή συνδοκεῖν.* — Lysias 15,10 *χρή δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὥσπερ οὗτος ἀμελήσας τῆς πόλεως τὴν αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐσκέπαστο, οὕτως ὑμᾶς ἀμελήσαντας τούτου τῆ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ψηφίσασθαι, ...*

For the fact that both *verba dicendi* etc. and the ‘modal’ verbs often function as ‘epistemic markers’ (or ‘evidentials’) or ‘illocutionary markers’ and then are fronted, see 13.3.2(1) below. Also note that in many cases in which these verbs take P1 they also are the common ground for a complex structure.

- (3) In a number of occurrences of various types of verbs, discourse factors obviously determine the P1 of the verb. Thus, one can distinguish the following types of constructions:
- (a) **Presentative constructions** have the function to introduce brand new information on to the discourse scene (cf. also section 21.2 below) and are cross-linguistically characterized by the fact that some low-content verb (typically “there is ...” / *ἔστι ...*”, but other ‘stage-setting’ verbs qualify as well) occurs early in the clause and the brand

new item later on. Thus, consider the following examples: Plato *Sph.* 261e ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν που τῶν τῆ φωνῆ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δηλωμάτων διττὸν γένος is a regular presentative construction with ἔστι in P1. Likewise, the verb in Lysias 1,15 προσέρχεταιί μοί τις πρεσβύτες ἄνθρωπος, though not semantically empty like ἔστι, occurs in a construction which serves to introduce a brand new character on the scene (see section 11.3.1 and section 17.2 below).¹²¹

- (b) Other uses of clause-initial εἶναι have been described by Dover (1960/1968, 48-49 and 52) and in a separate section in Dik 1995 (221-229). Most of these imply the same effect as the presentative construction: the introduction of a focused item is delayed until later in the segment by the fact that the semantically empty or low-content verb takes P1 in that segment. See, for instance, cases of ‘identifying’ constructions (“it is X who ...”) such as Lysias 1,16 "ἔστι δ'" ἔφη "'Ερατοσθένης Ὁῆθεν ὁ ταῦτα πράττων, ... (cf. section 17.2 below).
- (c) A number of occurrences of initial verbs present ‘**resumptive**’ information, i.e. the verb reactivates information which was already accessible but needs to be reintroduced as a starting point for whatever ‘new’ information is going to be presented next (for the fact that resumptive elements are liable to be fronted, see already section 0.1.3 above); see Dik 1995, 209-215.

In other cases the P1 of a verb in a particular segment may simply reflect some general discourse principles. Most importantly, there seems to be a general correlation between focus and P1 in Greek (cf. section 10.3 below). Thus, if a verb carries the main focus of a segment, it may naturally tend toward P1. This accounts for the cases in which the verb conveys ‘foregrounded information’ (Luraghi 1995), e.g. when the verb itself (as opposed to its arguments) carries the focus in the presentation of an action within a narrative sequence.

5.2.3 Verbs in P-ult

A last possible position for verbs which can easily be investigated by means of the database is the final position in a segment, as can be seen in the following table.

¹²¹ Luraghi’s (1995) examples of verbs in P1 in the context of ‘descriptions of places’ could be analyzed in the same way. In *X. An.* 1.2.7-8, the description proceeds by the introduction of successive new items on the scene as one follows the course of the river; thus, the verb ῥεῖ can serve ad hoc as a low-content verb allowing for the introduction of the items along the course of the river: διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου | ῥεῖ ὁ Μαίανδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως· ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῆ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως | καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαίανδρον· Note that if one takes into account probable colon boundaries, the first occurrence of ῥεῖ as well as ἐμβάλλει would also be in P1 and instances of the intended use.

Table 5.2c: P-ult-tendency of verbs

	Plato	Lysias	Total
verbs (exc. εἶναι)			
<i>P-ult(finite)</i>	2858 / 6666 (42.9%)	2390 / 5532 (43.2%)	5248 / 12189 (43.1%)
<i>P-ult(infinitive)</i>	1638 / 5301 (30.9%)	1987 / 6091 (32.6%)	3625 / 11392 (31.8%)
εἶναι			
<i>P-ult(finite)</i>	282 / 938 (30.1%)	176 / 599 (29.4%)	458 / 1537 (29.8%)
<i>P-ult(infinitive)</i>	278 / 903 (30.8%)	165 / 567 (29.1%)	443 / 1470 (30.1%)

every word except verbs = /X/

clusters of /O/s have been reduced to single /X/

/p/, /q/ and /r/ have been omitted¹²²

expected			
P-ult: X	11117 / 73404 (15.1%)	7518 / 56222 (13.4%)	18635 / 129626 (14.4%)

every word = /X/

A few very interesting observations can be made on the basis of these data:

- 43% of the regular finite verbs occur in P-ult of a segment, which is a very high score; infinite verb forms are somewhat less frequent in this position but still obtain a 32% score;
- εἶναι is somewhat less frequent in this position but still has a frequency of 30%, both for finite forms and infinite forms;
- the scores are remarkably constant across authors (and editors).

Among the data concerning the position of verbs presented in section 5.2, the P-ult tendency is -rather unexpectedly- the most visible tendency and a quite constant one across both authors.¹²³ This result can obviously be related to the observations in terms of the 'basic word order' debate: according to the most reliable authors (see esp. Taylor 1990) the unmarked order in Ancient Greek is SOV (subject-object-verb).

Apart from typological considerations, it should be observed that the verb is often the main nexus of the syntactic/semantic structure of a clause, i.e. it is the verb that makes the positions that the words occupy within a clause (as e.g. marked by the nominal cases) interpretable. Thus, the verb's P-ult has the effect that the clause becomes interpretable only at the end, which implies that verbs in P-ult de facto function as a bracketing device (see sections 7.3 and 10.4 below).

¹²² The omission of /q/ and /r/ is motivated: a final verb only followed by an enclitic can reasonably be considered final, since it is a known fact that verbs statistically attract enclitics. The omission of /p/ and /O/ has only been operated so as to be able to use the same corpus as in the previous Tables, but this omission can be expected to have little influence on the scores.

¹²³ Of course, these scores include cases of autonomous verbs: 222 cases of segments consisting of only a finite verb occur in the corpus (192 in Plato) plus 56 cases with a finite verb followed by a /q/-particle, including the following cases: (i) short formulaic answers like Φαίνεται., Ἀνάγκη and Ἔοικεν., but also replies which consist in resuming the verb of the previous sentence as in Plato *Cra.* 407c ΣΩ. Ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ, τὸν Ἄρη ἐρώτα. / EPM. Ἐρωτῶ. ; (ii) rest-cola in which the verb remains alone with its arguments and satellites forming separate cola as in Plato *Thi.* 199e ὁ δὲ δὴ τὴν ἀνεπιστημοσύνην λαβὼν ψευδῆ μὲν, φῆς, δοξάσει. ἦ γάρ; (iii) fronted finite verbs followed by a complementizer, as in Lysias 5.4 ἴσασι γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν (μὲν) ψευδομένοι ἐλεγχθῶσιν, οὐδὲν μείζον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων πείσονται, ἐὰν δὲ ...

6. Units and formulas (review)

We have seen in the above that a number of apparent exceptions to otherwise valid word order rules were due to what we called units and formulas, i.e. to the fact that some collocations of orthographically defined words behave as a word-like whole rather than as separate words in some contexts. However, the scope of these phenomena is well beyond the mere explanation of word order phenomena in Greek: the fact that some collocations of several words seem to have the status of a more or less ready-made building block for discourse processing is a pervasive phenomenon. In this section, I offer a systematic review of the different types of such collocations that we encountered so far, as well as some theoretical considerations concerning formulas and lexicalization.

6.0 Preliminary remarks

- (1) Traditional grammatical frameworks are based on a dichotomy between **lexicon and grammar**. The lexicon is most often conceived of as a depository of basic items (prototypically words and morphemes), whereas the grammar is a device that creatively combines these items into larger units. In some cases, however, this clear-cut dichotomy seems to falter: larger units than can be easily described as words cannot easily be accounted for by the ‘regular’ creative processes of syntax (e.g. idioms like “bite the dust”). Recent ‘cognitive’ approaches to grammar tend to abandon the dichotomy between lexicon as storage and syntax as process altogether and postulate a continuum; according to this approach, any amount of structure can be stored as a single item if this is the most economical way to accommodate language use (for references and discussion, see Wray 2002). Formulaic items may differ in various ways from each other:
 - their morphosyntactic status may vary from a set of sentences to a combination of lexical nouns to a mere particle cluster;
 - their degree of fixity may vary from templates in which slots can be filled creatively by an indefinite number of items (e.g. the ‘his way’ construction in English, as in “Babe Ruth homered his way into the hearts of America” and “He belched his way out of the restaurant”; cf. Jackendoff 1990, 211-223 et passim) to standard jokes/riddles/puns which may contain several lines or even speaker turns to which nothing can be changed;
 - some formulas may be generally applicable across a wide range of contexts, but others may be linked to very specialized contexts.
- (2) For the purposes of a corpus-based analysis one has to formulate operational criteria as to what kinds of collocation can count as a **formula**. There is an obvious connection between the frequency of a certain combination and its chances to constitute a formula: highly frequent combinations are more likely to be lexicalized and such a lexicalization is also more ‘useful’. Still, the frequency of a combination alone cannot be a sufficient criterion for formulaicity (for a critique of such approaches, see Wray 2002, 25-31):
 - On the one hand, however large a corpus is, some formulaic items may occur not at all or only sporadically (for instance, if the context in which the collocation is definitely

formulaic is not represented in the corpus, e.g. short and idiomatic replies of the Πόνοι μὲν οὖν type will not occur in a corpus consisting of monologue only).

- On the other hand, high-frequency words can cooccur quite frequently in a way that need not be due to lexicalization of any sort, but is simply due to the convergence of syntactic and/or discourse factors (e.g. a high frequency of collocations of the type ὄς δέ can be due to the fact that both elements are highly frequent and that the P1-tendency of the first and the P2-tendency of the second as such make the collocation highly probable).

Other criteria which may be an indication for the formulaic nature of a collocation are the following:

- if a substantial percentage of the occurrences of a word are part of a collocation of a certain type, this collocation can reasonably be argued to be formulaic;
- if a word occurring in a certain collocation has linguistic functions in that collocation which it does not have if it occurs elsewhere, the collocation is probably formulaic;
- if a certain collocation shows grammatical or semantic features which are otherwise not regular in the language (cf. e.g. the exceptions to the word order rules described in the above), this collocation is probably formulaic.

(3) The formulaic character of a large part of actual language use has lately been receiving some attention in various subdomains of linguistics (for an overview, see Wray 2002): a substantial part of what anyone says or writes is not actually the result of ‘creatively’ combining words so as to make up utterances, but is made of ready-made building blocks. The importance of formulas and other more or less lexicalized units for word order in general has been stressed in the literature on Greek word order as well (see e.g. Dover 1960/1968, 65-65). For the purposes of the quantitative analyses in Part I of this study, it is important to note that the significance of word order rules (or statistical tendencies in general) as investigated here above can be seriously overestimated if most of the occurrences which are supposed to corroborate this rule are actually part of formulaic collocations (see e.g. section 4.1, esp. the data in Tables 4.1f and 4.1g).

(4) In the present section, as throughout this study, I will distinguish ‘units’ and formulas’. Although the differences are not clear-cut and both terms refer to cases of more or less accomplished lexicalization or grammaticalization, I will continue making the following distinction:

- **units** are the result of the coalescence between syntactically related words; the resulting unit shows word-like behavior; unit-formation can thus be conceived of as a productive morphological mechanism;
- **formulas** are by definition collocations of words which are stored as such and can serve as ready-made building blocks for discourse processing.

6.1 Units

Units were defined as the product of a close coalescence between two or more words so that in a particular occurrence they behave as a single word.

It should be noted that non-lexicals seem to have a special status with respect to unit-formation. Non-lexicals have been observed to tend to have less autonomy than lexical words. Furthermore, the collocation of a non-lexical with whatever word it modifies is typically grammaticalizable/lexicalizable, i.e. its function could be realized by a bound morpheme (affix, inflection, ...) as well). For instance, *πᾶν, πολύ* etc. are often used as prefixes; likewise *τις* could have turned into (say) an indefinite article, which in turn might have become a bound morpheme (suffix, ending), etc.

In this section I will distinguish different types of units according to their morphological structure:

- (1) units consisting of prepositions, articles and/or /q/-particles on the one hand and mobiles on the other;
- (2) units consisting of a non-lexical and a mobile word;
- (3) units consisting of more than one lexical mobile;
- (4) short coordinate structures;
- (5) polyptosis.

(1) *Units of the form /p M q (q...)/ or /p q (q...) M/*

Throughout the previous sections we have seen that the behavior of /p/-prepositives (article and prepositions) and of /q/-particles suggests that these words form a unit which cannot be interrupted by words not belonging to it. Thus e.g. /r/-postpositives cannot occur between the article and the first mobile of the constituent introduced by it (see section 2.4 above); likewise, /r/-postpositives never precede /q/-particles, i.e. never occur between a /q/-particle and the word it clings to (see section 3.1). For further discussion of this type of collocations, see section 7.1 below.

(2) *Units involving a non-lexical and a mobile*

Most units consist of two words which grammatically belong together; in a large number of cases this type of unit involves one or more non-lexicals (besides the prepositives and /q/-particles mentioned here above). Here below I will just enumerate a few instances in which my analyses have led me to attribute unit-status to a certain type of collocations.

(a) *attributive non-lexical + noun*

A number of non-lexicals (relatives, interrogatives, quantifiers, demonstratives, possessives, words meaning 'other', etc.) can modify/specify a noun (or substantivized element) with which they form a NP; a number of these collocations can be shown to make up a unit so as to yield exceptions to word order rules (see especially section 4.1 and section 4.2), as can be seen in the following examples: Plato *Sph.* 233c Καθ' ὄντινα τρόπον ποτέ δυνατοὶ τοῖς νέοις δόξαν παρασκευάζειν ὡς εἰσὶ πάντα πάντων αὐτοὶ σοφώτατοι. — Plato *Sph.* 242b τίνα ἀρχὴν τις ἄν ἄρξαιτο παρακινδυνευτικοῦ λόγου; — Lysias 11,8 τίνος ἐγκλήματός μοι ὄντος; — Lysias 4, 19 τί κακὸν πώποτε ... — Plato *Plt.* 279a Τί δῆτα παράδειγμά τις ἄν, ἔχον τὴν αὐτὴν πολιτικὴν πραγματείαν, σμικρότατον παραθέμενος ἰκανῶς ἂν εὕροι τὸ ζητούμενον; — Plato *Sph.* 242b Φέρε δὴ, τίνα ἀρχὴν τις ἄν ἄρξαιτο παρακινδυνευτικοῦ λόγου; — Lysias 24,10 εἰκὸς γάρ, ὦ βουλή, πάντας τοὺς ἔχοντάς τι δυστύχημα τοῦτο ζητεῖν καὶ τοῦτο φιλοσοφεῖν, — Plato *Tht.* 153d εἰ δὲ σταίη τοῦτο ὡσπερ δεθέν, πάντα χρήματ' ἄν διαφθαρεῖ καὶ γένοιτ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον ἄνω κάτω πάντα; — Plato *Sph.* 263a

Σὸν ἔργον δὴ φράζειν περὶ οὗ τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὅτου. — Lysias 24,2 εἰ δ' ἰ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲ τιμωρεῖται, ἰ ψεύδεται.¹²⁴

Sometimes both words in such a unit are non-lexical, as in the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 437c οἶμαι δὲ ἰ καὶ ἄλλα πόλλ' ἄν τις εὐροι εἰ πραγματεύοιτο, — Plato *Th.* 145e (cf. Plato *Plt.* 292c) Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοίνυν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπορῶ ...

(b) *negative + negated word*

Another frequent type of unit consists of a negative and the negated word, as illustrated by the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 384a ..., οὔτε ἀποσαφεῖ λοῦδὲν εἰρωνεύεται τε πρὸς μὲ, ... — Plato *Sph.* 245c Μὴ ὄντος δέ γε τὸ παράπαν τοῦ ὅλου, — Plato *Sph.* 261b καὶ πέρας, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν φανήσεται ποτε. — Plato *Cra.* 436a ἄρ' ἐννοεῖς ὅτι οὐ σμικρὸς κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι;¹²⁵

(c) *adverb of degree or comparison + adjective, quantifier, ...*

The following examples illustrate units consisting of an adverb + the adjective or quantifier it modifies: Plato *Th.* 170e Νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, μάλα μυρίοι δῆτα, φησὶν Ὅμηρος, οἳ γέ μοι τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα παρέχουσιν. — Plato *Cra.* 403e οὕτω καλοῦς τινας, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπίσταται λόγους λέγειν ὁ Ἄιδης, — Plato *Sph.* 238d Ἄρ' οὖν ἐψευσάμην ἄρτι λέγων τὴν μεγίστην ἀπορίαν εἰρεῖν αὐτοῦ πέρι, τὸ δὲ ἔτι μείζω τινὰ λέγειν ἄλλην ἔχομεν;

(d) *reporting verb + complementizer*

In the context of the segmentation of discourse into cola, one is often tempted to take the collocation of a reporting verb (say: a verbum dicendi or percipiendi) and the complementizer which introduces its complement clause together and assign a separate colon to this unit, as in Plato *Th.* 144a εὐ γὰρ ἴσθι ὅτι ἰ ὦν δὴ πρόποτε ἐνέτυχον — καὶ πάνυ πολλοῖς πεπλησίακα— οὐδένα πῶ ἠσθόμην οὕτω θαυμαστῶς εὐ πεφυκότα. or Plato *Sph.* 266d-e Τῆς τοίνυν εἰδωλουργικῆς ἰ ἀναμνησθῶμεν ὅτι ἰ τὸ μὲν ἰ εἰκαστικόν, ἰ τὸ δὲ ἰ φανταστικόν ἔμελλεν εἶναι γένος, ἰ εἰ τὸ ψεῦδος ὄντως ὄν ψεῦδος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἔν τι φανείη πεφυκός. As a further support for this option one can mention the fact that at least one case of a full lexicalization of such a collocation exists in the form of δηλονότι. Furthermore, it should be noted that the same type of collocation can readily occur in a single autonomous colon in the not infrequent case of elliptical complement clauses, such as Λέγε ὅπη. Similar remarks could be made for collocations like μᾶλλον ἢ.

(e) *nominal predicate + copula*

In the course of the analyses of running Greek text presented in section 11 below, a few occasions arose in which the most plausible analysis of the word order in certain passages implied that the copula (a participle in each of these cases) formed a word-like unit with its corresponding predicative adjective. See Lysias 1,16 ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὑβρίζων εἰς σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα ἰ ἐχθρὸς ὦν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει. (section 11.3.2(2a)) and several examples in Lysias 1,22: ἐνοχος μὲν ὦν τῇ αἰτίᾳ, ἐλάττονος δὲ οὐσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς (section 11.4(1a) below) — μεγίστης δὲ οὐσης μῶι τῆς συμφορᾶς, ... (section 11.4(2a) below).

(3) *Units consisting of more than one lexical word*

In some collocations of more than one lexical word, these words are not as independent as in other collocations, which yields a number of apparently exceptional behaviors for such collocations. See e.g. Chafe 1994, 110-119 for the fact that some collocations of words, all

¹²⁴ Note that ὡς as a comparison marker here seems to behave like a /p/-prepositive.

¹²⁵ This unit involves a negative but also a collocation of two regular mobile words.

of which convey ‘new’ information, do seem to occur within one IU, without a resulting violation of the constraint; also see Croft 1995, for the fact that whenever more than one GU cooccurs in an IU, the combination of these GUs typically is ‘grammaticalizable’.

- (a) Some of these collocations are fully lexicalized phrases such as εὖ οἶδα, as in Plato *Cra.* 391e *Εὖ οἶδα μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ...*. Others, however, are not as obvious and may allow for alternative analyses, as e.g. in Plato *Sph.* 234a *Παιδιὰν λέγεις τινά.: Παιδιὰν λέγεις* may be analyzed as a unit (meaning something like *παίζεις*) but one could also argue that the PI of *Παιδιὰν* is a case of emphatic fronting. A number of more or less clear units are of the form attributive adjective (or similar) + noun: Plato *Sph.* 220a *Ζωοθηρικῆς δὲ ἰ ἄρ’ οὐ διπλοῦν εἶδος ἄν λέγοιτο ἐν δίκη,* — Plato *Thi.* 209e *Εἰ τὸ λόγον, ὦ παῖ, προσλαβεῖν γνῶναι κελεύει, ἀλλὰ μὴ δοξάσαι τὴν διαφορότητα, ἡδὺ χρῆμ’ ἄν εἴη τοῦ καλλίστου τῶν περὶ ἐπιστήμης λόγου.* — Lysias 30,20 *εἰς τε τὰς θυσίας τὰς πατρίους ἄν ἐξήρκεσε καὶ τρία τάλαντα ἄν περιεγένητο τῇ πόλει.* — Plato *Sph.* 223a *τοῦτ’ οὖν ἔγωγε εἰπὼν ἰ τὸ προσῆκον ὄνομ’ ἄν ἠγοῦμαι καλεῖν αὐτόν.* — Plato *Plt.* 310a *Τοῖς δ’ εὐγενέσι γενομένοις τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦθεσι θρεφθεῖσι τε κατὰ φύσιν μόνοις διὰ νόμων ἐμφύεσθαι ...* — Plato *Cra.* 436a *ἄρ’ ἐννοεῖς ὅτι οὐ μικρὸς κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι;*
- (b) An interesting line of inquiry may be to see whether some collocations of a low-content main verb and a more contentful infinitive or participle tend to show unit-like behavior, which might be expected from the fact that this kind of collocation is eminently ‘grammaticalizable’ and in many languages has led to the formation of auxiliaries and eventually affix-formation etc. However, for most of the instances in which we might want to invoke unit-formation in order to explain the ‘deferment’ of a postpositive, we can also attribute the position of that postpositive to the fact that the infinitive or participle clause could be a separate colon. Thus, in Plato *Cra.* 413b *ἰκανῶς γάρ μέ φασι πεπύσθαι [ἀκκοέοναι] καὶ ἐπιχειροῦσιν, βουλόμενοι ἀποπιμπλάναι με, ἄλλος ἄλλα ἤδη λέγειν, καὶ οὐκέτι συμφωνοῦσιν* and in Lysias 1,18 *ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε ἰ ἐκέλευον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι τὴν θεράπαιναν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν,...*, we can either consider the combination of the potentially modal verbs *βουλόμενοι* resp. *ἐκέλευον* as forming a unit with the infinitive, or argue for the colon-status of the infinitival constituent.
- (c) Some apparent units get their unitary character from their function in the local context rather than from some generally available feature of the lexicon. Thus, in the following passage from Plato’s *Sophista* (Plato *Sph.* 231d-e) the six definitions of the sophist which had been proposed at that point in the dialogue are summarized; some of the expressions which constitute the definitions (italic in the quotation) can be argued to have unit status, as evidenced by the position of the postpositives in the fourth and sixth definition (Plato varies the formulations of the definitions: the other formulations are not pertinent):
- ΞΕ. ... δοκῶ μὲν γάρ, ἰ τὸ πρῶτον ἠϋρέθη *νέων καὶ πλουσίων ἔμμισθος θηρευτής.*
 ΘΕΑΙ. Ναί.
 ΞΕ. Τὸ δέ γε δεύτερον ἰ *ἔμπορός τις περὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς μαθήματα.*
 ΘΕΑΙ. Πάνυ γε.
 ΞΕ. Τρίτον δὲ ἰ *ἄρα οὐ περὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα κάπηλος ἀνεφάνη;*
 ΘΕΑΙ. Ναί, ἰ *καὶ τέταρτόν γε ἰ αὐτοπόλης περὶ τὰ μαθήματα ἡμῖν* (ἦν).
 ΞΕ. Ὅρθως ἐμνημόνευσας. ἰ *πέμπτον δ’ ἰ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι μνημονεύειν· ἰ τῆς γὰρ ἀγωνιστικῆς περὶ λόγους ἦν τις ἀθλητής,* τὴν ἐριστικὴν τέχνην ἀφορισμένος.
 ΘΕΑΙ. Ἦν γὰρ οὖν.

ΞΕ. Τό γε μὴν ἔκτον | ἀμφισβητήσιμον μέν, | ὅμως δ' | ἔθεμεν αὐτῶ | συγχωρήσαντες | δοξῶν ἐμποδίων μαθήμασιν περὶ ψυχῆν καθαρτὴν αὐτὸν εἶναι.¹²⁶

(4) **Short conjuncts and contrasts**

In the same vein as the previous type of units, we can distinguish collocations which consist of short conjoined constituents which in a particular context seem to behave as a unit (cf. Chafe 1994, 110-119) and very probably do not constitute more than one colon. This may be the case in the following instances: Plato *Th.* 205c καὶ αὕτη δὴ ἡ αἰτία | ἄλογόν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον αὐτὸ ποιοῖ; — Plato *Th.* 205d Ἦ οὖν | ἄλλη τις | ἢ αὕτη ἡ αἰτία | τοῦ μονοειδέος τε καὶ ἀμέριστον αὐτὸ εἶναι; — Plato *Plt.* 304c (Τὴν) εἰ δεῖ μανθάνειν ἢ μὴ | τῆς μανθανομένης καὶ διδασκούσης ἄρα | σύ γε ἀποφαίνειν δεῖν ἡμῖν ἄρχειν; — Plato *Sph.* 216c οἱ μὴ πλαστῶς ἄλλ' ὄντως φιλόσοφοι, — Plato *Th.* 203c Τὸ σίγμα καὶ τὸ ὦ ἄρα γινώσκει. Note that this expression occurs in a context in which “the first syllable of Socrates’ name” was already introduced.

(5) **Polyptosis**

Polyptosis is a highly enigmatic feature of Ancient Greek word order: if different forms of the same word occur in the same clause they tend to be adjacent. This tendency has been observed to sometimes overrule word order rules (see e.g. Dover 1960/1968, 16-17, quoting A. *Eu.* 529 ἄλλ' ἄλλα δ' ἐφορεύει).

This tendency apparently gives rise to (or is the result of) a bizarre kind of grammaticalization or lexicalization. In this respect, we can quote at least one instance in which the lexicalization has given rise to an orthographically canonized word: ἀλλήλ-; but note that 31 collocations of two immediately adjacent forms of ἄλλος or ἕτερος can be found in the corpus as well (e.g. Plato *Cra.* 413b ἄλλος ἄλλα, Plato *Th.* 171d ἕτερον ἐτέρου), to which cases like the following can be added: Plato *Sph.* 258a θάτερον θατέρου; — Plato *Th.* 156b καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσι τὰ ἄλλα αἰσθητὰ συγγενῆ γινόμενα.

- (a) Many **non-lexical words** occur in such ‘polyptotic adjacency’ configurations: Plato *Th.* 179c πᾶσαν παντὸς — Plato *Th.* 183a πάντων γε πάντως — Plato *Th.* 205a πᾶν τὰ πάντα, Plato *Sph.* 228c πᾶσαν πᾶν, Plato *Sph.* 233b πάντα πάντων — Plato *Sph.* 234d-e πάντα πάντη, Plato *Th.* 156c παντοδαπαῖς παντοδαπά — Plato *Th.* 185a ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρου — Plato *Sph.* 248d οὐδέτερον οὐδέτερου — Plato *Sph.* 259b μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις — Plato *Th.* 166b ... τὸν αὐτὸν τὸ αὐτό ...; Plato *Th.* 196c ... τὰ αὐτὰ ὁ αὐτὸς ...; Plato *Th.* 205a ... ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτό ...¹²⁷ — Plato *Th.* 197b αὐτὸν αὐτό — Plato *Th.* 197c αὐτὸν αὐτὰς — Plato *Th.* 197c αὐτῶ περὶ αὐτὰς — Plato *Sph.* 238a περὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν αὐτοῦ. Note that the tendency for several forms of αὐτ- to occur adjacently does not seem to take into account the several different uses of αὐτ- (‘ipse’, ‘idem’, anaphoric): Plato *Th.* 198b Ἦ οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀριθμοῖ ἂν ποτέ τι ἢ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτὰ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἕξω ὅσα ἔχει ἀριθμόν; —

¹²⁶ We might try to test the unit-status of the expressions by translating them into a language allowing for ad hoc nominal compounding such as German or Dutch, which yields somewhat bizarre constructs such as “zelfgemaakte denkproducten verkoper” (fourth definition) -which might be acceptable- and “zielenreiniger-van-belemmerende-opinies-door-gedachten” (sixth definition) - which does not really work. The question is whether Plato’s formulations were not perceived as having a similar bizarre flavor.

¹²⁷ Fully lexicalized forms are attested as well, cf. LSJ s.v. αὐταυτόθεν and s.v. αὐταυτοῦ (Doric for εαυτοῦ).

Plato *Sph.* 230b τιθέντες δὲ ἐπιδεικνύουσιν αὐτὰς αὐταῖς ἅμα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐναντίας. — Plato *Sph.* 244d ταυτόν γε αὐτῶ.¹²⁸ — Plato *Th.* 205a μηδαμῆ μηδὲν, Plato *Th.* 176c οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς, Plato *Sph.* 251e μηδενὶ μηδὲν μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν κοινωνίας εἰς μηδέν — Plato *Sph.* 249b μηδενὶ περὶ μηδενὸς εἶναι μηδαμοῦ. Likewise, one can subsume clusters of different kinds of negatives (as in Plato *Th.* 155a ὦν πρῶτων ἐπισκοποῦντες φήσομεν, ἢ ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἢ μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἄν μείζον μηδὲ ἔλαττον γενέσθαι μήτε ὄγκῳ μήτε ἀριθμῶ, ἕως ἴσον εἴη αὐτὸ ἑαυτῶ.) under the heading of polyptosis as well.

- (b) Many **‘lexical’ mobiles** occur in similar collocations, as in the following examples: Plato *Sph.* 226d ὅμοιον ἄφ’ ὁμοίου — Plato *Sph.* 244d τὸ ὄνομα ὀνόματος ὄνομα — Plato *Sph.* 219d ἐκόντων πρὸς ἐκόντας — Plato *Sph.* 221d τάνδρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα — Plato *Th.* 172a σύμβουλόν τε συμβούλου διαφέρειν καὶ πόλεως δόξαν ἑτέραν ἑτέρας πρὸς ἀλήθειαν — Plato *Th.* 177a κακοὶ κακοῖς συνόντες — Plato *Th.* 181c χώραν ἐκ χώρας — Plato *Sph.* 267a φωνὴν φωνῆ — Plato *Pl.* 300b ἀμαρτήματος ἀμάρτημα — Plato *Sph.* 225a ΞΕ. Τῆς τοίνυν μαχητικῆς τῶ μὲν σώματι πρὸς σώματα γιγνομένῳ σχεδὸν εἰκὸς καὶ πρέπον ὄνομα λέγειν τι τοιοῦτον τιθεμένους οἷον βιαστικόν. / ΘΕΑΙ. Ναί. / ΞΕ. Τῶ δὲ λόγοις πρὸς λόγους τί τις, ὦ Θεαίτητε, ἄλλο εἴπη πλὴν ἀμφισβητητικόν;
- (c) Note that the immediate adjacency of contrasted words might be a reflection of a similar mechanism, as in the following examples: Plato *Th.* 183e συμπροσέμειξα γὰρ δὴ τῶ ἀνδρὶ πάνυ νέος πάνυ πρεσβύτη. — Lysias 8,16 χρῆν μὲν οὖν ἢ τότε με γινώσκειν ἢ ὀφειλόμενόν μοι ταῦτα παθεῖν, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλέγετε κακῶς. ...

6.2 Formulaic patterns

As has been noted in sections 0.1.2 and 1.2.3 above, the notion of ‘formula’ has been invoked in the literature in order to explain exceptions to word order rules, in that the collocations in question seem to behave as if their elements occur where they occur because their combination is more of a unit than the elements apart, for instance: relative+indefinite, relative+ἄν, οὐκ ἄν, τάχ’ ἄν, interrogative+δὴ and some clusters of postpositives.

In this section I will investigate a number of potentially formulaic collocations and try to evaluate their impact on the word order phenomena under scrutiny in this part of the study. The presentation of the relevant data will be organized according to the morphological form of the formulas under scrutiny:

- (1) formulas of the form X + ἄν;
- (2) formulas of the form X + indefinite;
- (3) formulas of the form /O q/;
- (4) clusters of non-lexicals of the same class;
- (5) short (quasi-)parenthetical formulas.

Whenever possible, I will start from quantitative data concerning strings which have been observed to behave like formulas in the previous sections. However, it has been pointed out already (see section 6.0(2) here above) that the mere frequency of these strings is not a

¹²⁸ Thus, collocations of the interrogative τίς and the phonematically identical indefinite might be considered as the result of the polyptotic adjacency tendency, as in Plato *Sph.* 224c Καὶ τί τις ἄν ἄλλο ὄνομα εἰπὼν οὐκ ἄν πλημμελοῖη πλὴν τὸ νῦν ζητούμενον αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ σοφιστικὸν γένος;

sufficient criterion for formula-status. Therefore, I will try and adduce other criteria (exceptional word order patterns, specific uses, ...) as much as possible.

(1) *Formulas of the form X + ἄν*

The following table summarizes the number of occurrences of potentially formulaic strings that involve ἄν following certain types of non-lexical items.

Table 6.2a: X + ἄν

	Plato	Lysias	Total
relative + ἄν	143	48	191
interr. pronoun (or adverb) + ἄν	22	31	53
negative + ἄν	84	127	211
<i>simple negative</i> +ἄν	57	77	134
οὐδέ/μηδέ+ἄν	13	21	34
<i>complex negatives</i> +ἄν	12	16	28
οὔτε/μήτε + ἄν	2	13	15
modal sentence adverb+ἄν	19	6	25

(a) *relative + ἄν*

In a relative clause with a subjunctive verb and ἄν, that particle always immediately follows the introducing relative (Marshall 1987, *Rule I*; Marshall did not find any exceptions). Many combinations of this type have become a fully lexicalized item and have accordingly been canonized in traditional orthography (ὅταν, ἐάν (ἄν), ἄν ...); these cases do not show up in the database since they are treated as one word. Other combinations of a relative and ἄν are not spelled as one word (e.g. ὅς ἄν, ὅτι ἄν, ὅποσα ἄν ...). Some /q/-particles sometimes come between the relative and ἄν (54 occurrences have been found in the corpus, e.g. Plato *Cra.* 386a -ὡς ἄρα οἶα μὲν ἄν ἐμοὶ φαίνεται τὰ πράγματα [εἶναι], ἢ τοιαῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ἐμοί· ἢ οἶα δ' ἄν σοί, τοιαῦτα δὲ σοί- and Lysias 29,10 ἕως γὰρ ἄν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντες σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνειδῶσιν, οὐδέποτε ὑμῖν παύσονται κακονοοῦντες), whereas in other cases the formula relative+ἄν appears to function as an uninteruptible unit, as in Lysias 1,49 ὅ τι ἄν οὖν βούληται χρῆσθαι, ... — Plato *Cra.* 385d Ὁ ἄν ἄρα ἕκαστος φῆ ... (cf. section 3.1 above).

(b) *interrogative + ἄν*

The formulaic nature of collocations of this type can be observed in the 5 occurrences of the collocation interrogative+ἄν+οὖν, which violates the normal order /q r/: Lysias 20,16 πῶς ἄν οὖν οὐκ ἄν δεινὰ πάσχοιμεν ; — Lysias 1,45 τί ἄν οὖν ... — Lysias 8,7 πόθεν ἄν οὖν ... — Lysias 19,33 πῶς ἄν οὖν ... — Plato *Th.* 160d πῶς ἄν οὖν (cf. section 3.1 above). However, the collocation interrogative + ἄν often involves a /q/-particle or ποτε preceding ἄν as well, as in the 5 instances of interrogative + ποτ' ἄν and the 39 examples of interrogative + /q/ + ἄν (incl. 7 cases with οὖν ἄν and 23 with γὰρ ἄν; note the interesting case Plato *Sph.* 233a Πῶς οὖν ἄν ποτέ τις πρὸς γε τὸν ἐπιστάμενον αὐτὸς ἀνεπιστήμων ὦν δύναιτ' ἄν ὑγιές τι λέγων ἀντειπεῖν;).¹²⁹

¹²⁹ For the repeated ἄν, cf. also Plato *Th.* 200d Λέγε δὴ, ἢ τί ἄν αὐτὸ μάλιστα εἰπόντες ἢ ἥκιστ' ἄν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐναντιωθεῖμεν;

(c) *negative + ἄν*

Again, this formula is sometimes interrupted by some /q/-particles (39 occurrences, among which 9 occurrences of οὐ/μή γὰρ ἄν, 15 occurrences of οὔτε/μήτε+ἄν), although some /q/-particles follow the formula without interrupting it: Plato *Th.* 154b ... οὐκ ἄν ἀν ... — Plato *Th.* 162a ... οὐκ ἄν οὖν ... — Plato *Th.* 178d ... Οὐδ' ἄν ἀν ... — Plato *Th.* 193a οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἀν ... — Lysias 31,28 οὐ γὰρ ἄν δήπου ... — οὐκ ἄν ἄρα ἐτέθη; (cf. section 3.1 above). Also note that while the collocation introductive particle + ἄν is in general quite rare, οὐδ' ἄν or μηδ' ἄν occur freely (see section 4.2 above).

(d) *modal adverb + ἄν*

The formulaic status of τάχ' ἄν has already been noted in the literature (see e.g. Marshall 1987, 12, with references to Dover and Fraenkel). Especially note the autonomous use of this formula as an answer (e.g. Plato *Sph.* 255c; Plato *Sph.* 257c; Plato *Plt.* 258b), but the collocation of ἄν with other modal adverbs (e.g. ἕως ἄν, εἰκότως ἄν, δικαιοτάτ' ἄν) could count as well.

Especially notable is the frequent collocation adverb of manner (not necessarily strictly modal)+ἄν+optative verb form, as in the following instances:

- **δικαίως ἄν** καλοῖτο (Plato *Th.* 189c — Plato *Cra.* 408a — Plato *Cra.* 410b; cf. also Plato *Sph.* 250a δικαίως ἄν ἐπερωτηθεῖμεν);
- **ἡδέως ἄν** πυνθανοίμην/πυθοίμην (Plato *Sph.* 216d — Plato *Cra.* 399c — Plato *Th.* 143e — Lysias 10,9 ἡδέως δ' ἄν σου πυθοίμην; cf. also Plato *Cra.* 384a ἡδέως ἄν ἀκούσοιμι — Plato *Cra.* 411a ἡδέως ἄν θεασαίμην)¹³⁰;
- **Καλῶς ἄν ἔχοι** (e.g. Plato *Sph.* 219a — Lysias 12,82);
- **ὀρθῶς/ὀρθότατ' ἄν** καλοῖτο/λέγοιτο/λέγειεν/προσαγορεύοιμεν/ (Plato *Cra.* 401c — Plato *Cra.* 405c¹³¹ — Plato *Sph.* 236c — Plato *Plt.* 268a); cf. also Plato *Cra.* 435c ἐπεὶ ἕως κατὰ γε τὸ δυνατόν κάλλιστ' ἄν λέγοιτο. and Plato *Plt.* 283c ὀρθῶς ἄν γίγνοιτο.

An interesting example which illustrates the formulaic nature of δικαιοτάτ' ἄν very well is Plato *Sph.* 219b σύμπαντα ταῦτα | δικαιοτάτ' ἄν | ἐνὶ προσαγορεύοιτ' ἄν ὀνόματι. After the fronted topic σύμπαντα ταῦτα, the formula is fronted as a marker, followed by the proper contents of the clause, in which ἄν is repeated after the verb it belongs with.¹³²

(2) *Formulas of the form X + indefinite*

The following table presents the number of occurrences of a series of potentially formulaic strings involving an indefinite.

¹³⁰ But cf. also Plato *Cra.* 384a ἔτι ἄν ἴδιον πυθοίμην.

¹³¹ In Plato *Cra.* 405c the 'formulaic' order occurs in "Ἀπολούων" ἄν ὀρθῶς καλοῖτο, but a few lines earlier a different order occurs in "ἄν ὀρθῶς καλοῖτο".

¹³² The example is interesting in other respects as well: see section 10.4 on bracketing. Also compare Plato *Plt.* 305e Τὴν δὲ πασῶν τε τούτων ἄρχουσαν καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ συμπάντων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιμελουμένην καὶ πάντα συνυφαίνουσαν ὀρθότατα, τοῦ κοινοῦ τῇ κλήσει περιλαβόντες τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, | προσαγορεύοιμεν |? δικαιοτάτ' ἄν, ὡς ἔοικε, πολιτικῆν., in which ἄν does not follow the verb immediately, possibly due to the fact that δικαιοτάτα here applies to πολιτικῆν in a separate colon and that the formula is sufficiently strong to counter the tendency for ἄν not to occur later than immediately after its verb (cf. Marshall 35-167, Rule XXIV).

Table 6.2b: X + indefinite

	Plato	Lysias	Total
interrog. pronoun (or adverb) + indefinite	160	166	326
ἄλλος + indefinite	91	22	113
degree adverb + τι	16	4	20
negative + indefinite	41	8	49

(a) *interrogative + indefinite*

A substantial part of the occurrences of this pattern are actually of the form **interrogative + ποτε**, in which case ποτε may be best regarded as /q/-particle rather than an indefinite, as in the following example in which the formula overrules the rule that ἄν does not follow an indefinite (see section 3.3): Plato *Cra.* 435e Ἔχε δὴ, ἴδωμεν τίς ποτ' ἄν εἴη ὁ τρόπος οὗτος τῆς διδασκαλίας τῶν ὄντων ὃν σὺ λέγεις νῦν, ... — Plato *Sph.* 251d-e: τούτων, ὦ Θεαίτητε, τί ποτ' ἄν αὐτοὺς προαιρεῖσθαι φήσομεν; — Plato *Plt.* 299e περὶ ἅπαντα ταῦτα οὕτω πραττόμενα | τί ποτ' ἄν φανείη, κατὰ συγγράμματα γιγνόμενα καὶ μὴ κατὰ τέχνην; In section 4.1, an example was noted in which ποτε was found in between two introductives in a way which would be irregular for indefinites (Lysias 31,10 τί ποτε ὡς μὴ ἐβουλόμεθά γε πράττοντας ἐποίησεν ἄν;).

However, the collocation of an interrogative with τις seems to be formulaic as well, as can be seen in the following examples (cf. section 3.3): — Plato *Sph.* 220d ἢ τί τις ἄν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, εἴποι κάλλιον; — Plato *Sph.* 224c Καὶ τί τις ἄν ἄλλο ὄνομα εἰπὼν οὐκ ἄν πλημμελοῖη πλὴν τὸ νῦν ζητούμενον αὐτὸ εἶναι τὸ σοφιστικὸν γένος; — Plato *Sph.* 239b Τὸν μὲν τοίνυν ἐμέ γε τί τις ἄν λέγοι; — Lysias 13,46 οὐς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ποῖαν τινὰ οἴεσθε γνώμην περὶ τούτου ἔχειν, ἢ ποῖαν τινὰ ἄν ψῆφον θέσθαι, εἰ ... These collocations may be viewed as a special case of polyptosis as well.

(b) *relative + indefinite*

Again, some cases of this configuration are traditionally written as one word (ὅστις ...), others are not, e.g. ὅτι ποτὲ, εἰ/ἐάν τις, but all of these seem to be fully formulaic, as can be seen by the fact that they are able to overrule certain word order rules: Plato *Tht.* 185a Εἴ τι ἄρα περὶ ἀμφοτέρων διανοῆ, ... — Plato *Plt.* 296b Ἄν τις ἄρα ... — Plato *Plt.* 301b ... κἄν τις ἄρα ... — Plato *Tht.* 174e ... ὡς τις ἄρα ... (cf. section 3.1); — Plato *Plt.* 293c ... ἐν ἧ τις ἄν εὐρίσκοι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀληθῶς ἐπιστήμονας καὶ οὐ δοκοῦντας μόνον, ... (cf. section 3.3); — Plato *Plt.* 264b Τόδε, εἴ τινων πολλάκις ἄρα διακῆκοας· (cf. section 4.1); — Lysias 23,11 εἴ τις ἢ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τοῦτον (ἀφαιροῖτο) ἢ ἄγοι φάσκων ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον εἶναι ... (cf. section 4.2).

(c) *ἄλλος + τις*

113 occurrences of “other”, followed by an indefinite have been counted (91 in Plato, 22 in Lysias), some of which behave as a unit with respect to the position of /q/-particles (e.g. Plato *Tht.* 189b Ἄλλο τι ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ ψευδῆ δοξάζειν τοῦ τὰ μὴ ὄντα δοξάζειν — Lysias 22,5 and Plato *Cra.* 401b, both Ἄλλο τι οὖν ... ; see section 3.1 above).

(d) *negative + indefinite*

49 occurrences of simple negative followed by an indefinite are found (31 cases of οὐπω not counted); this number also includes μὴ πη and cases in which μὴ is a subordinating conjunction; to this a number of occurrences with other types of negatives should be added (53 instances of οὐδέ/μήδε + indefinite; and 33 of complex negative + indefinite; however,

these numbers again include the particle-like indefinites *πω*, *πόποτε* and *ποτε*). The potentially formulaic character of this collocation can be seen in the lexicalized *οὔτις*. In sections 3.1 and 3.3, a few instances were retrieved in which the combination negative + adverbial *τι* behaved as a unit: Plato *Tht.* 164e *Οὐ τί ἄν, οἶμαι, ὧ φίλε...* — Plato *Tht.* 166c *ἢ ὡς ἰδίων γιγνομένων οὐδέν τι ἄν μᾶλλον τὸ φαινόμενον μόνω ἐκείνῳ γίγνοιτο...* — Plato *Sph.* 255a *Ἄλλ' οὐ τί μὴν κίνησις γε καὶ στάσις οὔθ' ἕτερον οὔτε ταῦτόν ἐστι* — Plato *Tht.* 187a *Ἄλλ' οὐ τί μὲν δὴ τούτου γε ἕνεκα ἠρχόμεθα διαλεγόμενοι* — Plato *Plt.* 292e *... μὴ τι δὴ βασιλῆς γε* — Plato *Tht.* 167a *ἐπεὶ οὐ τί γε ψευδῆ δοξάζοντά τις τινα ὕστερον ἀληθῆ ἐποίησε δοξάζειν.*

(e) *adverb of degree + adverbial τι*

In expressions like *οὐ πάνυ τι* and *σχεδόν τι* adverbial *τι* seems to cling to the preceding adverb in a unit-like way, as can be seen from the following examples (cf. also sections 3.1 and 3.3): Plato *Tht.* 148c *ἤττόν τι ἄν οἶε ἀληθῆ τόνδ' ἐπαινέσαι;* — Plato *Cra.* 386a *οὐ πάνυ τι μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ οὕτως ἔχειν* — Plato *Cra.* 401d *σχεδόν τι αὐ' ...*

(3) *Formulas of the form /O/-introductive + /q/-particle*

In section 4.1 above (cf. especially Table 4.1g and the ensuing comments) we observed that many of the occurrences of strings of the form /O q/ are formulaic and/or very frequent. Here below, I will spell out the details concerning the occurrences of this type of string, according to the different types involved. It should be noted from the outset that the relation between frequency and formulaicity is rather complex in this matter: some collocations of two high-frequency items (e.g. relatives and *δέ*) are frequent without therefore being formulaic; some collocations (e.g. collocations involving *δῆτα*) are quite rare, but are clearly formulaic.

Table 6.2c: /O q/

	Plato	Lysias	Total
relative + /q/	850	532	1382
simple negative + /q/	323	360	683
interrogative + /q/	477	55	532
καί + /q/	156	152	308
introductive particle + /q/	73	28	101
interrogative particle + /q/	81	1	82
οὐδέ/μήδε + /q/	27	11	38
comparative marker + /q/	28	2	32
ἦ + /q/	11	0	11
/O q/	2063	1147	3210

(a) *interrogative pronoun/adverb + /q/-particle*

A considerable number of these formulas are actually short idiomatic formulaic questions (186 occurrences of the string [(int) q] are found in the corpus; none in Lysias). Not all combinations seem to have the same status:

- interrogative pronoun/adverb + *δέ* (172 occurrences): in many cases the collocations need not be considered idiomatic, in that the particle *δέ* simply marks a discourse boundary and the segment it has scope over happens to start with a question; but there seems to be a fully formulaic idiomatic use of the question *τί δέ*; as an idiomatic rhetorical question as well, e.g. Plato *Tht.* 203c *ΣΩ. Τὸ σίγμα καὶ τὸ ὦ ἄρα γιγνώσκει.* /

ΘΕΑΙ. *Ναί.* / ΣΩ. *Τί δ'?*; ἐκότερον ἄρ' ἀγνοεῖ καὶ οὐδέτερον εἰδὼς ἀμφοτέρα γινώσκει; / ΘΕΑΙ. Ἄλλὰ δεινὸν καὶ ἄλογον, ὦ Σώκρατες.;

- the collocations interrogative pronoun/adverb + οὖν (97 occurrences) and interrogative pronoun/adverb + γάρ (102 occurrences): again, some of the occurrences can be accounted for as a productive use of both components of the collocation, but the e.g. the expression πῶς γάρ; used as an affirmative answer is formulaic and in section 3.2 it has been shown that τί οὖν δὴ and τί δὴ οὖν both seem to behave as formulas as far as word order is concerned;
- interrogative pronoun/adverb + δὴ (99 occurrences): 52 of these are straightforwardly segment-autonomous (mostly Τί δὴ;); of the remaining 47, many are actually autonomous as well, e.g. Plato *Tht.* 147d Τὸ ποῖον δὴ, ὦ Θεαίτητε; — Plato *Sph.* 233a Τοῦ δὴ πέρι; the collocation looks formulaic at the beginning of more elaborate questions as well;
- interrogative pronoun/adverb + μὴν (47 occurrences): 46 out of 47 occurrences of this formula are segment autonomous (mostly Τί μὴν;) the remaining one is Plato *Tht.* 162b Ἄλλὰ τί μὴν δοκεῖς, εἴπερ μέλλοιέν μοι ἐπιτρέψειν καὶ πείσεσθαι;
- interrogative pronoun/adverb + δῆτα (6 occurrences): although in se not very frequent, the 6 occurrences of this formula (plus Plato *Tht.* 164c) account for a substantial part of the 21 occurrences of the particle δῆτα in the corpus; moreover the only 2 occurrences of δῆτα in Lysias are of this form (Lysias 8,3 —τί δῆτά με κακῶς τὰ μὲν λέγειν τὰ δὲ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖτε, ... ; Lysias 8,17 κατὰ τί δῆτα ταῦτα (οὐκ) ἐφυλαττόμην;);
- the collocation interrogative pronoun/adverb + ἄρα (3 occurrences) is too rare in the corpus to evaluate; the collocations interrogative pronoun/adverb + τε (5 occurrences) and interrogative pronoun/adverb + αὖ (1 occurrence) do not look like formulas and can be accounted for as fortuitous collocations.

(b) *interrogative particle + /q/*

The only collocations of this type which are more or less frequent are interrogative particle + οὖν (49 occurrences; mostly Ἐπ' οὖν, but also Μῶν οὖν, Ἦ οὖν and a few cases of Πότερον οὖν) and interrogative particle + γάρ (22 occurrences of the formulaic short question Ἦ γάρ;). The remainder consists of relatively rare collocations: 5 times ἄρα γε, twice οὐκοῦν δὴ, once οὐκοῦν αὖ and once ἄρ' αὖ, once πότερον δέ and once πότερον μὲν.

(c) *introductory particle + /q/*

It has been shown in sections 2.1, 4.1 and 4.2 above that the collocations in which introductory particles can enter are highly restricted; hence most of the 99 collocations of the form introductory particle + postpositive particle can be expected to be formulaic:

- introductory particle + μὴν: all of the 40 occurrences are of the form ἀλλὰ μὴν (except for Lysias 6,12 ἦ μὴν), typically forming a plausible fronted colon in themselves (most of which are followed by a constituent followed by γε);
- introductory particle + γάρ: 25 occurrences of ἀλλὰ γάρ, again typically a separate fronted colon (several times followed by a vocative in Lysias);
- introductory particle + δὴ (15 occurrences): restricted to ἀλλὰ δὴ, οὐκοῦν/οὐκουν δὴ and ἀτὰρ δὴ, again often plausible cola;
- to these we must add 5 occurrences of ἀλλ' οὖν and 1 of ἀτὰρ οὖν δὴ, mostly followed by a constituent marked by γε; 5 occurrences of ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ; 4 occurrences of ἀλλὰ μὲντοι; 2 occurrences of ἀλλὰ τοι; 1 occurrence of ἀλλ' ἄρα; 1 of ἀλλὰ δῆτα; most of these clusters seem to be separate cola;

- finally, one occurrence of Οὐκοῦν αὖ and one occurrence of εἶτα δέ have been retrieved.

(d) *καί + /q/*

One should first of all discount 114 occurrences of *καίτοι* and 4 of *καίπερ*, which are fully lexicalized collocations; the remainder mainly consists of very frequent clusters which function as formulaic discourse markers (see Table 4.1g, and the comments made there): 71 occurrences of *καὶ μὲν*, 48 occurrences of *καὶ γάρ*, 31 of *καὶ δὴ* (mostly *καὶ δὴ καί*), 26 occurrences of *καὶ μὲν δὴ*; less frequent are *καὶ τοίνυν* (4 occurrences), *καὶ αὖ* (4 occurrences), *καὶ μέντοι* (3 occurrences), *καὶ δῆτα* (2 occurrences), *καὶ δῆπου* (1 occurrence).

(e) *simple negative + /q/*

First, we should discount 445 cases of *οὔτε/μήτε*, which is a fully lexicalized collocation. The remainder consists of the following collocations, some of which can constitute autonomous idiomatic utterances:

- *οὐ/μή + γάρ* (137 occurrences): many of these occurrences need not be actually formulaic and can be attributed to the fortuitous collocation of two high frequency words; note, however, that *γάρ* readily interrupts the very strong formula *οὐκ ἄν* (9 occurrences of *οὐ γὰρ ἄν*); there are 10 cases in which *οὐ/μή γάρ* constitutes an autonomous segment, mostly as a short idiomatic reply;
- *οὐ/μή + τοίνυν* (25 occurrences), *οὐ/μή + μέντοι* (17 occurrences) and *οὐ/μή + μὲν* (16 occurrences) do not occur as a separate utterance; in many of the instances these clusters cooccur with a mobile followed by *γε*;
- *οὐ/μή + οὖν* (12 occurrences): the collocation *οὐκ οὖν* (so written) only occurs in the Lysias edition used; the remainder consists of *μή οὖν*, which may be a fortuitous collocation;
- *οὐ/μή + ἄρα* (11 occurrences): the formula *οὐκ ἄρα* can introduce both statements and questions (according to editorial punctuation, which may be based on arbitrary criteria); 2 occurrences of *εἰ μὴ ἄρα* can be noted as well;
- *οὐ/μή + δῆτα*: 4 occurrences, in which the formula as such constitutes a short idiomatic answer;
- the remainder consists of rather rare collocations, none of which can constitute a separate utterance, though colon-autonomous occurrences can be found: *οὐ/μή + αὖ* (4 occurrences); *οὐ/μή + δέ* (3 occurrences); *οὐ/μή + μὲν δὴ* (3 occurrences); *οὐ δῆπου* (2 times); *οὐ δῆπουθεν* (1 occurrence); *μή + δὴ* (1 occurrence); *μή + γε* (1 occurrence); 1 occurrence of the orthographically canonized unit *Οὔτοι*.

(f) *relative + /q/*

Since relatives are highly frequent and have an obvious relation with major boundaries in discourse structure, they can be expected to cooccur with discourse markers such as *μὲν* and *δέ* and these collocations need not be really formulaic: *relative + δέ* (376 occurrences), *relative + μὲν* (197 occurrences), *relative + οὖν* (50 occurrences), *relative + γάρ* (88 occurrences), *relative + τοίνυν* (31 occurrences), *relative + αὖ* (13 occurrences), *relative + μέντοι* (10 occurrences) need not occupy us here.

The collocation *relative + περ* (262 occurrences), however, seems to be formulaic, as can be deduced from the orthographic practice to treat it as a single word (note that *ὥσπερ* has been coded as a single word in the database and is therefore not included in the count) and from

the fact that almost all occurrences of $\pi\epsilon\rho$ are of this configuration. Likewise the collocation relative + $\tau\epsilon$ (191 occurrences) contains very many cases of the lexicalized $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\epsilon$.

Most of the 72 instances of relative + $\delta\acute{\eta}$ may be fortuitous, but expressions like $\acute{\upsilon}\theta\epsilon\nu\ \delta\acute{\eta}$ and $\delta\acute{\iota}\omicron\ \delta\acute{\eta}$ may be compared to formulaic discourse markers like $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\ \delta\acute{\eta}$ (also note that in the case of $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\eta}$ the collocation has been canonized). Likewise, in the 57 occurrences of relative + $\gamma\epsilon$ the particle does not seem to have acquired a special use. The remainder consists of the following collocations: relative + $\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ (32 occurrences), mostly $\epsilon\iota/\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ and $\acute{\omicron}\zeta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$ which may be formulaic and a few collocations which may be fortuitous; 3 occurrences of $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \tau\omicron\iota$, which looks formulaic.

(4) *Clusters*

- (a) In section 3 above I have discussed clusters of postpositives; it has been noted throughout the discussion of various word order rules that some of these clusters can act as a formula, overruling otherwise operational word order rules: thus, one can retrieve 10 instances of $\pi\omicron\tau'\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (see section 3.3), 8 instances of $\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \omicron\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ (see section 3.1), and a number of instances of $\tau\iota\zeta\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$ (see section 3.3), which as such show exceptional word order. Furthermore, very frequent clusters involving a /q/-particle and $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (25 instances of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$; 81 instances of $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \acute{\alpha}\nu$), could be argued to be formulaic in se (see section 2.4). Some of these clusters are part of a larger formula, as in the case of $\tau\acute{\iota}\ \omicron\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \delta\acute{\eta}$;
- (b) Likewise, in section 2.1 above, I have discussed the possible combinations of different /O/-introductives. Again, some of these collocations can be argued to be formulaic, e.g. $\acute{\eta}\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ and $\acute{\eta}\ \text{Ap}'\ \omicron\acute{\upsilon}$.

(5) *Short (quasi-)parenthetical formulas*

A number of formulaic expressions have been observed which do not occur at the beginning of a segment but seem to be parenthetical or at least quasi-parenthetical. Some of these overruled otherwise highly valid word order rules (see sections 2.4, 2.4.3, 3.3, and 4.2).

(a) *μοι δοκεῖ*

The collocation $\mu\omicron\iota + \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ often occurs in such a way that $\mu\omicron\iota$ takes a position which is normally not taken by an /t/-postpositive, as can be seen in the following examples: Plato *Cra.* 420d $\tau\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \acute{\eta}\delta\eta\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta,\ \acute{\omega}\ \Sigma\acute{\omega}\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\zeta,\ \pi\upsilon\kappa\nu\acute{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$. — Plato *Cra.* 403a $\omicron\iota\ \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \dots$ — Plato *Cra.* 435d $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \delta\acute{\eta}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\zeta\ \dots$ — Lysias 12,2 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ — Plato *Sph.* 223a $\tau\omicron\nu\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \sigma\omicron\phi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$. — Plato *Cra.* 401a $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta,\ \acute{\omega}\ \Sigma\acute{\omega}\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\zeta,\ \mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\zeta\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ — Plato *Cra.* 433b $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\zeta\ \gamma\epsilon,\ \acute{\omega}\ \Sigma\acute{\omega}\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\zeta,\ \mu\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\zeta\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ — Plato *Tht.* 183d $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\acute{\omega},\ \acute{\omega}\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\delta\omicron\omega\rho\epsilon,\ \pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\epsilon\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\ \Theta\epsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\eta\tau\omicron\zeta\ \omicron\acute{\upsilon}\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}$. — Plato *Tht.* 184d $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\ \mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\eta}\ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\zeta$.

This formula can also be part of larger formulas as in the case of $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota,\ \acute{\epsilon}\acute{\iota}\ \dots$, noted in section 5.1 above. Also note the pattern $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ (e.g. Plato *Sph.* 216b, Plato *Sph.* 229b, Plato *Plt.* 260c).

(b) *(καί +) μοι + imperative*

A number of formulaic expressions involve $\mu\omicron\iota$ in a not entirely regular position followed by an imperative:

- in Plato and Lysias we find a few fairly frequent ‘interactional markers’ of this type: *καί μοι λέγε, καί μοι τοῦτο ἀποκεκρίσθω, καί μοι φράζε (τόδε), Καί μοι ἀπόκριναι* (Lysias 13,32);
- in Lysias, we find a few formulas of this type which are specific to the context of a trial: *Καί μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες, Καί μοι δεῦρ’ ἴτε. Καί μοι λαβέ/ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον, Καί μοι κάλει τὸν ταξίαρχον, Καί μοι ἀνάβητε, Καί μοι κάλει τὸν καὶ τόν, Καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ*, etc. (see also Lysias 12,47 πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους τοσαῦτα λέγω, τοὺς δὲ μάρτυράς μοι κάλει).

(c) *εἴποι τις ἄν / τις ἄν εἴποι*

The formula *εἴποι τις ἄν* (Plato *Sph.* 229a; Plato *Sph.* 230a; Plato *Plt.* 291d) and variants like *εὔροι τις ἄν* (Plato *Plt.* 290e) as well as the other word order in Plato *Plt.* 261d *Τὴν γε μὴν τῶν ζώων γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν τὴν μὲν τις ἄν ἴδοι μονοτροφίαν οὐσαν, τὴν δὲ...* accounts for a number of unusual word order patterns.

For a number of (quasi-)parenthetical short expressions, such as vocatives, *οἶμαι, εἴπερ που*, which are most often formulaic as well, see section 10.2.5 below.

6.3 The position of ἄν with respect to the verb

According to some authors, the position of ἄν is determined by 2 different, competing tendencies: (1) the P2-tendency, (2) the tendency to form a unit with the verb it belongs with (see section 0.1.2 above). The first tendency has been documented here above, as well as the fact that ἄν tends to enter into formulas with certain introductives (most notably relatives and negatives). The second supposed tendency - which can be viewed as a plausible type of unit-formation - could not be systematically investigated in this study, but it seemed interesting to publish the available data for further research.

- (1) Let us start by reviewing a number of data concerning the distribution of ἄν apart from its relation to the verb.

In Table 4.2e above, it was shown that in 46.1% of the occurrences of ἄν (52.3% in Lysias) ἄν is in P2 with respect to a segment in the editions used. Furthermore, it was shown that for many of the remaining occurrences colon boundaries could be invoked. Thirdly, it was shown that ἄν is quite often involved in formulaic collocations; the following table reviews the relevant quantitative data.

Table 6.3a: ἄν occurring in a formula

	Plato	Lysias	Total
relative+ἄν	143 / 739 (19.4%)	48 / 516 (9.3%)	191 / 1255 (15.2%)
simple negative+ἄν	57 / 739 (7.7%)	77 / 516 (14.9%)	134 / 1255 (10.7%)
complex negative +ἄν	12 / 739 (1.6%)	16 / 516 (3.1%)	28 / 1255 (2.2%)
interrogative+ἄν	22 / 739 (3.0%)	31 / 516 (6.0%)	53 / 1255 (4.2%)
indefinite+ ἄν	27 / 739 (3.7%)	23 / 516 (4.5%)	50 / 1255 (4.0%)
<i>total ἄν occurring in a formula</i>	<i>261 / 739 (35.3%)</i>	<i>195 / 516 (37.8%)</i>	<i>456 / 1255 (36.3%)</i>

According to the data in the table, more than 35% of the occurrences of *ǎv* are -at least partially- accounted for without invoking its relation to a verb. Also note that many of these formulas can be expected to occur in P1, with *ǎv* in P2. These data give an indication of their number.

- (2) Next, we can look at the data which are of primary interest in the present section: the number of occurrences in which *ǎv* is adjacent to a verb.

Table 6.3b: *ǎv* adjacent to the verb

	Plato	Lysias	Total
finite verb + <i>ǎv</i>	93 / 739 (12.6%)	53 / 516 (10.3%)	146 / 1255 (11.6%)
<i>ǎv</i> + finite verb	177 / 739 (24.0%)	131 / 516 (25.4%)	308 / 1255 (24.5%)
<i>total adjacent</i>	270 / 739 (36.5%)	184 / 516 (35.7%)	454 / 1255 (36.2%)
infinite verb + <i>ǎv</i>	21 / 739 (2.8%)	14 / 516 (2.7%)	35 / 1255 (2.8%)
<i>ǎv</i> + infinite verb	38 / 739 (5.1%)	30 / 516 (5.8%)	68 / 1255 (5.4%)
<i>total adjacent</i>	59 / 739 (8.0%)	44 / 739 (8.5%)	103 / 1255 (8.2%)

As Table 6.3b shows, more than 36% of the occurrences of *ǎv* immediately precede or follow a finite verb, which is a quite considerable score. Note that the collocation *ǎv*+finite verb (in this order) is unexpectedly frequent and that in this order the postpositive particle cannot be said to cling phonologically to the verb it belongs with.¹³³ These bare quantitative data suggest that the tendency for *ǎv* to be adjacent to a verb is of about the same order of strength as the other factors invoked here above.

- (3) However, a number of occurrences of *ǎv* adjacent to a verb may be actually due to other factors, the adjacency of both words being the result of the fortuitous convergence of other tendencies.

In the following tables data are presented that indicate how many cases of *ǎv* adjacent to a finite verb could be due to other factors:

- Table 6.3c shows how many cases of the collocation may be due to the fact that the verb happens to take P1, in which case the collocation is the result of the P2 tendency of the particle;
- Table 6.3d shows how many cases of *ǎv* followed by a verb involve a formula of the type X+*ǎv* as reviewed in Table 6.3a here above.

Table 6.3c: verb+*ǎv*, with *ǎv* in P2

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[finite verb + <i>ǎv</i>	27 / 739 (3.7%)	13 / 516 (2.5%)	40 / 1255 (3.2%)
[infinite verb + <i>ǎv</i>	3 / 739 (0.4%)	4 / 516 (0.8%)	7 / 1255 (0.6%)

¹³³ Unless one accepts the notion that postpositives in some cases show prepositive behavior (see Devine & Stephens 1994, 323-324). This possibility, if accepted (concessu non dato), would also apply to formulas like $\mu\omicron\iota\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$. For a critique of Devine & Stephens' methodology, see section 7.2(2a) below.

Table 6.3d: X+ǎv+verb, with ǎv part of a formulaic string

	Plato	Lysias	Total
relative+ǎv+finite verb	57 / 739 (7.7%)	17 / 516 (3.3%)	74 / 1255 (5.9%)
simple negative+ ǎv+ finite verb	14 / 739 (1.9%)	29 / 516 (5.6%)	43 / 1255 (3.4%)
complex negative +ǎv+finite verb	7 / 739 (0.9%)	6 / 516 (1.2%)	13 / 1255 (1.0%)
interrogative+ǎv +finite verb	2 / 739 (0.3%)	5 / 516 (1.0%)	7 / 1255 (0.6%)
indefinite+ ǎv +finite verb	7 / 739 (0.9%)	13 / 516 (2.5%)	20 / 1255 (1.6%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>87 / 739 (11.8%)</i>	<i>70 / 516 (13.6%)</i>	<i>157 / 1255 (12.5%)</i>

Summarizing, the following observations can be made:

- in 3.2% of the collocation of a verb and ǎv the finite verb is in P1;
- in 12.5% the position of ǎv could be determined by one of the well-known formulas involving ǎv;
- this leaves us with 25.3% of unambiguous cases of the tendency for ǎv to be immediately adjacent to the verb it belongs with.

These data appear to indicate that the tendency for ǎv to cling to a verb is a genuinely primary factor. Still, alternative explanations for these data are of course still possible.

- (a) A number of verbs may actually be at P1 of a colon. This possibility has been put forward by Marshall, though not as a primary rule, but as an secondary explanation for those cases in which the rules he is trying to establish do not work. The following examples illustrate the kind of cases in which this analysis seems plausible: Plato *Cra.* 423c Τούς τὰ πρόβατα μιμουμένους τούτους καὶ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα | ἀναγκαζοίμεθ' ǎv ὁμολογεῖν ὀνομάζειν ταῦτα ἅπερ μιμοῦνται. — Plato *Tht.* 162b ἼΑρα | κἂν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἐλθόν, | ὦ Θεόδωρε, | πρὸς τὰς παλαιίστρας | ἀξιοῖς ǎv ἄλλους θεώμενος γυμνοῦς, ἐνίους φαύλους, αὐτὸς μὴ ἀντεπιδεικνύοναι τὸ εἶδος παραποδύμενος; — Plato *Tht.* 190c Οὐκοῦν | εἰ τὸ λέγειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν | δοξάζειν ἐστίν, | οὐδεις | ἀμφοτέρᾳ γε λέγων καὶ δοξάζων [καὶ] ἐραπτόμενος ἀμφοῖν τῇ ψυχῇ | εἴποι ǎv καὶ δοξάσειεν ὡς τὸ ἕτερον ἕτερόν ἐστιν.
- (b) Furthermore, the tendency for ǎv to precede the verb may be partly due to the fact that verbs (crosslinguistically) tend to be more often non-focal than other content words, and thus in Greek tend themselves towards P2 of the clause or the colon (see section 5.2.1 below), though following the regular postpositives including ǎv. A few recurrent types of non-focal verbs occurring just after ǎv in P2 can be distinguished:
- low-content verbs, which can be expected to be non-focal in many of their uses: Plato *Tht.* 145b Εὖ ǎv ἔχοι, — Plato *Plt.* 276d οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰς ǎv ἔχοι τμήσεις ἔτι. — Lysias 10,2 συγγνώμην ǎv εἶχον αὐτῶ τῶν εἰρημένων — Lysias 18,20 συγγνώμην ǎv εἶχομεν. — Lysias 31,27 νόμος ǎv ἔκειτο περὶ αὐτοῦ διαρρήδην — Plato *Tht.* 184a ἀνάξι' ǎv πάθοι — Plato *Sph.* 223a τοῦτ' οὖν ἔγωγε εἰπὼν | τὸ προσῆκον ὄνομ' ǎv ἡγοῦμαι καλεῖν αὐτόν. — Plato *Plt.* 260b ἼΑρ' οὖν | συμπάσης τῆς γνωστικῆς | εἰ | τὸ μὲν ἐπιτακτικὸν μέρος, | τὸ δὲ κριτικὸν διαιρούμενοι προσείπομεν, | ἐμμελῶς ǎv φαίμεν διηρηῆσθαι; — Plato *Tht.* 209e τυφλοῦ δὲ | παρακέλευσις ǎv καλοῖτο δικαιότερον· ;
 - verbs that are readily inferable from another item in the segment (typically an argument of the verb): Lysias 24,11 εἰ γὰρ ἐκεκτῆμην οὐσίαν, | ἐπ' ἀστράβης ǎv ἀχούμην, ... (“ride a mule”) — Plato *Cra.* 430a πότερον γὰρ | ἀληθῆ ǎv φθέγγεται ταῦτα ὁ φθεγγόμενος ἢ ψευδῆ; (“tell the truth”);

- the verb is given or inferable in the local or less local discourse context: Plato *Sph.* 260a τούτου γὰρ στερηθέντες, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, φιλοσοφίας ἄν στερηθεῖμεν. — Plato *Cra.* 438c Εἶτα οἶει ἐναντία ἄν ἐτίθετο αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὁ θεῖς, ὦν δαίμων τις ἢ θεός; The notion of ‘giving names’ (τίθημι) has been one of the key-notions throughout the dialogue. — Plato *Tht.* 191e Ὁ τοίνυν ἐπιστάμενος μὲν αὐτά, σκοπῶν δέ τι ὦν ὄρῳ ἢ ἀκούει, ἄθρει εἰ ἄρα | τοιῷδε τρόπῳ | ψευδῆ ἄν δοξάσαι. (the notion of ‘mere opinion’, and especially false opinion, as opposed to ‘knowledge’ is obviously ‘given’ in the *Theaetetus*);
- in section 6.2 above it has been observed that strings of the form non-lexical adverb + ἄν + verb were quite numerous; many of these coincide with colon boundaries, which also results into one of the patterns under scrutiny: Plato *Sph.* 260b Ἄλλ’ ἴσως τῆδ’ ἐπόμενος | ῥᾶστ’ ἄν μάθοις. — Plato *Tht.* 168e οὐ πολλῶν τοι Θεαίτητος μεγάλους πάγωνας ἐχόντων | ἄμεινον ἄν ἐπακολουθήσειε λόγῳ διερευνημένῳ; — Plato *Tht.* 178e βέλτιον ἄν προδοξάσαις — Plato *Cra.* 437c ἂ νομίζομεν ἐπὶ τοῖς κακίστοις ὀνόματα εἶναι, ὁμοίωσιν’ ἄν φαίνοιτο τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις.

(4) Thus, the data confirm that there seems to be a tendency for ἄν to be adjacent to a verb (Table 6.3b). On the other hand, I have shown that in many of the cases in which ἄν is adjacent to a verb, this position can also be accounted for by invoking other factors.

7. Word order and the lexicon (review and conclusions)

So far, we have approached Ancient Greek word order in terms of (a) a number of lexical classes, and (b) segment boundaries as represented by editorial punctuation. One of the major interventions made in this part with respect to the existing literature on this aspect of Ancient Greek word order (especially the important monographs Dover 1960/1968 and Marshall 1987) is the introduction of two new word classes:

- (i) within the traditional class of postpositives a distinction has been made between /q/-particles on the one hand and /r/-pronouns and adverbs (plus the particle ἄν) on the other;
- (ii) the class of /O/-introductives has been introduced, comprising some of the traditional prepositives and some traditional preferential mobiles, thus designating the article and the preposition as a separate class (/p/-prepositives).

It has been shown that the introduction of these word classes yielded a more economical formulation of a number of word order rules. Furthermore, taking the colon instead of the clause as the proper domain for formulating notions like autonomy but also P1, P2 and P-ult, has had an important impact on our perception of the issues. In section 7 here below, I will try to sketch the overall picture which emerges from the findings of Part I and to formulate a few general conclusions which arise from this picture:

- Firstly, I will give a structured survey of the bulk of the rules examined in the above (section 7.0).
- Secondly, I will attempt to account for the various phenomena in which the appositivity-autonomy distinction plays a role, in terms of the phonological, morphological and morphosyntactic mechanisms that may underlie these phenomena (section 7.1).
- Thirdly, I will formulate a few consequences of the considerations in section 7.1 for the nature of the P1 and P2 rules (section 7.2).
- Then, I will try to assess the scope of the word order rules as far as discourse segmentation is concerned, i.e. to assess to what extent the segmentation of the text (as represented by editorial punctuation) converges with the presence of any of the lexical cues for P1, P2 or P-ult examined (section 7.3).

7.0 Summary of the word order rules and constraints

I will first briefly summarize the various word order rules which were investigated in the above. I will distinguish the following types of rules:

- (1) appositivity/autonomy constraints: some words and some collocations of words cannot be autonomous; some words cannot occur in P1 or in P-ult;
- (2) adjacency constraints: words of certain classes cannot immediately follow words of certain classes;
- (3) position rules: some words as a rule take a certain position within a segment.

In section (4) here below, I will formulate a few remarks on some recurrent factors causing apparent exceptions to the rules. As for the formulation of the rules the following conventions should be noted:

- the category /r/ in principle includes the category /s/, i.e. the category /r/ is supposed to include anaphoric ἀὐτ- and the non-focal pronouns which are orthographically identical to their focalized counterparts (ὅμῖν, ἡμῶς, ...); it should be remembered that the distinction between both categories has been introduced for practical and methodological reasons but has no theoretical impact whatsoever (see section I above);
- the relevant segment for determining P1, P2 and P-ult is in principle the colon; the operational formulation of predictions for the purpose of testing the proposed rules against the data in the database had to operate with editorial punctuation as the segmentation criterion; the divergence between the 'natural' segmentation of the discourse into cola and the conventional punctuation of the texts will not be dealt with here and constitutes the specific subject of Part II.

(I) *Appositivity/autonomy constraints*

In the vein of Dover's basic definitions of 'prepositivity', 'postpositivity' and 'mobility' (Dover 1960/1968; see section 1.1 above), a number of constraints have been investigated in the above as to whether words of a certain class could be autonomous, i.e. could constitute a segment on their own. A few major differences of the present account with respect to Dover's classification should be kept in mind:

- the fact that autonomy is defined in terms of 'colon' rather than in terms of utterance resulted in a number of words which are not (utterance-) autonomous in Dover's sense being (colon-)autonomous here; words which can be colon-autonomous (esp. introductives) can by definition not be appositive (i.c. prepositive); these considerations contributed to the introduction of the class of /O/-introductives as distinct from /p/-prepositives (which are never colon-autonomous);
- the P1-criterion has been introduced as a primary factor: it has been argued that some words (interrogatives, relatives, simple negatives, coordinating particles, ...) as a rule (and not as a mere statistical tendency) are intrinsically linked to colon-initial position; this distinction also contributed to the definition of the class of /O/-introductives as distinct from the /p/-prepositives (which have no particular P1-tendency) *and* from the preferential mobiles (which can freely occur elsewhere in a colon);
- within the class of postpositives a distinction has been made between /q/-particles and /r/-postpositives; this yielded not only morphologically more natural classes, but also a more economical formulation of a number of word order rules.

Table 7.0a: appositivity/autonomy constraints (overview)

	Rule	section
(1a)	appositives (/p/, /q/, /r/) do not occur autonomously, nor combinations of these <i>Exceptions:</i> category shifts - /p/--> /M/: pronominal ó + μév/δέ; - /r/--> /M/: /r/-->/q/	2.0
(1b)	prepositives do not occur in P-ult <i>Exceptions:</i> pronominal ó; anastrophic ‘prepositions’	2.2
(1c)	postpositives do not occur in P1 <i>Exceptions:</i> - category shifts in /r/ - αῦ - short parentheses	2.3
(1d)	the status of introductives is ambiguous: they can be colon-autonomous but can also behave like prepositives; a major factor in deciding between both possibilities is the scope of the introductive	2.0

It has been observed a number of times that the addition of a /q/-particle makes a word ‘heavier’, i.e. more likely to be autonomous, especially in the case of introductives (see sections 2.0, 2.2, 6.2).

(2) *Adjacency constraints*

Throughout the previous chapters it has been observed that a number of sequences of words of certain classes do not occur, due to a variety of causes. Most of these constraints do not have an immediate impact on the issue of segmentation which is the main issue in this part of the study. Still, they reveal a number of important factors which determine word order in general and thus have to be taken into account when assessing the word order of an actual stretch of text for the purposes of segmentation, and when trying to give a theoretical account of the word order rules in general (see section 7.1 below).

Table 7.0b: adjacency constraints (overview)

	Rule	section
(2a)	prepositives are not followed by an /r/-postpositive <i>Exceptions:</i> - ὁ introducing participial or infinitival clauses - preposition + /r/ governed by that preposition	2.4
(2b)	in clusters of postpositives /q/-particles precede /r/-postpositives	3.1
(2c)	/q/-particles cluster in the following canonical order: περ < δέ < τε < μέν < γάρ < τοίνυν < οὖν < γε < μήν/τοι/μέντοι < δή- < που/ποτε... < ἄρα <i>Remarks:</i> - some combinations do not occur, are rare or occur only in formulaic contexts - δή οὖν alternates with οὖν δή	3.2
(2d)	/r/-postpositives cluster in the following canonical order: ἄν < indefinite < personal pronoun <i>Exceptions:</i> category shifts: - /r/ --> /q/: που, ποτε, ... - /r/ --> /M/: focal indefinites and personal pronouns	3.3
(2e)	the possible collocations of an introductive with a postpositive are limited to a few types: - relative/negative/interrogative + ἄν, relative/negative/interrogative + indefinite are formulaic - many collocations of introductive + /q/-particle are formulaic; others are impossible - introductive particles are not followed by /r/-postpositives (except for a few formulas and adverbial καί and οὐδέ)	4.2(4), 6.2(1-2) 4.1(6), 6.2(3) 4.2(4)
(2f)	/r/-postpositives only rarely follow configurations of the type 'prepositive + /q/-particle + mobile' or 'prepositive + mobile + /q/-particle' <i>Exceptions:</i> - category shifts: /r/-->/q/ - if the /r/-postpositive grammatically belongs with the combination of prepositive, particle and mobile, the configuration is freely available (e.g. if the /r/ is a genitivus)	2.4.3

As for the somewhat strange rule (2f), it has been argued that it may be due to the fact that configurations of the form /p q M/ or /p M q/ are quite often fronted topic-cola, esp. with μέν and δέ (which are the most frequent /q/), and as such are not likely to contain a /r/-postpositive which grammatically does not belong within it.¹³⁴ This account can be extended to pronominal ὁ μέν/δέ, which typically constitute fronted topics and hence can be expected to typically constitute autonomous cola (see below, section 10.2.4).

(3) *Position rules*

The word order rules predicting that a word of a certain class will occur in this or that position with respect to a segment boundary (instead of predicting that it will not occur in this or that configuration) are obviously the ones that are the most pertinent to the overall

¹³⁴ If the /r/-postpositive does grammatically belong with the fronted topic, the configuration is regular, as in Lysias 12,23 τὸν ἀδελφὸν γὰρ μου, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινεν.

aims of this study: following Fraenkel (and his successors), it is argued that whenever one of these position rules is not obeyed (according to the punctuation of the standard text edition), additional segmentation is plausible.

Table 7.0c: position rules (overview)

	Rule	section
(3a)	/q/-particles take P2 after the first word of a colon <i>Exceptions:</i> - units (esp. prepositive + mobile); - introductives can have prepositive-like behavior	4.1 2.4.2, 4.2
(3b)	/r/-postpositives take P2 after the first non-appositive of a colon <i>Exceptions:</i> - category shifts: /r/-->/q/, /r/-->/M/ - introductives can have prepositive-like behavior - units	4.2
(3c)	introductives take P1 in a colon, but can be preceded by /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles <i>Exceptions:</i> - clusters of /O/ - units: verb + complementizer - καί in short coordinated expressions (esp. ...τε καί ...); ἤ in μᾶλλον ἤ; adverbial καί and οὐδέ; prepositive οὐ/μή	2.1
(3d)	preferential mobiles have typical uses which make them tend to take P1 (demonstratives, focal personal pronouns (esp. nominative), modal adverbs, ordinals, complex negatives), but can be preceded by /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles	5.1
(3e)	specific uses of the verb coincide with P1 (imperatives, modal verbs, reporting verbs, presentative constructions); there is a statistical tendency for verbs in general to take P-ult	5.2

The difference between rule (3a) and rule (3b) will be dealt with in section 7.1 below and has consequences for the formulation of Wackernagel's Law in general (section 7.2). It can be observed that rules (3c) and (3d) are more important than hitherto assumed, in that the P1-tendency of words like negatives and demonstratives is a much more reliable factor than would be expected.

(4) *Exceptions*

Throughout Part I a number of apparent exceptions has been shown to be due to the fact that editorial punctuation did not take into account certain linguistically relevant **colon boundaries**. At this point, we need not deal with this matter, which will be the topic of Part II here below. Likewise, the various kinds of **unit-formation** and **formulaicity** involved in the word order rules summarized here above have been dealt with in section 6 above.

(a) *category shifts*

A fair number of exceptions to the above word order rules has been observed to be due to the fact that some word forms do not always behave as canonical members of the class they were coded into. The following cases are the most frequent:

(i) /p/ ---> /M/

ὁ is a /p/-prepositive if it is used as an article, but is a (preferential) /M/-mobile in its pronominal uses (sections 2.2, 2.4, 2.4.1, 2.4.2, 4.1); furthermore, the article introducing participial constructions, infinitival clauses and other more complex constructions sometimes seem to behave more autonomously (sections 2.4.1, 2.4.2, 2.4.3);¹³⁵

(ii) /r/ ---> /q/

που, ποτε, πω (etc.), adverbial τι, and datives of first and second personal pronouns, which have been coded as /r/-postpositives, quite frequently seemed to behave like /q/-postpositives; this behavior corresponds to a particle-like function; see sections 2.4, 2.4.3, 3.1, 3.3;

(iii) /r/ ---> /M/

indefinites and personal pronouns behave like /r/-postpositives if non-focal but like /M/-mobiles if focal; especially indefinites appear to be much more frequently focal than is suggested by editorial accentuation; see sections 2.0, 2.3, 2.4.1, 2.4.3, 3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 4.2;

(iv) /O/ ---> /p/

/O/-introductives have been observed to sometimes behave like /p/-prepositives in clinging closely to the next word, especially in the case of ‘adverbial’ καί and οὐδέ, οὐ/μή negating a single constituent, and in the case of comparison markers such as ὡς when they introduce elliptical comparisons (often only a single NP); see sections 2.0, 2.1, 2.2, 4.2.

(b) *the behavior of /O/-introductives*

It has been observed that any pattern which normally occurs immediately after a segment boundary can freely be preceded by an /O/-introductive (see sections 2.1, 4.1, 4.2). Two possible interpretations of this phenomenon have been proposed:

- on the one hand, the introductive may constitute a separate colon;
- on the other hand, the introductive may be in P1 of the colon under scrutiny and then behaves more or less like a prepositive.¹³⁶

In assessing the plausibility of a colon-autonomous /O/-introductive, the **scope** of the introductive is a crucial factor: if the introductive is the common basis for a complex structure consisting of several cola, it seems more likely to constitute a separate colon; if it has scope over only one colon, it can often be argued to belong within that colon (although even then formal factors, such as the presence of a parenthesis following the introductive, may be an indication for colon-autonomy). Another factor which seems to increase the plausibility of colon-autonomy is phonological and/or informational **heaviness**.

¹³⁵ See also Plato *Tht.* 175b-c "Ὅταν δὲ γέ τινα αὐτός, ὃ φίλε, ἐλκύσῃ ἄνω, καὶ ἐθελήσῃ τις αὐτῷ ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τοῦ "Τί ἐγὼ σὲ ἀδικῶ ἢ σὺ ἐμέ"; and immediately afterwards ἢ ἐκ τοῦ "εἰ βασιλεὺς εὐδαίμων," "κεκτημένος τ' ἀὖ χρυσίον,".

¹³⁶ The behavior mentioned sub (iv) in paragraph (a) here above is not necessarily to be equated completely with the cases in which an introductive in P1 is merged with ensuing colon due to intonational sandhi: see e.g. Lysias 16,10 Ἐγὼ γὰρ | πρῶτον μὲν | οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης | διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς | καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, ... where οὐ πολλῆς plausibly is not in P1, nor a separate colon, and is simply a periphrastic word-like unit meaning ‘little’. Likewise, the prepositive behavior of the comparison marker ὡς in Lysias 24,2 εἰ δ' | ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲ τιμωρεῖται, | ψεύδεται is obviously not due to sandhi.

(c) *differences between /q/-particles*

It has been observed that not all /q/-particles obey the rules concerning their typical behavior to the same extent. This observation is reflected by various types of quantitative data, which can be summarized in terms of rankings of the different /q/-particles as to the ‘typicality’ of their behavior.

The following table summarizes the rankings resulting from the quantitative data concerning three aspects of the behavior of /q/-particles:

- the number of times they appear in the expected configuration ‘prepositive + mobile + /q/-particle’ as compared to the less ‘typical’ configuration ‘prepositive + mobile + /q/-particle’;
- their canonical place in clusters of /q/-particles in order of precedence;
- the number of times they obey the P2-rule for /q/-particles as compared to the number of times they take a later position.

Table 7.0d: differences between /q/-particles (overview)

/p q M/ vs. /p M q/ (Table 2.4c)	μέν, δέ, γούν, μέντοι, γάρ, γε, τε, οὖν, τοίνυν, μήν, δή, ἄρα, αὖ
precedence in clusters (Table 3.2b)	δέ, τε, μέν, γάρ, τοίνυν, οὖν, γε, δή-, που/ποτε..., ἄρα, αὖ
obedience to the P2-rule (Table 4.1f)	γούν, δέ, μέντοι, μήν, τοι, γάρ, τοίνυν, περ, δή, οὖν, μέν, ἄρα, δήπ-, γε, τε, αὖ

Before trying to interpret these facts, one should take into account a few factors which have systematically influenced and sometimes distorted these data:

- the large number of occurrences of μέν and τε later than P2 are mostly due to a systematic divergence between obvious colon boundaries and editorial punctuation practice (see section 4.1(7));
- conversely, the unexpectedly large number of μήν and τοι (i.e. their early place in the ranking concerning P2) is mostly due to a number of formulas in which they immediately follow an introductory (see Table 4.1g and section 6.2(3));
- the data on clustering are not just the reflection of the ‘free’ behavior of these particles as such: on the one hand, they involve a large number of formulas (note especially a few enormously frequent collocations such as μέν οὖν), and on the other hand, a large number of potential collocations do not occur or are very rare;
- the three types of data are not independent from each other: obviously, those instances of a particle in the configuration /p M q/ or in second or later position in a cluster do not take P2.

Taking these facts into account, we can observe a few systematic convergences between the different rankings:

- αὖ is systematically the least typical of the /q/-postpositives (see also sections 2.3(1), 2.4.2, 3.1, 3.2);
- non-connective particles such as γε, ἄρα, δή and μήν are less ‘typical’¹³⁷ than /q/-particles which have the primary function of marking discourse structure such as δέ, γάρ, μέντοι and οὖν including the corresponsive structural markers μέν and τε.

¹³⁷ Although the matter could not be systematically studied within the scope of this part of the study, a few recurrent situations can be noted in which these particles showed behavior ‘atypical’ for /q/-particles: (i) there seems to be a correlation between the occurrence of these particles and the occurrence of καί and οὐδέ, yielding a large number of constructions of the types καί/οὐδέ (μήν) X

(d) *unit-formation involving /r/-postpositives*

The tendency for some /r/-postpositives to constitute a unit with the word or constituent with which it grammatically belongs has been proposed as an alternative position rule for these postpositives (see sections 0.1.1). Thus, a large number of instances have been observed in which ἄν is adjacent to a verb (see especially section 6.3); in a number of cases, this tendency could be invoked as an explanation for exceptions to word order rules; see e.g. in section 3.1(1). A similar observation can be made concerning NPs involving an attributive τις or an adnominal use of the genitivi τινος/μου/σου/...; see e.g. sections 2.4.1, 2.4.3(2), 3.1(1).

Another type of unit-formation involves the combination of a preposition + an /r/-pronoun, which have been observed to behave just like a simple /r/-postpositive (cf. section 2.4.1).

(e) *short parentheses*

Throughout Part I a number of apparent exceptions to various word order rules have been observed to involve short parentheses (sections 2.0, 2.1, 2.3, 2.4). These will be dealt with in section 10.2.5 below.

7.1 Appositivity: phonological and morphosyntactic considerations

Many of the rules formulated in the above deal -directly or indirectly- with the 'special' behavior of appositives (prepositives and postpositives), i.e. words which cannot stand alone. In this section I will try to formulate a few generalizations so as to account for the phenomena connected to the notion of 'appositivity' in a theoretically more insightful way.

In general linguistics, this kind of phenomena is mostly discussed under the heading of the behavior of 'clitics', which has yielded a very rich literature (for bibliographical surveys, see Nevis & Joseph & Wanner & Zwicky (eds.) 1994 and Janse 1994a; for an introduction to the issues, see e.g. Halpern 1998). In this field of research, the notion of 'clitic' is generally defined as a lexical item which behaves neither as a regular affix nor as an independent word or phrase, but it is immediately clear that this definition covers a rather heterogeneous class with many different sub-types. Furthermore, many problems arise as to the nature of the phenomena, i.e. as to whether cliticization is a morphological, syntactic or phonological matter. Despite the enormous amount of research, it is blatantly clear - even from a short survey article in a manual, such as Halpern's article "Clitics" in Blackwell's *Handbook of Morphology* (Halpern 1998)- that there is no such thing as a unified theory of clitics. Within the scope of this study it is not feasible to systematically link the findings in the above to the various -and often contradictory- propositions made in the clitics-research. I will, therefore,

γε/δή/ἄρα (e.g. Plato *Th.* 204d Καὶ μὴν | καὶ ὁ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γε | καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, | καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὁμοίως; and Plato *Th.* 189a ΣΩ. Καὶ ὁ ἄρα τι ἀκούων | ἔν γε τι ἀκούει καὶ ὄν [ἀκούει]. | ΘΕΑΙ. Ναί. | ΣΩ. Καὶ ὁ ἀπτόμενος δὴ τοῦ ἑνός γε τοῦ ἀπτεται καὶ ὄντος, εἴπερ ἑνός; or Plato *Cra.* 439e Ἀλλὰ μὴν | οὐδ' ἄν γνωσθεῖη γε ὑπ' οὐδενός. or Plato *Sph.* 255a: Ἀλλ' | οὐ τι μὴν κίνησις γε καὶ στάσις | οὐθ' ἕτερον οὐτε ταῦτόν ἐστι. ; this tendency may be part of a more general phenomenon in which these particles often occur after the main focus of the whole clause, which may be preceded by a number of fronted items; (ii) especially γε is quite often involved in short (quasi-)parenthetical, mostly concessive, expressions which seem to occur in the middle or at the end of an otherwise normal segment, as in Plato *Cra.* 420a-b "ἔρωξ" δέ, | ὅτι εἰσρεῖ ἔξωθεν | καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἐστὶν ἡ ῥοὴ αὐτῆ τῷ ἔχοντι | ἀλλ' ἐπέισακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, | διὰ ταῦτα | ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσρεῖν | "ἔσρος" τό γε παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο (see section 10.5 below).

confine myself to discussing in a rather general way the conclusions that can be drawn from the observations on Ancient Greek made above.

- (1) A number of rules and constraints can be reformulated by postulating that certain types of words are ‘invisible’ for the purposes of word count, especially the fact that /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles do not count for calculating the P2 of /r/-postpositives (rule 3b) or the P1 of /O/-prepositives and preferentials (rule 3c and rule 3d). This notion of ‘**invisibility**’ is not completely ad hoc and has been used in the literature on clitics (also see e.g. the notion of “skipping” in Halpern 1998, 113). Still, this metaphor, though adequate as a descriptive device, does not in se constitute an insightful explanation and requires further interpretation in terms of more generally applicable theoretical notions.
- (a) A first step towards an interpretation of these phenomena may be to postulate that /r/-postpositives need a ‘real word’ to cling to and that articles and prepositions as well as postpositive particles do not count as a ‘real word’ for this purpose. Of course, this notion of ‘real word’ requires further specification. As already suggested in passing in the above, the notion of ‘unit-formation’ may account for the status of /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles, i.e. for their ‘invisibility’ for the purposes of some rules, as well as for their lack of autonomy in general: as a rule they form a **word-like unit** with the word they cling to. For the purpose of calculating the position of /r/-postpositives or words with a P1 tendency, this word-like unit is the relevant notion, rather than the orthographic notion of ‘word’, which includes articles, prepositions and particles. Under this assumption, a number of rules follow immediately:
- rule 3b, which states that /r/-postpositives take P2, but with the qualification that /p/ and /q/ do not count for position;
 - similar qualifications to the P1-rules 3c and 3d concerning the P1 of /O/-introductives and preferentials;
 - rule 2a, which stipulates that /r/-postpositives do not follow /p/-prepositives (unless the combination ‘preposition + /r/-postpositive’ forms a unit itself);
 - rule 2b, which stipulates that in clusters /q/-particles precede /r/-postpositives.
- (b) The notion that prepositives and the following word form a word-like unit can already be found in Dover 1960/1968 (15-16), but there it is remarked that “the placing of particles after the definite article or preposition is so fundamental a characteristic of Greek [...] that we do not reflect often enough how curious a phenomenon it is” (Dover 1960/1968, 16); Dover then offers an explanation in which this phenomenon is viewed as a compromise between (a) “the increasing tendency to treat *pM* as an indissoluble unit”, and (b) the fact that in the poetic language the later prepositives are (still) treated as full words, able to serve as a host for the postpositive particles. This explanation does not seem very plausible: it is hard to see how a feature of an archaic poetical language could counteract the development of such a “fundamental and characteristic” feature of every day speech; furthermore, this explanation does not explain why the phenomenon only applies to /q/-particles and not to /r/-pronouns, /r/ adverbs and - for that matter- *ǃv*.
- (c) The observations made here seem to suggest a more plausible explanation of this phenomenon, i.e. that /q/-particles, like /p/-prepositives (the article and prepositions) and unlike /r/-postpositives, form an ‘indissoluble’ word-like unit with their host word. The

article, prepositions and /q/-particles lack the status of full words, entertaining an **affix-like** relation with their host, whereas the position of /r/-postpositives is governed by another mechanism. As will be argued here below, this view corresponds not only with (i) the observed facts in word order, but also with (ii) the syntactic-semantic function of the words under scrutiny.

- (2) It is clear that in these matters the distinction **autonomy vs. appositivity** is a central one: non-mobiles are (to different degrees) not as autonomous as full lexical words, at least in that their position in word order is determined with respect to the position of Mobiles. It follows that non-mobiles (typically) only function within a larger unit, built around a mobile word. However, the nature of this (non-)autonomy is not immediately clear:
- On the one hand, one might view the issue of appositivity/autonomy as a purely phonological matter: the relevant notion of word-like unit can be construed as a prosodic one, the relevant difference between appositives and mobiles can be viewed in terms of their phonetic ‘substance’, and the rules governing their behavior can be construed in phonological (prosodic) terms.
 - On the other hand, as already suggested by the ‘affix-like behavior’ of /p/ and /q/ signalled above, one can also argue that -in at least some cases- the morphosyntactic features of the words under scrutiny are a factor in determining the position of the words, independently of their prosodic status.
- (a) From a purely **phonological** perspective, Devine & Stephens view the autonomy in question as ‘rhythmical autonomy’, and define the ‘appositive group’ mainly as a rhythmical unit (Devine & Stephens 1994, 285-375). But this phonological account of (lack of) autonomy does not account for the differences in behavior which have been observed between /q/-particles and /r/-postpositives, nor for the differences between the ‘proclitic’ /O/-introductives and the /p/-prepositives.¹³⁸
- (b) The differences between both types of postpositives, as well as the status of /p/-prepositives, can perhaps be formulated more adequately in **morphological** terms. Thus, one can argue

¹³⁸ **Devine & Stephens (1994)** rely heavily on metrical evidence and often treat this evidence as methodologically primary. This, however, creates methodological problems, especially in the use of their results for the present purposes. (i) Often their relying on metrical evidence as primary seems to simply beg the question: one wonders whether the metrical requirements they treat as given are really as secure as they pretend them to be: a postpositive particle standing alone after a supposed caesura for them gives rise to remarks on the possibility for some particles to be rhythmically autonomous (e.g. Devine & Stephens 1994, 312-313) or for a change in direction of clisis (e.g. Devine & Stephens 1994, 312, 365), but it could easily be viewed as an argument against the fact that there is a caesura there. (ii) Equally unfortunately, these authors tend to work with only very rough morphological classifications (often no more than ‘lexical vs. nonlexical’) on the one hand, and with very fine-grained phonological classifications on the other (e.g. in terms of syllable weight); thus for instance in Devine & Stephens 1994, 308-319, appositives are primarily classified in terms of the foots they represent (pyrrhic-shaped prepositives ...), without any distinction made within these classes between the morphological differences that are our primary concern; demonstratives (mobile in word order and very often focalized) and articles (/p/-prepositive) are treated under the same heading. (iii) Although they work with quantitative data as far as the phonological/metrical side of their research is concerned, Devine & Stephens illustrate their claims on syntactic and morphological points by means of purely anecdotal evidence, often just a few examples about which one cannot know to what degree they are representative in this respect.

that /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles have a status in between affixes and words, whereas /r/-postpositives are morphologically full words:

- (i) the fact that /p/-prepositives, /q/-postpositives and the /M/-mobiles or /O/-introductives which they cling to form an uninterruptible unit, suggests that /p/ and /q/ entertain an affix-like relation with their host-word;¹³⁹
- (ii) /r/-postpositives (except perhaps for ἄν and the indefinites in a particle-like function) function rather like a independent word (with an independent grammatical function) and their relationship with the host mobile or introductive (and its satellites) can be merely phonological.

These observations correspond to the syntactico-semantic features of the words in question: whereas the postpositive pronouns and adverbs have syntactic functions that correspond to the ones that are also present in full words, this is not the case for either the /p/-prepositives and the /q/-particles:

- (i) Enclitic pronouns such as με can have the same grammatical and semantic functions as ἐμέ or -for that matter- τὸν δεῖνα. The only difference between the /r/-pronouns and their non-enclitic counterparts is that they are informationally and hence phonologically ‘weak’, which gives rise to a loss of autonomy so that they need a ‘strong’ word to ‘lean on’ (to use the metaphor which the traditional notion of clisis suggests).¹⁴⁰
- (ii) Articles, prepositions and /q/-particles have syntactico-semantic functions which are not usually performed by full words, and -in any case- cross-linguistically are often performed by affixes or inflectional features:
 - the functions of the prepositions can obviously be compared to functions which can be fulfilled by morphologically marked nominal case (inflection, affixation, ...);
 - the functions of articles can cross-linguistically be performed by affixes as well (cf. e.g. Swedish);
 - at least the non-connective /q/-particles (γε, μὴν, ἄρα, δὴ) mark various types of focus on the word (or constituent) they cling to,¹⁴¹ which in many languages can only be rendered by the prosodic realization of that word; for the other (‘connective’) /q/-particles, this link may be less clear, but see here below.¹⁴²

- (3) Whereas the distinction drawn here above looks immediately plausible in the case of the postpositive pronouns and adverbs on the one hand, and the article, the preposition and the

¹³⁹ It is understood that the ‘direction of clisis’, determining whether a word is prepositive or postpositive, must be lexically given.

¹⁴⁰ Note that those forms of /r/-postpositives which have acquired a particle-like function (i.e. which have uses that do not share the distribution of ‘strong’ forms, such as the dative case of first and second person pronouns, adverbial τῖ and indefinite adverbs such as πού, πῶ and ποτε) indeed show /q/-like behavior in word order. Also note that some other forms can -a priori- be argued to be liable to be grammaticalized into affixes: for instance, the attributive use of τις or the genitivus of weak personal pronouns (μου, σου, ...) if used as an adnominal genitivus possessivus; in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.3, it has been observed that these forms actually do seem to have the tendency to form a unit with the word they grammatically belong with, which may also account for the fact that the P2-tendency of τις is significantly lower than the P2-tendency of the other /r/-postpositives (see section 4.2(7)).

¹⁴¹ Something similar can be observed for /O/-particles with prepositive behavior: ‘adverbial’ καί and οὐδέ are focus particles like γε, prepositive οὐ performs functions which resemble prefixes like ἄ-, etc.

¹⁴² It should be noted that the functions of the Greek particles are cross-linguistically often performed by affixes; cf. Kiefer 1998 on “evidential clitics” and “illocutionary act indicators” (complaint, different kinds of assertion), stressing the similarity with affixes.

focus-particles on the other, it looks somewhat problematic for (i) ἄν, which has been considered an /r/-postpositive in the above but which -unlike the other members of that class- does not share the syntactic functions of full forms, and (ii) the connective /q/-particles, which -at first sight- have no privileged link with their host-word and evidently have scope over larger stretches of discourse than the single word.

As for ἄν, one can easily argue that it does constitute a separate class indeed, and that the similarities with the other /r/-postpositives are fortuitous. However, it is clear that this particle has a different status than the /q/-particles: just like the other /r/-postpositives, it cannot follow /p/-prepositives (rule 2a), cannot precede /q/-particles (rule 2b; rule 3b) and it does not follow configurations of the type /p q M/ (rule 2f). Furthermore, ἄν shares with the other /r/-postpositives the tendency to form formulaic units with certain types of introductives (most notably relatives) and to avoid immediate adjacency with introductive particles. Also note that ἄν syntactically belongs to the sentence at large and not just with the verb, as can be seen from the fact that it can occur in elliptical autonomous utterances without a verb (e.g. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν;).

As for the **connective particles**, much of the syntactic literature (e.g. Taylor 1990), as well as much of the literature on particles, seems to assume that connectives like δέ pertain to the sentence at large (or at least to the discourse segment which it connects as a whole). However, the relation of these particles to the word they belong with is not fortuitous (cf. also Dik 1995, 38-51 on the correlation between various particles and various types of focus; see also Bakker 1993, for an account of the use of δέ in terms of discourse boundaries and topic-switches):

- The corresponsive combination **...μέν...δέ** marks a number of (broadly speaking) contrastive patterns, each particle having scope over one of the members of the contrast, but note that, even if both members are fairly complex, the particles cling to the item which carries the main contrastive focus. In one of the most typical uses of the particle combination, they mark two contrastive topics. For instance, in *Lysias* 3,15 τὸ μὲν μεῖράκιον | εἰς γραφεῖον κατέφυγεν, | οὗτοι δὲ | συνεισπεσόντες | ἦγον αὐτὸν βία, | βοῶντα καὶ κεκραγῶτα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον ... the contrast is built around two contrasted topic ("them" and "the boy") and the particles cling to the topic-NPs.
- Non-corresponsive **single δέ** typically marks major boundaries in the development of discourse, and thus can have scope over very long stretches of discourse as a whole. Still, a similar observation as with ...μέν...δέ can be made: a major boundary in discourse structure almost invariably coincides with some major change in the contents of the discourse scene; it is then typically the case that δέ clings to the item which is either 'new' on the scene, or changes its status with respect to that scene. See, for instance, the following cases:
 - In the etymological passages in Plato's *Cratylus* the successive 'lemmata' are typically chained by means of δέ attached to the lemma (e.g. "κέρδος" δὲ ... "Λυσιτελοῦν" δὲ ... etc. in Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b; cf. section 20 below).
 - Likewise, narrative discourse is often structured so that various main agents succeed each other as the topic of a stretch of discourse. Again, a word introducing a new agent is often fronted with δέ attached to it, as in *Lysias* 1,23 ὁ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης, | ὃ ἄνδρες, | εἰσέρχεται, | καὶ ἡ θεραπεία | ἐπεγείρασά μ' εὐθύς | φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστὶ. | καὶ γὰρ ..., where the major boundary expressed by δέ coincides with the introduction of Eratosthenes (the main character next to the speaker) in the narrative foreground. Note that similar observations apply to καί in

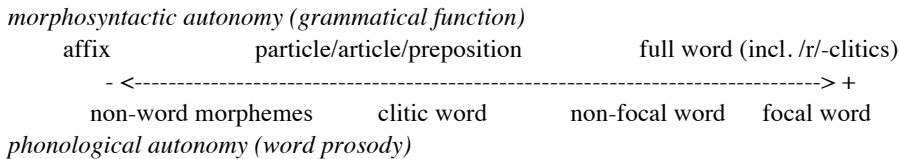
this example, but with a different status of the boundary and -accordingly- a different status for the topics introduced by it (see section 15 below).

- Similarly, $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ can also occur as attached to an expression which already marks the transition to a new stage in the development of the discourse (as in expressions like $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha, \dots$).¹⁴³

This line of argument, if proven to be valid, will lead us to a conception in which all /q/-particles, and a number of introductives when they behave like /p/-prepositives, -even if connective- are in fact focus-particles and form a word-like unit with a host word.¹⁴⁴

- (4) Insofar as the argument above is valid, the notion of autonomy cannot be construed as a homogeneous one: on the one hand, one can construe a scale of phonological autonomy (reflecting the informational salience of the words), on the other hand, a morphosyntactic one (reflecting the purely grammatical status of a word qua member of a morphological class):

Figure 7.1: two autonomy scales



- (a) The **morphosyntactic** scale is based on the ability for a word to form a constituent on its own, or rather to perform the functions which prototypical words perform (in a given language, i.c. Ancient Greek):
- by definition, an affix does not have the distribution of a full word and can only function in the context of a word;
 - on the other end of the scale, full words (in a given language) belong to a limited number of categories (say: nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, pronouns, ...) and as such can perform a set of grammatical functions according to the categories they belong to; enclitic pronouns in this sense -in principle- share the distribution of some types of full words;
 - articles, prepositions and /q/-particles are somewhere in between these two poles, in that, on the one hand, their distribution is somewhat freer than prototypical affixes (cf. e.g. the word order variation between e.g. /p q M/ and /p M q/), but, on the other hand, can fulfil only a limited number of syntactic functions which are not typically performed by full words.

An interesting element in this respect is that the ‘free’ word order of Ancient Greek - i.e. the fact that the positions of words cannot be straightforwardly predicted from their grammatical function - only applies to ‘full words’, whereas the positions of the ‘intermediate’ type of morphemes (/p/ and /q/) can readily be formulated in terms of the grammatical constituents they belong with. For instance, the position of articles and prepositions with respect to the

¹⁴³ Similar observations can be made for the other connective /q/-particles $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota, \tau\omicron\iota\upsilon\nu\nu, \gamma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}\nu$, etc., as well as for introductive particles showing /p/-like behavior such as $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ or (sometimes) $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$.

¹⁴⁴ For a similar argument -if I understood it well-, see Fraser 2001, 159-160, on “cohesive focalisation”.

NP they introduce is one of the few fairly reliable syntactic word order rules in Ancient Greek grammar.

- (b) The **prosodic** scale for word autonomy is based on a different criterion: whether the morpheme is able to constitute a separate colon (or similar segment) on its own, or needs another item to ‘cling to’ in order to constitute such a segment.

For some items this matter is straightforward:

- obviously, morphologically non-autonomous elements normally do not occur as separate segments;¹⁴⁵
- clitics like the /r/-pronouns and /r/-adverbs in Ancient Greek, though syntactically full words, by definition cannot stand alone and differ only in this aspect from allomorphs which can stand alone (e.g. *μου/ἐμοῦ*).

However, the latter distinction is just a special case of a more general factor: the prosodic ‘weight’ / ‘heaviness’ (and hence autonomy) of a word depends on its informational/pragmatic status, i.e. on whether it is focal or non-focal. Evidently, a non-focal word cannot constitute a separate IU¹⁴⁶ and hence needs to take position with respect to a focal word within that IU. As has been shown by Dover (see section 0.3.4 above and section 10.3 below), non-focal words (“Concomitants”) in general show a tendency to take P2 in a colon, (at least partly) as a consequence of the fact that focal words (“Nuclei”) tend toward P1 in a colon. Thus, the status of /r/-pronouns and adverbs as a morphosyntactically full word but which is pragmatically or cognitively non-focal and hence phonologically destressed is a lexicalization of the more basic distinction between focal and non-focal realization of a full word; likewise, their P2-tendency is a grammaticalization of the tendency for non-focal words to take P2.

- (c) Thus, both scales are not completely superposable, which corresponds to the fact that they reflect independent mechanisms and that the purely descriptive notions of appositivity and autonomy are heterogeneous.

On the one hand, the extremities of both scales coincide in typical cases: the morphosyntactically non-autonomous affixes (as well as the not fully autonomous article and prepositions) are prosodically non-autonomous as well; the prosodically fully autonomous focal words typically belong to a morphosyntactically autonomous category.

On the other hand, a somewhat more detailed look at the facts shows that both scales are essentially independent from each other: whereas the morphosyntactic status of an item is a purely lexical matter (i.e. remains constant for each morpheme, independent from its use in any particular context), the prosodic status of a word crucially involves its pragmatic/cognitive status in any particular context. Thus, nothing on the morphosyntactic scale corresponds to the prosodic distinction between focal and non-focal/destressed words, and the difference between clitic and non-clitic allomorphs (*μου/ἐμοῦ*) can be argued to be non-existent from the latter point of view. Likewise, the morphosyntactically non-autonomous status of articles, prepositions and particles (and even affixes) typically is reflected by their prosodic non-autonomy, but this tendency can at all times be reversed by particular pragmatico-cognitive factors such as scope over complex structures, emphatic

¹⁴⁵ Still, it should be noted that in some -very specific and arguably rare- circumstances these items can ad hoc receive autonomy, for instance: articles having scope over complex structures (see section 2.4), very slow and emphatic speech in which every syllable can constitute a separate IU (“GET! OUT! OF! MY! KITchen!”), etc.

¹⁴⁶ Except for anomalies such as false starts.

effects, contrast, etc. This explains, for instance, the ambivalent status of /O/-particles, which seem to fluctuate between colon-autonomy and prepositive behavior, as well as the observed quasi-autonomy of articles introducing complex structures.

- (5) Obviously, the above remarks do not exhaust the issues concerning the behavior of appositives/clitics in Ancient Greek. Furthermore, even those issues which have been dealt with remain problematic in many respects.¹⁴⁷ Note that the further development of the lines of argument in the above would necessitate a reflection on the architecture of linguistic theory: the relative positions of morphology, syntax and phonology, as well as the place of pragmatic principles and the lexicon, are at issue. Within the scope of this study, the main focus is on issues concerning segmentation, and other aspects could only be dealt with insofar as they arose from and are suggested by the data investigated.

7.2 The P1-rules and the P2-rules reconsidered

As explained in the General Introduction, one of the starting points of the present study was Wackernagel's Law (i.e. the P2-rule for postpositives). In this context, my basic tenet concerning Ancient Greek word order was formulated: the 'Colon Hypothesis', i.e. the hypothesis that an account of Greek word order basically involves two levels: (i) the internal structure of the colon (including the P1 and P2-rules), and (ii) the mainly pragmatic structures determining the relative order of cola, which will be the subject matter of Part II of this study. However, the line of argument developed in section 7.1 has important consequences for the formulation of Wackernagel's Law.

- (1) A first important consequence is that we can now argue that the P2-rule is in fact the result of two different mechanisms:
- (i) /r/-postpositives tend toward P2 in a colon; this may be due to the fact that they represent pragmatically/cognitively weak information and are therefore prosodically weakened forms; in Ancient Greek, these 'weak' words tend toward P2, possibly as a corollary to the fact that P1 within a colon is associated with focal status;¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ For instance, nothing has been said about how exactly the quasi-morphological mechanisms giving rise to word-like units consisting of prepositives and autonomous words operate. Thus, it remains unclear which factors determine the alternation between /p q M/ and /p M q/, and why the formation of an 'indissoluble' word-like unit by the morphosyntactic coalescence of a prepositive + an autonomous word is regularly limited to the first mobile word of the resulting morphosyntactic constituent, so that an /r/-postpositive can take its regular P2 while interrupting an NP consisting of an article + an adjective + a noun, as in Lysias 31,26 ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τότε ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὅτι εἰ μὲν τις φρούριόν τι προὔδωκεν ἢ ναῦς ἢ στρατόπεδόν τι, ἐν ᾧ μέρος τι ἐτύγχανε τῶν πολιτῶν ὄν, ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἄν ζημίαις ἐζημιούτο, οὗτος δὲ προδοὺς ὄλην τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ὅπως (μὴ) τιμωρηθήσεται (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως τιμῆσεται) παρασκευάζεται. Likewise, the nature of the link between -especially connective- /q/-particles and their host-constituent definitely requires further investigation, crucially involving a reexamination of the complex notion of 'focus' (see also section 21.4 below). Furthermore, the syntactic aspects of the behavior of /O/-introductives - especially important in the case of so-called 'wh-words' (relatives and interrogatives) - has hardly been touched upon.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. the almost astrophysical metaphor according to which particularly 'heavy' words 'attract' enclitics, e.g. in Janse 1993a.

- (ii) the position of /q/-particles is a matter of their morphosyntactic coalescence with the word they cling to,¹⁴⁹ i.e. they take P2 within a word-like unit;¹⁵⁰ if this unit-internal P2 often coincides with P2 in a colon, this must be due to the fact that these word-like units tend toward P1.

Thus, beyond the formation of word-like units, the matter of the (relevant aspects of the) internal structure of the colon can largely be reduced to the matter of the nature of the P1-phenomenon. It has already been pointed out that P1 in a colon can be assumed to be associated with focal status: the word (or word-like unit) which carries the main point of the colon comes first.

- (2) Starting from this account, we can now attempt to deal with a number of segment-initial patterns, some of which have been noted to be problematic.
- (a) The P1-rule as formulated above deals with the initial position within a colon. It applies to the constituent (word or word-like unit) which bears the primary focus of a colon. The particular type of focus borne by this constituent can be formally marked by either /q/-particles or by a number of /O/-introductory particles. If /O/-particles function as focus-markers, they coalesce with the focused constituent, in which case they show prepositional-like behavior. For instance, the unit ‘adverbial *καί* + a mobile word’ is comparable to the unit ‘a mobile word + *γε*’, which corresponds with semantico-pragmatic functions of the particles in question. Likewise, negatives (whether simple or complex) appear in P1 of the colon (whether the first colon of the sentence or not). The P2-rule for /r/-postpositives postulates that /r/-postpositive take P2, in the sense that /r/-postpositives immediately follow whatever constituent takes P1 within a colon.

I have argued in section 7.1 here above that connective /q/-particles can be considered as a type of focus-particles as well, in that they mark the fact that the word to which they are attached has a special relationship with the pragmatic function of the entire segment over which the connective has scope.¹⁵¹ The prototypical case is the coalescence of *δέ* with the topic of the segment over which *δέ* has scope, for instance in the case of the alternation of agents in narrative discourse; note that it can easily be argued that ‘connective’ *καί* can have similar functions in similar conditions.¹⁵² Cf. examples like *ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ... | καὶ ἡ*

¹⁴⁹ This conclusion is at the exact opposite of Fraser’s proposal that the P2 tendency of particles is primarily a matter of the fact that they are phonologically clitic (Fraser 2001).

¹⁵⁰ For the fact that different types of clitics can have different types of domains of cliticization, see e.g. Halpern 1998, 121, n.18: “We will only consider clitics which are in second position with respect to the clause here; however, there are also examples of clitics in second position within other domains, such as possessive pronouns or determiners in 2P [=P2] of the noun phrase, prepositions in 2P [=P2] of the prepositional phrase, etc.”

¹⁵¹ Again, my conclusions are at the exact opposite of the proposals in Fraser 2001. Fraser seems to suggest that focus is primarily a matter of prosodic prominence and that the presence of “clitics” (he means: mostly particles) is thus actually a contributing factor to their focal status: “Rather than starting with a semantic or pragmatic categorization of the words in P1, their grammatical and textual functions may better be interpreted as deriving from their prominence, to which enclitics in P2 can be seen as contributing” (Fraser 2001, 140). I hope it is clear that -according to the present approach- it is the other way around: a certain item is focused for pragmatic reasons; this focal status is marked by (i) prosodic prominence, and/or (ii) appositive focus-markers. In a more theoretical vein, I would be very curious to see what a linguistic theory in which prosody underlies syntax and pragmatics would look like.

¹⁵² For the fact that the distinction between adverbial *καί* and connective *καί* is not as clear-cut as is sometimes suggested, see e.g. Rijksbaron 1997b.

θεράπεινα ... | κἀγὼ ... in Lysias 1,23. However, it has been noted that in such cases /r/-postpositives do not immediately follow the constituent in P1, unless they grammatically belong to the constituent in P1 (rule 2f in section 7.0(2)). This is an indication for the fact that such constituents are somehow ‘outside’ the domain in which the /r/-postpositives take P2.

- (b) However, a number of elements with a P1-tendency (most notably ‘strong’ introductive particles, as well as constituents accompanied by connective /q/-particles) does not just tend toward P1 within a colon, but seems to tend toward the beginning of larger segments as well (say: the sentence or similar important discourse segments).¹⁵³ This tendency is obviously of a different nature than the ‘P1 within the colon’ tendency discussed above. Furthermore, it has been noted that a number of /O/-introductives can be invisible for the sake of determining P2 for /r/-postpositives, which is an indication that these elements are ‘outside’ the relevant domain of cliticization as well.
- (i) Constituents accompanied by /q/-connectives or καί, such as in the example ὁ δ’ Ἐρατοσθένης ... | καὶ ἡ θεράπεινα ... | κἀγὼ ... quoted above, are normally topicalized and fronted in a separate colon (see section 10.2.4(1) below); this accounts for the fact that they seem to be ‘outside’ the ensuing segment over which they have scope.
 - (ii) Something similar goes for fronted markers such as οὐκοῦν, ἀπάρ, ἀλλά (whether or not followed by a /q/-particle), or ὅμως, μετὰ δὲ τὰῦτα, etc., if they mark a major discourse boundary: they too occur -under any analysis- outside the proper domain for determining P2, and can be argued to constitute a separate fronted colon. As in the case of the fronted topics, the scope of these markers over a longer discourse segment is at issue.

Thus, in the case of both fronted topics and fronted markers, the fact that they occur in a separate fronted colon which has scope over one or (typically) more ensuing cola accounts for the fact that they (1) are not (normally) followed by an /r/-postpositive, and (2) often do not count for calculating the P2 in which a postpositive is expected to occur.¹⁵⁴

Furthermore, assuming that the account for the behavior of markers and topics (as well as other fronted elements) in terms of the fact that they constitute separate (fronted) cola is basically correct, it follows that the order in which they occur within the sentence should be discussed in terms of ‘colon order’, rather than in terms of ‘word order’: their functions as well as their position is then a matter of the way discourse is organized as a sequence of cola, rather than a matter of the syntactic structure of the clause. A pragmatic account of the way the order of cola is determined by patterns which are largely independent of the syntactic structure of the clause (most of these patterns will be shown to be indifferently

¹⁵³ Of course, the boundaries of clauses, sentences and paragraphs almost necessarily coincide with colon boundaries.

¹⁵⁴ In actual realization, especially in faster tempos or more casual styles of performance, these fronted elements may, of course, be subject to different degrees of merger with the following colon (‘intonational sandhi’). For the /O/-introductives, this has been repeatedly pointed out in the above, but the same thing goes for topics as well. For instance, in cases like Plato *Sph.* 251d ἢ πάντα εἰς ταῦτον συναγάγωμεν ὡς δυνατὰ ἐπικοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις; ἢ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ μή; it is quite probable that τὰ δὲ μή is realized without any pause and under a single intonation contour (i.e. that τὰ δὲ, though formally a fronted topic, is not strongly demarkated from μή). The result is that the two possible statuses of /O/-introductives (either fronted in a separate colon or /p/-like behavior), as noted in the above, are in practice often indistinguishable.

clausal, sub-clausal as well as supra-clausal) will be the specific subject matter of Part III of this study.

- (3) Again, it should be emphasized that the only aim of the speculations here above is to pursue a few specific lines of thought suggested by the findings in Part I and that they, as such, by no means constitute a general account of the issues at hand. Obviously, such a general account of Ancient Greek word order is well beyond the scope of this study, in which -it should be remembered- word order is only an issue insofar as it bears upon discourse segmentation. Still, despite these obvious limitations, I hope and also believe that I have shown -at least- that a number of factors that are often neglected or underestimated when discussing issues in Greek word order should be taken into account.¹⁵⁵ Most importantly, I have argued that the matter of segmentation into cola bears upon the issues of autonomy and appositivity as well as on issues which are usually dealt with in terms of the order of constituents within the sentence or the clause.

7.3 Segment contours: the scope of the P1 and P-ult rules

So far, the association of lexical classes with certain positions within a segment has been investigated from the point of view of the lexicon: the general question asked was to what extent the occurrence of a word of certain class predicts the presence of a boundary to its left or right. However, this type of question in se does not tell us anything about the importance or scope of the rules under scrutiny: even if -for instance- one discovered a 100% correlation between the occurrence of a word of type Z and the occurrence of a boundary after the third word to its right, this rule could be a perfectly marginal one if it applied only to 0.5% of the boundaries.

In order to assess the scope of the word order rules under scrutiny, the converse question can be asked: to what extent does the presence of a boundary coincide with the occurrence of a word of one of the types under scrutiny? In this section I will present a number of data which compare the total number of segment boundaries in the corpus with the number of words of a certain class in P1, P2 or P-ult. The corpus consists of about 18671 segments, as delimited by editorial punctuation (11149 in Plato; 7522 in Lysias); all percentages will be calculated with these numbers as a denominator.

It would have been interesting to be able to also investigate the contours of the segments as a whole, taking into account both beginning and ending at once (see also section 10.4 below, on 'bracketing'), but due to obvious limitations of the database, I will have to discuss segment beginnings and segment endings separately.

(1) *Beginning of segment*

I will start from the most general data concerning the patterns which can occur in P1 of a segment, i.e. the distribution of the general classes /O/, /p/, /q/, /r/ and /M/.

¹⁵⁵ For in some ways similar observations on the complexity of the issues related to the behavior of clitics in Ancient Greek, see also a number of publications by Mark Janse (i.a. Janse 1993a, 1993b, 1997a, 1997b, 1998b, 2000).

Table 7.3a: words in P1 per lexical class (% of segment-beginnings)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[O	5039 (45.2%)	3619 (48.1%)	8658 (46.4%)
[p	1681 (15.1%)	940 (12.5%)	2621 (14.0%)
[M	4247 (38.1%)	2931 (39.0%)	7178 (38.4%)
[t	146 (1.3%)	20 (0.3%)	166 (0.9%)

Concerning these -quite general- data the following observations can be made:

- obviously, the postpositives (/q/, /r/ and /s/) do not occur in P1 (except for the very few - often only apparent- exceptions discussed in section 2.3);
- more than 46% of the segments starts with an introductive, i.e. there is very strong correlation between segment boundaries and the presence of an introductive;
- as expected, only a small number of forms of the potentially enclitic verb forms coded /t/ (mostly forms of εἶναι) occur in P1;
- the occurrence of /p/ in P1 is fortuitous (/p/-prepositives do not particularly tend towards P1), except for pronominal ὁ + μὲν/δέ;
- the percentages concerning /M/ are in se not insightful, in that a large number of preferentials is subsumed under this heading.

In the remainder of this paragraph, I will spell out some of the details concerning these data.

- (a) First, I will present the details concerning the most salient results of the above table, i.e. the data concerning the different sub-classes of /O/.

Table 7.3b: /O/-introductives in P1 (% of segment-beginnings)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Introductive particles	1731 (15.5%)	1487 (19.8%)	3218 (17.2%)
<i>καί</i>	904 (8.1%)	851 (11.3%)	1755 (9.4%)
<i>οὐδέ/μήδε</i>	81 (0.7%)	95 (1.3%)	176 (0.9%)
<i>ἤ</i>	200 (1.8%)	88 (1.2%)	288 (1.5%)
<i>other</i>	546 (4.9%)	453 (6.0%)	999 (5.4%)
Interrogatives	956 (8.6%)	131 (1.7%)	1087 (5.8%)
<i>pronouns/adverbs</i>	678 (6.1%)	122 (1.6%)	800 (4.3%)
<i>particles</i>	278 (2.5%)	9 (0.1%)	287 (1.5%)
Simple negatives	412 (3.7%)	349 (4.6%)	761 (4.1%)
Relatives	1406 (12.6%)	1558 (20.7%)	2964 (15.9%)
Interjections	199 (1.8%)	7 (0.1%)	206 (1.1%)
<i>Total /O/</i>	<i>4704 (42.2%)</i>	<i>3532 (47.0%)</i>	<i>8236 (44.1%)</i>

N.B.: the relatively large difference between total /O/ here as compared with the previous table is due to the fact that some 'special' or 'dubious' cases of /O/-introductives have not been retained here (e.g. ὡς as a comparison-marker, οἷον in the expression οἷον τε etc.); however, it can be seen that this difference results in a mere 2.3% difference for the present purposes.

Unsurprisingly, due to the high frequency of these words, as well as to the fact that editorial punctuation tends to focus on clause boundaries, the introductive particles and the relatives (incl. subordinating conjunctions) alone already account for 33% of the total number of segment boundaries.

- (b) To the number of introductives in P1, one can add the following 'preferential mobiles' (cf. Table 5.1a above; only those 'special mobiles' with a clear P1-tendency have been retained).

Table 7.3c: preferential mobiles in P1 (% of segment-beginnings)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Complex negatives	116 (1.0%)	85 (1.1%)	201 (1.1%)
Personal pronouns	145 (1.3%)	212 (2.8%)	357 (1.9%)
<i>nominative</i>	84 (0.8%)	158 (2.1%)	242 (1.3%)
<i>focalized</i>	61 (0.5%)	54 (0.7%)	115 (0.6%)
Demonstratives	548 (4.9%)	360 (4.8%)	908 (4.9%)
Modal adverbs	596 (5.3%)	237 (3.2%)	833 (4.5%)
<i>degree</i>	275 (2.5%)	33 (0.4%)	308 (1.6%)
<i>sentence adverbs</i>	141 (1.3%)	61 (0.8%)	202 (1.1%)
<i>spatio-temporal</i>	180 (1.6%)	143 (1.9%)	323 (1.7%)
Ordinals	43 (0.4%)	75 (1.0%)	118 (0.6%)
<i>Total preferentials</i>	<i>1448 (13.0%)</i>	<i>969 (12.9%)</i>	<i>2417 (12.9%)</i>

- (c) The following table summarizes the data concerning these types of words which as such tend towards P1.

Table 7.3d: summary: introductives and special mobiles in P1 (% of segment-beginnings)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
Total /O/	4704 (42.2%)	3532 (47.0%)	8236 (44.1%)
Total preferentials	1448 (13.0%)	969 (12.9%)	2417 (12.9%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>6152 (55.2%)</i>	<i>4501 (59.8%)</i>	<i>10653 (57.1%)</i>

It can be seen that 57% of the segments begins with a word which by virtue of its lexical features tends towards P1 (60% in Lysias).

- (d) Next, I will look into the issue as to how many of the segments actually start with a mobile which has no intrinsic connection with P1, i.e. those mobiles which are not preferential.

Table 7.3e: non-preferential mobiles in P1 (% of segment-beginnings)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
verbs (exc. εἶναι)	1269 (11.4%)	1154 (15.3%)	2423 (13.0%)
<i>PI(finite)</i>	935 (8.4%)	572 (7.6%)	1507 (8.1%)
<i>PI(infinite)</i>	334 (3.0%)	582 (7.7%)	916 (4.9%)
εἶναι	141 (1.3%)	20 (0.3%)	161 (0.9%)
<i>PI(finite)</i>	117 (1.0%)	15 (0.2%)	132 (0.7%)
<i>PI(infinite)</i>	24 (0.2%)	5 (0.1%)	29 (0.2%)
<i>Total verbs</i>	<i>1410 (12.6%)</i>	<i>1174 (15.6%)</i>	<i>2584 (13.8%)</i>
'Regular mobiles' (except verbs)	1180 (10.6%)	472 (6.3%)	1652 (8.8%)
<i>Total non-preferential mobiles</i>	<i>2590 (23.2%)</i>	<i>1646 (21.9%)</i>	<i>4236 (22.6%)</i>

Only a relatively small proportion (about 22%) of the segments starts with a non-preferential mobile; even if one adds the 14% of segments starting with a prepositional, this is a remarkably low score, especially if one takes into account the fact that this score can be argued to be overstated in that some of the words in question actually do have a link with P1 when they occur in that position:

- a large number of the /p/ and /M/ in P1 can be expected to be followed by a /q/-particle (see Table 7.3f here below), which -according to the argument in section 7.1 and 7.2 above- yields an expression which is inherently linked with P1, on a par with the /O/-introductives;
 - the scores for ‘verbs in P1’ include a number of verbs which intrinsically tend to P1 as well (imperatives, verba dicendi, modals ...).
- (e) It has been argued in section 7.2 above that the P2-rule for /q/-particles is in fact a type of P1-rule. Therefore, we can examine the data for the /O/-introductives in P1 and those for /q/-particles in P2 together.

**Table 7.3f: the P1-rule (summary): introductives in P1; /q/-particles in P2
(% of segment-beginnings)**

	Plato	Lysias	Total
[p q	935 (8.4%)	549 (7.3%)	1484 (7.9%)
[p M q	123 (1.1%)	77 (1.0%)	200 (1.1%)
[M q	2199 (19.7%)	1692 (22.5%)	3891 (20.8%)
[O	5039 (45.2%)	3619 (48.1%)	8658 (46.4%)
<i>Total</i>	<i>8296 (74.4%)</i>	<i>5937 (78.9%)</i>	<i>14233 (76.2%)</i>

The P2-rule for /q/-particles and the P1-rule for /O/-introductives thus accounts for 76.2% of the initial segment boundaries in the text editions; to this one should add a number of ‘preferentials’ (see above), many of which, however, will already be included in the percentage for /[M q/ in this table.

(2) *End of segment*

Although a number of word order rules examined in the above involved the left boundary of a segment, except for the test for prepositivity in section 2.2 and the exploratory investigations on the position of verbs in section 5.2, none of the word order rules examined involved the right boundary of a segment (P-ult). Still, a number of expectations can be formulated on the basis of the known rules:

- /p/-prepositives by definition do not take P-ult;
- /O/-introductives -due to their P1-tendency- will not tend towards P-ult;
- the P2-tendency of postpositives, combined with the fact that editorial punctuation practice seems to avoid very short segments, yields the prediction that the number of segments ending in a postpositive will be relatively small.

The following table shows that these expectations are largely borne out.

Table 7.3g: words per lexical class in P-ult (% of segment-endings)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
O]	494 (4.4%)	76 (1.0%)	570 (3.1%)
M]	8912 (79.9%)	6769 (90.0%)	15681 (84.0%)
q]	780 (7.0%)	81 (1.1%)	861 (4.6%)
r]	206 (1.8%)	62 (0.8%)	268 (1.4%)

An overwhelming majority of segments in the corpus (84%; 90% in Lysias) ends in a Mobile. The marked difference between Plato and Lysias is obviously due to the fact that

Platonic dialogue presents much more very short utterances, which increases the probability for a postpositive to take P-ult. In section 5.2 above, it has been shown that verbs show a considerable tendency towards P-ult. Most of the other sub-classes of the class of /M/-mobiles have been shown to be preferential and thus can be expected to be only marginally or fortuitously present at P-ult (except for ‘special’ constructions, such as cataphoric demonstratives). It can thus be predicted that the non-preferential mobiles will account for the overwhelming majority of segment endings. This can be seen from the following table.

Table 7.3h: non-preferential mobiles in P-ult (%) of segment-endings)

	Plato	Lysias	Total
verbs (exc. εἰνῶι)	4232 (38.0%)	4293 (57.1%)	8525 (45.7%)
<i>PI(finite)</i>	2642 (23.7%)	2326 (30.9%)	4968 (26.6%)
<i>PI(infinite)</i>	1590 (14.3%)	1967 (26.1%)	3557 (19.1%)
εἰνῶι	524 (4.7%)	338 (4.5%)	862 (4.6%)
<i>PI(finite)</i>	254 (2.3%)	175 (2.3%)	429 (2.3%)
<i>PI(infinite)</i>	270 (2.4%)	163 (2.2%)	433 (2.3%)
<i>Total Verbs</i>	<i>4756 (42.7%)</i>	<i>4631 (61.6%)</i>	<i>9387 (50.3%)</i>
<i>‘Regular mobiles’ (except verbs)</i>	<i>3013 (27.0%)</i>	<i>1894 (25.2%)</i>	<i>4907 (26.3%)</i>
<i>Total non-preferential mobiles</i>	<i>7769 (69.7%)</i>	<i>6525 (86.8%)</i>	<i>14294 (76.6%)</i>

The most remarkable fact displayed in this table is that 50% of all segments ends in a verb (62% in Lysias). Another 26% ends in a regular mobile. To the enormous score for the verbs one could add a number of cases in which the verb is immediately followed by a postpositive (however, this would amount to only a few percents, cf. Table 5.2c above).

(3) *Final remarks*

The data presented in section 7.3 show that the P1-rules (including the P2-rule for /q/-particles) represent important factors indeed. Still, it should be kept in mind that these data only show a convergence between the position of a certain word and conventional editorial punctuation. Since the criteria adopted in punctuation practice are obviously not independent from the ones taken into account here (both heavily depend on syntactic factors, most importantly clause-hood), it is impossible to assess the extrapolatibility of these data towards a colon-based segmentation.

8. Conclusions to Part I

Part I here above mainly consisted of an exploration of the corpus in terms of the word order patterns that occur in it, especially -but not exclusively- insofar as these patterns teach us something about discourse segmentation.¹⁵⁶

8.1 Categorization of the lexicon

At the beginning of Part I (section 1.1 and section 2), I introduced the notions of ‘autonomy’ and ‘appositivity’, ‘prepositivity’ and ‘postpositivity’, and ‘introductivity’, and adopted a categorization of the lexicon based on these notions:

Table 8.1: lexical classes (review)

class	definition	subclasses
/O/-introductives	words that have an intrinsic connection to P1	introductory particles; relatives (incl. indeclinables, i.e. relative adverbs and subordinating conjunctions); interrogatives; simple negatives; interjections
/p/-prepositives	words that cannot take P-ult and immediately precede the expression they syntactically belong with	the article; prepositions
/q/-postpositives	words that cannot take P1 and tend towards P2, without qualification	postpositive particles
/r/-postpositives	words that cannot take P1 and tend towards P2, if one does not count /p/ and /q/ for position	the modal particle <i>řv</i> ; non-focalized personal pronouns and indefinites (pronouns and adverbs); potentially also the copula and (other) enclitic verb-forms
/M/-mobiles	words that in principle can occur in any position	all other words

This categorization worked quite well as a starting point for our analyses, although in some cases it proved to be more practical to work with sub-classes of these very broad classes. Thus, the modal particle *řv* could be viewed as forming a class on its own, separate from other /r/; likewise, the class of /O/-introductives is quite heterogeneous and in some cases it is necessary to formulate rules in terms of the subclasses of /O/ (introductory particles vs. relatives vs. interrogatives vs. negatives).

Throughout Part I, the issue as to what type of segment boundaries should be taken into account for P1, P2 and P-ult was a central one, not only because discourse segmentation happens to be the main topic of this study, but also because the very definition of the word classes involve segment boundaries.

¹⁵⁶ The Index of Tables towards the end of this book may also be useful for readers who wish to have easy access to a large number of detailed data contained in Part I.

8.2 Word order rules

The main bulk of Part I consisted in detailed investigation of a large number of word order patterns, described in terms of a limited number of ‘word order rules’. Since these word order rules have already been reviewed (with cross-references) in section 7.0 above, I will limit myself here to a summary overview.

(1) *Appositivity/autonomy constraints*

A first type of rule predicts that certain words will not occur in certain positions with respect to discourse boundaries:

	Rule
(1a)	appositives (/p/, /q/, /r/) do not occur autonomously, nor combinations of these
(1b)	prepositives do not occur in P-ult
(1c)	postpositives do not occur in P1
(1d)	the status of introductives is ambiguous: they can be colon-autonomous but can also behave like prepositives; a major factor in deciding between both possibilities is the scope of the introductive

(2) *Adjacency constraints*

A second type of rule predicts the relative order in which certain types of words will occur, in that certain collocations will not occur:

	Rule
(2a)	prepositives are not followed by an /r/-postpositive
(2b)	in clusters of postpositives /q/-particles precede /r/-postpositives
(2c)	/q/-particles cluster in the following canonical order: $\pi\epsilon\rho < \delta\acute{\epsilon} < \tau\epsilon < \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu < \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho < \tau\omicron\iota\nu\nu < \omicron\upsilon\nu < \gamma\epsilon < \mu\acute{\eta}\nu/\tau\omicron\iota/\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\iota < \delta\acute{\eta}- < \pi\omicron\nu/\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\dots < \acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha$
(2d)	/r/-postpositives cluster in the following canonical order: $\acute{\alpha}\nu < \text{indefinite} < \text{personal pronoun}$
(2e)	the possible collocations of an introductive with a postpositive are limited to a few types
(2f)	/r/-postpositives only rarely follow configurations of the type ‘prepositive + /q/-particle + mobile’ or ‘prepositive + mobile + /q/-particle’

(3) *Position rules*

The third type of rule is ‘positive’ and predicts that certain types of words will have to take this or that position within the colon:

	Rule
(3a)	/q/-particles take P2 after the first word of a colon
(3b)	/r/-postpositives take P2 after the first non-appositive of a colon
(3c)	introductives take P1 in a colon, but can be preceded by /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles
(3d)	preferential mobiles have typical uses which make them tend to take P1 (demonstratives, focal personal pronouns (esp. nominative), modal adverbs, ordinals, complex negatives), but can be preceded by /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles
(3e)	specific uses of the verb coincide with P1 (imperatives, modal verbs, reporting verbs, presentative constructions); there is a statistical tendency for verbs in general to take P-ult

(4) *Apparent exceptions*

Throughout Part I, we have been able to observe that most apparent ‘exceptions’ can be systematically reduced to a limited number of types, each of which gives an insightful explanation for the behavior observed and shows that the deviations from the rules above are only apparent. I briefly mention the following types and refer to 7.0(4) for a more exhaustive overview with cross-references:

- *category shifts*: what looks like ‘the same word’ actually systematically behaves in more than one way, according to its functions, e.g. ὁ may function as the article, in which case it is a /p/-prepositive, or as a pronoun (in combinations such as ὁ μὲν / ὁ δέ) in which case it is an /O/-introductive; indefinites may be focal or not; some non-focal indefinites may function as regular /r/-pronouns or as /q/-particles in some of their uses (e.g. πού, ποτε, ‘dativus ethicus’); etc.;
- *units*: some groups of orthographic words behave as if they were a single word with respect to the word order rules above; these word-like units appear to belong to a few types that are plausible cases of lexicalization;
- *formulas*: in many apparently exceptional cases the words under scrutiny appear within patterns that are sufficiently lexicalized to overrule otherwise valid word order rules.

8.3 Mechanisms underlying Ancient Greek word order

The word order rules summarized here above are obviously purely descriptive. I made an attempt at a more insightful reformulation of these ‘rules’ in section 7.1 and 7.2.

- (1) First, I have shown that the phenomenon of apposition (including both prepositivity and postpositivity) can best be viewed in terms of two different scales of autonomy:
- (i) a morphosyntactic scale of autonomy, on which /p/-prepositives (the article and the prepositions) and /q/-postpositive particles occupy an intermediate position between affixes (fully non-autonomous) and full words (fully non-autonomous);
 - (ii) a phonological scale of autonomy, on which words that are less prominent in the local context (including /r/-postpositives) occupy a position in between fully non-autonomous items (such as affixes and (normally) prepositions and articles) and fully autonomous focused full words.

The difference between these scales straightforwardly accounts for the observed differences in behavior between /q/-postpositives and /r/-postpositives, and the similarities between /p/-prepositives and /q/-postpositives as far as their behavior in word order are concerned (e.g. their invisibility for a number of other word order rules).

- (2) Then, I have pointed out that these scales can be interpreted so as to reflect different underlying mechanisms:
- (i) scale (i) can be interpreted in terms of morphosyntactic mechanisms that give rise to word-like units: articles, prepositions and particles that syntactically and semantically belong with a full word will form a word-like unit with that word;
 - (ii) scale (ii) concerns altogether different mechanisms, in that /r/-postpositives are morphosyntactically speaking full words (note that every /r/-postpositive¹⁵⁷ has a fully autonomous counterpart), which due to their pragmatic or cognitive status in the local context lost their prosodic prominence and autonomy.

¹⁵⁷ Except for the modal particle ἄν, about which we already noted that it is sui generis in other respects as well.

These results have in their turn a number of consequences for the linguistic status of the P2-rules (Wackernagel's Law) and the P1-rule:

- The internal structure of the (start of the) colon is determined by 2 prosodic rules:
 - a P1-rule requiring that the colon start with a prominent full word (or word-like unit), certain types of focused items being preferential (introductives, units involving introductives, 'preferential mobiles', ...);
 - a P2-rule requiring that /r/-postpositives immediately follow P1.
- The observed P2-tendency for /q/-particles is not a genuine P2-rule at all, but the result of (i) the fact that /q/-particles are focus-markers (i.e. they are a formal reflection of fact that the unit to which they are attached has a certain type of focus) and (ii) the fact that such focused units are subject to the P1-rule.

(3) I have also pointed out that a number of word order phenomena, in the traditional sense of the term, do not seem to be the result of 'word order rules' at all (cf. section 7.2(2) above). Whereas the order of the items within the colon obviously involves purely linguistic (morphosyntactic and prosodic) factors applicable to lexical items ('words'), it can (and will) be argued that the order of the cola within the encompassing structure of the discourse is not a matter of the syntactic distribution lexical items. In Part III below I try to show that the order of cola/IUs is best described in terms of pragmatic mechanisms that are of the same type as those that give rise to any coherent human behavior (including non-verbal action).

(4) Summarizing, I argued that what is traditionally called 'word order' is actually the result of 3 different and independent mechanisms:

- morphosyntactic mechanisms forming word-like units;
- prosodic mechanisms determining the internal structure of cola;
- pragmatic mechanisms determining the order of the cola within discourse.

Part II: Discourse segmentation

9. Introduction to Part II

The aim of the investigations in Part I was to provide us with an empirical background for the formulation of a number of criteria for the segmentation of Ancient Greek texts into cola, although my investigations on various word order phenomena often lead me beyond this aim.

In Part II, I focus more strictly on the overall aim of this study and try to bring together a number of observations made throughout Part I, as well as a number of elements introduced in the General Introduction, so as to obtain a set of operational segmentation criteria which can be put to work when analyzing continuous Ancient Greek text. The overall purpose is a practical one: to demonstrate how the Colon Hypothesis can be integrated into our practice of analyzing, interpreting and simply reading Ancient Greek texts.

9.1 Implementing the Colon Hypothesis: towards a more ‘natural’ way of reading and interpreting Ancient Greek

The Colon Hypothesis, as introduced in sections 0.1.5 and 0.3.1(d) above, has been presented as primarily a hypothesis on Ancient Greek word order, explaining a number of word order phenomena that cannot be explained by other relevant factors. However, this hypothesis at the same time implies an important claim about Ancient Greek discourse as such, independently from issues of word order: it is claimed that Greek discourse, which the printed text is supposed to convey, essentially comes in cola, whether the word order phenomena dealt with in Part I are present in any particular case or not.

If the Colon Hypothesis is correct, Ancient Greek texts were written to be read in cola, i.e. the ‘normal’ or ‘natural’ way to read Ancient Greek texts essentially involves reading them as a sequence of cola, in exactly the same way that spoken discourse necessarily comes in IUs. In section 0.3.2 above I already pointed out that this is coherent with what is known about the ways in which literary texts were produced and consumed/performed in Antiquity. However, since the written texts, as they are transmitted, do not directly convey the underlying segmentation into cola, ‘reconstructing’ this segmentation becomes a practical issue: how can we more or less reliably infer discourse segmentation from the written texts? If Ancient Greek texts are actually produced colon by colon, it can be expected that the written reflection of this discourse shows some formal traces of the production process. We have already seen that this is the case: a number of word order rules appears to apply to the colon, which allows us to infer colon boundaries whenever these word order phenomena occur. Furthermore, it should be possible to extrapolate from cases in which word order cues offer us formal evidence for segmentation to cases in which the formal cues are not present but which exhibit similar discourse patterns otherwise. In developing such a colon typology we can also use the literature on intonation in contemporary spoken discourse (cf. section 0.2 above).

This is then my aim in the present Part II of this book: to give an overview of the different kinds of segmentation criteria that are available to us, to demonstrate how these criteria can

be used when analyzing actual Greek texts, and to illustrate how this type of analysis affects the way we actually read the texts.

9.2 Approach

Whereas in Part I above (as well as in Part III below) there was some room for theoretical considerations, Part II is almost entirely of a practical nature: the purpose is to demonstrate the practice of analyzing Ancient Greek text as a sequence of cola.

- (1) First, I will give as systematic an overview as possible of the different formal criteria that can serve as evidence for the presence of a colon boundary (section 10). My account is geared at providing us with an overview of the various considerations that proved to be useful in the actual practice of ‘reconstructing’ the segmentation of running Greek text. It is in the first place based on two main sources:
- (i) the word order rules investigated in Part I (the aim here is to reformulate these observations as criteria for positing one or more colon boundaries);
 - (ii) the grammatical IU typologies discussed in section 0.2 of the General Introduction (in many cases echoing the earlier efforts by mainly Fraenkel; cf. section 0.1.3 above).

Apart from these two types of criteria I also discuss a number of other word order cues that can play a role in the course of the analyses, most notably focus, insofar as it affects the internal word order of the colon, and a number of discourse-related and rhetorical word order patterns that can provide us with additional clues as to the presence of colon boundaries. As the focus is on the practicalities of using formal criteria (most of which were already discussed in the above) to infer colon boundaries, I will mainly proceed by quoting a large number of examples in which the various types of evidence corroborate each other.

- (2) The proof of the pudding is in the eating. In section 11 I apply the set of criteria discussed in section 10 to running Greek text in the form of an analysis of a number of excerpts taken from the corpus. As many aspects of the text as possible are taken into account. The purpose is to show how a practical implementation of the Colon Hypothesis fits in with the traditional ‘holistic’ approach of Classical scholarship (the same goes for the analyses in terms of discourse coherence in Part III), opens the door to a discourse analytical approach to a large array of phenomena, and can change our way of reading Ancient Greek texts as such by highlighting its ‘oral’ characteristics. For practical reasons (section 10 is rather long), I postpone my overview of the methodological considerations concerning the approach taken in section 11 until a few introductory paragraphs (11.0) to that section itself. For a summary assessment of this method I refer to the conclusion formulated in section 12.

9.3 Outline of Part II

The main body of this Part consists of two rather long sections followed by a conclusion:

- In section 10 I attempt to formulate a number of formal criteria for the segmentation of Ancient Greek text into cola, mainly on the basis of the various types of formal

phenomena that involve colon/IU boundaries, as we encountered them in both the General Introduction and Part I.

- In section 11 I put these criteria to work by applying them to six excerpts taken from the corpus. The emphasis is on the practicalities of segmenting actual text, including its trivial and less trivial problems. I also offer an experimental attempt at translating the excerpts while respecting the segmentation into cola.
- In section 12, the conclusion to Part II, I try to briefly assess the results of the segmentation practice presented in this Part.

10. Criteria for the segmentation of Ancient Greek discourse

As discussed here above, the purpose of section 10 is to give a systematic overview of the various factors (criteria) that need to be taken into account in the practice of ‘reconstructing’ the segmentation into cola underlying Ancient Greek texts. The following types of segmentation criteria will be dealt with:

- (1) in section 10.1, a number of lexical criteria will be derived directly from the word order rules examined throughout Part I and summarized in section 7;
- (2) in section 10.2, a typology of cola in formal grammatical terms in the line of Fraenkel’s typology (as summarily outlined and critically discussed in section 0.1 above) will be developed in the light of the results in Part I and the findings of the research on IUs discussed in section 0.2;
- (3) in section 10.3, I briefly discuss focus as a factor in Ancient Greek word order, especially at the level of the word order within the colon;¹⁵⁸
- (4) in section 10.4, a few additional cues for segmentation will be briefly discussed, namely a few types of ‘bracketing phenomena’: (i) some of the effects of the P-ult of verbs; (ii) a few traditional ‘figures of speech’ (wide hyperbaton, chiasmus, ...) which have for an effect that one or more discourse segments are formally delimited.

Section 10.5 consists of a summary review of the criteria discussed throughout section 10, specifically geared at the practical applications in section 11.

10.1 Lexical segmentation criteria

The position rules summarized in section 7.0(3) can be immediately reformulated as segmentation criteria:

- insofar as a P1-rule is valid, the presence of a word or word-like unit with a P1-tendency allows for postulating a segment boundary immediately to its left;
- insofar as a P2-rule is valid, the presence of a word (or expression) with a P2-tendency allows for postulating a segment boundary before the word or word-like unit preceding it.

Of course, the main problem is to know which types of collocations have the relevant status of a word-like unit. Furthermore, a few factors that systematically cause apparent exceptions will be simply understood throughout the exposition:

- /q/-particles and /r/-postpositives occurring in a cluster of /q/s and/or /r/s count as taking the same P2;
- /O/-introductives have an ambiguous status, in that they often do not interfere with the determination of P2, either because they behave like a /p/-prepositive, clinging to the next word (or word-like unit), or because they constitute a separate colon (which may or may not be merged with the following colon due to intonational sandhi).

¹⁵⁸ Although this does not constitute a formal criterium for segmentation as such, it is an important factor in the analysis of the internal structure of the colon, and as such will show up time and time again in the analyses.

Since the phenomena under scrutiny have been extensively dealt with throughout Part I, I will here only illustrate the kind of patterns that may occur just after a colon boundary without going into details about the possible exceptions and theoretical issues concerning these patterns. Furthermore, the enumerations will be only illustrative in that my browsing the database has not yielded all the patterns, which are theoretically possible.

I will successively deal with the following types of criteria:

- (1) the position of /q/-particles, taking P2 within a word-like unit which in its turn tends towards P1 in a colon;
- (2) the position of /r/-postpositives, taking P2 within a colon, immediately after the first word or word-like unit in that colon;
- (3) the position of /O/-introductives and preferential mobiles, which for various reasons tend toward P1 in a colon.

10.1.1 The position of /q/-postpositives

According to the line of argument developed in section 7.2 above the position of /q/-particles is determined by two independent principles:

- /q/-particles form a word-like unit built around a full word;
- a word-like unit in which /q/-particles occur tends toward P1.

Thus, the beginning of segment in which a /q/-particle takes P2 can have the following forms:

- (a) /q/ after the first word (whatever its status):

[p q	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 221b συμπάσης γὰρ τέχνης τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος κτητικὸν ἦν, ... – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 219c τὰ δὲ ὄντα καὶ γεγονότα τὰ μὲν χειροῦτα λόγοις καὶ πράξεσι, τὰ δὲ τοῖς χειρουμένοις οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει, ...
[M q	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 245a Ἄλλὰ μὴν (l) τό γε μεμερισμένον πάθος μὲν τοῦ ἐνὸς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς μέρεσι πᾶσιν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει, ... – Lysias 9,13 Σωστράτῳ γὰρ φίλος ἐγενόμην πρότερον μὲν τῆς τούτων ἔχθρας, εἰδὼς δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄξιον λόγου γεγεννημένον. – Lysias 12,4 Οὐμὸς πατήρ Κέφαλος ἐπίσθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ... – Lysias 12,44 ... ὅπως (l) μήτ' ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν ψηφιεῖσθε πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε. – Plato <i>Th.</i> 145b ὡς εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι Θεόδωρος πολλοὺς δὴ πρὸς μὲ ἐπαινέσας ξένους τε καὶ ἀστούς οὐδένα πῶ ἐπήνεσεν ὡς σὲ νυνδῆ.
[O q	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 385c Ὁ λόγος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθής πρότερον μὲν ὅλος ἀληθής, τὰ μόρια δ' αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀληθῆ; – Lysias 33,4 καὶ ταῦτα εἰ μὲν δι' ἀσθένειαν ἐπάσχομεν, στέργειν ἄν ἢ ἀνάγκη τὴν τύχην. – Plato <i>Pl.</i> 306a Τὴν δὴ βασιλικὴν συμπλοκὴν, ὡς ἔοικε, λεκτέον ποῖα τε ἐστὶ καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ συμπλέκουσα ποῖον ἡμῖν ὕφασμα ἀποδίδωσιν.

- (b) /q/ after a cluster of /p/-prepositives:

[p p q	Plato <i>Pl.</i> 262c ἐν τῷ μὲν οὖν παρεστηκότι ... – Lysias 25,27 πᾶσι γὰρ ἤδη φανερόν ἐστιν ὅτι διὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀδίκους πολιτευομένους ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ (l) δημοκρατία γίνεταί, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ συκοφαντοῦντας (l) ὀλιγαρχία δις κατέστη.
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(c) /q/ after the first /M/-mobile or /O/-introductory, preceded by /p/-prepositives:

p M q	Lysias 13,67 ὁ δὲ ἕτερος εἰς Κόρινθον <u>μὲν</u> ἐντευθενὶ ἀνδράποδον ἐξήγαγεν, ἐκείθεν <u>δὲ</u> ... – Lysias 30,19 ἀναγράψας γὰρ πλείω τῶν προσταχθέντων αἴτιος γενέσθαι τὰ προσιόντα χρήματα εἰς ταῦτα <u>μὲν</u> ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ἐν <u>δὲ</u> ταῖς πατρίοις θυσίαις ἐπιλείπειν.
p p M q	Lysias 23,13 ἐν τῇ ἀντωμοσίᾳ <u>γὰρ</u> τῆς δίκης ἦν ... – Plato <i>Plt.</i> 264a Ἦν δέ γε θηρεύομεν ἐπιστήμην, ἐν τοῖς ἡμέροις ἦν τε καὶ ἔστιν, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγελαίοις <u>μὴν</u> ζητητέα θρέμμασιν.
p O q	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 388c Τῷ τίνος <u>δὲ</u> ἔργον ὁ τρυπητής καλῶς χρήσεται ὅταν τῷ τρυπάνῳ χρήται; Plato <i>Sph.</i> 233c Δοκοῦσι γὰρ οἶμαι πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπιστημόνος ἔχειν αὐτοὶ πρὸς <u>ἄπερ</u> ἀντιλέγουσιν. – Plato <i>Plt.</i> 265a Καὶ μὴν ἐφ' ὃ <u>γε</u> μέρος ὠρμηκεν <u>ἡμῖν</u> ὁ λόγος, ἐπ' ἐκείνο δύο <u>τινὲς</u> καθορᾶν ὁδῶ τεταμένα φαίνεται, ...

(d) /q/ after a unit involving more than one mobile:

M M q	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 384a ..., οὕτε ἀποσαφεῖ οὐδὲν εἰρωνεύεται <u>τε</u> πρὸς με, ... – Plato <i>Tht.</i> 170e Νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκратες, μάλα μυρίοι <u>δῆτα</u> , φησὶν Ὅμηρος, οἳ γέ μοι τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα παρέχουσιν. – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 263a Σὸν ἔργον <u>δὴ</u> φράζειν περὶ οὗ τ' ἔστι καὶ ὅτου.
p p M M q	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 250c Κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν <u>ἄρα</u> τὸ ὄν οὔτε ἔστηκεν οὔτε κινεῖται.

(e) these patterns may be preceded by /O/-introductives, the status of which is ambiguous:

O M q	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 387e Καὶ ὁ ἔδει <u>δὴ</u> ὀνομάζειν, ἔδει τῷ ὀνομάζειν; – Lysias 3,22 Ἐτόλμησε <u>γὰρ</u> εἰπεῖν ?! ὡς ?! αὐτὸς <u>μὲν</u> τριακοσίας δραχμὰς ἔδωκε Θεοδότῳ, συνθήκας <u>πρὸς αὐτὸν</u> ποιησάμενος, ἐγὼ <u>δ'</u> ... – Plato <i>Tht.</i> 159b Λέγωμεν δὴ ἐμέ <u>τε</u> καὶ σέ καὶ τὰλλα ἥδη κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, Σωκράτη ὑγιαίνοντα καὶ Σωκράτη <u>αὖ</u> ἀσθενούντα.
O p q	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 391d δῆλον γὰρ δὴ ?! ὅτι ?! οἳ <u>γε</u> θεοὶ αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν πρὸς ὀρθότητα ἄπερ ἔστι φύσει ὀνόματα· – Lysias 14,41 Σκέψασθαι δὲ χρή, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, διὰ τί <u>ἂν τις</u> τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν φείσασαίτο; πότερον ?! ὡς ?! πρὸς <u>μὲν</u> τὴν πόλιν δεδυστυχήκασιν, ἄλλως <u>δὲ</u> κόσμοιο εἰσι καὶ σωφρόνως βεβιώκασιν;
O p M q	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 386d Ἄλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ κατ' Εὐθύδημόν <u>γε</u> οἶμαι σοὶ δοκεῖ πᾶσι πάντα ὁμοίως εἶναι ἅμα καὶ αἰεῖ·
O q p M q	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 249a Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα <u>μὲν</u> ἀμφοτέρω ἐνόητ' αὐτῷ λέγομεν, οὐ <u>μὴν</u> ἐν ψυχῇ <u>γε</u> φήσομεν αὐτὸ ἔχειν αὐτά;
O p p p M q	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 262d καὶ περὶ τὰ τῆς φωνῆς <u>αὖ</u> σημεῖα ...

The number of problematic occurrences is rather limited and restricted to problems about the status of /O/-introductives and the position of non-connective particles and τε (both types of problems often coincide).

10.1.2 The position of /r/-postpositives

In section 7.2 it has been argued that the position of /r/-postpositives is determined by a genuine P2-rule, i.e. that non-focal indefinites and personal pronouns, as well as ἄν, immediately follow the first word or word-like unit in the colon. This notion of word-like unit especially includes patterns involving a mobile or introductory plus one or more articles, prepositions or particles.

A few quite general factors giving rise to apparent exceptions should be mentioned from the outset:

- που, ποτε, πω, πωποτε, adverbial τι, datives of first and second person pronouns can have particle-like functions, in which case they present /q/-like behavior;
- the combination of a preposition plus a /r/-pronoun behaves like a simple /r/-pronoun.

The following patterns involving an /r/-postpositive can be observed immediately after a colon boundary:

(a) /r/ after the first word:

[M r	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 260b 'Αλλ' ἴσως τῆδ' ἐπόμενος ῥῶστ' <u>ἄν</u> μάθοις. – Plato <i>Th.</i> 210ab οὔτε ἄρα αἴσθησις, ὃ Θεαίτητε, οὔτε δόξα ἀληθής οὔτε μετ' ἀληθοῦς δόξης λόγος προσγιγνώμενος ἐπιστήμη <u>ἄν</u> εἶη. – Plato <i>Th.</i> 205c Παντάπασι δὴ, ὃ Θεαίτητε, κατὰ τὸν νῦν λόγον μία <u>τις</u> ἰδέα ἀμέριστος συλλαβὴ <u>ἄν</u> εἶη. – Plato <i>Th.</i> 145b ὡς εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι Θεόδωρος πολλοὺς <u>δὴ</u> πρὸς <u>μ</u> ε ἐπαινέσας ξένους τε καὶ ἀστοὺς οὐδένα <u>π</u> ω ἐπήνεσεν ὡς σὲ νυνδὴ. – Plato <i>Cra.</i> 392c Πότερον οὖν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν φρονιμώτεραί <u>σο</u> ι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες, ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν γένος; – Lysias 12,28 "Ἐτι δὲ τοῖς <u>μ</u> εν ἄλλοις 'Αθηναίοις ἰκανὴ <u>μο</u> ι δοκεῖ πρόφασις εἶναι τῶν γεγενημένων εἰς τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν.
[O r	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 398c ὁ δὲ δὴ "ἥρως" τί <u>ἄν</u> εἶη; – Lysias 19,60 ἐν ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ ἔτεσιν οὐδ' <u>ἄν</u> εἰς λάθῃσι πονηρὸς ὢν. – Plato, <i>Th.</i> 205b Οὐκοῦν ἐλέγομεν ὅτι οὐ <u>ἄν</u> μέρη ἦ, τὸ ὅλον τε καὶ πᾶν τὰ πάντα μέρη ἔσται;

(b) /r/ after a unit consisting of a /M/-mobile or /O/-introductive plus one or more /p/-prepositives and/or /q/-postpositives:

[p M r	Lysias 24,11 ἐπ' ἀστράβης <u>ἄν</u> ὠχούμην, ... – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 257c 'Η θατέρου <u>μο</u> ι φύσις φαίνεται κατακερματίζεσθαι καθάπερ ἐπιστήμη.
[p r M r	Lysias 1,19 καὶ τότε ἤδη πρὸς τὰ γονατὰ <u>μο</u> υ πεσοῦσα.
[M q r	Lysias 34,11 δεινὸν γὰρ <u>ἄν</u> εἶη, ὃ 'Αθηναῖοι, εἰ ... – Plato <i>Th.</i> 151b ταῦτα δὴ <u>σο</u> ι, ὃ ἄριστε, ἔνεκα τοῦδε ἐμήκυνα: ... – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 233c Δοξαστικὴν ἄρα <u>τινὰ</u> περὶ πάντων ἐπιστήμην ὁ σοφιστὴς ἡμῖν ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀλήθειαν ἔχων ἀναπέφανται.
[M q p r	Plato <i>Th.</i> 145b ὡς εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι Θεόδωρος πολλοὺς <u>δὴ</u> πρὸς <u>μ</u> ε ἐπαινέσας ξένους τε καὶ ἀστοὺς οὐδένα <u>π</u> ω ἐπήνεσεν ὡς σὲ νυνδὴ.
[p q M r (rare)	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 435b τὴν γὰρ σιγὴν <u>σο</u> υ συγχώρησιν θήσω
[p M q r (rare)	Lysias 12,23 τὸν ἀδελφὸν γὰρ <u>μο</u> υ, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, 'Ερατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινε Plato <i>Cra.</i> 440e Εἰς αὐθις τοίνυν <u>μ</u> ε, ὃ ἐταῖρε, διδάξεις, ἐπειδὴν ἤκεις.
[p q p M r (rare)	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 254b περὶ δὲ τοῦ σοφιστοῦ <u>π</u> ω δῆλον ὡς ...
[p O r	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 386c ... τὸ οἶα <u>ἄν</u> δοκῆ ἐκάστω τοιαῦτα καὶ εἶναι ... – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 227d Καθ' ὅποι' <u>ἄν</u> ὑφηγῆ πειράσομαι σοι συντέμνειν.
[O q r	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 237e ... οὐδὲ λέγειν φατέον, ὅς γ' <u>ἄν</u> ἐπιχειρῆ μὴ ὄν φθέγγεσθαι; – Lysias 15,3 τί δ' <u>ἄν</u> αἰσχίον ἔθος ἢ δεινότερον πρᾶγμα τούτου (ἐν) τῇ πόλει γένοιτο, ...
[p O q r	Lysias 20,7 παρ' ὧν δ' <u>ἄν</u> μὴ κερδαίνωσιν, ἀδικούντας ἀποφάνουσι. – Lysias 24,24 διὰ τί γὰρ <u>ἄν</u> καὶ τύχοιμι τοιούτων ὕμων;

(c) /r/ after a unit consisting of /M/+/M/ (plus one or more /p/ and/or /q/):

M M r	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 385e Φέρε δὴ ἴδωμεν, ὦ Ἑρμόγενης, ἰπότερον καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἢ οὕτως ἔχειν <u>σοι</u> φαίνεται, ... – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 220a Ζωοθηρικῆς δὲ ἰᾶρ' οὐ ἰδιπλοῦν εἶδος <u>ἄν</u> λέγοιτο ἐν δίκῃ, ...
p M M r	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 223a τοῦτ' οὖν ἔγωγε εἰπὼν ἰ τὸ προσήκον ὄνομ' <u>ἄν</u> ἡγοῦμαι καλεῖν αὐτόν.
p q p M p M r	Lysias 30.20 εἷς τε τὰς θυσίας τὰς πατρίους <u>ἄν</u> ἐξήρκεσε ἰ καὶ τρία τάλαντα <u>ἄν</u> περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει.
M M q p r	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 384a ..., οὐ <u>τε</u> ἀποσαφεῖ ἰοὐδὲν εἰρωνεύεται <u>τε</u> πρὸς <u>με</u> , ...

(d) these patterns may be preceded by /O/-introductives, the status of which is ambiguous:

O M r	Plato <i>Plt.</i> 284c οὐ γὰρ δὴ δυνατόν γε ἰ οὔτε πολιτικόν ἢ οὔτ' ἄλλον <u>τινὰ</u> τῶν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιστήμονα ἀναμφισβητήτως γεγονέναι τούτου μὴ συνομολογηθέντος.
O p M r	Plato <i>Tht.</i> 209d Περὶ τὴν διαφορότητα ἄρα ἰ καὶ ἡ ὀρθὴ δόξα <u>ἄν</u> εἴη ἐκάστου πέρι. – Plato <i>Cra.</i> 390a ἐάντε ἐνθάδε ἰ ἐάντε ἐν βαρβάροις <u>τις</u> ποιῆ
O p O r	Plato <i>Sph.</i> 240c Πῆ ἰ καὶ τὸ ποῖόν <u>τι</u> φοβούμενος ἰ οὕτω λέγεις;
O M M r	Lysias 30.20 εἷς τε τὰς θυσίας τὰς πατρίους <u>ἄν</u> ἐξήρκεσε ἰ καὶ τρία τάλαντα <u>ἄν</u> περιεγένετο τῇ πόλει.
O q M r	Plato <i>Cra.</i> 416a-b Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν "αἰσχρὸν" ἰ καὶ δὴ κατάδηλόν <u>μοι</u> φαίνεται ὁ νοεῖ.

The position of /r/-postpositives is a much more important criterion for the purposes of segmentation than the previous one: the occurrence of, most notably, connective /q/-particles coincides much more often with editorial punctuation and clause-boundaries, whereas the position of ἄν and non-focal pronouns and adverbs often is the only formal indication for clause-internal boundaries.

10.1.3 The P1-criterion

In sections 2.1 and 5.1 I have shown that a number of words show a strong tendency towards the first position in a colon (rules 3c and 3d in section 7.0(3)). In some cases (relatives, interrogatives) this tendency is unsurprising and the exploitation of this tendency as a segmentation criterion is trivially straightforward. In other cases (negatives, adverbial καί, demonstratives) the very fact and especially the reliability of the P1-criterion may be unexpected.

It is understood that any of the words under scrutiny can be preceded by one or more /p/-prepositives (which may be followed by /q/-postpositives), as in the following profiles:

/O/-introductives and preferentials preceded by /p/-prepositives and /q/-particles.¹⁵⁹

p O	Lysias 27,8 οὐ γὰρ οὗτοι ἄκριτοί εἰσι, <u>περὶ ὧν</u> ὑμεῖς εἰδότες τὰ <u>πραχθέντα</u> ψηφίσησθε, ἀλλ' οἵτινες ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διαβληθέντες <u>περὶ ὧν</u> ὑμεῖς μὴ ἴσθε, ἀκρόασις μὴ τύχῳσι. – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 250d Ὅτι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος ἐρωτηθέντες τοῦνομα <u>ἔφ'</u> ὅτι <u>ποτέ</u> δεῖ φέρειν, πάση συνεσχόμεθα ἀπορία. μέμνησαι; – Lysias 3,17 οὗτοι δέ, δι' ὅτι <u>μὲν</u> τοιαῦτα παρενόμουν εἰς ἐκείνους, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰπεῖν ἐρωτηθέντες, ... – Lysias 8,9 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἴσθε πρὸς ὃν ἐλέγετε τὸν λόγον; – Plato <i>Sph.</i> 230-231 τοὺς <u>ταύτη</u> χρωμένους τῇ τέχνῃ <u>τίνας</u> φήσομεν; <u>ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ</u> φοβοῦμαι σοφιστὰς φάναι. – Lysias 16,6 ἐν <u>τούτῳ γὰρ</u> πολλοὶ <u>μὲν</u> τῶν ὁμολογούντων <u>ἰπεύειν</u> οὐκ ἐνεισιν, <u>ἔνιοι δὲ</u> τῶν ἀποδημούντων <u>ἐγγεγραμμένοι</u> εἰσίν.
p p O	Lysias 31,6 δῆλοί εἰσιν ὅτι (ῥαδίως) <u>ἂν</u> παρέντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐαυτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος ἔλθοιεν διὰ τὸ <u>μὴ</u> τὴν πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὴν οὐσίαν πατριδα ἑαυτοῖς ἠγεῖσθαι. Plato <i>Cra.</i> 406a ἔοικεν οὖν πρὸς τὸ <u>μὴ</u> τραχὺ τοῦ ἥθους ἀλλ' ἡμερόν τε καὶ λεῖον "Ληθῶ" κεκλησθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦτο καλούντων. – Plato <i>Cra.</i> 400b Ἀλλὰ <u>δὴ</u> τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο <u>πῶς</u> φῶμεν ἔχειν;
p q O	Plato <i>Thr.</i> 183d Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκῶ, ὃ Θεόδωρε, περὶ γε ὧν κελεύει Θεαίτητος οὐ πείσεσθαι αὐτῷ. – Lysias 22,10 περὶ γὰρ <u>ἧν</u> εἰσι νόμοι διαρρηθῆν γεγραμμένοι, <u>πῶς</u> οὐ χρὴ δίδοναι δίκην καὶ τοὺς μὴ πειθόμενους καὶ τοὺς κελεύοντας τούτοις τάναντία πράττειν; – Lysias 1,15 Μετὰ δὲ <u>ταῦτα</u> , ὃ ἄνδρες, χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου καὶ ἐμοῦ πολλὸ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν, προσέρχεταιί <u>μοί τις</u> πρεσβύτες ἄνθρωπος, ...

Furthermore, it should be noted that /O/-introductives tend to cluster, in which case it is not always easy to decide whether successive introductives form a unit or are autonomous, although some regularities can be tentatively formulated (see section 2.1(3) above).

Because the P1-rules are more heterogeneous and less clear-cut (i.e. subject to more qualifications) than the P2-rules discussed in the above, it seemed useful to review and illustrate a few different cases at this point, insofar as they concern the issue of segmentation. I will first discuss the behavior of the different types of /O/-introductives, and then the different types of preferential mobiles.

(1) /O/-introductives

/O/-introductives have been defined as words which -in Ancient Greek- have an intrinsic bond with P1. For the relatives, interrogatives and many introductive particles, this bond has a more or less exact counterpart in the modern standard average European languages, but for the negatives and for adverbial καί and οὐδέ, it may be somewhat more surprising. Also note the fact that many of these words seem to be more frequently colon-autonomous than would be expected for their counterparts in e.g. English.

(a) relatives (incl. subordinating conjunctions and indirect interrogatives)

The P1-tendency of relatives is trivially unproblematic if one accepts that a finite clause always constitutes a separate segment. In any case, /r/-postpositives pertaining to the contents of a clause introduced by a relative (in the broad sense) take P2 within that clause, often entering in a formulaic collocation with the relative. Thus, there are no possible formal criteria, which can prove that a subordinate finite clause in Greek does not constitute a separate segment (although in actual realization, intonational sandhi can of course be possible in some cases). Therefore, I will here limit myself to mentioning a number of instances in which a relative may not be in P1.

¹⁵⁹ For the sake of ease of presentation, the siglum /O/ here includes preferential mobiles.

- (i) A relative may be **preceded by a /p/-prepositive** (see here above), but this may also include **adverbial καί or οὐδέ** (also note the collocation *ἀλλά καί* + relative): Plato *Cra.* 383b "Οὐκουν σοί γε," ἦ δ' ὅς, "ὄνομα Ἑρμογένης, | *οὐδέ* ἂν πάντες καλῶσιν ἄνθρωποι." — Lysias 26,19 ἀλλὰ !? *καί* ὁ ἄλογον δοκεῖ εἶναι παρά τισιν, ὅπως ποτὲ πολλοὶ ὄντες ὑπ' ὀλίγων τῶν ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἠττήθησαν, οὐδαμῶθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῆς τούτων προνοίας γεγένηται. — Lysias 3,47 ὥστε δικαίως ἂν ὑφ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεθθῆιν, | *οὐ* μόνον εἴ τι πάθοιμι | ὧν Σίμων βούλεται, | *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι* ἠναγκάσθην ἐκ τοιούτων πραγμάτων εἰς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας καταστῆναι. — Plato *Th.* 148e Ἐρα !? *καὶ ὅτι* ἐπιτηδεύω τὴν αὐτὴν τέχνην !? ἀκήκοας;
- (ii) A relative (especially used as an indirect interrogative) can on its own represent an elliptic subordinated clause, in which case it can best be analyzed as belonging with the matrix verb: Plato *Pl.* 294a οἴσθ' ὅπη; — Plato *Sph.* 219e Λέγε ὅπη.¹⁶⁰
- (iii) **Comparison markers** such as *ὡς* have preposition-like uses which need not occur in P1 of a colon: Plato *Sph.* 239a τοῦτο προσάπτων | *οὐχ ὡς* ἐνὶ διελεγόμενῃ; — Lysias 24,2 εἰ δ' ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτοῦ με τιμωρεῖται, | ψεύδεται.
- (iv) A **complementizer** can often best be taken with the matrix 'reporting' verb instead of with the subordinate, especially if the matrix verb is fronted and the combination verb+complementizer has scope over a complex subordinate clause: Lysias 18,20 νῦν δ' | *ἐπίστασθε ὅτι* | τὰ μεν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφανίζεται, | τὰ δε πολλοῦ ἄξια ὄντα ὀλίγου πιπράσκειται. — Plato *Th.* 199a Βούλει οὖν *λέγωμεν ὅτι* | τῶν μεν ὀνομάτων οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλει, ὅπη τις χαίρει ἔλκων τὸ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μανθάνειν, | ἐπειδὴ δε ὠρισάμεθα ἕτερον μὲν τι τὸ κεκτηῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἔχειν, ὃ μὲν τις ἔκτῃται μὴ κεκτηῖσθαι ἀδύνατόν φαμεν εἶναι, ὥστε οὐδέποτε συμβαίνει ὅ τις οἶδεν μὴ εἰδέναι, ψευδῆ μέντοι δόξαν οἶόν τ' εἶναι περὶ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν;

Furthermore, it has been observed that - as opposed to what one might think on a priori grounds - relatives can readily be autonomous in Ancient Greek (Plato *Sph.* 220b ΘΕΑΙ. Κατὰ ποῖα; / ΞΕ. Καθ' ἃ | τὸ μεν ἔρκεσιν αὐτόθεν ποιεῖται τὴν θήραν, τὸ δε πληγῆ; for some more examples, see section 10.2.4(1) below).

(b) *interrogatives (pronouns/adverbs and particles):*

If interrogatives are not in P1 of the clause, they are typically preceded by a fronted element, which may constitute a separate colon.

- (i) This fronted element may be a **marker**: Plato *Th.* 142c ἀτὰρ | πῶς οὐκ αὐτοῦ Μεγαροῖ κατέλυνε; — Lysias 22,18 καίτοι | πῶς ἄν οὐ θαυμαστόν εἶη. — Plato *Pl.* 284e ἀλλὰ | τί δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο;
- (ii) The interrogative may also be preceded by a **fronted topic NP**, which constitutes a separate topic-colon: Plato *Cra.* 394c καὶ "'Αρχέπολις" γε | τῶν μὲν γραμμάτων | τί ἐπικοινωνεῖ; — Plato *Cra.* 410b ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀῆρ | ἄρά γε, ὦ Ἑρμόγενης, ὅτι αἴρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, "ἀῆρ" κέκληται; ἢ ὅτι αἰεὶ ρεῖ; — Lysias 21,8 καίτοι !? οὕτω παρεσκευασμένην | τριήρη !? πόσα οἴεσθε ἀνηλωκέναι χρήματα;¹⁶¹ — Plato *Pl.* 310b Τὰ μὲν πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις διώγματα | τί καὶ τις ἄν ὡς

¹⁶⁰ Cf. also Aristophanes *Nubes* 1172-1175 νῦν μὲν γ' ἰδεῖν εἰ πρῶτον ἐξαρνητικὸς κἀντιλογικὸς, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦπιχῶριον ἀτεχνῶς ἐπανθεῖ, τὸ "τί λέγεις σύ;" καὶ δοκεῖν ἀδικοῦντ' ἀδικεῖσθαι, καὶ κακουροῦντ', οἶδ' ὅτι. and Aristophanes *Ranae* 599-601 "Ὅδε μὲν οὖν, ἦν χρηστὸν ἦ τι, ταῦτ' ἀφαιρεῖσθαι πάλιν πειράσεταιί μ' εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι.

¹⁶¹ For the position of τριήρη, cf. Plato *Cra.* 409d ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν !? πῶρ | κατὰ τίνα τρόπον καλεῖται;

ἄξια λόγου σπουδάζοι μεμφόμενος; — Plato *Sph.* 230e τοὺς ταύτη χρωμένους τῇ τέχνῃ | τίνας φήσομεν; — Plato *Sph.* 220b ταύτην αὖ τὴν θήραν | ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν κατὰ μέγιστα μέρη δύο διέλοιμεν; — Plato *Th.* 209d Τὸ οὖν προσλαβεῖν λόγον τῇ ὀρθῇ δόξῃ | τί ἂν ἔτι εἴη; — Plato *Plt.* 264e τὸ πολιτικὸν | ἦ περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ζητητέον; — Plato *Sph.* 250a Εἶεν δὴ, | κίνησιν καὶ στάσιν | ἄρ' οὐκ ἐναντιώτατα λέγεις ἀλλήλοι ...

- (iii) Alternatively, it may also be preceded by a **fronted PP**: Plato *Sph.* 244b παρὰ τῶν ἐν τὸ πᾶν λεγόντων | ἄρ' οὐ πειστέον εἰς δύναμιν τί ποτε λέγουσι τὸ ὄν; — Plato *Sph.* 257e κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον | ἄρα μᾶλλον μὲν τὸ καλὸν ἡμῖν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων, ἦττον δὲ τὸ μὴ καλόν; — Plato *Sph.* 253b περὶ τοὺς τῶν ὀξέων καὶ βαρέων φθόγγους | ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτως;
- (iv) It may also be preceded by **more than one fronted constituent**, as in the following examples: Plato *Plt.* 309d-e ἀνδρεία ψυχῇ | λαμβανομένη τῆς τοιαύτης ἀληθείας | ἄρ' οὐχ ἡμεροῦται καὶ τῶν δικαίων μάλιστα οὕτω κοινωνεῖν ἂν ἐθελήσειεν, | μὴ μεταλαβοῦσα δέ | ἀποκλίνει μᾶλλον πρὸς θηριώδη τινὰ φύσιν; — Plato *Cra.* 400b Ἄλλὰ δὴ | τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο | πῶς φῶμεν ἔχειν;
- (v) Also note conjoined interrogative expressions, in which case connective καὶ may precede the second interrogative: Plato *Sph.* 237b-c ... , τί δοκοῦμεν ἂν | εἰς τί καὶ ἐπὶ ποῖον αὐτόν τε καταχρήσασθαι καὶ τῷ πυνθανομένῳ δεικνύναι; — Plato *Sph.* 219a Πῶς καὶ τίνι; — Plato *Sph.* 226e Ποῖα καὶ τίνι;

(c) *introductory particles*

The introductory particles constitute perhaps the most heterogeneous among the classes under scrutiny in the section, in that their behavior in word order may vary from sub-class to sub-class, as well as from one use to the other within a sub-class:

- (i) **‘Strong’ introductory particles** like ἀτάρ, οὐκοῦν, and (frequently) ἀλλά often mark major discourse boundaries and are always in P1 of the segment over which they have scope. Furthermore, they are often autonomous if they have scope over a long and/or complex segment, a fortiori if combined with a /q/-particle (ἀλλά μὴν, καὶ μὴν, ...); in some cases, a similar treatment of simple καὶ or ἦ can be argued for. All these cases are unproblematic. For examples, see section 10.2.4(3) below.
- (ii) **Connective καὶ** (especially in the collocation ...τε καί...), **οὐδέ, ἦ**,¹⁶² and sometimes **ἀλλά**, occur in **short conjunctions**, of which the members need not constitute separate cola, as is plausible in the following instances: Plato *Cra.* 396a ὁ ἄρχων τε καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων — Plato *Th.* 205c καὶ αὕτη δὴ ἡ αἰτία | ἄλογόν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον αὐτὸ ποιοῖ; — Plato *Th.* 205d Ἡ οὖν | ἄλλη τις | ἦ αὕτη ἡ αἰτία | τοῦ μονοειδέος τε καὶ ἀμέριστον αὐτὸ εἶναι; — Plato *Plt.* 304c (Τὴν) εἰ δεῖ μανθάνειν ἦ μὴ | τῆς μανθανομένης καὶ διδασκούμενης ἄρα | σύ γε ἀποφαινή δεῖν ἡμῖν ἄρχειν; — Plato *Sph.* 216c οἱ μὴ πλαστῶς ἀλλ' ὄντως φιλόσοφοι, — Plato *Plt.* 303b ὡς οὐκ ὄντας πολιτικούς ἀλλὰ στασιαστικούς — Plato *Plt.* 292c Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοίουν | ἄρ' ἐννοοῦμεν, ὅτι | τὸν ὅρον | οὐκ ὀλίγους οὐδέ πολλούς, | οὐδέ τὸ ἐκούσιον οὐδέ τὸ ἀκούσιον, | οὐδέ πενίαν οὐδέ πλοῦτον! ? γίγνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν χρεῶν, | ἀλλὰ τινα ἐπιστήμην, εἴπερ ἀκολουθήσομεν τοῖς πρόσθεν;
- (iii) **Adverbial καὶ and οὐδέ/μήδε** typically cling to the word they belong with in a prepositional-like way, but still quite often occur in P1 (see also the examples with

¹⁶² Also note the collocation μᾶλλον ἦ, as in Plato *Plt.* 286b ῥῶν δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἡ μελέτη παντὸς πέρι μᾶλλον ἦ περὶ τὰ μείζω.

καί+relative in paragraph (a) here above): Lysias 8,9 ... (ξυμβαίνει γὰρ | καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ καὶ ἐμοὶ σημεῖα ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνων ἐστίν, ἐκεῖνα δὲ τούτων ἰκανά) ... — Lysias 9,5 ἀπορούμενος δὲ καὶ συμβουλευόμενός τινι τῶν πολιτῶν τί χρήσωμαι τῷ πράγματι, | ἐπυθόμην ὡς !? καὶ δήσειν μὲ ἀπειλοῖεν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐλάττω χρόνον Καλλικράτους Πολύαινος ἐνδημοίη. — Plato *Cra.* 394e ... εἴτε τις τύχη ἔθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα εἴτε καὶ ποιητῆς τις, ... — Plato *Cra.* 398a ὅτι καὶ ἡμᾶς φησιν σιδηροῦν εἶναι γένος — Plato *Cra.* 429c Πότερον οὐδὲ ψεύδεται ὅταν τις φῆ Ἑρμογένη αὐτὸν εἶναι; μὴ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀν ἦ, τὸ τοῦτον φάναι Ἑρμογένη εἶναι, εἰ μὴ ἔστιν; — Plato *Plt.* 310b Τὰ μὲν πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεων ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις διώγματα | τί καὶ τις ἀν ὡς ἄξια λόγου σπουδάζοι μεμφόμενος;¹⁶³ — Plato *Sph.* 239a ἐνὸς γὰρ εἶδει | καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ἀν τὴν πρόσρησιν προσαγορεύοιτο. — Plato *Sph.* 261b Θαρρεῖν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, χρὴ τὸν καὶ σμικρόν τι δυνάμενον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἀεὶ προῖέναι. — Plato *Tht.* 209d Περὶ τὴν διαφορότητα ἄρα | καὶ ἡ ὀρθὴ δόξα ἂν εἴη ἐκάστου πέρι.

(d) *simple negatives*

The P1-tendency of simple negatives proved to be remarkably reliable, and can be used as segmentation criterion.

(i) In some cases in which a negative has scope over a longer or complex stretch of discourse, it seems to constitute a separate colon. This is typically the case in the context of a question or rhetorical question (“isn’t it true that ...”); οὐκ is then used like οὐκοῦν in such contexts: Plato *Tht.* 205a Πάλιν δὴ, ὅπερ ἄρτι ἐπεχείρουν, οὐκ, εἴπερ ἡ συλλαβὴ μὴ τὰ στοιχεῖά ἐστιν, ἀνάγκη αὐτὴν μὴ ὡς μέρη ἔχειν ἐαυτῆς τὰ στοιχεῖα, ἢ ταῦτὸν οὖσαν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις γνωστὴν εἶναι; — Plato *Sph.* 257b-c Οὐκ ἄρ, ἐναντίον ὅταν ἀπόφασις λέγεται σημαίνειν, συγχωρησόμεθα, τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων τί μὴνυῖ τὸ μὴ καὶ τὸ οὐ προτιθέμενα τῶν ἐπιόντων ὀνομάτων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ ἅτ’ ἂν κέηται τὰ ἐπιφθεγγόμενα ὕστερον τῆς ἀποφάσεως ὀνόματα.

Also note similar behavior of the combination ἄρα+οὐ: Plato *Cra.* 431d ἄρα οὐ | κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, | ἀν μὲν πάντα ἀποδῶ τὰ προσήκοντα, | καλὴ ἢ εἰκὼν ἔσται | -τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ὄνομα- | ἐὰν δὲ σμικρὰ ἐλλείπη ἢ προστιθῆ ἐνίστε, | εἰκὼν μὲν γενήσεται, | καλὴ δὲ οὐ;

(ii) More frequently, the negative appears to belong within the ensuing colon, preceding the focused negated constituent (potentially the whole clause), in which case it may sometimes show /p/-like behavior: Lysias 7,23 καὶ τούτου μὲν | οὐ θαυμάζω· | οὐ γὰρ δήπου συκοφαντῶν ἅμα τοιούτων τε λόγων ἀπορήσει καὶ μαρτύρων· | ὑμᾶς δ’ | οὐκ ἀξιώ τὴν αὐτὴν τούτῳ γνώμην ἔχειν. — Lysias 10,1 Μαρτύρων μὲν | οὐκ ἀπορίαν μοι ἔσεσθαι δοκῶ ... — Lysias 26,4 ἐγὼ δὲ | πρὸς τούτους τοὺς λόγους | οὐ χαλεπὸν οἶμαι ἀντειπεῖν· — Plato *Plt.* 287d ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων | οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο πόλις | οὐδὲ πολιτικὴ, | τούτων δ’ αὐτὴ βασιλικῆς ἔργον τέχνης | οὐδὲν ποῦ θήσομεν. — Plato *Sph.* 218c τὸ δὲ φύλον ὃ νῦν ἐπινοοῦμεν ζητεῖν | οὐ πάντων ῥᾶστον συλλαβεῖν τί ποτ’ ἔστιν, ὃ σοφιστής· — Plato *Sph.* 239a τοῦτο προσάπτων | οὐχ ὡς ἐνὶ διελεγόμην; — Plato *Sph.* 253e Ἀλλὰ μὴν | τό γε διαλεκτικὸν | οὐκ ἄλλω δώσεις, | ὡς ἐγῶμαι, | πλὴν τῷ καθαρῶς τε καὶ δικαίως φιλοσοφοῦντι. — Plato *Tht.* 154d ἡ μὲν γὰρ γλῶττα | ἀνέλεγκτος ἡμῖν ἔσται, | ἡ δὲ φρὴν | οὐκ ἀνέλεγκτος. —

¹⁶³ τις is evidently focal.

Plato *Th.* 183d Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκῶ, | ὦ Θεόδωρε, | περί γε ὧν κελεύει Θεαίτητος | οὐ
 πείσεσθαι αὐτῶ. — Plato *Th.* 203b καὶ γὰρ δὴ, | ὦ Σώκρατες, | τὸ τε σίγμα | τῶν
 ἀφώνων ἐστί, | ψόφος τις μόνον, | οἷον συριττούσης τῆς γλώττης · | τοῦ δ' αὐ βῆτα |
οὔτε φωνὴ | οὔτε ψόφος, | οὐδέ τῶν πλείστων στοιχείων.

Still, it has been noted that in some -all in all relatively rare- cases οὐ clings to a word which does not seem to occur in P1 (as in Lysias 16,10 οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης | διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς | καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, ...).

(2) *Preferential /MI-mobiles*

As opposed to the /O/-introductives, there does not seem to be an intrinsic, lexically given, bond between P1 and the preferentials; rather, the frequency of a number of uses of these words makes them statistically tend toward P1, though in other uses they can behave as regular mobiles.

(a) *complex negatives*

Complex negatives can behave like regular mobiles,¹⁶⁴ but quite often they take P1 like simple negatives, the only difference being that the unit ‘negative + focused word’ has been lexicalized: Plato *Plt.* 287d ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων | οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο πόλις | οὐδὲ πολιτική, | τούτων δ' αὐ βασιλικῆς ἔργον τέχνης | οὐδὲν που θήσομεν. — Plato *Th.* 158c ἄ τε γὰρ νυνὶ διειλέγεμεθα | οὐδὲν κωλύει καὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπνω δοκεῖν ἀλλήλοις διαλέγεσθαι. — Plato *Th.* 199a Βούλει οὖν λέγωμεν ὅτι | τῶν μὲν ὀνομάτων | οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μέλει, ὅπη τις χαίρει ἔλκων τὸ ἐπίστασθαι καὶ μαυθάνειν, | ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀρισάμεθα ἕτερον μὲν τι τὸ κεκτησθαι τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ ἔχειν, ... — Lysias 6,7 ... ὃς τέχνην ταύτην ἔχει, | τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς | μηδὲν ποιεῖν κακόν, | τοὺς δὲ φίλους | ὅ τι ἄν δύνηται κακόν. — Plato *Plt.* 287d ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων | οὐκ ἄν ποτε γένοιτο πόλις | οὐδὲ πολιτική, | τούτων δ' αὐ βασιλικῆς ἔργον τέχνης | οὐδὲν που θήσομεν. — Lysias 27,16 εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι | ἐν μὲν τῇ ψήφῳ | οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖτε | ἢ ὀνειδίετε τοῖς ἀδικούσιν, | ἐν δὲ τῷ τιμήματι | τιμωρεῖσθε τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας.

(b) *personal pronouns*

The P1-tendency of the personal pronouns under scrutiny is an obvious consequence of their focal status (their non-focal counterparts are assumed to be /r/-postpositives). However, in most of the cases in which these pronouns take P1, they function as a fronted topic-NP, in which case they typically constitute a separate topic-colon (for examples, see section 10.2.4(1)). Still, in a number of examples, focal personal pronouns occur in P1 of a colon which is not a fronted topic-NP: Lysias 21,17 ὥστ' | οὐκ ἄν εἰκότως | ἕτεροί με ἐξιτήσαντο παρ' ὑμῶν, | ἀλλὰ | καὶ εἴ τις τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίζετο, | ὑμᾶς ἄν ἠξίουν | ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὴν χάριν, | καὶ εἰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐκινδύνεον, | ὑμᾶς εἶναι τοὺς δεομένους ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. — Plato *Th.* 160a Ἀνάγκη δέ γε | ἐμέ τε | τινὸς γίνεσθαι, ὅταν αἰσθανόμενος γίγνωμαι · | αἰσθανόμενον γάρ, | μηδενὸς δὲ αἰσθανόμενον, ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι · | ἐκεῖνό τε τινὶ γίγνεσθαι, ὅταν γλυκὺ ἢ πικρὸν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον γίγηται · | γλυκὺ γάρ, | μηδενὶ δὲ γλυκὺ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. — Plato *Th.* 181b Σκεπτέον ἂν εἴη | σοῦ γε οὔτω προθυμουμένου.

¹⁶⁴ Thus, in Plato *Th.* 175d ... γέλωτα | Θράτταις μὲν | οὐ παρέχει | οὐδ' ἄλλω ἀπαιδεύτῳ οὐδενί ... — Lysias 20,14 καὶ οὗτος μὲν | οὐτ' εἰπὼν γνώμην οὐδεμίαν, | οὔτε πλέον ὀκτῶ ἡμερῶν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ὦφλε χρήματα τοσαῦτα · ... Note the fact that these colon-final negatives almost always co-occur with a colon-initial negative.

(c) *demonstratives*

The demonstratives, like the personal pronouns, have a few very frequent uses in which they constitute a separate fronted colon (or are part of such a colon):

- (i) Some uses of the demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are similar to the ones noted for the focal personal pronouns (in fact in Greek they seem to function as *the* focal third person personal pronoun). Thus, they often function as (part of) a fronted topic-NP (for examples, see section 10.2.4(1)).
- (ii) Likewise, the demonstrative adverbs (e.g. οὕτως), but also prepositional constructions involving a demonstrative (e.g. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα), can be fronted as a discourse marker in a separate colon (for examples, see section 10.2.4(1)).

However, demonstratives can also be used in other functions, which likewise make them tend toward P1:

- (iii) Another use of the demonstratives in which they are typically in P1 is their **correlative** use. As opposed to the previously noted uses, in this case they need not constitute a separate fronted colon. The correlative use of the demonstratives is akin to their cataphoric use, and the line between both is not always easy to draw.¹⁶⁵ Examples: Plato *Sph.* 233c Δοκοῦσι γὰρ | οἶμαι | πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπιστημόνως ἔχειν αὐτοὶ | πρὸς ἅπερ ἀντιλέγουσιν. — Plato *Plt.* 265a Καὶ μὴν | ἐφ' ὃ γε μέρος | ὥρμηκεν ἡμῖν | ὁ λόγος, | ἐπ' ἐκείνο | δύο τινεῖ καθορᾶν ὁδῶ τεταμένα φαίνεται, ... — Plato *Plt.* 265a ἔξεστιν οὖν | ὁποτέραν ἂν βουλευθῶμεν, | ταύτην πορευθῆναι. — Lysias 18,24 ..., ἠγησαμένους | τούτους ἂν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δικαίως εἰ πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οἵπερ ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ τῶν συμφορῶν μετέσχον τὸ μέρος. — Plato *Tht.* 178a Ἔτι τοίνυν | ἐνθένδε ἂν μᾶλλον πᾶς τις ὁμολογήσειεν ταῦτα ταῦτα, | εἰ περὶ παντός τις τοῦ εἵδους ἐρωτῶν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ ἀφέλιμον τυγχάνει ὄν· — Lysias 4,10 ἦ | πρῶτον μὲν | τοῦτ' ἂν κατεῖπεν, | πότερα κοινή ἡμῖν ἦν | ἢ ἰδίᾳ τούτου, καὶ πότερα ... — Plato *Cra.* 419d "εὐφροσύνη" δὲ | οὐδὲν προσδεῖται τοῦ διότι ῥηθῆναι· | παντὶ γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι | ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰ τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν ψυχὴν συμφέρεσθαι | τοῦτο ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα, | "εὐφροσύνην" τὸ γε δίκαιον· — Plato *Sph.* 257b-c Οὐκ ἄρ', ἐναντίον ὅταν ἀπόφασις λέγεται σημαίνειν, συγχωρησόμεθα, τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων τὶ μὴνύει τὸ μὴ καὶ τὸ οὐ προτιθέμενα τῶν ἐπιόντων ὀνομάτων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ ἅττ' ἂν κέηται τὰ ἐπιφθεγγόμενα ὕστερον τῆς ἀποφάσεως ὀνόματα.
- (iv) Besides these specific uses, demonstratives also often are in P1, simply because they are liable to carry the focus of a segment: Plato *Cra.* 405b Οὐκοῦν | ὁ καθαίρων θεὸς καὶ ὁ ἀπολύων τε καὶ ἀπολύων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν | οὗτος ἂν εἴη; — Plato *Tht.* 210a λόγου γὰρ πρόσληψις | τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη κατ' ἐκείνον. — Lysias 2,1 διὰ τοῦτο | καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκεῖ, | προνοουμένη τῶν ἐνθάδε λεγόντων, | ἐξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρόσταξιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἠγουμένη | οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα | συγγνώμης αὐτοῦς παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυγχάνειν. — Plato *Cra.* 424a Τοῦτο ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅπερ πάλαι ζητοῦμεν, | οὗτος ἂν εἶναι ὁ ὀνομαστικός. — Plato *Sph.* 239a ἐνὸς γὰρ εἶδει | καὶ κατὰ ταύτην ἂν τὴν πρόσρησιν προσαγορευοίτο. — Plato *Tht.* 154e Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε | τοῦτ' ἂν βουλοίμην.

¹⁶⁵ It has been noted that in some of their cataphoric uses demonstratives may take P-ult, but this need not be always the case, as can be seen from the examples quoted here.

(d) 'modal' adverbs and ordinals

Ordinals and a few sub-classes of the class of -what I have called- 'modal adverbs' quite often take P1 due to the fact that they often function as a fronted discourse marker (for examples, see section 10.2.4 below):

- (i) Thus, spatio-temporal modal adverbs often have functions which resemble the functions of introductory particles (νῦν δέ, ἔτι δέ, εὐθὺς δέ, ἤδη τοίνυν, πάλιν...);
- (ii) As for the ordinals, one can especially note the highly frequent πρῶτον μὲν (οὖν), with a similar function as the above;
- (iii) Likewise, 'modal sentence adverbs' like ἴσως, ὅμως, τάχα etc. often constitute separate fronted marker-cola.

Still, these kinds of words also occur quite frequently in P1 of a colon which does not mark a major boundary: Lysias 12.88 καίτοι | οὗτοι μὲν | σωθέντες | πάλιν ἄν δύναιτο τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι· — Plato *Plt.* 260c Τὴν ἐπιτακτικὴν δὴ τέχνην | πάλιν ἄν εἴη θεατέον εἰ πη διέστηκεν. — Plato *Cra.* 384a εἰ οὖν πη ἔχεις συμβαλεῖν τὴν Κρατύλου μαντείαν, ἠδέως ἄν ἀκούσασι· μᾶλλον δὲ | αὐτῷ σοι | ὅπῃ δοκεῖ [ἔχειν] περὶ ὀνομάτων ὀρθότητος | ἔτι ἄν ἠδίων πυθοίμην, | εἰ σοι βουλομένῳ [έστίν]. — Plato *Cra.* 397b τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἠρώων καὶ ἀνθρώπων λεγόμενα ὀνόματα | ἴσως ἄν ἡμᾶς ἐξαπατήσειεν· — Plato *Cra.* 430b — ἴσως γὰρ ἐγὼ | οὐ μανθάνω ἅττα ποτ' ἔστιν ἃ λέγεις, | σὺ δὲ | τάχ' ἄν ὀρθῶς λέγοις — Plato *Tht.* 169d νῦν δὲ | τάχ' ἄν τις ἡμᾶς ἀκύρους τιθεῖ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὁμολογίας. — Lysias 9,11 εἰ δ' οὖν | ἐξημίωσαν μὲν οἶδε προσηκόντως, | ἐκύρωσαν δ' ἐν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐπιβολήν, | τῶν ταμιῶν ἀφέντων | εἰκότως ἄν τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀπηλλαγμένος εἶην.

10.2 Grammatical segmentation criteria

The segmentation criteria formulated here above are based on the position of particular words in a running text, which in principle does not even have to be grammatically analyzed. Often these criteria did not tell us anything about the status of the colon, which resulted from their application.

In this section I will take up the issue of the colon typology in grammatical terms, making use of (i) Fraenkel's typology as discussed in section 0.1.3, (ii) the observations on the relation between grammatical constituency and segmentation into intonation units, as reviewed in section 0.2.4, and (iii) various elements which have turned up in the course of the investigations in Part I of this study.

The following types of cola will be investigated:

- (1) clauses and clause-like grammatical units built around a verb, including participial and to a lesser extent infinitive clauses (esp. accusativus cum infinitivo), typically constitute autonomous cola (section 10.2.1);
- (2) coordinate, correlative and otherwise parallel units constitute autonomous cola (section 10.2.2);
- (3) parentheses, appositions and other grammatically non-integrated materials constitute separate cola (section 10.2.3);
- (4) fronted constituents typically constitute autonomous cola (section 10.2.4); different sub-types will be investigated (fronted NPs, fronted PPs, fronted adverbs and discourse markers, fronted verbs, ...).

In section 10.2.5, I will then discuss a few cases in which the segmentation criteria do not yield cola of a readily recognizable type.

This typology has some interest in itself, but in the context of this study its main aim is to provide us with a few additional segmentation criteria. For this purpose, I will have to make a methodologically awkward but necessary move: following Fraenkel, I will start from cases in which lexical cues indicate that a grammatical unit of a certain type constitutes an autonomous colon, and on that basis I will argue that similar units in similar contexts are autonomous as well, even if no lexical features for this segmentation happen to occur.

In this respect, it should be noted that the application of a segmentation criterion always concerns at least two cola, for instance:

- a segment is fronted with respect to another segment, which ipso facto will have segment-status itself;
- a parallel structure in itself concerns at least two cola, but often the common ground for both has colon-status as well;
- furthermore, each segment of the types mentioned can consist of more than one colon (e.g. each member of a contrast quite often consists of a fronted contrasted topic-NP followed by an equally contrasted comment on this topic).

Thus, in many cases, the presence of one segment boundary entails the presence of other boundaries, so that the application of one criterion corroborates the applicability of another one. Consider, for instance, the following examples:

- In Lysias 1,25 ἐγὼ δ', ὁ ἄνδρες, πατάξας καταβάλλω αὐτόν, ..., the position of the pronoun αὐτόν ascertains the boundary before καταβάλλω; the position of the vocative legitimates the boundary between ἐγὼ δ' and πατάξας. The two established strictly formal criteria yield a segmentation into four cola, which can be shown to belong to readily recognizable types: ἐγὼ δ' is a fronted topic-NP (typically followed by a connective /q/-particle); πατάξας is a participium coniunctum plausibly presenting a separate/autonomous action ("I hit him"); the main predicate καταβάλλω αὐτόν ("and I throw him down on the floor") can likewise be considered as constituting a separate action by the topic/agent as well. Thus, the various types of cola corroborate each other.
- In Lysias 3,8 ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτόν ἡμυνάμην, ἐκστάς ἔβαλλέ με λίθοις. καὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, Ἄριστοκρίτου δέ, ὅς παρ' ἐμὲ ἦλθε μετ' αὐτοῦ, βαλὼν λίθῳ συντρίβει τὸ μέτωπον., the position of με and the syntactic right boundary of the subordinate clause introduced by ἐπειδὴ corroborate the fact that ἐκστάς is an autonomous participle. The position of μὲν and the fact that καὶ has scope over the parallel μὲν-δέ structure are indications for the colon-status of καὶ. The right boundary of the non-restrictive relative clause introduced by ὅς indicates that Ἄριστοκρίτου δέ must be a fronted topic-NP, which makes it probable that the same thing goes for its counterpart ἐμοῦ μὲν. The left boundary of the relative clause as well as the autonomous status of the action expressed by βαλὼν λίθῳ (cf. πατάξας in the previous example) make it probable that this participle is autonomous as well, etc.

10.2.1 Verb-centered clauses

The observation that the finite clause is the prototypical autonomous discourse segment has been the starting point (and often the tacit presupposition) of the research on both intonation units (see section 0.2 above) and Ancient Greek word order (see sections 0.1 and 0.3.1

above). Thus, the traditional formulation of the word order rules examined throughout Part I (most notably Wackernagel's P2-law) has always operated with clause-boundaries or even sentence-boundaries, as defined by the presence of a finite verb as the syntactically dominating predicate.

For Ancient Greek, it has been observed that cola (as operationally defined by the P2-rule) coincide quite often with other verb-centered 'clause-like' constituents. Thus, the following types distinguished by Fraenkel (see section 0.1.3) involve verbal clauses:

- Type A: participia absoluta;
- Type B: participia coniuncta;
- Type D: various infinitival and similar constructions.

In this section I will illustrate the following segmentation criteria:

- (1) main finite clauses almost always coincide with autonomous segments;
- (2) subordinate finite clauses coincide with autonomous segments, especially adverbial clause, but others as well;
- (3) non-complement participial clauses are always autonomous segments;
- (4) infinitival or participial complement clauses may be autonomous (especially if complex).

(1) *Main finite clauses and subordinate finite clauses*

Research into recorded speech has shown that (i) IUs only rarely consist of more than one main finite clause, and (ii) finite subordinate clauses rarely do not make up a separate IU. For Ancient Greek, however, cases in which this would not be the case obviously cannot be ascertained, even when in many cases merger with the matrix clause seems plausible: most of the most reliable formal criteria for segmentation are trivially exceptionless in the case of finite clauses. Thus, if a postpositive occurs, it takes P2 within the finite clause domain; relatives invariably take P1 in the finite clause they introduced, etc.¹⁶⁶

Unsurprisingly, the boundaries of finite clauses, both main finite clauses and subordinate finite clauses, which were the domain to which Wackernagel's Law originally applied, are apparently unproblematic: Lysias 26,7 ἄρ' ἄν ὀλίγα τοιαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ διαπράξασθαι; | ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν οἶμαι. — Plato *Cra.* 388e ΣΩ. Νομοθέτου ἄρα ἔργω χρήσεται ὁ διδασκαλικὸς ὅταν ὀνόματι χρήται; / EPM. Δοκεῖ μοι. — Plato *Tht.* 143d Εἰ μὲν τῶν ἐν Κυρήνῃ μᾶλλον ἐκηδόμην, | ὦ Θεόδωρε, | τὰ ἐκεῖ ἄν σε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπων, ... — Plato *Tht.* 159c Ὅταν δὴ οἶνον πίνω ὑγιαίνων, | ἡδύς μοι φαίνεται καὶ γλυκύς; — Plato *Tht.* 183d Ἀλλά μοι δοκῶ, | ὦ Θεόδωρε, | περὶ γε ὧν κελύει Θεαίτητος | οὐ πείσεσθαι αὐτῷ.

Of course, finite clauses (both main and subordinate) can readily be broken into several cola. Also note the fact that in the case of complement-clauses the complementizer can in some cases be argued to merge with the matrix predicate, rather than with the complement clause (e.g. Lysias 18,20 νῦν δ' | ἐπίστασθε ὅτι | τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφανίζεται, | τὰ δὲ πολλοῦ ἄξια ὄντα ὀλίγου πιπράσκειται - see above).

¹⁶⁶ It would be interesting to look into extraposition phenomena like prolepsis from the point of view of segmentation adopted here. However, this is not possible within the scope of the present study, if only because the present database does not yield a readily available corpus concerning this matter.

(2) *Participial clauses*

Participles are fairly autonomous in Greek (for a morphosyntactic account of the autonomy of participles, see Scheppers 1999). They have many uses (esp. *participium coniunctum* and *genitivus absolutus*) that are comparable to main finite clauses in modern languages. In section 21.1(3) below, I will argue that the alternation of participles and finite verbs is actually a rather superficial feature of discourse, comparable to (prosodic and/or syntactic) sentence closure as it is observed in discourse analytical approaches to spontaneous speech. It should be noted that the asyndetic sequences of participles typical of Greek discourse provide us with a very reliable and pervasive syntactic segmentation criterion.

(a) *genitivus absolutus* (Fraenkel's 'type A')

Lysias 14,27 *τελευτήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου* | ἐραστής γενόμενος | Ἀρχεβιάδης *αὐτὸν* ἐλύσατο. — Lysias 1,15 Μετὰ *δὲ* ταῦτα, | ὧ ἄνδρες, | χρόνου μεταξὺ *διαγενομένου* | καὶ ἐμοῦ πολὺ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαντοῦ κακῶν, | προσέρχεται *μοί τις* πρεσβῦτις ἄνθρωπος, — Lysias 16,10 Ἐγὼ *γὰρ* | πρῶτον *μὲν* | οὐσίας *μοι* οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης | διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς | καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, | δύο *μὲν* ἀδελφὰς ἐξέδωκα | ἐπιδούς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρᾳ, | ... — Lysias 3,16 *συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων* πολλῶν | καὶ ἀγανακτούντων τῷ πράγματι | καὶ δεινὰ φασκόντων εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα, | τῶν *μὲν* λεγομένων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον, ... — Lysias 1,22 τοῦτο | ἡλίω δεδουκότος | ἰόντι ἐξ ἀγροῦ | ἀπήνησα ... — Plato, *Sph.* 260c *Μὴ μειγνυμένου μὲν αὐτοῦ* τούτοις | ἀναγκαῖον ἀληθῆ πάντ' εἶναι, | *μειγνυμένου δὲ* | δόξα *τε* ψευδῆς γίγνεται καὶ λόγος. — Lysias 9,11 εἰ δ' οὖν | ἐζημίωσαν *μὲν* οἶδε προσηκόντως, | ἐκύρωσαν *δ'* ἐν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐπιβολήν, | τῶν *ταμιῶν ἀφέντων* | εἰκότως *ἄν* τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἶην.

(b) *participium coniunctum* (Fraenkel's 'type B')

Lysias 3,8 ἐκκαλέσας *γὰρ μὲ* ἔνδοθεν, | ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐξῆλθον, | εὐθύς *μὲ* τύπτειν ἐπεχείρησεν. | ἐπειδὴ *δὲ* αὐτὸν ἠμυνάμην, | ἐκστὰς | ἔβαλλέ *μὲ* λίθοις, | καὶ | ἐμοῦ *μὲν* | ἀμαρτάνει, | Ἀριστοκρίτου *δὲ*, | ὃς παρ' ἐμὲ ἦλθε μετ' αὐτοῦ, | *βαλὼν λίθω* | συντρίβει τὸ μέτωπον. — Lysias 9,21 *τίνι γὰρ ἐπαρθέντα ἐλπιδι* | δεῖ *μὲ* συμπολιτεύεσθαι, ... — Lysias 14,27 *τελευτήσαντος δ' ἐκείνου* | ἐραστής γενόμενος | Ἀρχεβιάδης *αὐτὸν* ἐλύσατο. — Lysias 16,10 Ἐγὼ *γὰρ* | πρῶτον *μὲν* | οὐσίας *μοι* οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης | διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς | καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, | δύο *μὲν* ἀδελφὰς ἐξέδωκα | ἐπιδούς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρᾳ, | ... — Lysias 18,4 ἡττημένων *γὰρ* ἐν (τῇ) ναυμαχίᾳ | *στρατηγὸς ὑφ' ὑμῶν* ἡρήμενος, | καὶ παρακαλούμενος μετέχειν τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλεούτων τῷ πλήθει, | οὐκ ἠθέλησεν *αὐτοῖς* πειθεσθαι, — Plato *Sph.* 217d *συμβούλω μὴν* ἐμοὶ χρώμενος | τῶν νέων *τινὰ* αἰρήση, | Θεαίτητον τόνδε, | ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων | εἴ *τίς σοι* κατὰ νοῦν. — Plato *Sph.* 239a τοῦτο προσάπτων | οὐχ ὡς ἐνὶ διελεγόμην; — Plato *Sph.* 249-250 Σκόπει δὴ σαφέστερον εἰ | τὰ νῦν *συνομολογοῦντες* | δικαίως *ἄν* ἐπερωτηθεῖμεν ἄπερ αὐτοὶ τότε ἠρωτῶμεν τοὺς λέγοντας εἶναι τὸ πᾶν θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν. — Plato *Sph.* 260b Ἄλλ' ἴσως | *τῆδ'* ἐπόμενος | ῥᾶστ' *ἄν* μάθοις. — Plato *Th.* 155c *μηδὲν δὲ ἀπολλύς τοῦ ὄγκου* | οὐκ *ἄν ποτε* ἐγινόμην ἐλάττων.

(3) *Infinitival clauses*

Some uses of infinitives (esp. *accusativus cum infinitivo* with *verba dicendi*, *sentiendi*, etc.) constitute autonomous clauses as well: Lysias 1,4 ἡγοῦμαι δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες, | τοῦτο *μὲ* δεῖν ἐπιδειῖσαι, | ὡς ἐμοίχευεν Ἐρατοσθένους τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν ... — Lysias 2,1 διὰ τοῦτο | καὶ ἡ πόλις *μοι* δοκεῖ, | προνοουμένη τῶν ἐνθάδε λεγόντων, | ἐξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρόσταξιν

ποιεῖσθαι, | ἡγουμένη | οὕτως ἄν μάλιστα | συγγνώμης αὐτοῦς παρὰ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυγχάνειν. — Lysias 8,16 χρῆν μὲν οὖν | τότε μὲ γινώσκειν | ὀφειλόμενον μοι ταῦτα παθεῖν, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλέγετε κακῶς· — Plato *Sph.* 219a Μέθοδον μὴν αὐτὸν ἐλπίζω καὶ λόγον | οὐκ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἡμῖν ἔχειν πρὸς ὃ βουλόμεθα. — Plato *Sph.* 245a Τὸ δὲ πεπονθὸς ταῦτα | ἄρ' οὐκ ἀδύνατον | αὐτὸ γέ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι; — Plato *Sph.* 258a Καὶ τὰλλα δὴ | ταύτη λέξομεν, | ἐπεὶ περ ἡ θατέρου φύσις ἐφάνη τῶν ὄντων οὐσα, | ἐκείνης δὲ οὐσης | ἀνάγκη δὴ | καὶ τὰ μόρια αὐτῆς μηδενὸς ἦττον ὄντα τιθέναι. — Plato *Tht.* 144d-e φησὶν γὰρ Θεόδωρος | ἔχειν μὲ σοὶ ὅμοιον. — Plato *Tht.* 159a Ἀδύνατον τοίνυν | ταυτόν τι ἔχειν | ἢ ἐν δυνάμει | ἢ ἐν ἄλλῳ ὄψοῦν, | ὅταν ἦ κοιμιδῆ ἕτερον. — Plato *Tht.* 183a δεῖ δὲ | οὐδὲ τοῦτο (τὸ) "οὕτω" λέγειν | — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι κινοῖτο (τὸ) "οὕτω" — | οὐδ' αὖ "μὴ οὕτω" | — οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο κίνησις — | ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄλλην φωνὴν θετέον τοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον λέγουσιν, ...

Also note constructions with an article: Lysias 30,16 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς φυγεῖν | μέρος τι καὶ οὗτος συνεβάλετο, | τοῦ δε τοῦτον κατελθεῖν | τὸ πλήθος τὸ ὑμέτερον αἴτιον ἐγένετο.

(4) *Non-autonomous participial and infinitival clauses*

In some cases, the overall word order suggests that the infinitive is plausibly part of the same colon as its matrix verb: Lysias 3,8 ἐκκαλέσας γὰρ μὲ ἔνδοθεν, | ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐξῆλθον, | εὐθύς μὲ τύπτειν ἐπεχείρησεν· — Lysias 1,19 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγὼ ἐμήσθην Ἐρατοσθένους πρὸς αὐτήν, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι οὗτος ὁ φοιτῶν εἶη πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐξεπλάγη | ἡγησαμένη μὲ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐγνωκέναι. — Lysias 12,28 Ἔτι δὲ | τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις | ικανὴ μοι δοκεῖ πρόφασις εἶναι | τῶν γενηθέντων | εἰς τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν· | αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα, | ἐὰν εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρωσι, | πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀποδέχεσθαι; — Lysias 2,77 οὐ γὰρ ἐλανθάνομεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ?! ὄντες θνητοί· — Plato *Cra.* 384b καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων | οὐ σμικρὸν τυγχάνει ὄν μάθημα. — Lysias 29,1 ὁ κάμοι δοκεῖ οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον εἶναι τεκμήριον τῆς ἀπογραφῆς ὅτι ἀληθῆς οὐσα τυγχάνει· — Lysias 12,34 τί ἂν εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτύχετε αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ υἱεῖς; — Lysias 1,16 ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὑβρίζων εἰς σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα | ἐχθρὸς ὢν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει.

One would expect that infinitival and participial constructions which express the contents of a reporting verb (*verbum dicendi/sentiendi/percipiendi*) are more likely to be autonomous than infinitives with modal verbs (see the examples with *τυγχάνω* and *λανθάνω* here above), but this expectation is not completely borne out by the facts, as can be seen from the many examples in which matrix predicates like *χρῆ* or *φαίνεται* are fronted, with the infinitive(s) constituting an autonomous segment (see section 10.2.4(4) below).¹⁶⁷

10.2.2 Parallelism: coordinate, corresponsive and correlative structures

It has been observed in connection with the correlation between grammatical constituency and segmentation into IUs in spontaneous speech that coordinate members only rarely occur within the same IU (see section 0.2.4(3), on Croft 1995's 'parallelism constraint').

Likewise, parallel structures do not seem to occur in a single colon. Hence, the members of contrastive structures, coordinated structures and correlative structures constitute separate

¹⁶⁷ Note that even a verb like *λανθάνω* allows for a colon-autonomous participle construction, as in Plato *Tht.* 176-177 ..., ὑπὸ ἡλιθιότητός τε καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας | λανθάνουσι | τῶ μὲν ὀμοιοῦμενοι διὰ τὰς ἀδίκους πράξεις, | τῶ δὲ ἀνομοιοῦμενοι. (with complex participle, however) - Lysias 6,34 ..., εἰς οὓς νῦν ἀμαρτάνων | οὐ λανθάνει, | ἀλλ' ἅμα ἐξελεγχθήσεται τε καὶ δώσει δίκην.

cola.¹⁶⁸ Note that the common ground for the different parallel members often constitutes a separate colon (often fronted) as well. Since these phenomena are enormously frequent and all in all rather unproblematic, it will suffice to quote only a few examples: Plato *Sph.* 267d-e ὅμως δέ, | κἄν εἰ τολμηρότερον εἰρήσθαι, | διαγνώσεως ἔνεκα | τὴν μὲν μετὰ δόξης μίμησιν | δοξομιμητικὴν προσεῖπωμεν, | τὴν δὲ μετ' ἐπιστήμης | ἱστορικὴν τινα μίμησιν. — Lysias 4,8 ἢ δέ | τοτὲ μὲν | ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ | τοτὲ δέ | τοῦτόν φῆσι ποιεῖσθαι — Plato *Thit.* 203b καὶ γὰρ δὴ, | ὦ Σώκρατες, | τό τε σίγμα | τῶν ἀφώνων ἐστὶ, | ψόφος τις μόνον, | οἷον συριττούσης τῆς γλώττης· | τοῦ δ' αὖ βῆτα | οὔτε φωνὴ | οὔτε ψόφος, | οὐδὲ τῶν πλείστων στοιχείων. — Plato *Plt.* 309d-e ἀνδρεία ψυχῇ | λαμβανομένη τῆς τοιαύτης ἀληθείας | ἄρ' οὐχ ἡμεροῦται καὶ τῶν δικαίων μάλιστα οὕτω κοινωνεῖν ἂν ἐθελήσειεν, | μὴ μεταλαβοῦσα δέ | ἀποκλινεῖ μᾶλλον πρὸς θηριώδη τινα φύσιν; — Plato *Cra.* 398a “Ὅτι οἶμαι ἐγὼ | λέγειν αὐτόν τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος | οὐκ ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεφυκὸς | ἀλλ' ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν. — Plato *Sph.* 233c Δοκοῦσι γὰρ | οἶμαι | πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπιστημόνως ἔχειν αὐτοὶ | πρὸς ἅπερ ἀντιλέγουσιν. — Plato *Plt.* 265a Καὶ μὴν | ἐφ' ὃ γε μέρος | ὥρμηκεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, | ἐπ' ἐκείνοι | δύο τινὲ καθορᾶν ὁδῶ τεταμένα φαίνεται, ...

Note that these kinds of pattern in Greek can be freely embedded in one another, as in the following examples. In Lysias 16,10 we see, for instance, how the parallelism between “πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν” and “πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας” (connected by καὶ) is interwoven with the contrast between the “sisters” and the “brother” (connected by ...μὲν...δέ) and how the correlative structure οὕτως... ὥστε... is twice embedded within an encompassing parallelism:

Ἐγὼ γὰρ | πρῶτον μὲν | οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθεῖσιν |
 διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς | καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς | καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, |
 δύο μὲν ἀδελφὰς ἐξέδωκα | ἐπιδούς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρᾳ, |
 πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' |
 οὕτως ἐνειμάμην |
 ὥστ' ἐκείνον πλέον ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν ἐμοῦ τῶν πατρῶων, |
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας |
 οὕτως βεβίωκα |
 ὥστε μηδεπώποτε μοι μηδὲ πρὸς ἓνα μηδὲν ἐγκλημα γενέσθαι.

Similarly, Lysias 10,22 shows several levels of embedding contrasts and parallelisms in each other (cf. sections 11.4 and 18 below for further analysis):

Οὗτος οὖν |
 ἐνοχος μὲν ὦν τῇ αἰτίᾳ, |
 ἐλάττονος δέ οὐσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς,
 οὐ μόνον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠλεήθη,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα ἠτίμωσεν.
 ἐγὼ δέ ...

¹⁶⁸ For the present purposes the syntactic asymmetry between members of a correlative structure -as compared with the syntactic symmetry between coordinated parallel members- is not an issue.

10.2.3 Syntactically non-integrated constituents

It can be expected on general grounds (e.g. on the basis of the fact that IUs/cola tend to coincide with grammatical units) that constituents which syntactically do not belong with their grammatical surroundings will constitute separate segments.

(1) *Parentheses*

Prototypical parentheses are full finite main clauses (in Greek often introduced by γάρ) inserted within a clause or sentence which continues after the parenthesis as if it had not occurred: Lysias 1,9 Πρώτον μὲν οὖν, | ὧ ἄνδρες, | (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταύθ' ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι) οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ... — Lysias 1,16 "Εὐφίλητε" | ἔφη | "μηδεμιᾶ πολυπραγμοσύνη | προσεληλυθέναι με νόμιζε πρὸς σέ· — Plato *Cra.* 417d "Ὅσα μὲν ἀπόφησιν αὐτῶν, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, οὐδὲν δεῖ ταῦτα διεξιέναι. — Plato *Th.* 183a δεῖ δὲ | οὐδὲ τοῦτο (τὸ) "οὔτω" λέγειν | — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι κινοῖτο (τὸ) "οὔτω" — | οὐδ' αὖ "μὴ οὔτω" | — οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο κίνησις — | ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄλλην φωνὴν θετέον τοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον λέγουσιν, ... — Plato *Cra.* 431d ἄρα οὐ | κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, | ἂν μὲν πάντα ἀποδῶ τὰ προσήκοντα, | καλὴ ἢ εἰκὼν ἔσται | — τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὄνομα — | ἐὰν δὲ σμικρὰ ἐλλείπη ἢ προστιθῆ ἔνιοτε, | εἰκὼν μὲν γενήσεται, | καλὴ δὲ οὐ; — Plato *Cra.* 420a-b "ἔρωσ" δέ, | ὅτι εἰσρεῖ ἔξωθεν | καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἔστιν ἢ ροὴ αὐτῆ τῷ ἔχοντι | ἀλλ' ἐπίσακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, | διὰ ταῦτα | ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσρεῖν | "ἔσρος" τό γε παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο | -τῷ γὰρ οὐ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὧ ἐχρώμεθα- | νῦν δ' | "ἔρωσ" κέκληται διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὧ ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ μεταλλαγῆν.

Non-restrictive relative clauses often perform similar functions, as in the following example: Plato *Sph.* 219a-b Γεωργία μὲν | καὶ ὅση περὶ τὸ θνητῶν πᾶν σῶμα θεραπεία, | τό τε αὖ περὶ τὸ σύνθετον καὶ πλαστόν, | ἴδ' δὴ σκεῦος ἄνομάκαμεν, | ἢ τε μιμητική, | σύμπαντα ταῦτα | δικαιοτάτ' ἂν | ἐνὶ προσαγορεύοιτ' ἂν ὀνόματι.

(2) *Appositions (including extrapositions, afterthoughts, resumptives)*

Grammatical units smaller than the clause can occur in a fairly loose syntactic connection to their surroundings as well. Different types of appositions can be distinguished, which, however, have in common the fact that they occupy a syntactic position which is already occupied by another item:¹⁶⁹

- (i) The most common type of apposition is the one in which a constituent is followed by an explicating or disambiguating afterthought, as in the following cases: Plato *Sph.* 218c τὸ δὲ φῦλον ὃ νῦν ἐπινοοῦμεν ζητεῖν | οὐ πάντων ῥᾶστον συλλαβεῖν τί ποτ' ἔστιν, ὁ σοφιστής· — Plato *Sph.* 217d "Ἐξεστι τοίνυν | τῶν παρόντων | ὃν ἂν βουληθῆς ἐκλέξασθαι, | πάντες γὰρ | ὑπακούσονται σοι πρῶτος· | συμβούλω μὲν ἐμοὶ χρώμενος | τῶν νέων τινὰ αἰρήση, | Θεαίτητον τόνδε, | ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων | εἴ τις σοι κατὰ νοῦν. — Plato *Cra.* 428e-429a ΣΩ. Τίνας; ΚΡ. Οὐσπερ σὺ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔλεγες, | τοὺς νομοθέτας. — Plato *Cra.* 390b Τίς οὖν ὁ γνωσόμενος εἰ τὸ προσήκον εἶδος κερκίδος ἐν ὀπιωοῦν ζύλω κείται; ὁ ποιήσας, ὁ τέκτων, ἢ ὁ χρῆσόμενος [ὁ] ὑφάντης; — Plato *Cra.* 437b ἔτι τοίνυν | ἢ "ἀμαθία" καὶ ἢ "ἀκολασία" | παραπλησία τούτοις φαίνεται· | ἢ μὲν γὰρ | τοῦ ἅμα θεῶ ἰόντος πορεία φαίνεται, | ἢ "ἀμαθία," | ἢ δ' "ἀκολασία" | παντάπασιν ἀκολουθία τοῖς πράγμασι φαίνεται.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. my attempt at formulating a definition of the notion of 'apposition' in Scheppers 2002.

A similar afterthought-like effect can be observed in the following example, in which the word order suggest that *ταύτην*, although -unlike the appositions above- not overtly present in the first colon, seems to be added after the closure of that segment: Plato *Sph.* 253c Τί ν' οὖν αὖ [νῦν] προσερούμεν, ἢ ὧ Θεαίτητε, *Ιταύτην*; ("What shall we call it, Theaetetus? That science, I mean.")¹⁷⁰

Some types of cataphora have a similar afterthought-like effect: Lysias 3,25 εἰς τοῦτο δ' ἦκει τόλμη | ὥστε | οὐκ ἐξαρκεῖ | περὶ τούτου μόνον αὐτῷ ψεύσασθαι, | περὶ τοῦ δεδωκέναι τὸ ἀργύριον, | ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκομίσθαι ψησί.

- (ii) The converse effect can be noted in cases where a more complex formulation of a content (e.g. an enumeration) is resumed or summarized in a simpler anaphoric one: Plato *Sph.* 219a-b Γεωργία μὲν | καὶ ὅση περὶ τὸ θνητὸν πᾶν σῶμα θεραπεία, | τὸ τε αὖ περὶ τὸ σύνθετον καὶ πλαστόν, ἰὸ δὴ σκευὸς ὀνομάκαμεν, | ἢ τε μιμητική, | σύμπαντα ταῦτα | δικαιοτάτ' ἂν | ἐνὶ προσαγορεύοιτ' ἂν ὀνόματι. — Plato *Cra.* 417b Ἔοικεν, ὦ Ἐρμόγενης, | οὐχὶ καθάπερ οἱ κάπηλοι αὐτῷ χρῶνται, | ἐὰν τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἀπολύη, | οὐ ταύτη | λέγειν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ "λυσιτελοῦν," | ἀλλ' ὅτι ...

(3) *Short (quasi-)parentheses (vocatives, ἔφη, etc.)*

Some types of expressions have a frequent and idiomatic use as a parenthesis, most notably the following:

- vocatives;
- oath-formulas;
- some forms of reporting verbs (ἔφη, οἶμαι, ...) ¹⁷¹ and other epistemic or modal expressions (ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰ δοκεῖ, εἰ βούλει...);

It has been observed - already by Fraenkel (see section 0.1.2 above) - that in very many cases these short parenthetical expressions occur on the boundary between 'natural' cola: Lysias 1,15 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, | ὧ ἄνδρες, | χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου καὶ ἐμοῦ πολλὸ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαντοῦ κακῶν, | προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβύτης ἄνθρωπος, ... — Lysias 34,3 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, | ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, | (οὐτε οὐσία) οὔτε γένει ἀπελαινώμενος, | ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρα τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων πρότερος ὢν, | ἠγοῦμαι ... — Lysias 13,43 Οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν, | ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, | ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπογραφέντες | ἀπέθανον. — Lysias 1,23 ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης | ὧ ἄνδρες | εἰσέρχεται, | καὶ ἡ θεράπεινα | ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς | φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί. — Lysias 1,9 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, | ὧ ἄνδρες, (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι) οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ... — Plato *Th.* 170a Οὐκοῦν, | ὧ Πρωταγόρα, | καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄνθρωποι, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων δόξας λέγομεν, — Plato *Sph.* 265a ἢ γὰρ που μίμησις | ποιήσις τις ἐστίν, | εἰδῶλον μέντοι, | φαιμέν, | ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτῶν ἐκάστων· ἢ γὰρ; — Plato *Pl.* 260a Τούτῳ δέ γε οἶμαι προσήκει κρίναντι | μὴ τέλος ἔχειν | μηδ' ἀπηλλάχθαι, | καθάπερ ὁ λογιστὴς ἀπήλλακτο, | προστάττειν δὲ ἐκάστοις τῶν ἐργατῶν | τὸ χε πρόσφορον | ἕως ἂν ἀπεργάσωνται τὸ προσταχθέν. — Plato *Th.* 154d Εἶ χε | νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, | ὧ φίλε, | καὶ θείως, | ἄτάρ, | ὡς ἔοικεν, | ἐὰν ἀποκρίνη ὅτι ἔστιν, | Εὐριπίδειόν τι συμβήσεται. — Plato *Th.* 164a Καὶ ἐγὼ, | νῆ τὸν Δία, | ὑποπτεύω, | οὐ μὴν ἰκανῶς χε

¹⁷⁰ One might even argue for an analysis in which *ταύτην* is an apposition with respect to a zero direct object, although this may be less plausible from a syntactic point of view.

¹⁷¹ Of course, these verb forms need not always be used parenthetically: Plato *Sph.* 224d Τρίτον δέ γ' | οἶμαί σε, | κἂν εἴ τις αὐτοῦ καθιδρυμένος ἐν πόλει, τὰ μὲν ὀνομάζοντες, τὰ δὲ καὶ τεκταινόμενος αὐτὸς μαθήματα περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πωλῶν, ἐκ τούτου τὸ ζῆν προυτάξατο, καλεῖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πλὴν ὕπερ νυνδή.

συννοῶ· ... — Lysias 6,7 ὥστε | μὰ τὸν Δία | οὐ ῥᾶδιόν ἐστιν ὑμῖν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν χαρισαμένοις παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον λαθεῖν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. — Plato *Tht.* 184a Ἄλλὰ χρή, | εἰ δοκεῖ, | οὕτω ποιεῖν.

However, some aspects of the behavior of these expressions seem to be anomalous; I will deal with this problem in section 10.2.5 below.

10.2.4 Fronting

Throughout the discussion of Fraenkel's colon typology, many examples have shown up in which the 'deferment' of a postpositive was due to the fact that one (or more than one) colon appeared to the left of the segment in which the postpositive took its regular P2.

In this context I introduced -in a rather loose way- the term 'fronting', as a cover term for any phenomenon in which a constituent occurs to the left of the segment which constitutes the -somehow- 'central' part of a clause, sentence or similar construction.¹⁷² Fronting can most easily be recognized with respect to the position of the segment which contains the main finite verb: any element which syntactically belongs to the clause, but occurs to the left of the segment in which the main verb occurs will be called 'fronted'.¹⁷³ For instance, the following typical cases can be distinguished as diagnostic for fronting:

- (i) The most obvious cases of fronting are the ones in which a constituent (or constituents) precede a word that is in some way necessarily clause initial, esp. interrogatives: Plato *Cra.* 410b ὁ δὲ δὴ ἀήρ | ἄρᾳ γῆ, ὃ Ἑρμόγενες, ὅτι αἶρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, "ἀήρ" κέκληται; ἢ ὅτι αἰεὶ ῥεῖ; — Plato *Cra.* 400b Ἄλλὰ δὴ | τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο | πῶς φῶμεν ἔχειν;
- (ii) Equally easy to recognize are cases in which the segment with the main verb is preceded by either subordinate finite clauses or autonomous participles. These subordinates and/or participles as well as any constituent preceding them can be considered as fronted, for instance: Lysias 1,15 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, | ὧ ἄνδρες, | χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου | καὶ ἐμοῦ πολλὴ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαντοῦ κακῶν, | προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβύτις ἄνθρωπος, ... — Lysias 1,23 καὶ ἡ θεράπαινα |

¹⁷² Thus, 'fronting' covers what has been called 'preposing' (without anaphoric pronoun, e.g. "A bran muffin I can give you") as well as what has been called 'left-dislocation' (e.g. "Gallstones, you have them out and they're out"); cf. Ward & Birner 2001. Note that in Greek the matter is less clear-cut than in e.g. English: whereas in English the fronted constituent in both examples takes a clearly non-canonical place in word order, the 'free word order' of Greek simply does not yield a canonical word order. Likewise, due to the rich morphology of Greek, the anaphoric pronouns which are distinctive of left-dislocation, simply need not appear at all.

¹⁷³ Note that 'fronting' is a notion that must be defined in syntactic terms: it must mean that a constituent which syntactically belongs with a clause/sentence is 'moved' to the left boundary of this clause/sentence. Thus, the very notion of 'fronting' implies a 'home' location for constituents. Since in the context of the present discourse analytic approach no theoretical syntactic framework has been adopted in which such a 'home' can be defined and -hence- no reliable criterion can be formulated for what the 'left boundary' of this home domain is, the notion will be used merely descriptively.

Also note the unavoidable circularity in this account: in order to be able to formulate the notion of fronting (used as a criterion for segmentation) I already have to introduce the notion of 'segment'. However, for the present purposes, this circularity is rather harmless. We do have external criteria for determining segmentation (the P1 and P2-rules as well as the other grammatical criteria introduced in this section). If I can show that in many cases (for instance) an NP occurring to the left of the main verb occurs in a separate colon (according to any of the other criteria), this yields a descriptively applicable colon-type, which can be extended to cases where no other criteria are available.

- ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθύς* | φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί. — Lysias 6,12 *ὅμως μέντοι / ίνα μὴ ὑπὸ τούτου τοιούτου ὄντος πράγματ' ἔχοι*, | δοὺς ἀργύριον ἀπηλλάγη.
- (iii) Similarly, if the main part of a clause consists of a parallel structure, any constituent occurring to the left of it can be considered as fronted: Lysias 4,8 *ἢ δέ | τοτὲ μέν ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ | τοτὲ δέ τοῦτόν ᾠσι ποιεῖσθαι* — Lysias 10,22 *Οὗτος οὖν | ἔνοχος μὲν ὦν τῇ αἰτίᾳ, ἐλάττονος δὲ οὔσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς, | οὐ μόνον ὕφ' ὑμῶν ἠλεήθη, | ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα ἠτίμωσεν.* — Lysias 1,25 *κάκείνος | ἀδικεῖν μέν ὁμολόγει, | ἠντεβόλει δέ καὶ ἰκέτευε μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι ἀλλ' ἀργύριον πράξασθαι.*
- (iv) In a number of cases, formal criteria (the presence of a short parenthesis, the application of a P2-rule or P1-rule...) are the only indications for the fact that a constituent is fronted: Lysias 1,23 *ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης | ὦ ἄνδρες | εἰσέρχεται,* — Lysias 26,7 *ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ | οὐκ ὄν οἶμα.*

Although I introduced the notion of fronting in terms of the left boundary of the segment in which the main verb occurs, it is intuitively evident that in some cases the finite verb is fronted itself, for instance as the common ground for a complex structure. Typically, these fronted verbs do not carry the main point of the sentence (reporting verbs, modal verbs, etc.); see paragraph (4) here below.

It is important to note that fronted materials typically have pragmatic functions that are readily recognizable in terms of the ‘Thematization Principle’ (cf. section 13.1.2 below): they serve as ‘guideposts’ for the contents which follow, whether they have ‘topic’-function, ‘marker’-function, or ‘setting’-function and thus fit in the general discourse strategy which consists in first setting up a frame and then filling in its contents (see section 13.3.2 below).

(1) *Fronted Noun Phrases (NPs)*

A first highly common type of fronting involves fronted NPs. These NPs typically have a easily recognizable function, namely **Topic**.¹⁷⁴ The notion of ‘topic’ in the relevant sense will be dealt with more extensively in section 13.3.2(2) below; suffice it here to characterize it informally as ‘the item which the ensuing discourse is about’. Often, topic-NPs coincide with grammatical subjects, but other argument NPs qualify equally well (cf. section 21.2 below). Note that all morphological types of NPs can perform this function: full NPs, complex NPs (incl. substantivized infinitives etc.), pronouns (incl. relatives), etc. Also recall that fronted topic NPs are quite often accompanied by a /q/-particle (most often δέ, or μέν, but other connectives qualify equally well); see section 7.1 above.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ For similar observations on fronted topics in separate cola, cf. also Slings 1997a, Slings 2002a and Slings 2002b, although Slings’ approach is embedded in the clause-based Functional Grammar approach of Dik 1995. With hindsight it seems strange that this very frequent and ‘natural’ type has not been recognized as such by Fraenkel and his successors. Note that what has become the emblematic ‘textbook-example’ of a colon boundary is of this type: Hdt. 1,10,2 καὶ ἡ γυνή | ἐπορεύε μιν ἐξιόντα (quoted in Dover 1960/1968, 17; Ruijgh 1990/1996a; the example even furnishes the title “‘En de vrouw, die ziet hem weggaan’. Orale strategieën in de taal van Herodotus” for Slings 2002a).

¹⁷⁵ Note that an obvious *petitio principii* can arise concerning the application of the criterion of the fronted NP: can a fronted NP ever be shown *not* to be a separate colon? Also note that Dik’s basic clause pattern (see section 0.3.1 above), with a Topic-slot in P1 of the clause, is descriptively equivalent to the observation that fronted topics are often fronted.

(a) *Fronted nominative NPs*

A first series of examples illustrates various types of **fronted nominative NPs**: Lysias 1,23 *ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης* | *ὁ ἄνδρες* | *εἰσέρχεται*, | *καὶ ἡ θεράπεινα* | *ἐπεγείρασα* με *εὐθὺς* | *φράζει* ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί. — Lysias 1,24 *οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι εἰσιόντες* | *ἔτι εἶδομεν* αὐτὸν *κατακείμενον* *παρὰ τῆ γυναικί*, | *οἱ δ' ὕστερον* | ἐν τῆ κλίνῃ *γυμνὸν ἐσηκότα*. — Plato *Plt.* 291d *Τρίτον δὲ σχῆμα πολιτείας* | *οὐχ* ἡ τοῦ πλήθους ἀρχή, | *δημοκρατία* τοῦνομα *κληθεῖσα*; — Plato *Cra.* 417 "*κέρδος*" δὲ | *νῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέλτα ἀποδιδόντι* ἐς τὸ ὄνομα | *δηλοῖ* ὁ βούλεται. "*Λυσitteλοῦν*" *δὲ* | *τί δὴ*; — Plato *Sph.* 220b *Καὶ τοῦ πτηνοῦ μὴ γένους* | *πᾶσα ἡμῖν* ἢ *θήρα* | *λέγεται* ποῦ τις ὀρνιθευτική. — Plato *Sph.* 245a *Τὸ δὲ πεπονθὸς ταῦτα* | *ἄρ'* οὐκ ἀδύνατον | *αὐτὸ* γε τὸ ἐν αὐτὸ εἶναι; — Plato *Sph.* 253d *Τὸ κατὰ γένη διαιρεῖσθαι* | *καὶ* | *μῆτε ταῦτὸν εἶδος ἕτερον ἠγήσασθαι* | *μῆτε ἕτερον ὄν ταῦτὸν* | *μῶν* οὐ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς φήσομεν ἐπιστήμης εἶναι; — Plato *Sph.* 255c *τὸ θάτερον* | *ἄρα ἡμῖν* *λεκτέον* πέμπτον; — Plato *Sph.* 262a *Τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄν δήλωμα* | *ῥῆμά* ποῦ λέγομεν.

The following examples illustrate **fronted nominative pronouns**: Lysias 3,37 *οὔτοι δὲ* | *ἐκεῖνόν* τε *ἦγον* *βία* | *καὶ ἐμὲ* ἔτυπτον. — Lysias 9,19 *Οἶδε μὲν οὖν* | ἐκ παντὸς [τοῦ] τρόπου *προθυμοῦνται* *με* τῆ δίκη *ἀλῶναι*. *ὑμεῖς δὲ* | *μῆτε* ταῖς τούτων *διαβολαῖς* ἐπαρθέντες *ἐμοῦ κατανηφίσησθε*, *μῆτε* τοὺς βέλτιον *καὶ δικαίως* *βουλευσαμένους* ἀκύρους *καταστήσητε*. — Lysias 10,22 *Οὔτος οὖν* | ἔνοχος μὲν ὢν τῆ αἰτία, *ἐλάττωτος* δὲ οὔσης *αὐτῷ* τῆς *συμφορᾶς*, οὐ μόνον ὑφ' ὑμῶν *ἠλεήθη*, ἀλλὰ *καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα* ἠτίμωσεν. *ἐγὼ δὲ* | ... — Lysias 1,25 *ἐγὼ δ'*, | *ὁ ἄνδρες*, | *πατάξας* | *καταβάλλω* αὐτόν, ... — Lysias 1,25 *κἀκείνους* | *ἀδικεῖν* μὲν ὡμολόγει, | *ἠντεβόλει* δὲ *καὶ* *ικέτευε* *μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι* ἀλλ' ἀργύριον *πράξασθαι*. — Lysias 12,8-9 *ἐγὼ δὲ* | *Πείσωνα* μὲν ἠρώτων | *εἰ βούλοιτό* με *σῶσαι* | *χρήματα* *λαβών*. | *ὁ δ'* ἔφασκεν, | *εἰ πολλὰ* εἶη. — Lysias 13,43 *Οὔτοι μὲν τοίνυν*, | *ὁ ἄνδρες* Ἀθηναῖοι, | *ὑπ'* Ἀγοράτου ἀπογραφέντες | *ἀπέθανον*. — Lysias 26,7 *ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ* | οὐκ ἄν οἶμαι. — Lysias 34,3 *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν*, | *ὁ Ἀθηναῖοι*, | *(οὔτε οὐσίᾳ) οὔτε γένει* ἀπελανόμενος, | ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέρω τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων *πρότερος* ὢν, | *ἠγοῦμαι* ... — Plato *Tht.* 145e *Τοῦτο δὲ* | *μῶν* διαφέρει τι ἐπιστήμης;

(b) *Fronted oblique NPs*

The next series of examples show that NP-fronting is not restricted to nominative NPs: Plato *Cra.* 400b *Ἀλλὰ δὴ* | *τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο* | *πῶς* φῶμεν *ἔχειν*; — Plato *Sph.* 220c *Κύρτους δὴ* | *καὶ δίκτυα* | *καὶ βρόχους* | *καὶ πόρκους* | *καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα* | *μῶν ἄλλο* τι *πλὴν ἔρηκ* *χρῆ* *προσαγορεύειν*; — Plato *Plt.* 292c *Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοίνυν* | *ἄρ'* ἐννοοῦμεν, ὅτι τὸν ὄρον οὐκ ὀλίγους οὐδὲ πολλούς, οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκούσιον οὐδὲ τὸ ἀκούσιον, οὐδὲ πενίαν οὐδὲ πλοῦτον γίνεσθαι *περὶ αὐτῶν* *χρεῶν*, ἀλλὰ *τινα* ἐπιστήμην, εἴπερ ἀκολουθήσομεν τοῖς πρόσθεν; — Plato *Cra.* 403b *Σοὶ δὲ* | *πῶς* φαίνεται, | *ὁ Σώκρατες*; — Lysias 13,46 *οὐς*, | *ὁ ἄνδρες* *δικασταί*, | *ποῖαν* τινᾶ οἴεσθε *γνώμην* *περὶ τούτου* *ἔχειν*, *ἢ ποῖαν* τινᾶ ἄν *ψῆφον* *θέσθαι*, ... — Plato *Tht.* 151a *οὐς*, | *ὅταν* *πάλιν* ἔλθωσι *δεόμενοι* τῆς ἐμῆς *συνουσίας* *καὶ θαυμαστά* *δρῶντες*, | ἐνίοις μὲν | *τὸ γινόμενόν* μοι *δαίμονιον* ἀποκαλύει *συνεῖναι*, | ἐνίοις δὲ *ἔῃ*, | *καὶ* *πάλιν* οὔτοι ἐπιδιδόασι. — Plato *Tht.* 163e *Ὁ δὴ* | *εἰδέ* τις, | *μὲμνηταί* ποῦ ἐνίστε; — Plato *Tht.* 186c *Οὐ δὲ* | *ἀληθείας* τις *ἀτυχήσει*, | *ποτὲ* τούτου ἐπιστήμων ἔσται;

Especially note the case of **fronted genitives** (many of which are genitivi partitivi): Plato *Sph.* 219d *Κτητικῆς δὲ* | *ἄρ'* οὐ δύο εἶδη; — Plato *Sph.* 220a *Ζωοθηρικῆς δὲ* | *ἄρ'* οὐ διπλοῦν εἶδος ἄν λέγοιτο ἐν δίκη, — Plato *Sph.* 225a *Τῆς κτητικῆς* | ἀγωνιστικῆς τι μέρος ἡμῖν ἦν. — Plato *Sph.* 224b *Τῆς δὴ ψυχεμπορικῆς ταύτης* | *ἄρ'* οὐ | *τὸ μὲν* ἐπιδεικτικῆς *δικαιοτάτα* λέγοιτ' ἄν, *τὸ δὲ* — Lysias 10,1 *Μαρτύρων μὲν* | *οὐκ* ἀπορίαν μοι ἔσεσθαι

δοκῶ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί· — Lysias 3,16 τῶν μὲν λεγομένων | οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον, ... — Plato *Sph.* 220b Καὶ τοῦ πτηνοῦ μὴν γένους | πᾶσα ἡμῖν ἢ θήρα | λέγεται πού τις ὀρνιθευτική.

(2) *Fronted Prepositional Phrases (PPs)*

Fraenkel's typology already mentioned PPs as a separate colon-type (type D). When examining his examples, we noticed that most of these were somehow fronted. The functions of these fronted PPs may vary: some of them constitute discourse markers (e.g. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ...), but a construction like περί + genitivus typically introduces a topic, still others introduce 'settings': Lysias 3,15 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα | τὸ μὲν μειράκιον | εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, | οὗτοι δὲ | συνεισπεσόντες | ἦγον αὐτὸν βία, — Lysias 1,15 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, | ὃ ἄνδρες, | χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου | καὶ ἐμοῦ πολὺ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν, | προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβῦτις ἄνθρωπος, ... — Plato *Cra.* 392e διὰ ταῦτα δή, | ὡς ἔοικεν, | ὀρθῶς ἔχει καλεῖν τὸν τοῦ σωτήρος ὕον Ἀστυνάκτα ... — Plato *Cra.* 408d περὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε δὲ | τί σε κωλύει διελθεῖν, | οἷον ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρον καὶ γῆς καὶ αἰθέρος καὶ ἀέρος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ ὠρῶν καὶ ἔνιαυτοῦ; — Plato *Sph.* 234e περὶ δ' οὖν τοῦ σοφιστοῦ | τόδε μοι λέγε· — Plato *Th.* 183d Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκῶ, | ὃ Θεόδωρε, | περὶ γε ὧν κελεύει Θεαίτητος | οὐ πείσεσθαι αὐτῶ. — Plato *Sph.* 216a Κατὰ τὴν χθὲς ὁμολογίαν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἤκομεν | αὐτοῖ τε κοσμίως | καὶ τόνδε τινὰ ξένον ἄγομεν, ... — Lysias 3,45 ἐν Κορίνθῳ γάρ, | ἐπειδὴ ὕστερον ἦλθε τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μάχης | καὶ τῆς εἰς Κορώνειαν στρατείας, | ἐμάχετο τῷ ταξιάρχῳ Λάχῃ | καὶ ἔτυπεν αὐτόν. — Lysias 1,7 ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, | ὃ Ἀθηναῖοι, | πασῶν ἦν βελτίστη· — Lysias 10,1 ἐν ἐκείνῳ γάρ τῷ ἀγῶνι | τὸν πατέρα μ' ἔφασκεν ἀπεκτονέειν τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ. — Lysias 14,23 ἐκ γάρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων | δικαίως ἄν αὐτοῦ θάνατον καταψηφίζοισθε. — Lysias 27,16 εὐ εἰδότες ὅτι | ἐν μὲν τῇ ψήφῳ | οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖτε | ἢ ὀνειδίζετε τοῖς ἀδικούσιν, | ἐν δὲ τῷ τιμῆματι | τιμωρεῖσθε τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας.

(3) *Fronted markers*

Throughout Part I, it has been shown that introductory particles, as well as sentence adverbs, often can be argued to be fronted in a separate colon, especially if followed by a /q/-particle, and especially if they have scope over complex structures. The following examples illustrate this pattern.

(a) *Modal sentence adverbs*

Lysias 6,12 ὅμως μέντοι | ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ τούτου τοιούτου ὄντος πράγματ' ἔχοι, δοὺς ἀργύριον ἀπηλλάγη. — Plato *Cra.* 391a ἴσως μέντοι | οὐ ῥάδιόν ἐστιν οὕτως ἐξαιφνης πεισθῆναι, ... — Plato *Cra.* 429d ὅμως μέντοι | εἰπέ μοι τοσόνδε· — Plato *Plt.* 257a Τάχα δέ [γε], ὃ Σώκρατες, ὀφειλήσεις ταύτης τριπλασίαν· ... — Plato *Sph.* 258a Ὁμοίως ἄρα | τὸ μὴ μέγα καὶ τὸ μέγα αὐτὸ εἶναι λεκτέον; — Plato *Sph.* 261a Κομιδῆ δέ γε, | ὃ ξένε, ἔοικεν ἀληθὲς εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν κατ' ἀρχὰς λεχθέν, ... — Plato *Plt.* 282e ἴσως γάρ | ὁ διορισμὸς | ἔγκαιρος ἄν σοι γένοιτο.

(b) *Spatio-temporal modal adverbs*

Lysias 8,15 εὐθύς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὸν Μηνόφιλον ἐβάδιζε μετ' ἐμοῦ. — Lysias 24,3 ἤδη τοῖνυν, | ὃ βουλή, | δηλὸς ἐστι φθονῶν, — Plato *Cra.* 434b Ἦδη τοῖνυν | καὶ σὺ κοινῶν τοῦ λόγου οὐπερ ἄρτι Ἐρμογένης. — Lysias 18,20 νῦν δ' | ἐπίστασθε ὅτι | τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀφανίζεται, | τὰ δὲ πολλοῦ ἄξια ὄντα ὀλίγου πιπράσκειται. — Lysias

22,17 νύν δε | πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ἂν δόξαίτε ποιεῖν, εἰ — Lysias 34,9 νύν δε, | ἐπεὶ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπάντων μάχη ἐστερημέθα, ἡ δὲ πατρὶς ἡμῖν λέλειπται, ἴσμεν ὅτι ὁ κίνδυνος οὗτος μόνος ἔχει τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας. — Plato *Cra.* 420a-b "ἔρωσ" δέ, | ὅτι εἰσρεῖ ἔξωθεν | καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἐστὶν ἡ ροὴ αὕτη τῷ ἔχοντι | ἀλλ' ἐπίσακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, | διὰ ταῦτα | ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσρεῖν | "ἔσρος" τό γε παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο | — τῷ γὰρ οὐ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὧ ἐχρώμεθα — | νύν δ' | "ἔρωσ" κέκληται διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὧ ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐ μεταλλαγῆν. — Plato *Sph.* 261c νύν δ' | ἐπεὶ, | ὠγαθέ, | τοῦτο ὃ λέγεις διαπεπέρανται, τό τοι μέγιστον ἡμῖν τείχος ἡρημένον ἂν εἴη, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἤδη ῥάω καὶ σμικρότερα. — Plato *Th.* 143d νύν δε | ἦττον γὰρ ἐκείνους ἢ τούσδε φιλῶ, — Plato *Th.* 169d νύν δε | τάχ' ἂν τις ἡμῶς ἀκύρους τιθεῖ τῆς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ὁμολογίας. — Plato *Sph.* 261c νύν δ' | ἐπεὶ, | ὠγαθέ, | τοῦτο ὃ λέγεις διαπεπέρανται, τό τοι μέγιστον ἡμῖν τείχος ἡρημένον ἂν εἴη, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἤδη ῥάω καὶ σμικρότερα. — Plato *Th.* 143d νύν δε | ἦττον γὰρ ἐκείνους ἢ τούσδε φιλῶ, ...

(c) *Other adverbs used as discourse markers*

Lysias 1,9 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, | ὧ ἄνδρες, | (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι) | οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, — Lysias 1,9 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, | ὧ ἄνδρες, (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι) οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ... — Lysias 1,3 οὕτως, | ὧ ἄνδρες, | ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι δεινοτάτην ἡγοῦνται ... — Lysias 28,6 οὕτως, | ὧ ἄνδρες | Ἀθηναῖοι, | ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνέπληντο καὶ (τῶν) ὑμετέρων ἀπέλαυσαν, ἀλλοτρίους τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦς ἡγήσαντο.

(d) *Introductory particles*

Lysias 3,26 ἀλλὰ γὰρ, | ὧ βουλὴ, πάντα αὐτῷ ταῦτα σύγκειται — Lysias 3,44 οὐ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐρᾶν τε καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, ἀλλὰ | τὸ μὲν τῶν εὐθεσετέρων, | τὸ δὲ τῶν πανουργοτάτων. — Lysias 7,33 καίτοι | πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαίτε δικαιότερον εἶναι τοῖς μεγάλοις χρῆσθαι τεκμηρίοις περὶ τῶν μεγάλων, ... — Lysias 12,82 ἀλλὰ γὰρ | εἰ τὰ χρήματα τὰ φανερά δημεύσαίτε, | καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ... — Plato *Cra.* 400b Ἀλλὰ δὴ | τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο | πῶς φῶμεν ἔχειν; — Plato *Th.* 155c Καὶ | νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς γε, ὧ Σόκратες, ὑπερφυῶς ὡς θαυμάζω τί ποτ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα, .. — Plato *Ph.* 265a Καὶ μὴν | ἐφ' ὃ γε μέρος | ὠρμηκεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, | ἐπ' ἐκείνο | δύο τινὲς καθορᾶν ὁδῶ τεταμένα φαίνεται, ... — Plato *Cra.* 386d Οὐκοῦν | εἰ | μῆτε πᾶσι πάντα ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ἅμα καὶ αἰεὶ, | μῆτε ἐκάστω ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον [τῶν ὄντων ἐστίν], | δῆλον δὴ ὅτι ... — Plato *Cra.* 406d Οὐκοῦν | τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ὄνομα αὐτῆς | οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν δι' ὃ κείται. — Plato *Th.* 170a Οὐκοῦν, | ὧ Πρωταγόρα, | καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄνθρωποι, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων δόξας λέγομεν, — Plato *Th.* 183b Οὐκοῦν, | ὧ Θεόδωρε, | τοῦ τε σοῦ ἐταίρου ἀπηλλάγμεθα, καὶ οὐπω συγχωροῦμεν αὐτῷ πάντ' ἄνδρα πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον εἶναι, ἂν μὴ φρόνιμός τις ἦ· — Plato *Th.* 192e Οὐκοῦν | καὶ ἂ μὴ οἶδε, | πολλάκις μὲν ἔστι μὴδὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι, πολλάκις δὲ αἰσθάνεσθαι μόνον; — Plato *Th.* 149a Εἶτα, | ὧ καταγέλαστε, οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι ὑὸς μαίας μάλα γενναίας τε καὶ βλοσυρᾶς, Φαιναρέτης; — Plato *Sph.* 261c νύν δ' | ἐπεὶ, | ὠγαθέ, | τοῦτο ὃ λέγεις διαπεπέρανται, τό τοι μέγιστον ἡμῖν τείχος ἡρημένον ἂν εἴη, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἤδη ῥάω καὶ σμικρότερα. — Plato *Cra.* 435b ἐπεὶ, | ὧ βέλτιστε, | εἰ ἴθελεις ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν, πῶθεν οἶε ἔξιν ὀνόματα ὅμοια ἐνὶ ἐκάστω τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐπενεγκεῖν, ... — Lysias 6,38 ὡς οὖν οὐδὲν προσήκει Ἀνδοκίδῃ τῶν συνθηκῶν, | περὶ τούτου λέξω, | οὕτε | μὰ τὸν Δία | τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἅς ὑμεῖς συνέθεσθε, | οὕτε | ὧν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν [τῷ] ἄστει οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς.

(e) *Subordinating conjunctions and complementizers*

Lysias 24,2 εἰ μὲν γὰρ | ἔνεκα χρημάτων με συκοφαντεῖ—· εἰ δ' | ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτοῦ με τιμωρεῖται, | ψεύδεται· — Lysias 13,50 "διότι" φησὶν "ἔδοξε ἀλαθηῆ εἰσαγγεῖλαι". —

Lysias 32,18 *ὥστε*, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μηδένα τῶν παρόντων δύνασθαι φθέγγασθαι, — Lysias 21,17 *ὥστ'* | οὐκ ἄν εἰκότως | ἕτεροί με ἐξαιτήσαιντο παρ' ὑμῶν, | ἀλλὰ | καὶ εἰ τις τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίζετο, | ὑμᾶς ἄν ἤξιουν | ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὴν χάριν, | καὶ εἰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐκινδύνευον, | ὑμᾶς εἶναι τοὺς δεομένους ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ. — Lysias 3,40 *ὅτι μὲν οὖν*, | ὃ βουλή, οὐδενὸς αἰτίας εἰμι τῶν γεγενημένων, ἰκανῶς ἀποδοδεῖχθαι νομίζω — Lysias 17,10 *Ὅτι μὲν*, | ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | οὐ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον | ἀξιῶ μοι ψηφίσασθαι τὸ διαδίκασμα, | ἀλλ' | *αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει πολλὰ τῶν ἐμαντοῦ ἀφείς* | τοῦτο! ? ἀξιῶ μοι ἀποδοθῆναι, | ἀποδέδεικται. — Plato *Tht.* 154c *Ἐὰν μὲν*, | ὃ Σώκратες, | τὸ δοκοῦν πρὸς τὴν νῦν ἐρώτησιν ἀποκρίνωμαι, ... — Plato *Cra.* 403b *ὅτι τε γάρ*, | ἐπειδὴν ἀπαξ τις ἡμῶν ἀποθάνῃ, αἰεὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστίν, φοβοῦνται, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ γυμνὴ τοῦ σώματος παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέρχεται, καὶ τοῦτο πεφόβηται. — Plato *Tht.* 208c *Οἶον*, | εἰ βούλει, | ἡλίου πέρι | ἰκανὸν οἶμαι σοὶ εἶναι ἀποδέξασθαι, ὅτι τὸ λαμπρότατόν ἐστι τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἰόντων περὶ γῆν.

(f) *Illocutionary markers: interrogatives, negatives and assertives*

Plato *Cra.* 438c Πότερα, ὃ ἄριστε, τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν ἄγοντα ἢ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν φοράν; — Plato *Tht.* 200 Πότερον, ὃ βέλτιστοι, ἀμφοτέρως τις εἰδώς, ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνην, ἦν οἶδεν, ἕτερον αὐτὴν οἶταί τινα εἶναι ὧν οἶδεν; ... — Plato *Sph.* 257e κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον | *ἄρα* | μᾶλλον μὲν τὸ καλὸν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τῶν ὄντων, ἦττον δὲ τὸ μὴ καλόν; — Plato *Plt.* 262b Πῶς, ὃ ξένη, λέγεις τοῦτο; — Plato *Tht.* 202d *Ἄρ'*, ὃ Θεαίτητε, νῦν οὕτω τῆδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰλήφαμεν ὃ πάλαι καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ζητοῦντες πρὶν εὐρεῖν κατεγήρασαν; — Plato *Sph.* 221d *Ἄρ'* | ὃ πρὸς θεῶν ἠγνοήκαμεν τάνδρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὄντα συγγενῆ; — Plato *Plt.* 285d *Ἦ* που | τὸν τῆς ὑφαντικῆς γε λόγον | αὐτῆς ταύτης ἕνεκα θηρεῦειν | οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐθελήσειεν νοῦν ἔχων. — Lysias 21,17 *ὥστ'* | οὐκ ἄν εἰκότως | ἕτεροί με ἐξαιτήσαιντο παρ' ὑμῶν, | ἀλλὰ | καὶ εἰ τις τῶν ἐμῶν φίλων τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἠγωνίζετο, | ὑμᾶς ἄν ἤξιουν | ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὴν χάριν, | καὶ εἰ παρ' ἄλλοις ἐκινδύνευον, | ὑμᾶς εἶναι τοὺς δεομένους ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

(4) *Fronted verbs*

It has already been pointed out in section 5.2.2 above that a number of verb forms can be expected to take P1 in a colon in certain specific uses. Some of these can be shown to regularly occur in a separate fronted colon, especially if they introduce a complement clause (which may be complex). I will just mention two obvious classes in which this pattern is quite usual.

(a) *Modal verbs*

A number of verbs (or verb-like predicates) have the function of marking the epistemic and/or illocutionary status of the contents of their complement clause (whether it is something that really happened, something probable, wished for, ...). These verbs are very frequently fronted in a separate colon (not unlike some markers which have similar functions, see paragraph (3) here above): Plato *Cra.* 417b *Ἔοικεν*, | ὃ Ἐρμόγενης, | ... , οὐ ταύτη λέγειν μοι δοκεῖ τὸ "λυσιτελοῦν," ἀλλ' ὅτι ... — Plato *Tht.* 183a *δεῖ δὲ* | οὐδὲ τοῦτο <τὸ> "οὔτω" λέγειν | — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι κοινοῖτο <τὸ> "οὔτω" — | οὐδ' αὖ "μὴ οὔτω" | — οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο κίνησις — | ἀλλὰ τιν' ἄλλην φωνὴν θετέον τοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον λέγουσιν, ... — Lysias 13,3 *δεῖ δ'* *ὑμᾶς*, | ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπάντων ἀκοῦσαι, ... — Lysias 25,23 *χρὴ τοίνυν*, | ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | τοῖς πρότερον γεγενημένοις παραδείγμασι χρωμένους βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι, — Plato *Plt.* 265a

ἔξεστιν οὖν | ὁποτέραν ἂν βουλευθῶμεν, | ταύτην πορευθῆναι. — Plato *Th.* 186e *Οὐκ ἄρ' ἂν εἴη ποτέ*, | ὃ Θεαίτητε, αἴσθησίς τε καὶ ἐπιστήμη ταυτόν. — Plato *Cra.* 421d *εἴη μὲν οὖν* | ἴσως ἂν | τι τῆ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τοιοῦτον αὐτῶν, | *εἴη* δέ | κἂν ὑπὸ παλαιότητος τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀνεύρετα εἶναι.

(b) *Reporting and/or epistemic verbs*

Another type of verbs which can be expected to very frequently constitute a fronted colon is the class of reporting verbs (*verba dicendi, percipiendi, sentiendi...*). These verbs can be accompanied by the reporting subject (which, however, may also be fronted as a topic-NP):¹⁷⁶ *Lysias* 1,4 *ἡγοῦμαι* δέ, | ὃ ἄνδρες, | τοῦτό με δεῖν ἐπιδειξαι, | ὡς ἐμοίχευεν Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν ... — Plato *Th.* 144d-e *φησὶν γὰρ Θεόδωρος* | ἔχειν με σοὶ ὅμοιον. — Plato *Sph.* 266d-e *Τῆς* τοίνυν εἰδωλουργικῆς | *ἀναμνησθῶμεν* ὅτι | τὸ μὲν | εἰκαστικόν, | τὸ δὲ | φανταστικόν ἔμελλεν εἶναι γένος, | εἰ τὸ ψεῦδος ὄντως ὄν ψεῦδος καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἔν τι φανείη πεφυκός. — Plato *Th.* 158e *λέγουσι* δέ, | ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, | οὕτως *ἐρωτῶντες*. "Ω Θεαίτητε, — *Lysias* 25,25 *εὐ γὰρ εἴσεσθε* ὅτι, ἃ μὲν οὗτοι συμβουλεύουσιν, οὐδέπποτε ὑμῖν ἐλυσιτέλησεν, ... — *Lysias* 2,1 *διὰ* τοῦτο | καὶ ἡ πόλις μοι δοκεῖ, | προνοουμένη τῶν ἐνθάδε λεγόντων, | ἐξ ὀλίγου τὴν πρόσταξιν ποιεῖσθαι, | *ἡγουμένη* | οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα | συγγνώμης αὐτοῦς *παρὰ* τῶν ἀκουσάντων τυγχάνειν. — Plato *Cra.* 418a *θέασαι*, | ὃ Ἐρμόγενης, | ὡς ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω | λέγων ὅτι ... — *Lysias* 1,30 *Ἀκούετε*, | ὃ ἄνδρες, | ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου ... διαρρήδην εἴρηται ... (cf. *Lysias* 1,32 *Ἀκούετε*, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὅτι κελεύει, ... — *Lysias* 14,6 — *Lysias* 19,58) — *Lysias* 1,21 *ἐπειδὴ* δέ πάντα εἴρητο αὐτῇ, *εἶπον* *ἐγὼ*, "ὅπως τοίνυν ταῦτα μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πεύσεται. ... — Plato *Cra.* 409d *ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν* !? πῦρ | κατὰ τίνα τρόπον καλεῖται;

Of course, besides these specific cases, verbs may be fronted for other reasons as well, for instance in the following cases:

- In a number of cases a verbal constituent is fronted for the sake of emphasis (see here below), as in Plato *Sph.* 239d *σκοπεῖν* οὖν, | ὃ Θεαίτητε, | *χρῆ* | τί τις τῷ νεανίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἀποκρινεῖται. or Plato *Sph.* 233d *λάβωμεν* τοίνυν | σαφέστερόν τι παράδειγμα περὶ τούτων.¹⁷⁷ It has already been noted that imperatives, first person subjunctives 'deliberationis', etc. tend towards P1. In many cases these verb forms also are autonomous.
- Among the autonomous participles reviewed in section 10.2.1 above, the majority is fronted with respect to the segment containing the main verb as in Plato *Cra.* 388b *Κερκίζοντες* δέ | τί δρῶμεν; and Plato *Plt.* 291d *Τρεῖς* δ' οὐσαι | μῶν οὐ πέντε τρόπον τινὰ γίγνονται, δύ' ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἄλλα πρὸς αὐταῖς ὀνόματα τίκτουσαι;

(5) *Other types of fronting (especially emphatic fronting)*

In a number of cases a fronted constituent does not seem to have the usual 'thematic' or 'guidepost'-like function which it has in most of the cases discussed in the above, but

¹⁷⁶ Cf. also a complex combination of two reporting verbs, fronted together in Plato *Sph.* 251e *Καὶ* *πιθῶμέν* γε αὐτοῦς *λέγειν*, | εἰ βούλει, | πρῶτον | μηδενὶ μηδὲν μηδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν κοινωνίας εἰς μηδέν. Here as well, the fronted part sets up frame which is filled in by the more contentful complement clause.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Plato *Sph.* 261c *Λόγον* δὴ πρῶτον καὶ δόξαν, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδὴ, λάβωμεν, ἵνα ἐναργέστερον ἀπολογισώμεθα πότερον Note that the same form in a similar sense is colon-autonomous in this example as well.

appears to contain the most salient information of the entire segment, after which much less salient (often given) elements are added in a separate colon or separate cola. In section 13.3.3 I will discuss the pragmatic and/or cognitive aspects of this discourse strategy, which is the converse of the usual thematization-strategy to which most types of fronting correspond. Here, I will simply enumerate a few cases in which ‘emphatic fronting’ seems to occur.

- (i) In some cases of emphatic fronting there seems to be a lexico-semantic factor involved, in that some words seem to have a lexically determined emotional overtone which makes them liable to be used emphatically, for instance words expressing a negative or positive value, extreme points of some scale (e.g. superlatives), etc. (see already section 5.1(2)): Lysias 6,20 ἐλπίζω μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν | καὶ δώσειν δίκην, | θαυμάσιον δὲ | οὐδὲν ἄν μοι γένοιτο. — Plato *Th.* 185d Ὑπέρευ, | ὦ Θεαίτητε, | ἀκολουθεῖς, | καὶ ἔστιν ἃ ἐρωτῶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα. — Plato *Th.* 154d Εὖ γε | νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, | ὦ φίλε, | καὶ θείως. | ἀτάρ, | ὡς ἔοικεν, | ἐάν ἀποκρίνη ὅτι ἔστιν, | Εὐριπίδειόν τι συμβήσεται. — Plato *Th.* 163e Ἀλλὰ δεινόν, | ὦ Σώκρατες, | τοῦτό γε φάναι;
- (ii) In other cases the emphasis on the fronted word or constituent is determined by the usual contextual features. In many cases the fronted constituent is contrastive, but other types of focus can give rise to fronting as well.

A typical case of a fronted contrastive element involves negated information. The speaker first negates what s/he thinks the addressee might have in mind, and only then -the most urgent business being finished- adds e.g. the topic and/or the reasons for his/her saying what s/he says: Lysias 1,16 "Εὐφίλητε" | ἔφη | "μηδεμιᾶ πολυπραγμοσύνη | προσεληλυθέναι μὲ νόμιζε πρὸς σέ· ...". For further analysis of this very clear and interesting case, see section 17.2 below. — Lysias 17,10 "Ὅτι μὲν, | ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | οὐ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον | ἀξιῶ μοι ψηφίσασθαι τὸ διαδίκασμα, | ἀλλ' | αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει πολλὰ τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀφείς | τοῦτο !? ἀξιῶ μοι ἀποδοθῆναι, | ἀποδέδεικται.

Other types of contrast qualify equally well. In Plato *Th.* 207c ΘΕΑΙ. Οὐκοῦν εὖ δοκεῖ σοι, ὦ Σώκρατες; / ΣΩ. Εἰ σοί, ὦ ἑταῖρε, δοκεῖ, ... Socrates replaces Theaetetus' notion that Socrates is the one who has to agree is by the notion that *Theaetetus himself* has to agree. In Plato *Sph.* 257b-c, the highly counter-suppositional notion of ‘opposite’ (the -at this point in the dialogue- novel idea that “negative equals opposite” is at issue) is fronted, even extraposed out of the subordinate ὅταν-clause: Οὐκ ἄρ', ἐναντίον ὅταν ἀπόφασις λέγεται σημαίνειν, συγχωρησόμεθα, τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων τί μὴνυεὶ τὸ μὴ καὶ τὸ οὐ προτιθέμενα τῶν ἐπιόντων ὀνομάτων, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ ἅτι' ἂν κέηται τὰ ἐπιφθεγγόμενα ὕστερον τῆς ἀποφάσεως ὀνόματα.

Finally, note the following example of a brand-new (non-contrastive) focused element which is fronted: Lysias 1,16 "ἔστι δ'" ἔφη "Ερατοσθένους Ὁῆθεν | ὁ ταῦτα πρᾶττων, ...".¹⁷⁸ Note that the topic (in the sense of ‘what the segment is about’) of this segment is ὁ ταῦτα πρᾶττων and that Eratosthenes' name is the single most important information that the old woman informer has to give to Euphiletus (see section 17.2). Obviously, the ‘first set up a frame, then fill it out’-strategy is not

¹⁷⁸ For the position of ἔφη, see section 10.5(2) below.

followed here; on the contrary, in this stretch of discourse -as it is presented- the most salient and new information “it is Eratosthenes” is ‘spilled’ first, after which what this is all about has to be added.

One more type of fronting has to be mentioned, which may be related to emphatic fronting: as has already been noted by Fraenkel (see Table 0.1b, type E2), elements of a question (or another type of remark) by a first speaker which are echoed by the reply by a second speaker often are fronted, as in the following cases: Plato *Tht.* 186e ΣΩ. Τί οὖν δὴ ἐκείνω ἀποδίδως ὄνομα, τῷ ὄραν ἀκούειν ὀσφραίνεσθαι ψύχεσθαι θερμαίνεσθαι; / ΘΕΑΙ. Αἰσθάνεσθαι !? ἔγωγε· | τί γὰρ ἄλλο; — Plato *Plt.* 265a NE. ΣΩ. Τί δέ; ἀμφοτέρας ἀδύνατον; / ΞΕ. Ἔμα γ’, ὦ θαυμαστέ· ἐν μέρει γε μὴν | δῆλον ὅτι δυνατόν. / NE. ΣΩ. Ἐν μέρει τοίνυν !? ἔγωγε | ἀμφοτέρας ἀίροῦμαι.¹⁷⁹

(6) *Complex or multiple fronting*

Ancient Greek -unlike English- allows for multiple fronting, i.e. for the accumulation of constituents of the types mentioned in this section at the left boundary of a major discourse segment. In such a case, the left-most fronted segment can be expected to have scope over the following one, etc. For instance, a sentence can start with fronted marker, followed by a fronted topic, followed by a fronted sub-topic, having scope over a parallel structure in which each member in its turn starts with a fronted marker, etc. The fact that English -generally speaking- does not allow for multiple fronting is one of the obvious difficulties of translating Greek discourse into English (for examples and discussion, see sections 11 and 12 below).

Consider the following examples:

- (i) Plato *Tht.* 210b Οὐκοῦν | ταῦτα μὲν πάντα | ἡ μαιευτικὴ ἡμῖν τέχνη | ἀνεμιαῖα φησι γεγενῆσθαι | καὶ οὐκ ἄξια τροφῆς;
The fact that the last two cola are really separate segments is ascertained by (a) the P2 of φησι and the P1 of καὶ οὐκ, and (b) the fact that both cola are members of a contrastive structure. This complex VP is preceded by a fronted subject ἡ μαιευτικὴ ἡμῖν τέχνη, the segmentation of which is also ascertained by the P2 of ἡμῖν. This fronted subject is in its turn preceded by another fronted argument-NP ταῦτα μὲν πάντα, with μὲν in P2. The whole is introduced by a fronted marker Οὐκοῦν, having scope over the whole clause (and possibly beyond).
- (ii) Plato *Sph.* 224b Τῆς δὴ ψυχεμπορικῆς ταύτης | ἄρ’ οὐ | τὸ μὲν | ἐπιδεικτικὴ δικαιοσύνη λέγεται ἄν, | τὸ δὲ | γελοῖον μὲν !? οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ πρόσθεν, | ὅμως δὲ | μαθημάτων οὐσαν πρᾶσιν !? αὐτὴν !? ἀδελφῷ τινι τῆς πράξεως ὀνόματι προσεῖπεν ἀνάγκη;
The first colon Τῆς δὴ ψυχεμπορικῆς ταύτης is an obvious fronted topic NP, preceding the fronted question-marker ἄρ’ οὐ, both fronted with respect to the main clause proper (starting with τὸ μὲν). The main clause proper is in its turn dominated by the binary contrast τὸ μὲν-τὸ δὲ. Within both contrasted members, τὸ μὲν resp. τὸ δὲ again are fronted topic-NPs. Within the member introduced by τὸ δὲ a parallel μὲν-δέ structure is generated. Again, the constituents which carry μὲν and δέ may be argued to constitute separate fronted cola.

¹⁷⁹ For the status of ἔγωγε in both examples, see section 10.5(2c) below.

- (iii) Lysias 8,15 μετὰ τοῦτο | Αὐτοκράτης | ἐμοῦ παρόντος | Θρασυμάχῳ ἔλεγεν | Εὐρυπτόλεμον αὐτῷ μέμφεσθαι, | φάσκοντα | κακῶς ἀκούειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.
- In this example hardly any lexical cues appear which ascertain the colon-status of the three cola preceding the segment with the main finite verb. Still, the fact that ἐμοῦ παρόντος (note the preferential pronoun in P1) is a genitivus absolutus is a strong indication for its status as a fronted participle clause. In that case, μετὰ τοῦτο Αὐτοκράτης is evidently best analyzed as consisting of two fronted cola as well: μετὰ τοῦτο is a PP with an obvious marker status; Αὐτοκράτης, being the subject of the clause, belongs to a readily recognizable type of fronted NPs as well.

10.2.5 Problems: rest-cola and short parentheses

In some cases the strict application of one or more of the established segmentation criteria yields –besides a number of ‘regular’ cola– a colon which does not seem to belong to any recognizable type. I have pointed out in section 0.2.4 that a similar phenomenon has been observed in the literature on intonation (cf. e.g. Cruttenden 1986/1997, 72). Here, I will review two types of contexts in which rest-cola seem to occur:

- (1) parallel structures determining the colon-status of their members, but leaving items outside these members ‘stranded’ (cf. the example in Cruttenden 1986/1997, 72: “I quite like HIM | but I LOATHE | and DETEST | his FATHER”¹⁸⁰);
- (2) the intrusion of short parentheses within what would otherwise be regular cola.

(1) *Rest-cola due to parallel structures*

First, a slightly problematic aspect concerning the **common grounds** for parallel structures should be noted: if two conjoiners have an element in common which is not repeated in the members, there are various possibilities as to the position of this common ground:

- (i) the common ground may be fronted in a separate colon, as in Lysias 16,19 ὥστε οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπ’ ὀψεως, | ὦ βουλή, οὔτε φιλεῖν οὔτε μισεῖν οὐδένα, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῖν, and many other examples quoted in the above;
- (ii) a common element may be placed in or after the first member (in that case, the second member is in a way elliptical), as in Plato *Sph.* 262a Οὐκοῦν | ἐξ ὀνομάτων μὲν μόνων συνεχῶς λεγομένων | οὐκ ἔστι ποτέ λόγος, | οὐδ’ αὖ ῥημάτων χωρὶς ὀνομάτων λεχθέντων.
- (iii) a common element may be placed in or after the second member (in that case, the first member is in a way elliptical), as in Lysias 13,90 εἰ μὲν οὖν | οὗτος μὲν ἐν ἄστει | ἡμεῖς δ’ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἦμεν, | εἶχον (ἄν) τινα λόγον αὐτῷ αἰ συνθηκαί· | νῦν δὲ | καὶ οὗτος ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἦν | καὶ ἐγὼ | καὶ Διονύσιος | καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες οἱ τοῦτον τιμωρούμενοι· ...¹⁸¹

The question as to the reasons for this alternation need not occupy us here. Suffice it to note the following effect:

¹⁸⁰ I have not taken over Cruttenden’s specific transcription conventions.

¹⁸¹ Also note the interesting case Lysias 4,8 ἢ δέ | τοτὲ μὲν | ἐμὲ περὶ πολλοῦ | τοτὲ δέ | τοῦτόν ᾧ ποιεῖσθαι ..., in which the subject of the main finite verb (ἢ δὲ) is fronted, and part of the remaining common ground (περὶ πολλοῦ) occurs in the first member and part of it (ᾧ ποιεῖσθαι) in the second.

- If the common element is in or after the first member, there is already an effect of closure after the first member, which can be interpreted as such; this makes the whole structure easier to process in real time.¹⁸²
- If the common element is in or after the second member, this yields a more integrated structure in which syntactic closure occurs at the end of the parallel structure, i.e. the whole structure must be planned before uttering it and this closure must be waited for by the addressee ('bracketing', see section 10.4 here below).

More pertinent to the present discussion is the matter of the status of the 'common elements' in cases (ii) and (iii): one can often not know for certain whether the common element constitutes a separate colon or not (hence the qualification 'in or after' in my description of the phenomena under scrutiny):

- Plato *Plt.* 292c Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοίνυν | ἄρ' ἐννοοῦμεν, ὅτι | τὸν ὅρον | οὐκ ὀλίγους οὐδὲ πολλούς, | οὐδὲ τὸ ἐκούσιον οὐδὲ τὸ ἀκούσιον, | οὐδὲ πενίαν οὐδὲ πλοῦτον !? γίγνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν χρεῶν, | ἀλλὰ τινα ἐπιστήμην, εἴπερ ἀκολουθήσομεν τοῖς πρόσθεν; After the fronted topic (also common ground), the three pairs of contrasted notions which make up the first member of the 'οὐκ X ἀλλά Y' pattern are followed by γίγνεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν χρεῶν, which is common to both members. The position of περὶ αὐτῶν might be an indication for the colon-status of this common element, which however as such does not look like a 'normal' segment.
- Likewise, in the following examples, the verb προσείπωμεν resp. ἀκηκόατε is common to both members of the μέν-δέ resp. καί-καί pattern: Plato *Sph.* 267d-e ὅμως δέ, | κἄν εἰ τολμηρότερον εἰρησθαι, | διαγνώσεως ἕνεκα | τὴν μὲν μετὰ δόξης μίμησιν | δοξομιμητικὴν προσειπόμεν, | τὴν δὲ μετ' ἐπιστήμης | ἱστορικὴν τινα μίμησιν. In this case, colon-status does not look plausible at all; — Lysias 3.21 Τὰ μὲν οὖν γεγενημένα | καὶ ἐμοῦ | καὶ τῶν μαρτύρων !? ἀκηκόατε· ...

(2) Segmentation problems involving short (quasi-)parenthetical expressions

The fact that short parentheses like vocatives, ἔφη or ὡς ἔοικε quite often occur on the boundary between two natural cola (typically after the first natural colon of a major segment) has already been noted by (i.a.) Fraenkel and has been illustrated in section 10.2.3 above. However, in some cases adopting the position of such a parenthetical expression as a criterion for segmentation yields awkward-looking rest-cola.

- (a) I will first review a number of types of cases in which the position of the (quasi-) parenthesis is - at least at first sight- problematic:
- (i) It has already been noted throughout Part I that some of the expressions under scrutiny appear to break word order rules in that the right boundary of the quasi-parenthesis is followed by a postpositive: Plato *Plt.* 277d Παραδείγματος, ὦ μακάριε, αὐ μοι | καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα αὐτὸ δεδέηκεν. — Plato *Tht.* 172a ἐνταῦθ', εἴπερ που, αὐ ὁμολογήσει σύμβουλόν τε συμβούλου διαφέρειν ...; — Plato *Plt.* 268d Τοῦτο τοίνυν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡμῖν ποιητέον — Plato *Plt.* 258d Δεῖ γε μὴν, ὦ Σώκρατες, αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ σὸν [sc. ἔργον] — Plato *Plt.* 265e Ταύτην δὴ | δεῖ | καθάπερ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡμῶς δίχα διαστέλλειν.

¹⁸² Note that the second (or later) member sometimes even looks like an afterthought-like addition, as in Plato *Tht.* 203b καὶ γὰρ δὴ, | ὦ Σώκρατες, | τὸ τε σίγμα | τῶν ἀφῶνων ἔστι, | ψόφος τις μόνον, | οἷον συριττούσης τῆς γλώττης· | τοῦ δ' αὐ βῆτα | οὔτε φωνὴ | οὔτε ψόφος, | οὐδὲ τῶν πλείστων στοιχείων.

- (ii) In the following two examples a NP with an article is interrupted so as to leave the noun stranded in an unusual way: Plato *Sph.* 223b Κατὰ δὴ τὸν νῦν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, λόγον, | ὡς ἔοικεν, | ... — Plato *Sph.* 242b δοκῶ μὲν γὰρ | τήνδ', ὦ παῖ, τὴν ὁδὸν | ἀναγκαιοτάτην ἡμῖν εἶναι τρέπεσθαι.
- (iii) In the next series of examples a vocative interrupts a potential formulaic unit: Lysias 14,17 δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἶναι, εἰ ... (established formula interrupted by vocative; εἶναι would be a bizarre rest-colon); — Plato *Sph.* 232e Καὶ πολλῶν γε, ὦ μακάριε, ἐτέρων. (potential unit interrupted); — Plato *Sph.* 225a Τῷ δὲ λόγοις πρὸς λόγους | τί τις, ὦ Θεαίτητε, ἄλλο εἶπη πλὴν ἀμφισβητητικόν; (formulaic unit indefinite + ἄλλος interrupted) — Plato *Sph.* 236e ὅπως γὰρ εἰπόντα χρῆ ψευδῆ λέγειν ἢ δοξάζειν ὄντως εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο φθεγξάμενον ἐναντιολογία μὴ συνέχεσθαι, παντάπασιν, ὦ Θεαίτητε, χαλεπὸν. (potential formulaic unit adverb degree + adjective interrupted); — Plato *Sph.* 216c τοῦτο μέντοι κινδυνεύει τὸ γένος | οὐ πολὺ τι ῥᾶον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν εἶναι διακρίνειν | ἢ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ· (εἶναι looks rather unlikely in P1 of a new colon); — Plato *Th.* 207c Εἰ σοί, ὦ ἑταῖρε, δοκεῖ, ... (formulaic unit interrupted).
- (iv) In the following series of examples, a single word is stranded without a recognizable reason for its colon-autonomy: Plato *Cra.* 398e Πόθεν, !? ὠγαθέ, !? ἔχῃ,¹⁸³ — Plato *Plt.* 280a Ποίῳν, !? εἰπέ, !? συγγενῶν; — Lysias 26,4 ἐγὼ δὲ | πρὸς τούτους τοὺς λόγους | οὐ χαλεπὸν !? οἶμαι !? ἀντειπεῖν· — Lysias 12,34 τοῦτο μέντοι | οὐ φεύγω, | ἄλλ' ὁμολογῶ σοι, !? εἰ βούλει, !? ἀντειπεῖν. — Plato *Th.* 161a Ἀνέξεται, !? ὦ Σώκρατες, !? Θεαίτητος· ... — Lysias 12,1 Οὐκ ἄρξασθαι μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, !? ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, !? τῆς κατηγορίας, | ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγοντι·
- (b) I propose to take into consideration two -at first sight- different elements that may help to explain the phenomena under scrutiny.
- (i) A first possible element of an explanation for this type of behavior may be to postulate that this kind of short idiomatic parentheses does not always have to occur on a natural colon boundary, but occasionally can interrupt the current colon, which then can continue as if the parenthesis had not been there. This account does not look implausible in the light of English constructions like “This is a case of - what one might be tempted to call - pathological nonsense” or “What - I am asking- is this?”. An interesting parallel can be drawn with the functions of pauses (including filled pauses):
- like pauses, these markers occur at natural boundaries;
 - like pauses they can occur in the middle of an IU/colon and signal emphasis on the following or preceding word (cf. Fraenkel's observations referred to in section 0.1.1; cf. also Cruttenden 1986/1997, 30-32, on pauses occurring before words of high lexical content).

Thus, the difference between a ‘hesitance pause’ (or -which comes down to the same thing- a **(filled) pause for the sake of emphasis**), a filled pause (“uh”), a pause filled with a lexical filler like ‘you know’, and the occurrence of one of the expressions

¹⁸³ For other examples with fronted interrogatives, see also Plato *Cra.* 438c Πότερα, ὦ ἄριστε, τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν ἄγοντα ἢ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν φορὰν; - Plato *Th.* 200a - Plato *Plt.* 257c - Plato *Plt.* 262b.

under scrutiny is only a matter of degree.¹⁸⁴ This account looks attractive in many of the cases quoted here above. See also, for instance, the following examples:

- Lysias 1,16 "ἔστι δ'" ἔφη "Ἐρατοσθένης Ὀῆθεν | ὁ ταῦτα πράττων, ... , already quoted for the emphatic fronting of ἔστι δ' Ἐρατοσθένης Ὀῆθεν: the position of ἔφη has the same effect as an IU-internal pause before an high-content constituent (cf. also a suspense-pause as in “and the winner is ...”);
- Plato *Plt.* 305e Τὴν δὲ | πασῶν τε τούτων ἄρχουσαν | καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ συμπάντων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐπιμελουμένην | καὶ πάντα συνυφαίνουσαν ὀρθότατα, | τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆ κλήσει περιλαβόντες τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, προσαγορεύοιμεν δικαιοτάτ' ἄν, ὡς ἔοικε, πολιτικῆν. Here, the position of ὡς ἔοικε clearly contributes to the emphasis on the word πολιτικῆν, which conveys the most salient (new) information in the clause anyway.

- (ii) A second element which seems to be relevant, is the point made about ‘**emphatic fronting**’ in section 10.2.4(5) above: in some cases the most salient part of a segment can be fronted in a separate colon, after which less salient information is simply added in a kind of rest-colon. In that case, the kind of parenthetical expressions can readily follow the fronted colon.

Note that both accounts need not be mutually exclusive and can be a matter of degree. In a slow and deliberate performance the emphatically fronted constituents are likely to be realized as a separate IU¹⁸⁵ and the added low-content information in another IU. In a less ponderous performance the two elements are likely to be merged in a single IU, and the potentially intervening quasi-parenthesis is a priori likely to undergo sandhi as well.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the expressions under scrutiny are likely to acquire a particle-like use themselves.¹⁸⁶ Accordingly, the behavior noted in the above can be interpreted as being related to the P2-tendency of regular particles. For instance, the oath-formula (and perhaps also the vocative) in Plato *Tht.* 154d Εὖ γε | νῆ τῆν Ἑραν, | ὦ φίλε, | καὶ θεῖως can be understood as a device that highlights the strong emphasis on Εὖ γε. Similarly the vocatives or other interactional expressions following fronted interrogatives can be interpreted as a focus-marker not so different from e.g. δῆτα (e.g. in Plato *Cra.* 398e Πόθεν, ὡγαθέ, ἔχω; and Plato *Plt.* 280a Ποίων, εἰπέ, συγγενῶν;).

- (c) As a corollary to the above remarks (assuming that they are basically correct), an interesting possible extension of this account can be formulated concerning the behavior of constituents marked by **the particle γε**.

One can argue a priori that the basic function of γε as a focus-particle which narrows down the referential scope of what is currently said to *at least* the item to which it belongs makes it particularly suited to accompany mitigating epistemic markers, not unlike οἶμαι or ὡς εἰκός. This use can be seen in expressions like Εἰκός γε and Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ as short answers to a

¹⁸⁴ Note that this account makes cognitive sense as well: the fact that these idiomatic expressions are formulaic and can be expected to require only a small processing effort makes them likely to pop up any time they are needed.

¹⁸⁵ Remember that in emphatic realizations even single syllables can get ad hoc IU status (cf. Cruttenden 1986/1997, 68).

¹⁸⁶ Cf. the particle-like behavior of what were originally full-blown curses in English and Dutch (“Damn good coffee.”; “Het is godverdomme toch niet waar zeker!”). Also cf. the behavior of quasi-parentheses like “of course”, “naturally”, “you know” or “again” which may be realized as fully parenthetical IUs but can also readily occur in the middle of an IU.

question (see also Ἐγωγε as a slightly mitigated yes-answer to a question such as “do you think/agree/know that ...?”). This type of expression can also be used in (quasi-)parenthetical expressions and tags: Plato *Cra.* 389b Πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. — Plato *Cra.* 437d Οὐκ οὖν | εἰκός γε. — Plato *Cra.* 416a Ἀποπὸν τι | νῆ Δία | ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ | καὶ χαλεπὸν συμβαλεῖν. — Plato *Th.* 184c Δι’ ὧν ἕκαστα αἰσθανόμεθα, | ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, | ὧ Σώκρατες, | μᾶλλον ἢ οἷς.

Starting from these observations, we can tentatively argue that many more of the constituents accompanied by γε have a similar quasi-parenthetical function, and behave like the quasi-parenthetical expressions discussed here above. This might account for a large number of cases in which γε does not take P2 within a ‘natural’ colon (see Table 4.2f and section 4.2(7)):

- (i) Some expressions are by virtue of their lexical content liable to function as modal markers, cf. the expressions of the type εἰκός γε and ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ mentioned here above, but see also e.g. Lysias 13,7 τούτους οὖν ἐβούλοντο !? ἀμῶς γέ πως !? ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι, ἵνα ῥαδίως ἂ βούλοιντο διαπράττειντο.
- (ii) In other cases a similar mitigating function can be attributed to expressions consisting of ‘regular’ lexical content, which, however, in the context has a mitigating or concessive function, and accordingly behaves like a quasi-parenthesis, often occurring after a focused item in P1 or as a tag after a salient and fronted content:¹⁸⁷ Plato *Cra.* 400b Πολλαχῆ μοι δοκεῖ | τοῦτό γε. — Plato *Cra.* 406d Ἀλλὰ μὴν | οὐδ’ Ἀθηναῖς | Ἀθηναίος γ ὧν, | ὧ Σώκρατες, | ἐπιλήση, | οὐδ’ Ἡφαιστού τε καὶ Ἄρεως. — Lysias 19,13 ὁ δὲ ὄρων αὐτούς | ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τε πεπιστευμένους | γεγονότας τε ἐπεικείς | τῆ (τε) πόλει !? ἔν γε τῷ τότε χρόνῳ !? ἀρέσκοντας, ... — Plato *Cra.* 420a-b “ἔρω” δέ, | ὅτι εἰσρεῖ ἔξωθεν | καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἐστὶν ἡ ροὴ αὐτῆ τῷ ἔχοντι | ἀλλ’ ἐπέισακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, | διὰ ταῦτα | ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσρεῖν | “ἔσρος” !? τό γε παλαιὸν !? ἐκαλεῖτο
- (iii) In this respect, special mention can be made of ἔγωγε which often occurs exactly in the position described in the above (after a focused item in P1), which may be compared to expressions like “as far as I’m concerned”. In some cases a (quasi-)parenthetical status looks plausible, in others a P2 position after an emphatic fronted constituent seems to be a better option: Plato *Th.* 209a ὀρθὴν !? ἔγωγε !? ἔχων δόξαν περὶ σοῦ, | ἐὰν μὲν προσλάβω τὸν σὸν λόγον, | γιγνώσκω δὴ σε, | εἰ δὲ μή, | δοξάζω μόνον.¹⁸⁸ — Plato *Cra.* 384d-e εἰ δὲ πῆ ἄλλη ἔχει, | ἔτοιμος !? ἔγωγε !? καὶ μανθάνειν | καὶ ἀκούειν | οὐ μόνον παρὰ Κρατύλου, | ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ’ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν. — Plato *Pl.* 265a Ἐν μέρει τοίνυν !? ἔγωγε !? ἀμφοτέρας αἰροῦμαι. — Lysias 13,49 Θαυμάζω δ’ !? ἔγωγε, | ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὅ τί ποτε τολμήσει πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπολογεῖσθαι. — Plato *Th.* 208e Νῦν δῆτα, | ὧ Θεαίτητε, | παντάπασιν !? ἔγωγε, | ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ὥσπερ σκιαγραφήματος γέγονα τοῦ λεγομένου, | συνήμι

¹⁸⁷ In some cases γε accompanies not a mitigating expression but an apposition with a ‘regular’ afterthought function, in which case the constituent is probably a regular separate colon of one of the types mentioned in section 10.2.3 above, for instance: Plato *Pl.* 296d-e Ἀλλ’ ἄρα, ..., τοῦτον δεῖ καὶ περὶ ταῦτα τὸν ὄρον εἶναι | τὸν γε ἀληθινώτατον | ὀρθῆς πόλεως διοικήσεως, ὃν ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ διοικήσει τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων; - Plato *Cra.* 419d παντὶ γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι | ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐ τοῖς πράγμασι τὴν ψυχὴν συμφέρεσθαι | τοῦτο ἔλαβε τὸ ὄνομα, | “εὐφεροσύνην” !? τό γε δίκαιον.

¹⁸⁸ The position of the low-content verb ἔχων makes the colon boundary just before it highly improbable.

οὐδὲ συμκρόν· — Plato *Th.* 201a Οὐδαμῶς | ἔγωγε! οἶμαι, | ἀλλὰ πείσαι μὲν. — Plato *Th.* 200d οὐ γὰρ ἔχω! ἔγωγε! ἄλλο οὐδέν. — Plato *Th.* 186e ΣΩ. Τί οὖν δὴ ἐκείνῳ ἀποδίδωσ ὄνομα, τῷ ὄρῶν ἀκούειν ὀσφραίνεσθαι ψύχεσθαι θερμαίνεσθαι; / ΘΕΑΙ. Αἰσθάνεσθαι | ἔγωγε· | τί γὰρ ἄλλο; — Plato *Th.* 154d Πάνυ μὲν οὖν! ἔγωγε | τοῦτ' ἄν βουλοίμην.

- (d) Finally, we can try to interpret some of the anomalous behaviors of the expression **μοι δοκεῖ** in the same vein.¹⁸⁹ In the following examples it can be seen that the expression either occurs right after the boundary of a regular fronted colon or in between a salient/emphatic constituent in P1 and less salient information following it:

- (i) In a first series of examples, μοι δοκεῖ is involved in an exception to various word order rules (see especially section 2.4.3): Plato *Cra.* 403a οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν! μοι δοκοῦσιν! ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸ ἀιδῆς προσειρησθαι τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα | "Πλούτωνά" | καλοῦσιν αὐτόν. — Plato *Cra.* 435d κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ! μοι δοκεῖς! λέγειν ὡς ... — Lysias 12,2 τοῦναντίον δέ! μοι δοκοῦμεν! πείσεσθαι — Plato *Sph.* 223a τὸν γὰρ σοφιστήν | μοι δοκοῦμεν! ἀνηρηκέναι. — Plato *Cra.* 386a οὐ πάνυ τι μέντοι! μοι δοκεῖ! οὕτως ἔχειν .
- (ii) In the following two examples, μοι takes a regular position, but note the fact that the entire expression follows a fairly emphatic (negated) notion in P1 and that it is integrated within the first member of a parallel structure: Lysias 12,1 Οὐκ ἄρξασθαί! μοι δοκεῖ! ἄπορον εἶναι, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ πάυσασθαί λέγοντι. — Lysias 3,44 οὐ γὰρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ! μοι δοκεῖ! εἶναι | ἐρᾶν τε καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, | ἀλλὰ | τὸ μὲν τῶν εὐηθεστέρων, | τὸ δὲ τῶν πανουργοτάτων.

10.3 Focus and the internal structure of the colon

Another important factor for the analysis of word order in terms of the Colon Hypothesis is focus (cf. section 0.3.4(1) above, for a very summary introduction and some references to the literature):

- Focus determines whether a large number of personal pronouns and indefinites are /r/-postpositive or /M/-mobile, which in turn determines their status in terms of mobility and postpositivity and hence their position within the colon.
- Focus also determines the distribution of Mobile words within the colon, which has implications for the segmentation issue (see below).

For the present purposes, i.e. concerning focus-related aspects of Ancient Greek word order and their implications for discourse segmentation, I will take the account in **Dover** 1960/1968, 32-65 (briefly introduced in section 0.3.4(1) above) as a starting point, either to follow it and build on it, or in some cases also to propose an alternative analysis for some less felicitous aspects of Dover's account.

¹⁸⁹ We have observed features of formulaicity and of a quasi-parenthetical status for expressions like τις ἂν εἴποι as well, but the examples in the present corpus do not fit the pattern under scrutiny here.

- (1) Dover starts his account of what is here called focus from the notions of ‘predictability’ and ‘dispensability’:
- **predictability**: by this term Dover means something very close to the notion of ‘given vs. new’ as it is understood in the more recent discourse analytical literature (see section 0.2.3(1) above);
 - **dispensability**: Dover intends this concept to be taken quite literally (especially in Ancient Greek): ‘dispensable’ words can be left out of an utterance without destroying its comprehensibility (sometimes grammatical adjustments would be necessary, of course).¹⁹⁰

A combination of these two parameters gives rise to a distinction that can be applied to individual words for the purposes of the analysis of word order in a running text, alongside the notions of prepositive, postpositive and introductive:

- **Nuclei** (=focused words): a word is a Nucleus if it is indispensable for the sense of the utterance in which it occurs *and* cannot be predicted from the context.
 - **Concomitants** (=non-focal words): a word is Concomitant if it is either dispensable or predicatable (or both, of course).
- (2) Dover’s analyses in terms of the Nucleus-Concomitant distinction lead in the first place to the formulation of a very important observation for our purposes. Dover comes to the conclusion that Concomitants often behave like postpositives, i.e. in such a way that the relative order of Nuclei and Concomitants is such that Concomitants typically follow the first Nucleus of a sentence/clause/colon (Dover 1960/1968, 41-46: “Treatment of Concomitants as postpositives”).¹⁹¹ In the light of our findings in the course of Part I of this study (especially section 7.2 above), these observations of Dover’s can easily be reformulated in terms of the Colon Hypothesis:

The P2-rule for Concomitants: unfocused words (Concomitants) tend toward P2 in the colon.¹⁹²

The P1-rule for Nuclei: P1 in the colon is reserved for focused words or word-like units (with the necessary but familiar provisos concerning units, as already explained in section 7.2 above).¹⁹³

These rules have important consequences for the purposes of the segmentation of Greek texts into cola: whenever we posit the presence of a colon boundary on the basis of any of the criteria discussed in Part II so far, the word (or word-like unit) that is in P1 in the colon thus distinguished should be interpretable as focused. If this is not the case, something is

¹⁹⁰ Dover’s examples include constructions with a low-content verb like ‘to have’ + its direct object, or a verb of position + a Place-complement, in which the argument is almost always carrying the main focus and the verb is merely there in order to meet syntactic requirements. For a very similar exercise, see section 13.1.5 above.

¹⁹¹ It is not entirely clear from Dover’s account which kind of segment he sees as the relevant domain for this and other rules. However, this ambiguity seems to be a problem throughout Dover 1960/1968 and related contributions. As explained throughout section 0.1, this issue was *the* starting point for the research published in this book.

¹⁹² This tendency is obviously related to the P2-rule for non-focal pronouns and indefinites, and the latter may be viewed as a fully grammaticalized version of the former: /r/-postpositives (except for the particle ᾗν) are all unfocused allomorphs of lexemes having also a full (=Mobile) allomorph.

¹⁹³ For the relation between P1 and focal status, cf. e.g. Janse 1991a and Fraser 2001.

wrong with our reading of the text (either with our segmentation into cola, or with our assessment of the status of individual words in terms of focality).

- (3) Apart from the above observations concerning their P2-tendency, Dover also mentions a number of seemingly different types of behavior by Concomitants.¹⁹⁴ I will briefly review Dover's observations on the patterns in which Concomitants seemingly do not behave like postpositives, and try to show that these patterns can be accounted for in other ways.

(i) *Treatment of Concomitants as prepositives (Dover 1960/1968, 48-49):*

Under this heading Dover mentions a number of uses of various low-content verbs occurring in P1. According to his 'dispensability' criterium, these words are indeed Concomitant. However, most of the instances Dover quotes are cases of 'modal', 'epistemic' or 'reporting' verbs ('think', 'seem', 'want', 'be willing', 'say', and also 'hope', 'know'; *δοκεῖ, νομίζω, ...*).¹⁹⁵ We have seen in section 10.2.4(4) above, that these types of verbs are quite likely to be fronted in a separate colon (cf. also 13.3.2(1) below on epistemic or illocutionary markers). Dover's intuition about these verbs can then also be accounted for: these fronted markers (as any other type of marker) are quite prone to merge with the following IU, depending on various performance factors (intonational sandhi).

(ii) *Treatment of Concomitants as preferentials (Dover 1960/1968, 49-53):*¹⁹⁶

Most of Dover's examples concern demonstratives or other referential NPs used anaphorically (which therefore, according to Dover, are predictable and hence Concomitant) and he makes special reference to 'antithesis' (including listings). Most of these examples are obviously fronted NPs (hence Dover's assessment of them as 'preferential'). Again, we can refer to the fact that these types of fronted NPs typically make up a separate colon in which they are, of course, focused (again, intonational sandhi may or may not occur in actual performance).

Dover also mentions similar 'preferential' behavior by "words which have some emotional force", and quotes the example of words meaning 'a lot' or 'all'. I find it hard to conceive how these words could *not* be focal. As for their behavior in word order, I have already pointed out that these words do tend towards P1, either in a separate fronted colon or not.¹⁹⁷

Note that the difference between the account I propose here above and Dover's mostly boil down to the fact that Dover does not segment as often as I do here and does not view this segmentation as an essential feature of discourse. In ways that strongly remind us of the issue of what domain is the relevant one for the definition of (for instance) autonomy (see section 1.1(2a) above), the notion of 'dispensability' is a relative one as well. Many of the

¹⁹⁴ Dover's account of *Concomitant groups* (Dover 1960/1968, 46-47) is almost trivial at this point and will not be discussed any further: predictably, Concomitants tend to cluster after a Nucleus, just like postpositives do.

¹⁹⁵ Dover also mentions 'to be', but I think he is wrong to include the use he has in mind (he only quotes *ἔστι* in Hdt. 3,81,2) within this otherwise homogeneous set.

¹⁹⁶ Under this heading, Dover also mentions a few cases in which only part of the word (or word-like unit) under scrutiny is predictable or dispensable (for instance focus on the tense of the verb or on the preposition in a PP). It seems obvious to me that these words or units should be viewed as focused.

¹⁹⁷ For the P1-tendency of quantifiers, see section 5.1(1c) above. For the tendency towards P1 (whether in a separate fronted colon or not) of such 'emphatic' words, see 5.1(2) above. For emphatic fronting see section 10.2.4(5) above.

words Dover views as Concomitant because they are dispensable from the point of view of the overall contents of the discourse, are not dispensable if viewed in terms of the way discourse is structured colon per colon. Thus, I argue Dover's criteria for focus (Nucleus-hood) are too limiting: a strict application of his criteria yields a number of Concomitants that can be argued to be actually focused. I come back to these issues in section 21.4 below.

- (4) This leaves us with the issue of the distribution of Nuclei, i.e. the way they are distributed over clauses which contain more than one Nucleus (Dover 1960/1968, 53-63). However, Dover has little to say about this -apparently problematic- matter, apart from a few interesting remarks on formulaic patterns. As this matter is best discussed in terms of **colon-order**, I will leave this aspect for further discussion in Part III (see especially sections 13.1.4, 13.1.5 and 21.4 below).
- (5) For the purposes of my analyses in section 11 and Part III below, the most important focus-related aspect is the P1-rule for focused words and word-like units and the P2-rule for unfocused items, as discussed in paragraph (2) here above. As for the nature of focus, I will stick to (i) New focus and (ii) Contrastive focus as the two broad types of Focus, as this distinction was introduced in section 0.3.2. In the course of Part III, I will also formulate a number of theoretical remarks concerning the ways in which the various types of Focus can be related to the pragmatic structure of discourse and the pragmatic functions of individual cola. Sections 13.1.5 and 21.4 specifically deal with focus.

10.4 Discourse-related and rhetorical aspects of Ancient Greek word order

In this section, I briefly mention a number of aspects of Ancient Greek word order that proved to be relevant for the purposes of my analyses below, but that did not fit in in any of the previous sections. Still, the various phenomena discussed below can neatly be tied together as illustrations of what Kurzová (1988) called 'bracketing phenomena'.

10.4.0 Bracketing phenomena ('positional frames')

In her article "Morphological semantics in the non-formalized sentence structure of Greek" (Kurzová 1988), Helena Kurzová argues that, due to the high degree of autonomy of the word and the fact that the functions of the nominal cases are often semantic rather than syntactic in Ancient Greek, the syntactic relations are somewhat underdetermined in the surface structure. In this context, she introduces the notion that -in order to compensate for that morphosyntactic underdetermination- Greek discourse is characterized by a number of 'bracketing' phenomena or 'positional frames' by means of which the position of certain items indicate the boundaries of grammatical (but -so I argue- also pragmatic) units, thus making clear 'what belongs with what'.

The intended devices comprise a whole range of rather heterogeneous phenomena, including the following ones:

- the variety and frequency of particles in Ancient Greek (plus the fact that they either occur at P1 or at P2 of a segment) can be viewed as a systemic compensation for syntactic underdetermination;

- the abundance of formulaic and stereotyped patterns, especially of correlative or corresponsive patterns (as described in traditional grammars), are obvious positional frames as well;
- word order phenomena such as the P2 and P1 rules in general, but also hyperbaton and the fact that verbs often take P-ult, are formal expressions of discourse segmentation;¹⁹⁸
- the flourishing of rhetorical devices such as homoeoteleuton and ‘anaphora’ (in the sense of ‘beginning with the same word’), pariosis, and period- and cyclus-formation (see section 10.4.4 here below) can be interpreted in the same vein.

These positional frames are in se relevant for the purpose of discourse segmentation, in that they can provide us with additional cues for segmenting the text, even in the absence of other criteria. Furthermore, they illustrate the fact that the P1, P2 and P-ult word order rules are part of a much wider set of mechanisms that together characterize Ancient Greek from a typological point of view (cf. section 7.3 above).

10.4.1 Verbs in P-ult

It has already been pointed out in section 5.2 above that verbs have a special syntactico-semantic status, which implies that they often ‘keep the syntactic structure of a clause together’ by assigning syntactico-semantic functions to the other constituents that make up that clause. This fact implies that, in real time processing, the functions of the various constituents cannot be interpreted before the verb has been uttered. Hence, the -highly frequent- occurrence of a verb in P-ult has de facto a bracketing effect. This is especially the case in subordinate final clauses, where the start of the clause is marked by the relative in P1 as well. This can be seen in the following examples:

- Plato *Cra.* 403b ὅτι τε γάρ, | ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ τις ἡμῶν ἀποθάνῃ, | ἀεὶ ἐκεῖ ἐστίν, φοβοῦνται, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ γυμνὴ τοῦ σώματος παρ’ ἐκείνον ἀπέρχεται, καὶ τοῦτο πεφύβηται· Note the embedding of two subordinate clauses in each other and the fact that the verbs in all five of the finite clauses occur in P-ult of their clause.
- Lysias 32,19 Ἄξιῶ τοίνυν, | ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | τῷ λογισμῷ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, | ἵνα | τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους | διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμφορῶν ἐλεήσητε, | τοῦτον δ’ ἅπασι τοῖς πολίταις ἄξιον ὀργῆς ἠγήσησθε. In this case the similarity of the endings and the entirely parallel construction of both members of the ἵνα clause contribute to the bracketing effect, beyond the mere ‘verb in P-ult’-effect (see section 10.4.3 below).
- Lysias 17,10 Ὅτι μὲν, | ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | οὐ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον | ἀξιῶ μοι ψηφίσασθαι τὸ διαδίκασμα, | ἀλλ’ | αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει πολλὰ τῶν ἔμαντοῦ ἀφεις | τοῦτο |? ἀξιῶ μοι ἀποδοθῆναι, | ἀποδέδεικται. The two consecutive verb forms ἀποδοθῆναι and ἀποδέδεικται (which do not belong together, as is clear from the fact that, in the real time development of the discourse, ἀποδοθῆναι has already received an interpretation by the fact that it is immediately preceded by the matrix predicate ἀξιῶ with which it forms a kind of unit) results in bracketing of both the subordinate and the main clause.

A similar effect as of a relative in P1 and the verb in P-ult can be observed with infinitival clauses introduced by the article, as in Lysias 1,1 Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, ὧ ἄνδρες,

¹⁹⁸ In the vein of Kurzová’s argument, the very abundance of words (note especially the particles) which obey these rules is significant as well.

τὸ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ δικαστὰς περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι, οἷοίπερ ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἴητε τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες·

10.4.2 Wide hyperbaton

A second type of bracketing effect occurs when the first and the last word of a segment syntactically belong closely together, most notably if they are linked by an agreement relation. This effect can be seen in the following cases: Lysias 9,21 *τίνι γὰρ ἐπαρθέντα ἐλπίδι* | δεῖ με συμπολιτεύεσθαι, ... (the bracketed segment coincides with an autonomous participle and is also ascertained by the position of *με*) — Lysias 10,26 *τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐμοὶ μείζων ταύτης γένοιτο συμφορά,* | περὶ τοιούτου πατρὸς | οὕτως αἰσχροῦς αἰτίας ἀκηκοῦσι; — Lysias 31,19 *ἀλλὰ* | κἄν ὅστισοῦν παραγένηται τῶν ἀδικηθέντων, | μέγα αὐτὸ ἠγήσασθε εἶναι, (here, the nominal part of the predicate and the copula are separated by the rest of the contents of the segment) — Plato *Cra.* 402c *τὸ μέντοι τῆς Τηθύος* !? οὐκ ἐννοῶ *ὄνομα* | τί βούλεται. — Plato *Cra.* 414a *Καὶ μὴν αὐτό γε τὸ "θάλλειν"* | *τὴν αὔξη* μοι δοκεῖ ἀπεικάζειν *τὴν τῶν νέων,* | ὅτι *ταχεῖα* καὶ ἐξαιφνιδία γίγνεται. — Plato *Cra.* 413e *ἐὰν οὖν τις ἐξέλη τὸ δέλτα τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἀνδρείας,* *αὐτὸ μνηύει τὸ ἔργον* | τὸ ὄνομα ἢ "ἀνρεία." — Plato *Plt.* 309c *Πρῶτον μὲν* | *κατὰ τὸ συγγενές* | *τὸ ἀειγενές ὄν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν μέρος* | *θείῳ συναρμοσαμένη δεσμῶ,* | μετὰ δέ τὸ θεῖον | τὸ ζωογενές αὐτῶν αἰθῆς | ἀνθρωπίνους. — Plato *Sph.* 216c *τοῦτο μέντοι κινδυνεύει τὸ γένος* | οὐ πολὺ τι ῥῆον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν εἶναι διακρίνειν ἢ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. — Plato *Sph.* 219b *σύμπαντα ταῦτα* | *δικαιοῦνται* ἂν | *ἐνὶ προσαγορευοῦν* ἂν *ὀνόματι.* — Plato *Sph.* 223b *Κατὰ δὴ τὸν νῦν,* ὦ Θεαίτητε, *λόγον,* | ὡς ἔοικεν, | *ἡ τέχνης οἰκειωτικῆς,* (χειρωτικῆς), [κτητικῆς,] *θηρευτικῆς,* *ζωοθηρίας,* [πεζοθηρίας,] *χερσαίας,* [ἡμεροθηρικῆς,] *ἀνθρωποθηρίας,* [πιθανοθηρίας], *ιδιοθηρίας,* [μισθαρνικῆς,] *νομισματοπωλικῆς,* *δοξοπαιδευτικῆς,* *νέων πλουσιῶν* καὶ *ἐνδόξων γιγνομένη θήρα* | *προσρητέον,* | ὡς ὁ νῦν *λόγος* ἡμῖν *συμβαίνει,* | *σοφιστικῆ.* (very spectacular bracketing between article and noun). — Plato *Sph.* 235a *· Γόητα μὲν δὴ καὶ μιμητὴν ἄρα* | *θετέον αὐτόν τινα.* — Plato *Sph.* 245d-e *Καὶ τοίνυν ἄλλα μυρία ἀπεράντους ἀπορίας ἕκαστον εἰληφὸς φανέεται* | *τῷ* τὸ ὄν εἴτε δύο τινὲ εἴτε ἐν μόνον εἶναι *λέγοντι.* — Plato *Tht.* 184a *καὶ μοι ἐφάνη* | *βάθος τι* ἔχειν *παντάπασι γενναῖον.* — Plato *Tht.* 196b *Οὐκοῦν* | *εἰς τοὺς πρώτους* *πάλιν ἀνήκει λόγους;* — Plato *Cra.* 409e *ἐννοῶ γὰρ ὅτι* | *πολλὰ οἱ* Ἑλληνες *ὀνόματα* | *ἄλλως τε* καὶ *οἱ* ὑπὸ τοῖς *βαρβάρους οἰκοῦντες* | *παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων εἰλήφασιν.*

These bracketing phenomena need not be and probably are not all due to the same causes (note however that the word in P1 is quite often emphatic¹⁹⁹). Within the scope of this study it is not possible to offer a proper analysis of the mechanisms involved. Suffice it to note that -at least in the cases quoted here above- the position of the parts of a split constituents seems to coincide with P1 resp. P-ult in a natural segment (potentially consisting of more than one colon).

10.4.3 Parallelism and chiasmus

Thirdly, various types of rhetorical parallelisms (and the formal features linked to these) can be counted among the bracketing phenomena as well.

¹⁹⁹ For a syntactic account of hyperbaton, which crucially involves the notion of focus, see Devine & Stephens 2000.

- (a) Thus, a number of the types of patterns discussed in section 10.2.2 above are characterized by various kinds of parallel wordings in the different members.

- Plato *Cra.* 437b

ἔτι τοίνυν |

ἢ "ἀμαθία" καὶ ἢ "ἀκολασία" | παραπλησία τούτοις φαίνεται |

ἢ μὲν γὰρ | τοῦ ἅμα θεῶ ἰόντος πορεία φαίνεται, | ἢ "ἀμαθία," |

ἢ δ' "ἀκολασία" | παντάπασιν ἀκολουθία τοῖς πράγμασι φαίνεται.

- Plato *Plt.* 263a

ἡμεῖς μὲν | καὶ νῦν |

μακροτέραν τοῦ δέοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ προτεθέντος λόγου πεπλανημέθα, |

σὺ δὲ |

ἔτι πλέον ἡμᾶς κελεύεις πλανηθῆναι.

Note that chiasmus involves at least one boundary between two corresponding segments: Plato *Tht.* 187c δυοῖν ὄντοι ἰδέαιν δόξης, | τοῦ μὲν ἀληθινοῦ, | ψευδοῦς δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου, | τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν ἐπιστήμην ὀρίζῃ; – Plato *Sph.* 217b ὁ δὲ ἰαυτὰ ἄπερ ?! πρὸς σὲ νῦν | καὶ τότε ἐσκήπτετο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. – Lysias 2,40 ... ἐκλιπόντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὰς ναῦς δ' ἐμβάντες, ...

- (b) It is worthwhile to briefly discuss Slings' account of the nature of **chiasmus**, as it proved to be a useful device for the purpose of my analyses in section 11 here below and throughout Part III of this study. **Slings** offers a primarily cognitive explanation for the difference between parallelism ('antithesis' in his terms) and chiasmus (Slings 1997a, 184-192). Consider the following example.

Example 10.4.3 (Slings 1997a, 186)

Question	How do you like European cities?
Answer	(a) Rome is nice, Paris is awful. (b) Rome I actually like a lot, but a city I really hate is Paris. (c) Rome is nice, awful is Paris.

Slings starts from the following observation: "When the four constituents A - B, A' - B' are relatively simple in form, and not too unpredictable or focal qua content, parallel order is the rule; as they become more complicated, chiastic order becomes more likely" (Slings 1997a, 186), as illustrated by the example here above. Note that answer (c) in the example is an illustration of a case which is simple and chiastic, which -according to Slings- explains the fact that it sounds 'unnatural'.²⁰⁰

Following Slings, one can explain this observation as follows. The question introduces the general topic of 'European cities', which makes a whole range of possible sub-topics accessible ('inferable'). Therefore, it is 'natural' (i.e. it is predictable from the Thematization Principle) that, at the moment the answer is formulated, one of these sub-topics is introduced as a Theme (i.c. Rome). In answer (a) nothing prevents the repetition of the same pattern for the next sub-topic 'Paris'. In answer (b), however, the formulation of the Comment on 'Rome' is somewhat more complex in that it involves the introduction of additional items beyond the inferable 'liking' - 'not liking': (i) the degree of liking ('liking a lot') and (ii) the

²⁰⁰ I need not go into Slings' remarks on the 'natural vs. literary' opposition here. Still, I think one should take into account the fact that the 'unnatural' flavor of (c) in English can have to do with the fact that postposition of the subject is highly marked in English, which need not be the case in a free word order language like Greek.

person of the speaker himself ('I'). The formulation of this comment induces the speaker to derive a new Theme ('what I hate'), which is apparently cognitively more readily inferable at that moment as compared to 'Paris', since the super-topic 'European cities' is by now somewhat more remote. Furthermore, it seems to be a general fact that first persons are more likely topics than third persons.²⁰¹ My analyses in section 11 and throughout Part III below will present a number of Ancient Greek examples in which this type of cognitive account is applicable.

- (c) Another phenomenon that has been described as a 'figure of speech', but that can easily be described in terms of 'natural' discourse mechanisms, is the **cyclus**. For an account in the same general vein as Slings' cognitive account of chiasmus, see section 20.2(2c).

10.4.4 Excursus: a note on 'colon' and 'periodos' in Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1409-1410 and the issue of 'naturalness' vs. 'rhetorical engineering'

- (1) In the context of her exposition on 'bracketing' (see section 10.4.0 above), Kurzová refers to Aristotle's distinction between λέξις εἰρομένη ('continuous/strung-on/running speech') and λέξις κατεστραμμένη ('turned-round/rounded-off' speech), the latter being characterized by the 'periodos' device. Aristotle's remark that the former is "unpleasant because it is unlimited, for all like to foresee the end" -according to Kurzová- can be interpreted in connection with the fact that in Greek semantics is underdetermined by morphosyntax. Likewise, the functions of the 'periodic' devices can be interpreted as 'positional frames' or 'bracketing devices' on a par with the other features mentioned.
- Interestingly, the notion of 'colon' -in a sense akin to the present one- first showed up in Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1409-1410, in connection with the notion of 'period' (περίοδος). Colon (κῶλον) is there defined as one of the parts of a periodos: as opposed to later authors (Demetrius, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Hermogenes, etc.), Aristotle appears to conceive of the colon as intrinsically a member of a periodos (for an analysis of these concepts in different authors from Aristotle onwards, see Scheppers 1993).
- (2) What is most interesting for the present purposes, is that periodos-status, and hence colon-status (in the Aristotelian sense), can but need not depend on the normal factors determining discourse structure, as described in the above and throughout Part III.
- (a) Among the different types of periodos-formation the following ones appear to be motivated by 'natural' discourse patterns:
- λέξις διηρημένη ("dividing speech"), which corresponds to simply parallel enumeration or listing, as in the example πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τῶν τὰς πανηγύρεις συναγαγόντων καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καταστησάντων ("I have often admired those who organize panegyric festivals and institute athletic contests");
 - λέξις ἀντικειμένη ("opposing speech") or 'antithesis', which corresponds to what at present is analyzed in terms of 'contrastive patterns'. Aristotle gives a number of examples of clear contrasts (often double contrasts) e.g. ἢ ζῶντας ἔξειν ἢ τελευτήσαντας καταλείπειν ("either in order to hold it while being alive or to leave it having died"). There are a few interesting cases in which the members are contrastive,

²⁰¹ Also note the fact that this pattern makes 'Paris' rhematic with respect to the pattern as whole, and so can become a likely topic for the ensuing discourse.

but not syntactically symmetric, e.g. καὶ φύσει πολίτας ὄντας νόμῳ τῆς πόλεως στέρεσθαι (“even if citizens by nature, to be deprived of their city by law”).²⁰²

(b) Next, Aristotle presents a few patterns in which the periodos-status is based on purely formal features of the discourse:

- **παρίσῳσις**: the two cola have equal length (probably in metrical terms, i.e. in terms of syllables); Aristotle does not quote any examples;
- **παρομοίωσις**: the two cola have a similar beginning or a similar ending (ὁμοιοτέλεστον); beginnings and endings may be similar in purely phonetic terms (as in δωρητοὶ τ’ ἐπέλοντο παράρρητοὶ τ’ ἐπέεσσιν·) or in morpho-lexical terms (as in ἀξιῶ δὲ σταθῆναι χαλκοῦς, οὐκ ἄξιός ὢν χαλκοῦ;).

Often, the ‘cola’ in Aristotle’s examples coincide with ‘natural’ discourse units, but sometimes the colon-status seems to depend only on the formal effects of parhomoiosis, as in the following interesting example: ἀργὸν γὰρ ἔλαβεν ἀργὸν παρ’ αὐτοῦ (“land they took unworked from him”); in this case nothing except for the phonetic similarity of ἀργὸν (“land”) and ἀργὸν (“unworked”) would motivate a segmentation into two cola. Also interesting in this respect are what Aristotle calls ‘false contrasts’ (ψευδεῖς ἀντιθέσεις), in which the form is antithetical, which however does not coincide with any substantial contrast, e.g. τόκα μὲν ἐν τήνων ἐγὼν ἦν, τόκα δὲ παρὰ τήνοις ἐγὼν.²⁰³

(3) The cases mentioned under (2b) here above seem to suggest the relative independence of at least some formal **rhetorical patterns** from pragmatically and cognitively ‘natural’ ones.

The fact that there exist patterns that establish a formal (prosodic, phonematic or syntactic-semantic) regularity that is independent of the mechanisms underlying everyday speech is quite conspicuous in poetry (rhyme, alliteration, meter, syntactic-semantic rhythm prescribed by the overall structure of e.g. the sonnet or the ballad, etc.). Likewise, the establishment of similar formal patterns has become almost a sport in certain exponents of Ancient Greek rhetoric (Gorgias, Isocrates, ...), and is noticeable in some passages of less conspicuously rhetorical authors (typically so in the exordium and peroratio of speeches, but also in other ‘climactic’ or ‘emotional’ parts (cf. my analysis of Lysias 10,22 in section 11.4 and section 18 below)).²⁰⁴

Still, the influence of alternative factors need not be the result of rhetorical or literary sophistication: assonance, alliteration, rhyme, verse-like rhythm, and anaphora are not absent from everyday speech. Thus, Sacks has observed (under the heading ‘poetics’; Sacks 1992b,

²⁰² In the course of my analyses in section 11 and throughout Part III below, we will encounter numerous examples suggesting that Ancient Greek is very prone to make contrasts where we would not spontaneously see them. Aristotle appears to have been aware of the fact that this tendency is remarkable.

²⁰³ According to the segmentation criteria adopted in the above, a segmentation into three cola might be argued for, if ἀργὸν (‘unworked’) is viewed as parenthetical (which is not necessary); but a segmentation into two cola looks awkward. Should one suppose that colon-status in Aristotle does not imply segmentation in the present sense? Still, we can perhaps argue that in actual realization the phonological similarity which constitutes the effect would be highlighted by giving the two words ad hoc focal status, normally associated with P1. This may then give rise to an ad hoc segmentation into two cola (not unlike some effects in versification or song-writing).

²⁰⁴ Thus, the deviation from ‘regular pragmatics’ in favor of formal (rhetorical or poetic) patterns is (at least partly) genre-specific, which suggests that these aspects should -indirectly- be recuperated in a full pragmatic account of the specific features of these genres (for the importance of ‘genre’ within a pragmatic account of discourse structure, see section 13.2(11) and section 13.3.5 below).

passim) that in everyday spontaneous conversation phonological and semantic patterns occur such as are usually only discussed in connection with poetry, suggesting e.g. that the choice between ‘cause’ and ‘because’ might be linked to the alliterative pattern in “Cause it comes from cold water” (Sacks 1992b, 321) or observing that -in a single stretch of spontaneous conversation- an extraordinary number of semantically and phonetically similar words (“... depressing ... disgusting ... decline ... degenerate ... decrepit ...”) occurred (Sacks 1992b, 340-342). In many cases these ‘poetic’ patterns can be argued to constitute a factor in the production of discourse that is independent from pragmatics. Possibly, the patterns in question are the result of some basic features of human cognition, which can be formulated e.g. in terms of the ways in which lexical items are stocked in and/or retrieved from long term memory.

Although a lot could (and probably needs to) be said about the matter, it is not possible to discuss the theoretical status of ‘naturalness’ vs. ‘engineering’ within the context of this study. Here I simply use these terms as a convenient label to distinguish a number of phenomena that can be described by means of a few basic mechanisms underlying spontaneous speech from other phenomena that apparently are the consequence of different mechanisms.

10.5 Review of the segmentation criteria

In view of the practical applications in section 11 below, it seemed useful to very briefly review the various factors and criteria discussed in the above in terms of how they can be used for the purposes of segmentation.

(1) *Major grammatical and discourse boundaries (incl. structural discourse markers)*

First of all, it should be pointed out that a number of colon boundaries are more or less self-evident because they coincide with major discourse boundaries. Thus, the beginning and the end of such traditional divisions as ‘chapters’, ‘paragraphs’, ‘sentences’, etc. (see also the genre specific macro-structures of narratives and speeches discussed in section 13.3.5 below) will obviously and trivially be quite reliable cues for the presence of colon boundaries.

In dialogues an additional type of segmentation occurs in the shape of speaker turns (see also section 13.3.4 below). Although it is possible in principle, and it actually occurs sometimes in some genres of spontaneous conversation (though not as often as one might expect),²⁰⁵ that one participant interrupts another participant in the middle of an IU/colon, turn-transitions can for all practical purposes be considered as reliable evidence for colon boundaries in Platonic dialogue.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ For the fact that even spontaneous conversation typically follows the ‘no gap, no overlap’ rule (cf. e.g. Sacks 1992b, 410-415) and its theoretical consequences, see Scheppers 2004a; cf. also section 13.3.4 below.

²⁰⁶ Although the boundaries between e.g. sentences and speaker turns are reliable criteria for the purposes of segmentation at the level of the colon, it may be useful to already point that they need not coincide with major boundaries in terms of the pragmatic structure of discourse: throughout Part III of this study it will become clear that grammatical structure and turn-taking are fairly superficial features of discourse with respect to the underlying pragmatic structure. For instance, (i) the scope of Topics or markers can extend beyond the sentence in which they are syntactically integrated and (ii) turn-

Many discourse markers have the specific function of marking the segmentation of the discourse. In Ancient Greek, these markers often are subject to either the P1-rule (/O/-introductory particles and some preferential /M/-mobiles) or the P2-rule (/q/-particles). See also section 21.3 below.

(2) *The internal structure of the colon (incl. the P2- and P1-rules)*

A number of formal word order phenomena (as studied in Part I) can serve as criteria for segmentation into cola, in that certain types of words take a certain position within the colon, by virtue of their inherent lexical features:

- /q/-particles (ἄρα, αὖ, γάρ, γε, γοῦν, δαί, δέ, δή, δῆθεν, δήπου, δήπουθεν, δήποτε, δῆτα, μέν, μέντοι, μεντ' ἄν, μήν, νυ(v), οὖν, περ, τε, τοι, τοίνυν) take P2, in that they form a word-like unit with the first word(s) in a colon (various types of unit-formation are possible). See section 10.1.1 above.
- /r/-postpositives (the modal particle ἄν; non-focalized indefinites (pronouns and adverbs); non-focalized personal pronouns (oblique cases); the oblique cases of αὐτός in the anaphoric sense; in some cases the copula) take P2 in a colon, i.e. come after the first 'full' word or word-like unit of a colon. See section 10.1.2 above. As the /r/-postpositive (unfocused) allomorphs of some of these words are orthographically indistinguishable from the /M/-mobile focused allomorphs, there are cases in which the issue arises as to whether these words are or are not to be read as /r/-postpositives.
- /O/-introductives (introductory particles: ἀλλά, ἀτάρ, ἦ, καί, καίτοι, οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε, οὐκουν, εἶτα, ἦ, ἄρα, οὐκοῦν, μῶν; relatives (incl. indeclinables, i.e. relative adverbs and subordinating conjunctions); interrogatives; negatives οὐ(κ/χ), μή; interjections: ὦ + voc.; νή, μά +acc.; ναί...) take P1 in a colon. Note that /O/-introductives may or may not count for determining P1: some /O/-introductives (e.g. negatives, adverbial καί, ...) seem to sometimes behave like a /p/-prepositive with respect to the word they cling to. Furthermore, most of these words can either make up a separate colon on their own or take P1 in the following colon. The difference between both options can often not be made in any non-trivial way. See section 10.1.3(1) above.

The position of /M/-mobiles within the colon is mainly determined by focus: full lexical items tend toward P1 when they are focused (see section 10.3). We also observed a statistical tendency for some types of words ('preferential' /M/-mobiles) to take P1. This is the case for focalized personal pronouns (esp. nominatives) and demonstratives, modal adverbs, complex negatives and some quantifiers (see section 10.1.3(2) above). In some cases (focused pronouns), this statistical tendency is best understood in terms of the fact that these words are typically focused and therefore tend towards P1. In other cases (modal adverbs, complex negatives), the P1 tendency appears to be akin to the behavior of /O/-introductives: these preferentials share a number of uses with /O/-introductives. In these cases it can be expected that their behavior with respect to word order will be subject to the same qualifications as the /O/-introductives as well.

transitions can occur at very low-level discourse boundaries, whereas major boundaries can occur within single speaker turns.

(3) *The typology of cola (syntactic criteria)*

Some grammatical constituents as a rule constitute separate discourse segments (which may have an internal structure comprising more than one colon):

- (i) Verb-centered constituents / clauses:
 - finite clauses (main clauses or subordinate clauses),²⁰⁷ see section 10.2.1(1);
 - participial clauses (genitivus absolutus, participium coniunctum), see section 10.2.1(2);
 - some types of infinitival constructions; see section 10.2.1(3) above.
- (ii) The different members of coordinated, correlative and parallel structures; see section 10.2.2. Some traditional rhetorical patterns (periodos, chiasmus, antithesis, ...) yield similar segmentation criteria; see section 10.4.
- (iii) Parentheses, afterthoughts, and other syntactically non-integrated elements; see section 10.2.3. However, some short and formulaic parentheses show idiosyncratic behaviors in that they can occur within what would otherwise be a 'natural' colon. In these cases, they take P2 within that colon.
- (iv) Fronted elements (see section 10.2.4 above): fronted argument NPs (and complement clauses); fronted PPs as Setting or Marker; fronted markers (incl. verbs which function as illocutionary or epistemic markers). Highly salient words may also be subject to 'emphatic fronting'. Note that the scope of these fronted elements is often a criterion for considering them as a separate colon or not.

²⁰⁷ Note that some argument clauses may be more plausibly realized within the same IU as the matrix verb and some relative clauses may be more plausibly realized in the same IU as their antecedents. These features can be observed in recorded speech, but are not accessible in an Ancient Greek corpus.

11. Segmentation of Ancient Greek text into cola

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The segmentation criteria reviewed in the above are meant to be applied to continuous stretches of Greek text. After a brief mainly methodological introduction (section 11.0), this section presents more or less detailed analyses of a few excerpts from my Ancient Greek corpus, using the various analytical devices so far presented in this book.

11.0 Introduction

Before embarking on the analyses that make up the main body of section 11, I would first like to briefly discuss (1) a few methodological matters concerning the actual application of the segmentation criteria summarily formulated in section 10.5 here above; (2) my choice of excerpts for the purposes of analysis; (3) the translation practice adopted; (4) the practicalities of the presentation of my analyses throughout section 11.

(1) Applying the segmentation criteria

The segmentation criteria discussed in the previous section are meant to be applied to actual Ancient Greek discourse. However, most of them do not allow for a sufficient degree of formalization to make them unambiguously and ‘blindly’ applicable. Thus, we have noted a number of systematically ambiguous cases (e.g. the issue of the status of /O/-introductives, the status of short parentheses and rest-cola, etc.). These systematically ambiguous cases are theoretically very interesting but - by virtue of the fact that the different accounts which they can yield are systematically indistinguishable in practice - they are trivial for the purposes of actual analysis. If, for instance, in a large number of cases there is no way of determining whether *καί* is prepositive or constitutes a separate colon, or whether a constituent accompanied by *γε* is in P1 of a separate colon or not, it is not interesting to go to great lengths in order to motivate the choice for one option or the other every time the problem occurs.

More in general, the criteria for segmentation developed in the above should be used as *evidence* for the presence of boundaries and applied with common sense and in the light of what is plausible within the context of the overall practice of the analysis of Ancient Greek discourse, which obviously involves other aspects as well.

Suffice it here to enumerate a few general methodological and practical matters involved in the approach adopted:

- (i) As has already been pointed out here above, the hypothetical boundary resulting from the application of a segmentation criterion should not be viewed as an isolated phenomenon (see also the beginning of section 10.2 above). Typically, the adoption of a boundary is the result of the convergence of different criteria (including the pragmatic criteria developed in Part III), which corroborate each other.
- (ii) A colon boundary can be posited whenever the formal criteria *allow for* segmentation, and not only when they *force* us to. This yields a ‘maximal’ segmentation, which can be interpreted as corresponding to the fact that I will make

abstraction from the possibility that in actual realization two or more potential cola can be merged ('sandhi'); see section 0.3.2 above.

- (iii) Thus, the segmentation of a text that results from the 'maximal' application of our criteria can be viewed as corresponding to a rather slow and very deliberate performance of this text. The practice of trying to read a segmented text aloud, slowly and deliberately, proved to be a valuable heuristic at the start of an actual analysis, as well as a good way of assessing the plausibility of any particular segmentation.

In the remainder of this section, I will present an application of the criteria mentioned here above to a few excerpts from the corpus. These examples are intended to illustrate the method outlined in the above.

(2) Choice of excerpts

The excerpts I will introduce here are those I will also use in order to discuss issues of discourse coherence in Part III. My choice of excerpts has been determined by practical considerations: I have tried to select a set of excerpts that together display as wide an array of 'interesting' aspects as possible. Thus, the selection is as varied as possible in terms of discourse genre (narrative vs. argumentative, monologue vs. dialogue, ...). At the same time, I made my selection so as to allow me to present the various aspects I intended to discuss in a somewhat 'didactic' fashion, i.e. starting from rather simple and easily recognizable patterns and turning to more complex ones as I go along.

(3) Translations

I will present two different translations for each of the texts analyzed: (i) a standard translation, taken from the respective "Loeb" editions, as quoted on the "Perseus" website (see section (2c) of the Preface); (ii) an experimental translation of my own, specifically produced for the purposes of the analysis at hand.

As far as my own 'experimental' translation is concerned, the experiment consisted in trying to conserve the segmentation of the original as scrupulously as possible: the contents of each colon of the segmented Greek text are translated in such a way that the English equivalent could plausibly function as an IU in spoken English discourse. I did not make any efforts to clean up the results of this translation exercise so as to make up an acceptable "literary" style of translating Greek. I will offer some comments on the results of this experiment in section 12, the conclusion to Part II of this book.

(4) Presentation

- (a) The ways in which the analyses below are being presented has been determined by a number of different considerations of a purely practical nature.

First of all, ensuring a basic level of readability made it necessary to cut up the text of the excerpts into manageable segments (of –say– a few lines of printed text or between 5 and 15 cola per segment). Of course, I tried to make this segmentation more or less follow the 'natural' syntactic and discourse structure, but some arbitrariness was unavoidable.

Secondly, the same excerpts had to be used again in Part III for a quite different type of analysis. For the purposes of cross-reference between the present section and the corresponding sections in Part III, I had to make sure that the numbering of the cola was the same in both cases. However, both types of analysis have their own methodological and

practical requirements and it was sometimes necessary to make ‘inelegant’ compromises (e.g. numbering 27a, 27b instead of 27, 28) in order to suit the purposes of both presentations of the same text at once. These idiosyncratic features do not have any consequences for the gist of the argument.

Likewise, the order in which I present the excerpts is the one in which I will present them again in Part III, and makes sense in the context of the outline of the latter Part of this book: excerpts showing relatively simple discourse patterns are presented first and more complex ones later.

- (b) My presentation of each excerpt contains (i) an introductory paragraph, in which the context of the excerpt is briefly sketched, just enough to come to a minimal understanding of the text (for a more extensive analysis of each excerpt within its context, I can refer to the corresponding sections in Part III), followed by (ii) a variable number of segments (see (a) here above) with an analysis. My analysis of each of these segments will follow a similar structure:
- (i) The Greek text followed by a standard translation (see section (3) here above).
 - (ii) A table consisting of 4 columns in which the segmented text is presented with the criteria that gave rise to the segmentation:
 - column 2 presents the Greek text segmented into cola (numbered in column 1 for ease of reference), each colon occupying a row, not unlike Chafe’s way of presenting the different IUs making up a stretch of recorded speech;
 - column 3 enumerates the various word order phenomena that can be used as evidence/criteria for a colon boundary at the left of the segment, as investigated in section 10.1 and reviewed in section 10.5(2);
 - column 4 characterizes the colon in terms of the types investigated in section 10.2 and reviewed in 10.5(3).
 Each table is followed by a brief commentary in which various aspects of the segmentation are elaborated upon.
 - (iii) An experimental colon per colon translation of the segmented text, again presented in the shape of a table (column 1 colon numbers; column 2 segmented text; column 3 translation). It seemed useful to sometimes add a brief comment on certain aspects of some of the translations.
- (c) It is not my aim to present a full commentary on all the relevant aspects of each of the excerpts, which would soon enough become quite repetitive. I have tried instead to present the various issues involved in the practice of segmenting Greek text as didactically as possible by spreading out what I have to say about these issues over the different comments on the different excerpts below. On the other hand, I do sometimes comment on issues concerning the excerpts under scrutiny that are not strictly limited to word order and segmentation-related aspects. In these cases, it is my purpose to illustrate how the analytical tools presented in this study have their natural habitat within the context of a ‘classical’ philological approach to Ancient Greek texts.

11.1 Lysias 1,23[b]

This excerpt is taken from the narratio of Lysias' speech *On the murder of Eratosthenes* (Lysias 1), in which a certain Euphiletus defends himself in his trial for having killed his wife's lover Eratosthenes. The excerpt starts at the moment in Euphiletus' story when Eratosthenes enters his house on what is going to be "the last night" for the latter (for a more elaborate account of the context see section 14 below). The excerpt has been selected because it provides us with a very simple and 'clean' example for the purposes of the types of analysis at hand.

- (1) ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης, ὧ ἄνδρες, εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἡ θεράπινα ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.

Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Eratosthenes, sirs, entered, and the maid-servant roused me at once, and told me that he was in the house.*

(a) Application of the formal segmentation criteria:

		left boundary	colon type
1	ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης,	δὲ /q/ in P2	fronted subject NP
2	ὧ ἄνδρες,		parenthesis (vocative)
3	εἰσέρχεται,		main clause minus fronted subject NP
4	καὶ ἡ θεράπινα	καὶ /O/ in P1	fronted subject NP (καὶ has the same scope as this topic)
5	ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς	με /r/ in P2	autonomous participle clause (participium coniunctum)
6	φράζει		main clause minus fronted subject NP, complement clause and autonomous participle clause
7	ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.	ὅτι complementizer /O/ in P1	finite complement clause

Obviously, the segmentation of this segment does not present many problems: formal features provide evidence for a segmentation that yields perfectly acceptable cola, reflecting well-attested colon types. Note, however, the following details:

- The vocative in colon 2 can be read as part of colon 1 without any further consequences.
- The word εὐθὺς in colon 5 can be read as belonging either to ἐπεγείρασά με ("she immediately wakes me up and lets me know...") or to φράζει ("and she wakes me up and immediately lets me know...").²⁰⁸ My data on the behavior of 'modal adverbs' of this type (see section 5.1(1b) above) do not offer conclusive evidence either way, especially because εὐθὺς does not function as a discourse marker here (in which case the word would have been subject to the P1-rule).
- The word ὅτι in colon 7 can alternatively be taken with the matrix verb φράζει; again, nothing much hinges on this choice.

²⁰⁸ The translations of both the Budé-series (Lysias & Gernet (ed. & trad.) & Bizos (ed. & trad.) 1924, 34: "la servante me réveille aussitôt: « Il est là », me dit-elle" and the Loeb series, quoted above ("the maid-servant roused me at once, and told me"), agree on this point. Also note that the original meaning of φράζω, mostly denoting non-verbal ways of communicating something (cf. the first meanings mentioned in both Chantraine 1968/2009, lemma φράζω: "« faire comprendre, indiquer » par des signes [...] ou par la parole" and LSJ, 1952-1953, lemma φράζω: "point out, show (never say, tell, in Hom. acc. to Aristarch.) [...]"), is quite appropriate in this context: it's easy to imagine the maid using gestures and facial expressions to inform Euphiletus, rather than plain speech. Neither of both translations quoted here above take this point into account.

This part of the present excerpt (as well as the rest of it analyzed below) exemplifies one of the most basic ways of structuring an Ancient Greek narrative in its simplest form: the speaker first introduces an agent, typically taking the grammatical shape of a **fronted subject NP**, and then produces one or more actions in which this agent is the protagonist, taking the shape of a string of **verb-centered clauses**, most typically a number of participia aoristi followed by a main finite verb (for an account of this pattern, see section 21.1(3) below). The omnipresence of this pattern in Ancient Greek narrative will allow us to argue for a segmentation in which the fronted subject is in a separate colon even in the absence of formal criteria for such a segmentation.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

1	ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης,	And Eratosthenes,
2	ὧ ἄνδρες,	gentlemen,
3	εἰσέρχεται,	he enters.
4	καὶ ἡ θεράπεινα	And the maid,
5	ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς	she immediately wakes me up,
6	φράζει	and she let's me know
7	ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.	he's in.

- (2) κάγω εἰπὼν ἐκείνη ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς θύρας, καταβάς σιωπῇ ἐξέρχομαι, καὶ ἀφικνοῦμαι ὡς τὸν καὶ τόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν (οὐκ) ἔνδον κατέλαβον, τοὺς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας ἡῦρον.
Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Bidding her look after the door, I descended and went out in silence; I called on one friend and another, and found some of them at home, while others were out of town.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
8	κάγω	καὶ /O/ in P1; ἐγὼ nominative personal pronoun preferential /M/ in P1	fronted subject NP (καὶ has the same scope as this topic)
9	εἰπὼν ἐκείνη ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς θύρας,		autonomous participle clause (participium coniunctum)
10	καταβάς σιωπῇ		autonomous participle clause (participium coniunctum)
11	ἐξέρχομαι,		main clause minus fronted subject NP and minus autonomous participle clauses
12	καὶ ἀφικνοῦμαι ὡς τὸν καὶ τόν,	καὶ /O/ in P1	main clause minus fronted subject NP
13	καὶ	καὶ /O/ in P1	marker with scope over complex structure 14-17
14	τοὺς μὲν	μὲν /q/ in P2	fronted argument NP; parallel to 16
15	(οὐκ) ἔνδον κατέλαβον,	οὐκ /O/ in P1 (if one accepts Reiske's conjecture)	main clause minus fronted subject NP and minus fronted argument NP; parallel to 17
16	τοὺς δὲ	δὲ /q/ in P2	fronted argument NP; parallel to 14
17	οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας ἡῦρον.	adverbial οὐδ' not necessarily subject to P1-rule	main clause minus fronted subject NP and fronted argument NP; parallel to 15

The same pattern '**fronted subject NP** + string of **verb-centered clauses**' that we observed in the previous segment of the same excerpt continues here: colon 8 is fronted with respect

to cola 9-17. Again, we notice consecutive actions expressed by participia aoristi (colon 9 “I tell her to watch the door” and colon 10 “I go downstairs”) followed by a main finite verb, in this case several ones connected by *καί*: colon 11 “I go outside”, colon 12 “I call on such and such” and cola 14-17 “I didn’t find all of them at home”. Cola 14-17 consist in turn of two main finite clauses, each preceded by a fronted NP (direct object) and connected by *...μὲν...δέ*.

Although the main lines of the segmentation are clear, the following details may be useful to mention:

- Not all occurrences of *καί* in this segment have been treated the same way; most of these differences are, however, entirely trivial:
 - in colon 13, *καί* makes up a separate colon of its own; this segmentation makes sense in that the marker has scope over a complex parallel structure (cola 14-17); of course, this does not preclude that the marker can be realized in the same IU as the following one in actual performance (‘intonational sandhi’; see section 0.2.2(3) above);
 - the occurrences of *καί* in colon 8 (*καὶ γὰρ*) and in colon 12 do not necessitate such segmentation: in both cases the scope of the marker coincides entirely with the scope of the rest of the colon;
 - the occurrence in the lexicalized unit *τὸν καὶ τὸν* in colon 12 is obviously not subject to the P1-rule and has no consequences for the purpose of segmentation into cola.
- The colon-autonomous status of the **participial clauses** in cola 9 and 10 is not supported by any formal word order criteria; however, their function within the grammatical structure (qua non-complement participia coniuncta) and the discursive structure of the excerpt (qua separate actions within the plot) is sufficient evidence for the segmentation into cola adopted; the participle *ἐπιδημοῦντας* cannot be viewed as a separate action within the plot and is most naturally read as part of colon 17.
- If one accepts Reiske’s editorial addition of *οὐκ* in colon 15,²⁰⁹ it constitutes a formal criterion for the segmentation adopted; however, even if one rejects the conjecture, the status of *τοὺς μὲν* as a separate colon is sufficiently warranted by the parallelism with colon 16.

²⁰⁹ This is one of the many examples in which schoolmaster-philologists (in this case J.J. Reiske) indulge in ‘correcting’ Lysias for not conforming to their own stylistic ideals (see also section 11.3.2(4a) below), even without the slightest support from the manuscript tradition. Of course, “I could not get hold of some of them, and others I found to be not even in town” (conjecture) makes the ‘no premeditation (*πρόνοια*)’ point ‘even better’ than “some of them I could get hold of, others I found to be not even in town” (manuscript readings) and makes it easier to account for *οὐδ’* / “not even”; one can also adduce the fact that in Lysias 1.41 the text does follow Reiske’s recommendation; but see Sanders 2008 for a very thorough refutation of these arguments. For a discussion of the the pros and cons, see Todd 2007, 118 and Sanders 2008; after a very detailed and thorough investigation of all the relevant aspects, Sanders comes to the conclusion that the manuscript reading “paints a much more credible picture” than the alternatives proposed by various scholars. One wonders why later editors (but not the recent Oxford edition Lysias & Carey (ed.) 2007) deem it useful to take on board this type of conjectures in their reading of the text itself (as opposed to just mentioning them in the apparatus criticus). See also section 1.2.1(3) (footnote), for the extent to which **editorial emendation** affects the Lysias text. I will follow the reading of the manuscripts in what follows.

- There is a minor problem with the boundary between colon 10 and colon 11: σιωπῆ (“silently”) can be read with either ‘I go downstairs’ in colon 10 or with ‘I go outside’ in colon 11 (cf. a similar problem with εὐθὺς in cola 5-6 above).²¹⁰

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

8	κάγῳ	And I,
9	εἰπὼν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς θύρας,	I tell her to watch the door,
10	καταβάς σιωπῆ	I go downstairs in silence,
11	ἐξέρχομαι,	and I go outside,
12	καὶ ἀφικνοῦμαι ὡς τὸν καὶ τόν,	and I go and call on such and such,
13	καὶ	and
14	τοὺς μὲν	some of them
15	ἔνδον κατέλαβον,	I could get hold of at their homes,
16	τοὺς δὲ	and others
17	οὐδ’ ἐπιδημοῦντας ἠῦρον.	I found to be not even in town.

The specific exercise of translating colon per colon inherently leads to a proliferation of pronouns in English: in fact, the subject pronouns code information that in Greek is coded in the morphological features of the verbs. However, in this particular case (in which the subject does not change throughout the excerpt), English does allow for non-repetition in certain cases. I have chosen to consistently use pronominal subjects so as to not be forced to make arbitrary decisions.

11.2 Lysias 3,15-17

In this excerpt, taken from the narratio of the speech *Against Simon*, the anonymous speaker relates an episode in a series of streetfights he has had with Simon over a boy named Theodotus (for a more elaborate account of the context see the beginning of section 16 below).

- (1) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν μεῖράκιον εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, οὗτοι δὲ συνεισπεσόντες ἦγον αὐτὸν βία, βοῶντα καὶ κεκραγότα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον.
Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *After this the boy took refuge in a fuller's shop; but these men dashed in after him and laid violent hands on him, while he shouted and cried out and called the bystanders to witness.*

²¹⁰ This time the translations of the Budé-series and the Loeb-series do not agree: “[...] je descends sans bruit, je sors et je vais chez différents amis” (Lysias & Gernet (ed. & trad.) & Bizos (ed. & trad.) 1924, 34) vs. “I descended and went out in silence; I called on one friend and another” (Lamb’s translation, already quoted above).

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
1	μετὰ <u>δὲ</u> <u>ταῦτα</u>	δὲ /q/ in P2; ταῦτα preferential /M/ in P1 (not counting /p/ and /q/)	fronted PP (marker); scope over (at least) the parallel structure cola 2-3 - cola 4-9
2	τὸ <u>μὲν</u> μειράκιον	μὲν /q/ in P2	fronted subject NP; parallel to 4
3	εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν.		main finite clause minus fronted topic (2); parallel to 6
4	<u>οὗτοι</u> <u>δὲ</u>	δὲ /q/ in P2; οὗτοι preferential /M/ in P1	fronted subject NP; parallel to 2
5	συνεισπεσόντες		autonomous participle clause
6	ἦγον <u>αὐτὸν</u> βίᾱ.	anaphoric αὐτὸν potential /r/- postpositive in its regular P2	main finite clause minus fronted topic (2); parallel to 3
7	βοῶντα		autonomous participle; coordinated with 8 and 9
8	<u>καὶ</u> κερραγῶτα	καὶ /O/ in P1	autonomous participle; coordinated with 7 and 9
9	<u>καὶ</u> μαρτυρόμενον.	καὶ /O/ in P1	autonomous participle; coordinated with 7 and 8

Cola 2-3 and cola 4-6 present the now familiar pattern ‘fronted subject/topic - main finite clause minus fronted topic’. In this case, both fronted topics, “the boy” in colon 2 and “those people” (= Simon’s gang) in colon 4, are presented as being in a binary contrastive relationship, as indicated by ...μὲν...δὲ. Note that binary contrasts between agents, both fronted, is a pervasive pattern in Ancient Greek narrative, whereas this strategy is almost non-existent in similar genres in modern languages.

The colon-autonomous status of the participle (aoristus!) in colon 5 is warranted by the formal criterion of the P2-position of anaphoric αὐτὸν in colon 6, but also by the fact that it presents a separate action within the on-going plot. All of these patterns were already present in the previous excerpt.

Two ‘new’, though very common, patterns can be observed here:

- Colon 1 is a **fronted PP** of a very common type (see section 10.2.4(2)); its colon-autonomy is ascertained by the position of μὲν in colon 2 and by the fact that it has scope over at least cola 2-9.
- The three **postposed participles** in cola 7-9, linked by καί, can plausibly read as separate cola in that they constitute a parallel structure, but also because the “shouting”, “crying out” and “calling for witnesses” by the boy cannot be viewed as forming as syntactic or semantic whole with the “dragging along” in colon 6.

However, the discourse functions of these participles (praesens and perfectum, not aoristus) are obviously different from the functions of the participles we met so far: they do not constitute a separate step in the development of plot, but rather offer a **description** of the boy’s behavior while he’s being pushed around. Also note that this description follows the finite verb, whereas the participles in the previous cases followed it. For a fuller treatment of these observations, see section 21.1.

Finally, it is quite possible that in a faster-paced **performance** the phonological boundaries between these three parallel cola may get somewhat blurred (‘intonational sandhi’).

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

1	μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα	After that,
2	τὸ μὲν μειράκιον	the boy
3	εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν,	he took refuge in a fuller's shop.
4	οὗτοι δὲ	But those men,
5	συνεισπεσόντες	they all burst in,
6	ἤγον αὐτὸν βίᾳ,	and proceeded to drag him along violently,
7	βοῶντα	while he was shouting,
8	καὶ κερραγῶτα	and crying out,
9	καὶ μαρτυρόμενον.	and calling for witnesses.

It may be useful to briefly point out a few semantic aspects of the excerpt and its translation that are not directly related to the segmentation into cola (although they may be important for our understanding of the action and hence for our analyses in section 16 below).

First, there is the double prefix in **συνεισπεσόντες**: whereas εἰσ- is easy enough to understand (they burst 'into' the fuller's shop), it may be interesting to point out that συν- appears to convey a certain notion of 'simultaneity': the various members of the gang all get there together (the word 'all' in Lamb's translation is a good enough way to convey this); one might also think of a quasi-simultaneity with the boy's entry (which seems to be intended by Lamb's formula 'dashed in after him', which -however- is perhaps too explicit as a translation of the Greek text).

Next, there is an issue concerning Lamb's translation of ἤγον αὐτὸν βίᾳ. Lamb's formula 'laid violent hands on him' suggests something that happened within the confines of the fuller's shop and does not imply any notion of direction. This does not adequately convey the basic semantics of the verb, nor the action that is depicted in the context of the narrative. In fact, the gang proceeds to take the boy along with them (for the use of the imperfect tense, see section 21.1(2)), as is confirmed by the fact that after the episode at the fuller's shop, the story suddenly shifts to the next scene 'near Lampon's house' (see colon 18 below). This interpretation also sticks more closely to the semantics of the verb ἄγω: all of the uses stipulated in e.g. LSJ suggest taking an animal or a person along with oneself (in a certain direction).

- (2) συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν καὶ ἀγανακτούντων τῷ πράγματι καὶ δεινὰ φασκόντων εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα, τῶν μὲν λεγομένων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον, Μόλωνά δὲ τὸν γναφεῖα καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας συνέκοψαν.

Standard 'Loeb' translation: *A crowd of people came running up, and protested against their action, which they declared a monstrous proceeding: these men gave no heed to anything that was said, but gave a severe beating to Molon the fuller and some others who were endeavoring to protect the lad.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
10	συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν	δὲ /q/ in P2;	autonomous participle (genitivus absolutus); parallel to 11 and 12
11	καὶ ἀγανακτούντων τῷ πράγματι	καὶ /O/ in P1	autonomous participle (genitivus absolutus); parallel to 10 and 12
12	καὶ δεινὰ φασκόντων εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα,	καὶ /O/ in P1	autonomous participle (genitivus absolutus); parallel to 10 and 11

13	τῶν μὲν λεγομένων	μὲν /q/ in P2	fronted NP
14	οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον,	complex negative οὐδὲν preferential /M/ in P1	main finite clause (subject implicit); parallel to 17
15	Μόλωνα δὲ τὸν γναφέα	δὲ /q/ in P2	fronted argument NP
16	καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς	καὶ /O/ in P1; τινὰς /r/ in P2 (καὶ not counting for position)	
16a	ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας		autonomous (?) participle
17	συνέκοψαν.		main finite verb; parallel to 14

The overall structure of the segment is transparent:

- The grammatical subject is still “those people” (see colon 4 above).
- Cola 10-12: three coordinated autonomous participles (genitivi absoluti).
- Cola 13-14: a first main finite clause (minus subject), coordinated to cola 15-17. The boundary between colon 13 and colon 14 can be supported by (a) the P1 of the complex negative οὐδὲν and (b) the parallelism with cola 15-17. Colon 13 is then of the type ‘fronted argument’.
- Cola 15-17: A second main finite clause (minus subject), coordinated to cola 13-14. Cola 15-16 constitute a fronted argument with respect to the main finite verb in colon 17.

The details of the segmentation of cola 15-16 are somewhat ambiguous. Several interpretations of the participle clause ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας are possible:

- (i) one can read it as an autonomous clause (“while they were trying to protect the boy”), referring either to ἄλλους τινὰς alone, or more likely to both Molon and “some other people”;
- (ii) alternatively, it may be read as specifying the “other people” in colon 16 (“and some others trying to protect the boy”).

Although the difference is a non-trivial one (syntactically, pragmatically, and as far as segmentation into cola is concerned), no formal features of the text can help us decide between both interpretations. In what follows, I will adopt interpretation (ii).

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

10	συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν	And a crowd of people gathered around,
11	καὶ ἀγανακτούντων τῷ πράγματι	and they were protesting against the whole thing,
12	καὶ δεινὰ φασκόντων εἶναι τὰ γιγνόμενα,	and saying that it was awful what was happening:
13	τῶν μὲν λεγομένων	of everything that was being said,
14	οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον,	they didn’t worry about any of it,
15	Μόλωνα δὲ τὸν γναφέα	and Molon the fuller
16	καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας	and some others trying to protect the boy,
17	συνέκοψαν.	they beat them up.

I have tried to convey the alternation between aoristus and praesens in cola 10-13. For an interpretation, see section 16.2(1) below (comments on nodes K and I).

- (3) ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὖσι παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν ἐγὼ μόνος βαδίζων ἐντυχάνω, δεινὸν δὲ ἡγησάμενος εἶναι καὶ αἰσχρὸν περιδεῖν οὕτως ἀνόμως καὶ βιαίως ὑβρισθέντα τὸν νεανίσκον, ἐπιλαμβάνομαι αὐτοῦ.

Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *They had already got as far as Lampon's when I, walking by myself, met with them; and considering it a monstrous and shameful thing to stand by and see the young fellow subjected to such lawless and violent outrage, I seized hold of him.*

(a) Application of the segmentation criteria:

		left boundary	colon type
18	ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐσι παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν	αὐτοῖς (plausibly anaphoric) /r/ in P2; ἤδη 'spatio-temporal modal adverb' (preferential /M/) in P1	participle clause (fronted)
19	ἐγὼ	ἐγὼ nominative personal pronoun (preferential /M/) in P1	fronted subject NP
20	μόνος βαδίζων		autonomous participle clause
21	ἐντυχάνω,		main finite clause minus fronted subject
22a	δεινὸν δὲ ἠγησάμενος εἶναι	δὲ /q/ in P2; for the P1-tendency of δεινὸν see section 5.1.2	
22b	καὶ αἰσχρὸν		segmentation doubtful
23	περιδεῖν	colon 22 autonomous	infinitival clause
24	οὕτως ἀνόμως καὶ βιαίως ὑβρισθέντα τὸν νεανίσκον,	οὕτως demonstrative (preferential /M/) in P1	participle clause
25	ἐπιλαμβάνομαι αὐτοῦ.	anaphoric αὐτοῦ /r/ in P2.	main finite clause, minus fronted subject (colon 19)

The segment starts with a fronted participle clause (colon 18). Although grammatically (i.e. as far the dative case is concerned) αὐτοῖς is an argument/complement of ἐντυχάνω (colon 21), the participle clause itself is not an argument of this verb and is autonomous in that it expresses the situation ('setting', see section 12.2.3 below) in which the event expressed by the main verb occurred.²¹¹

After that, we recognize the familiar pattern consisting of a fronted subject NP (colon 19) followed by (in this case) two main finite clauses (cola 20-21 and cola 22-25), coupled by δέ, each of which containing a participial clause (colon 20 resp. cola 22-24) followed by a main finite verb:

- The segment cola 19-21 as a whole is a main finite clause, minus the anaphoric complement αὐτοῖς expressed in colon 18. The proposed segmentation is supported by the fact that μόνος βαδίζων is an autonomous participle clause (i.e. not an argument/complement of the main verb), and can hence best be analyzed as a backgrounded segment (slightly parenthetical?).
- The internal structure of cola 22-25 is somewhat problematic:
 - One might choose to separate καὶ αἰσχρὸν as a separate colon (of the afterthought type?), but it seems more natural to consider δεινὸν καὶ αἰσχρὸν as a simple coordination of two quasi-synonyms within the same colon (not unlike ἀνόμως καὶ βιαίως in colon 24); in that case the P1 of the first member of the coordination and the P-ult of the second member constitute a bracketing effect ('hyperbaton'?) at the colon level.
 - Cola 23-24 together constitute an infinitival clause, which can plausibly be separated as an autonomous segment. In that case, colon 23 is a separate colon as well, of the not unfamiliar type 'fronted **epistemic verbs**' (see section 10.2.4(4b))

²¹¹ As for the use of αὐτοῖς in colon 18, I will assume that it is anaphoric, referring back to the party consisting of the gang and the boy that apparently left together from the fuller's shop (cf. what has been said about the semantics of ἦγον in colon 6 (section 11.1(1b))). One might want to argue that αὐτοῖς is focused because it refers to the gang *plus the boy* instead of just the οὔτοι that beat up Molon in the previous colon. However, the word order suggests a non-focal use of αὐτοῖς.

above). Colon 24 is a participle clause; however, it is syntactically not completely autonomous, in that at least the accusative case of τὸν νεανίσκον depends on περιδεῖν. If one chooses to analyze it as a separate colon, **περιδεῖν** is colon-autonomous as well, which is not implausible: the verb is semantically strong (“stand by and watch”) and conveys a contrastive attitude with respect to the situation presented in colon 24.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

18	ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὖσι παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν	And they are already near Lampon’s house,
19	ἐγὼ	when I,
20	μόνος βαδίζων	walking by myself,
21	ἐντυχάνω,	encounter them.
22	δεινὸν δὲ ἡγησάμενος εἶναι καὶ αἰσχρὸν	And considering it a monstrous and shameful thing
23	περιδεῖν	to stand by and watch
24	οὕτως ἀνόμως καὶ βιαίως ὑβρισθέντα τὸν νεανίσκον,	while the boy was being brutalized so lawlessly and violently,
25	ἐπιλαμβάνομαι αὐτοῦ.	I grab hold of him.

- (4) οὗτοι δέ, δι’ ὅ τι μὲν τοιαῦτα παρενόμουν εἰς ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰπεῖν ἐρωτηθέντες, ἀφήμενοι δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου ἔτυπον ἐμέ.

Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *They, when asked why they were treating him in such lawless fashion, refused to answer, but letting the young fellow go they began to beat me.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

	left boundary	colon type
26	οὗτοι <u>δέ</u> ,	δὲ is a /q/ in P2; οὗτοι demonstrative nominative pronoun in P1
27	δι’ ὅ τι <u>μὲν</u> τοιαῦτα παρενόμουν εἰς <u>ἐκεῖνον</u> ,	ὅτι /O/ in P1 (the preposition forms a unit with the /O/-introductory ὅτι, which is regular); μὲν /q/ in P2
28	<u>οὐκ</u> ἠθέλησαν εἰπεῖν	οὐκ /O/ in P1
29	ἐρωτηθέντες,	main finite clause, minus fronted subject NP (26) and minus fronted complement finite clause (27)
30	ἀφήμενοι <u>δέ</u> τοῦ νεανίσκου	autonomous participle
31	ἔτυπον <u>ἐμέ</u> .	autonomous participle
		main finite clause minus fronted subject NP (26); coordinated with 28

The overall structure of this segment is clear: a fronted subject (colon 26), followed by two main finite clauses (cola 27-29 resp. cola 30-31) coupled by **...μὲν...δέ**. The internal structure of cola 30-31 is familiar: two consecutive actions, of which the first is expressed by a participium aoristi and the second by a main finite verb.

The internal structure of cola 27-29 is somewhat more intricate. The **fronted subordinate finite clause** “why they were doing such lawless things to him” in colon 27 can be read as being a complement of “they did not want to say” and “they were asked” and is fronted with respect to both.

The status of the **postposed participle** ἐρωτηθέντες (colon 29) is somewhat doubtful. Although “they were asked for the reasons of their behavior” does perhaps evocate a different action than “they did not want to say”, the order in which both actions are presented suggests a different function than the participia aoristi we encountered so far (e.g. also ἀφήμενοι in colon 30): it clearly does not present a step in the chronological sequence of the plot.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

26	οὗτοι δέ,	And those men,
27	δι' ὅ τι μὲν τοιαῦτα παρενόμουν εἰς ἐκείνον,	as for the reason why they were doing such lawless things to that boy,
28	οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰπεῖν	they didn't want to say why,
29	ἐρωτηθέντες,	when they were asked for it,
30	ἀφήμενοι δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου	and they let the lad go
31	ἔτυπτον ἐμέ.	and proceeded to beat me.

The translation of cola 27-29 is somewhat awkward. This is obviously due to the fact that English does not allow for **multiple fronting** as easily as Ancient Greek.

11.3 Lysias 1,15-17

The following excerpt is taken from the same speech *On the murder of Eratosthenes* as the one analyzed in section 11.1 above. I selected it because, while being essentially narrative like the previous excerpts, it shows a number of additional features that seemed interesting for the purposes of analysis in Part III below. For purely practical reasons, I divided the excerpt into 3 parts, coinciding with the traditional division into paragraphs.

11.3.1 Lysias 1,15

- (1) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὃ ἄνδρες, χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου καὶ ἐμοῦ πολλὴ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν, προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβύτις ἄνθρωπος, ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ὑποπεμφθεῖσα ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐμοίχευεν, ὡς ἐγὼ ὕστερον ἤκουον·

Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *After this, sirs, an interval occurred in which I was left quite unaware of my own injuries; I was then accosted by a certain old female, who was secretly sent by a woman with whom that man was having an intrigue, as I heard later.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
1	Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,	δὲ /q/ in P2	fronted PP
2	ὃ ἄνδρες,	ὃ /O/ in P1	parenthesis
3	χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου		autonomous participle (fronted genitivus absolutus); parallel with colon 4
4	καὶ ἐμοῦ πολλὴ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν,	καὶ /O/ in P1; ἐμοῦ focused pronoun preferential /M/ in P1 (not counting καὶ)	autonomous participle (fronted genitivus absolutus); parallel with colon 4
5	προσέρχεται <u>μοί</u> <u>τις</u> πρεσβύτις ἄνθρωπος,	μοί and τις /t/ in P2; colon 4 autonomous participle	main clause
6	ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ὑποπεμφθεῖσα		autonomous participle

7	ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐμοίχευεν,	ἦν /O/ in P1; ἐκεῖνος focused pronoun preferential /M/ in P1 (not counting the relative)	relative clause
8	ὡς ἐγὼ ὕστερον ἤκουον·	ὡς /O/ in P1; ἐγὼ focused pronoun preferential /M/ in P1 (not counting the subordinator)	finite adverbial clause as afterthought

This segment starts off with a **fronted PP** of a readily recognizable type: it serves as a discourse marker marking the start of a new episode in the narrative and has a wide scope over the whole episode (for the extent of this scope, see section 17.1 below). This marker is then followed by a **vocative**, setting the marker apart as a separate colon and highlighting the fact that it marks an important boundary (for the functions of vocatives in discourse structure, see section 14.5 below).

After these **markers**, the whole segment consists of only verb-centered clauses, whether finite or participial, grammatically built around the main clause in colon 5.

It may be interesting to also discuss the internal structure of a few of the cola in this segment in terms of the word order of the /M/-mobiles.

- Let us take look at the pronouns ἐμοῦ (colon 4), ἐκεῖνος (colon 7) and ἐγὼ (colon 8). Each of these can be categorized as a “preferential” Mobile (see section 5.1): because they typically will only be used when they represent **focal information** (ἐμοῦ because its non-focal allomorph would be μου; ἐκεῖνος and ἐγὼ because they are nominatives), they are expected to occur as early as possible in the colon (i.e. in P1). If one allows for the fact that /O/-introductives necessarily take precedence over other words tending towards P1, this expectation is borne out by the facts.

However, one may want to ask *why* these pronouns represent focused information (as they apparently do) in the local context of this excerpt. Both Euphiletus (“I”) and Eratosthenes (“that man”) are obviously ‘given’ throughout the speech, so cognitive ‘new-ness’ can hardly be invoked as the relevant type of focus. In that case, the focal status of these pronouns must be due to some type of contrastive focus. We might want to speculate that the contrast ‘I, Euphiletus’ – ‘he, Eratosthenes’ is pervasive throughout the speech and is reflected in the language whenever it occurs (including in cases in which present-day English discourse would not normally show formal features of contrast).

- This segment also offers an opportunity to discuss the various positions that the **verbs** can take within the colon in which they occur:
 - In colon 3, colon 6, colon 7 and colon 8 the verb is in the last position of the colon (P-ult), the statistically most ‘normal’ position for a verb in Greek (see section 5.2.3 and section 7.3(2)).
 - In colon 5 the verb προσέρχεται is in P1, which is quite normal, as this clause functions as a kind of presentative construction (see section 5.2.2(3) above). Note that verbs with meanings like ‘to come’ often function as a ‘staging’ device. In this case the old woman literally walks onto the stage of the discourse.
 - The position of ἀπολελειμμένου in colon 4 is a little less easy to characterize: perhaps it suffices to point out that the verb is the least focused item in the colon and hence takes a position after the preferentials ἐμοῦ and πολὺ.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

1	Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,	After this,
2	ὦ ἄνδρες,	Gentlemen,
3	χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου	some time passed in between,
4	καὶ ἐμοῦ πολὺ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν,	and I was left quite unaware of the bad things that were happening to me,
5	προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβύτης ἄνθρωπος,	when an old creature comes up to me,
6	ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ὑποπεμφθεῖσα	she was secretly sent by a woman
7	ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐμοίχενεν,	he was having an affair with,
8	ὡς ἐγὼ ὕστερον ἤκουον·	as I heard later on.

- (2) αὕτη δὲ ὀργιζομένη καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσα, ὅτι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐφοῖτα παρ' αὐτήν, ἐφύλαττεν ἕως ἐξηῦρεν ὅ τι εἴη τὸ αἴτιον.
Standard 'Loeb' translation: *This woman was angry with him and felt herself wronged, because he no longer visited her so regularly, and she was keeping a watch on him until she should discover what was the cause.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
9	αὕτη <u>δὲ</u>	δὲ /q/ in P2; demonstrative preferential /M/ in P1	fronted subject NP
10	ὀργιζομένη		autonomous participle; coordinated with colon 11
11	καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσα,	καὶ /O/ in P1	autonomous participle; coordinated with colon 10
12	ὅτι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐφοῖτα παρ' αὐτήν,	ὅτι /O/ in P1; οὐκέτι complex negative preferential /M/ in P1 (except for ὅτι)	adverbial (or complement: see discussion) finite clause
13	ἐφύλαττεν	colon 12 finite clause	main clause (minus fronted subject)
14	ἕως ἐξηῦρεν	ἕως /O/ in P1	finite clause
15	<u>ὅ</u> τι εἴη τὸ αἴτιον.	ὅ τι /O/ in P1	finite clause

The segmentation of this excerpt itself only shows patterns that we already discussed in the above and does not show any special issues. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this excerpt is the internal structure of colon 12:

- The positions of ὅτι and οὐκέτι are completely predictable:
 - ὅτι is an /O/-introductory that takes precedence over any other competitors for P1;
 - οὐκέτι is technically a preferential /M/-mobile, but being a negative its inherent link with P1 is quite reliable.
- The order of the other words within the colon has to be analyzed in terms of **focus**:
 - The position of ὁμοίως, right after the negative, indicates that the negative applies to this word and that it is thereby focused ('not as often any more').
 - The position of the verb, in P2 after the first fully lexical and focused word, indicates that it is non-focal (as verbs quite often are).
 - The position of παρ' αὐτήν might seem unexpected at first sight in that the anaphoric use of αὐτ- can be expected to be postpositive. However, the pronoun is apparently focal in this case ('herself'), otherwise it would occur in P2, before ἐφοῖτα. This focus on 'her/herself' can perhaps be explained in terms of a **contrast** with respect to Euphiletus' wife whom he does still frequently visit. It has already

been noted that Ancient Greek culture seem to be very prone to see contrasts where we would not spontaneously see them.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

9	αὐτή δὲ	And that woman,
10	ὀργιζομένη	she was angry
11	καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσα,	and felt she was wronged
12	ὅτι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐφοίτα παρ’ αὐτήν,	because he wasn’t visiting her regularly anymore like before.
13	ἐφύλαττεν	So she was keeping an eye on him
14	ἕως ἐξήυρεν	until she found out
15	ὅ τι εἶη τὸ αἴτιον.	what was the reason.

11.3.2 Lysias 1,16

- (1) προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἄνθρωπος τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιτηροῦσα,
Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *So the old creature accosted me where she was on the look-out, near my house, and said, [...]*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
1	προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι	οὖν /q/ in /P2; μοι /t/ in P2	autonomous participle clause (minus non-argument prepositional phrase of place cola 2 and 4)
2	ἐγγὺς		non-argument prepositional phrase; interrupted by parenthesis colon 3
3	ἡ ἄνθρωπος		parenthesis (afterthought)
4	τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς		rest-colon of colon 2; non-argument prepositional phrase; interrupted by parenthesis colon 3.
5	ἐπιτηροῦσα,		autonomous participle clause

The word order of this segment is highly marked, not to say messy. In any case, it consists grammatically of two participle phrases (προσελθοῦσα μοι and ἐπιτηροῦσα) leading up to two main clauses consisting of directly reported speech introduced by ἔφη (the two other sections of the paragraph). It is not immediately self-evident how some of the other elements in the segment have to be situated with respect to these participles: the position of ἡ ἄνθρωπος, the common subject of both participles and both occurrences of ἔφη, is highly marked. Furthermore, due to this messy word order the grammatical function of ἐγγὺς and the genitive phrase τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς may at first sight be somewhat obscure as well.

The only grammatically plausible analysis for the genitive τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς in colon 4 is to have it belong with ἐγγὺς in colon 2. As this fact appears to be inescapable, ἡ ἄνθρωπος (colon 3) has to be interpreted as an afterthought-like parenthesis, motivated by the fact that the last person mentioned by Euphiletus was not the old woman but the woman who sent her. The speaker noticed that the participle προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι (colon 1) was potentially ambiguous and added the disambiguating afterthought as a parenthesis the very moment it occurred to him, thereby violently interrupting the grammatical unit ἐγγὺς τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς.²¹² The segmentation into 4 cola (cola 1-4) of what could have been a single colon is then largely due to this intrusion.

²¹² Cf. Lysias & Groeneboom (ed. & comm.) 1924, 73: “[...] het is alsof Euphiletus, die doet als sprak hij zonder veel voorbereiding, onder het spreken zijn woorden verduidelijkt en praeciseert door een bijna parenthetische invoeging van ἡ ἄνθρωπος”; Groeneboom adds a reference to Thuc. II, 65. Dover

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

1	προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι	So she came up to me
2	ἐγγύς	near
3	ἢ ἄνθρωπος	- I mean the creature -
4	τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς	near my house
5	ἐπιτηροῦσα,	- she had been on the look-out -

- (2) "Εὐφίλιτε" ἔφη "μηδεμιᾶ πολυπραγμοσύνη προσεληλυθέναι με νόμιζε πρὸς σέ· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὑβρίζων εἰς σέ καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα ἐχθρὸς ὧν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει.
Standard 'Loeb' translation: — "*Euphiletus, do not think it is from any meddlesomeness that I have approached you; for the man who is working both your and your wife's dishonor happens to be our enemy. [...]*"

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
6a	"Εὐφίλιτε"		fronted vocative (interactional marker)
6b	ἔφη		short parenthesis; alternatively in P2 of colon 6
7	"μηδεμιᾶ πολυπραγμοσύνη	complex negative preferential /M/ in P1	fronted non-argument adverbial
8	προσεληλυθέναι <u>μ</u> ε νόμιζε πρὸς σέ·	με /r/ at P2	finite main clause minus fronted non-argument
9	ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ	γὰρ /q/ in P2	fronted subject
10a	ὁ ὑβρίζων		participial clause (// relative clause); scope over parallel structure 10b-10c
10b	εἰς σέ		parallel/coordinated to to 10c
10c	καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα	καὶ /O/ in P1	parallel/coordinated to to 10b
11	ἐχθρὸς ὧν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει	see commentary below	finite main clause minus fronted subject

Let us first look at a few segmentation issues as such:

- The issue as to whether there is a colon boundary between 6a and 6b is a trivial one: **ἔφη** can be viewed as separate colon or as being in P2 of the previous colon (see section 10.2.5(2) above; cf. also colon 18 here below).
- The right boundary of colon 7 is warranted by the /r/-postpositive in P2 of colon 8, as it would be very unlikely that "μηδεμιᾶ πολυπραγμοσύνη προσεληλυθέναι" would constitute a **word-like unit**: "no meddlesomeness" might make up such a unit but a unit "to-come-out-of-(no)-meddlesomeness" would be very unlikely. Colon 7 is then evidently fronted but equally evidently does not have a topic function and may be analyzed as some kind of 'emphatic fronting'; for a more detailed account I refer to section 16.1(2) below.
- The issue as to whether there are any boundaries between 10a, 10b and 10c is again trivial: depending on the tempo of delivery, intonational sandhi may or may not apply to the quite simple parallel cola; it might even be possible to let cola 9 and 10 merge.

Next, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at the internal structures of a few cola in this excerpt that show some interesting word order features.

(1960/1968, 46) seems to find it a sufficient explanation to consider ἢ ἄνθρωπος as 'given' ("Concomitant") and therefore taking P2 in the colon introduced by ἐγγύς; however, it seems obvious to me that, pragmatically speaking, the only possible function which ἢ ἄνθρωπος can have is to clarify a possible ambiguity between two female referents, in which case an afterthought analysis (implying a separate colon) is more natural. See also Todd 2007, 108.

As for the word order within colon 8 we observe the following:

- The unemphatic pronoun **με** is in its expected P2 position. As ‘I/me’ can be expected to be only rarely ‘new’ in any real-life context and as the speaker here does not seem to imply any contrast between herself and anybody else, this unemphatic/non-focal status is quite unsurprising.
- The imperative νόμιζε can then be analyzed as ‘Concomitant’/**unfocused**, as is suggested by the fact that it takes P2, immediately following the /r/-postpositive.
- The fact that the verb προσεληλυθέναι is in P1 suggests that it is **focused**. Likewise, πρὸς σέ must be focused, otherwise it would have taken P2, before νόμιζε. Compare this analysis to the most ‘normal’ rendering of the English “Don’t think I came up to you ...”: obviously, the stressed syllables will be ‘up’ and ‘you’, which corresponds to what is suggested by the word order of the Greek text.

Although the boundaries of colon 11 as such are not doubtful because of the overall pattern in which it has its place, its internal structure shows a few difficulties, the main one being the position of ἡμῖν:

- We may read ἡμῖν as **focused**, in which case it is a regular /M/-mobile. The focus on ἡμῖν might be explained by a contrast between ‘us’ (ἡμῖν in colon 11) and ‘you’ (σέ and σὴν in cola 10a-10b): “he happens to be (also) an enemy of US”.²¹³
- If ἡμῖν is **unfocused**, it has to be read as an /r/-postpositive in P2. Note that, even if we would accept that the proper position of ὧν as a copula would be P2 (but we didn’t find any convincing evidence for this tendency in the statistics presented in section 5.2.1 above, especially not in the case of non-finite verb forms), we would still expect the verb to come after the pronoun (cf. the examples quoted in 5.2.1(2)). However, several parallel cases in Lysias 10,22 (see my analysis in 11.4 below) suggest that we can also read the combination of ἐχθρὸς (nominal part of the predicate) + ὧν (copula) as a unit.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

6	"Εὐφίλητε" ἔφη	“Euphiletus”, she said,
7	"μηδεμιᾶ πολυπραγμοσύνη	“don’t think it’s out of meddlesomeness
8	προσεληλυθέναι με νόμιζε πρὸς σέ·	that I have come up to you.
9	ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ	Because the man
10	ὁ ὑβρίζων εἰς σέ καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα	who does wrong to you and your wife
11	ἐχθρὸς ὧν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει.	happens to be our enemy.

Note that the beginning of this segment shows some interesting features from a cognitive point of view. The oratio recta starts with the vocative (without the customary and polite ὦ!) in fronted position (as opposed to the second position it usually takes). This looks like a very abrupt way to start a conversation on the street. However, this is perhaps in line with circumstances: for the old woman’s purposes, it would be perhaps counterproductive to formally and publically address Euphiletus; one might even surmise that she would try to conceal the fact that she was talking to him at all and quickly whispered something to him. In any case, the abrupt beginning of the conversation can be connected to the fact that the first thing the old woman says (after the address) is ‘it’s not out of meddlesomeness’, because that would exactly be the first thought that Euphiletus would have when he was addressed in this way by an old woman.

²¹³ An interpretation according to which ‘us’ would include Euphiletus (implying that colon 11 means ‘he happens to be our common enemy’) is very unlikely in the light of the fact that Euphiletus is singled out very explicitly in the previous colon by means of second person pronouns.

Also observe the position of **νόμιζε** in colon 8, as opposed to the position of “don’t think” in colon 7 in my English translation. The P2 position of νόμιζε, just after the /r/-postpositive με and so coming in between προσεληλυθέναι and its complement πρὸς σέ, is in accordance with its non-focal character as a mere **illocutionary marker**. The illocutionary force of a negative imperative was already expressed by the μή in μηδεμιᾷ; in the English translation it proved to be impossible to separate the negation and the imperative. In both the Ancient Greek text and its present English translation, the elements can thus be argued to occupy their least marked positions.

- (3) ἐὰν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν θεραπαινὴν τὴν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσαν καὶ διακονοῦσαν ὑμῖν ἅπαντα πεύσῃ".
Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: “[...] *If, therefore, you take the servant-girl who goes to market and waits on you, and torture her, you will learn all.*”

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
12	ἐὰν οὖν	ἐὰν /O/ in P1; οὖν /q/ in P2	scope over coordinated elements (13-16)
13	λάβῃς τὴν θεραπαινὴν		finite VP minus coordinate participial clauses (14-15); coordinated to 16
14	τὴν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσαν		participial clause; coordinated to 15
15	καὶ διακονοῦσαν ὑμῖν	καὶ /O/ in P1; ὑμῖν /r/ in P2	participial clause ; coordinated to 14
16	καὶ βασανίσης,	καὶ /O/ in P1	finite VP coordinated to colon 13-15
17	ἅπαντα πεύσῃ".		finite main clause

Except for the /r/-postpositive ὑμῖν in colon 15 and the two cases of καὶ, this excerpt hardly presents any cases of the lexical criteria for segmentation investigated in Part I of this study. Still, the segmentation of the excerpt is quite straightforward: the rule that parallel structures cannot normally occur within a single colon IU (see section 10.2.2 and section 0.2.4(3) on the ‘**parallelism constraint**’) accounts for all the colon boundaries. Colon 12 is a ‘rest-colon’: the marker has scope over two coordinated VPs (13-15 and 16) and thus can be realized as a separate IU/colon. Of course, intonational sandhi can apply to some of the boundaries: for instance, colon 12 may be merged with colon 13 in actual performance, but this is a trivial issue for all practical purposes.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

12	ἐὰν οὖν	So,
13	λάβῃς τὴν θεραπαινὴν	if you take your servant-girl,
14	τὴν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσαν	the one that goes to the market
15	καὶ διακονοῦσαν ὑμῖν	and waits on you,
16	καὶ βασανίσης,	and if you torture her,
17	ἅπαντα πεύσῃ".	you will find out everything”.

- (4) "ἔστι δ'" ἔφη "Ἐρατοσθένης Ὀἷθεν ὁ ταῦτα πράττων, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα διέφθορκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς· ταύτην γὰρ [τὴν] τέχνην ἔχει".
Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: “*It is,*” *she said, “Eratosthenes of Oe who is doing this; he has debauched not only your wife, but many others besides; he makes an art of it.”*”

(a) Application of the segmentation criteria:

		left boundary	colon type
18a	"ἔστι δ'"	δέ /q/ at P1; ἔστι no P2-tendency expected (not a 'normal' copula)	segmentation doubtful (see discussion below)
18b	ἔφη		short parenthesis; segmentation doubtful (see discussion below)
18c	"Ἐρατοσθένης Ὁῆθεν		segmentation doubtful (see discussion below)
19	ὁ ταῦτα πράττων,	ταῦτα demonstrative preferential /M/ in P1 (except for /p/-prepositive ὁ)	participle clause; extraposed subject (afterthought), see discussion below
20	ὅς	ὅς /O/ at P1	fronted subject; scope over parallel structures
21	οὐ μόνον τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα διέφθαρκεν	οὐ μόνον /O/-unit at P1	finite clause (minus fronted subject NP); parallelism with 22
22	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς.	ἀλλὰ καὶ /O/-unit at P1	parallelism with 21
23	ταύτην γὰρ [τὴν] τέχνην ἔχει". ²¹⁴	γὰρ /q/ in P2; ταύτην demonstrative preferential /M/ in P1	main finite clause

Colon 18a-c shows a number of interesting features as far as word order and segmentation are concerned:

- In this occurrence, **ἔστι** is not used as a regular copula (between 'definite' subject and 'predicative' predicate) but indicates the identity between the definite subject **ὁ ταῦτα πράττων** and equally definite proper name; the fact that it does not take P2 is therefore not unexpected.
- Concerning the status of **ἔφη** I have already noted that short parentheses of this type often seem to interrupt what looks like a plausible colon and that in these cases they occupy P2 in that colon (section 10.2.5(2)). I also compared the effect of these interruptions in actual performance with the effect that 'hesitation' pauses can have if they occur within an IU, i.e. to make the reader wait for a high-content constituent (cf. also a suspense-pause as in "and the winner is ..."). This interpretation is quite plausible in the present context.
- It is unlikely that segments 18a-c would be realized as 3 separate IUs, which would not correspond to any readily recognizable types. In what follows I will assume that they actually constitute a single colon, following the analysis here above.

As for the encompassing pattern from which colon 18 and colon 19 derive their discourse functions, it is obvious that this pattern is in a way the opposite of the now familiar topic-comment pattern: the main message ("it's Eratosthenes") is already given in the first part of the pattern (colon 18) and the topic (also the grammatical subject) is added afterwards as a kind of **afterthought** (for further discussion see section 17.2(3)).

²¹⁴ The editorial conjecture in colon 23 is yet another case (cf. footnote to section 11.1(2a) above) in which a philologist, this time Bekker, proposes an emendation of the Lysias text without any support from the manuscript readings, just because he thinks his reading is somehow 'better' than the text of the tradition. Todd apparently finds this practice acceptable: "ταύτην γὰρ [τὴν] τέχνην ἔχει" ('he makes a hobby of it'). The meaning of the manuscripts would be, 'he has this profession'; Bekker's emendation makes the phrase far more effective: 'he has this as a profession' or 'he makes this his profession'" (Todd 2007, 110).

The segmentation and word order in cola 20-23 is rather straightforward. Note the internal structure of colon 21 and colon 22: in both cases the colon starts with a lexicalized cluster of introductives (οὐ μόνον resp. ἀλλὰ καὶ), plausibly followed by the focused (contrastive) information that constitutes the main point of each colon (“your wife” vs. “plenty of other women”).

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

18	"ἔστι δ'" ἔφη "'Ερατοσθένης Ὀῆθεν	"It is ... Eratosthenes of Oë", she said,
19	ὁ ταῦτα πράττων,	"who does all that.
20	ὃς	He's the one
21	οὐ μόνον τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα διέφθορακεν	who ruined not only your wife
22	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς·	but plenty of others as well:
23	ταύτην γὰρ [τὴν] τέχνην ἔχει".	He has this trade, you see".

It may be useful to mention a few issues concerning the details of this translation:

- Putting “she said” after “it is” in colon 18 (cf. the Loeb translation quoted above) might at first sight seem to closely reflect the word order of the original, but I would like to argue that this is perhaps actually not the case: whereas in Ancient Greek it can be shown that P2 within a colon is one of the unmarked positions for short parentheses such as ἔφη, it remains to be seen whether the same position is equally unmarked in modern English usage.
- I chose not to follow the unfounded conjecture “τὴν” (see footnote above) and translated accordingly.

11.3.3 Lysias 1,17

- (1) ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπηλλάγη, ἐγὼ δ' εὐθέως ἐταραττόμην, καὶ πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει, καὶ μεσοῦς ἦν ὑποψίας,

Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *With these words, sirs, she took herself off; I was at once perturbed; all that had happened came into my mind, and I was filled with suspicion, — [...]*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
1	ταῦτα εἰποῦσα,	ταῦτα preferential /M/ in P1	participial clause (fronted)
2	ὦ ἄνδρες,		short parenthesis (vocative)
3	ἐκείνη μὲν	μὲν /q/ in P2; ἐκείνη preferential /M/ in P2	fronted subject; parallelism (contrast) with 5
4	ἀπηλλάγη,		main finite clause minus fronted subject; parallel to 6
5	ἐγὼ δ'	δέ /q/ in P2; ἐγὼ preferential /M/ in P2	fronted subject; parallelism (contrast) with 3
6	εὐθέως ἐταραττόμην,		main finite clause minus fronted subject; parallel to 4
7	καὶ	καὶ /O/ in P1	scope over complex structure 8-9
8	πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει,	μου /r/ in P2	main finite clause; coordinated to 9
9	καὶ μεσοῦς ἦν ὑποψίας,	καὶ /O/ in P1; ἦν used as copula in P2 (not counting καὶ for position)	main finite clause; coordinated to 8

All the patterns in this segment are familiar:

- The excerpt starts off with a fronted **resumptive** participial clause (cf. the first colon of Lysias 1,16 προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι κτλ).
- The rest of the excerpt consists of a **contrastive pattern**: two contrastive fronted topics (the old woman in colon 3 and Euphiletus in colon 5), followed by events in which the respective topics are the main agents. Although “ἐγὼ” in colon 5 is grammatically speaking the subject of ἐταραττόμην in colon 6 but not of εἰσῆι in colon 8, it can be safely assumed that the scope of this topic goes beyond colon 6 (see section 17.3).

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

1	ταῦτα εἰπούσα,	That’s what she said,
2	ὦ ἄνδρες,	Gentlemen,
3	ἐκείνη μὲν	and the woman
4	ἀπηλλάγη,	she took herself off
5	ἐγὼ δ’	and I
6	εὐθέως ἐταραττόμην,	I was suddenly worried
7	καὶ	and
8	πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσῆι,	everything came into my mind
9	καὶ μεστός ἦν ὑποψίας,	and I was full of suspicion.

- (2) ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν ὡς ἀπεκλήσθην ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ, ἀναμιμνησκόμενος δὲ ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐψόφει ἢ μέταυλος θύρα καὶ ἡ αὐλειος, ὃ οὐδέποτε ἐγένετο, ἔδοξέ τέ μοι ἢ γυνὴ ἐψιμυθιώσθαι.

Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: [...] *reflecting first how I was shut up in my chamber, and then remembering how on that night the inner and outer doors made a noise, which had never occurred before, and how it struck me that my wife had put on powder.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
10	ἐνθυμούμενος <u>μὲν</u>	μὲν /q/ in P2	autonomous participle clause minus finite complement clause; parallel to 12
11	<u>ὡς ἀπεκλήσθην ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ,</u>	ὡς /O/ in P1	finite complement clause;
12a	ἀναμιμνησκόμενος <u>δὲ</u>	δὲ /q/ in P2	autonomous participle clause minus finite complement clause; parallel to 10
12b	<u>ὅτι</u>		scope over complex structure 13-17; can trivially be analyzed as clinging to verbum sentiendi
13	ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ		fronted non-argument prepositional phrase (adverbial of time); scope over complex structure (14-16 or 14-17?)
14	ἐψόφει ἢ μέταυλος θύρα		finite clause minus fronted non-argument prepositional phrase (13) and coordinated second subject (15)
15	καὶ ἡ αὐλειος,	καὶ /O/ in P1	coordinated with 14
16	<u>ὃ οὐδέποτε ἐγένετο,</u>	ὃ /O/ in P1; οὐδέποτε complex negative in P1	relative finite clause; parenthetical
17	ἔδοξέ <u>τέ μοι</u> ἢ γυνὴ ἐψιμυθιώσθαι.	τε /q/ in P2; μοι /r/ in P2	finite clause; coordinated to 13-16 (or 14-16?)

The segmentation of the text into cola is rather straightforward, except for a trivial issue concerning the status of the complementizer ὅτι (colon 12b): since ὅτι has **scope** over a

complex structure (cola 13-17) it may form a separate colon; however, this type of colon is particularly prone to intonational sandhi and hence easily merges with either the following or the preceding colon; since it has exactly the same scope as the matrix verb ἀναμνησκόμενος (colon 12a), I will henceforward assume they are in the same colon 12. For ὡς in colon 11 the scope is not an issue and the complementizer is therefore taken with the clause it introduces.

The overall structure of the discourse is more or less clear: two contrastive, or at least parallel,²¹⁵ participle clauses are each followed by a finite complement clause (11 resp. 13-17). The internal structure of the second complement clause, most notably the scope of colon 13, is somewhat problematic (see section 17.3) but does not present any issues as far as word order and segmentation are concerned.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

10	ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν	I thought of
11	ὡς ἀπεκλήσθην ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ,	how I had been locked up in my room.
12	ἀναμνησκόμενος δὲ ὅτι	And I remembered that
13	ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ	on that night
14	ἐψόφει ἡ μέταυλος θύρα	the inner door had made a noise,
15	καὶ ἡ αὐλειος,	and the outer one,
16	ὃ οὐδέποτε ἐγένετο,	which had never happened,
17	ἔδοξε τέ μοι ἡ γυνὴ ἐπιμυθῖσθαι.	and that my wife seemed to have put on powder.

(3) ταῦτά μου πάντα εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει, καὶ μεστὸς ἦν ὑποψίας.

Standard 'Loeb' translation: *All these things came into my mind, and I was filled with suspicion.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
18	ταῦτά μου πάντα εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει,	μου /t/ in P2; ταῦτα preferential /M/ in P1	full finite main clause; coordinated to 19
19	καὶ μεστὸς ἦν ὑποψίας	καὶ /O/ in P1; ἦν used as copula in P2 (not counting καὶ for position)	finite main clause; coordinated to 18

The quasi-repetition of cola 8-9 in these two cola (the only difference is the presence of ταῦτα the second time) is a brilliant illustration of Lysias' art of highly effective use of the resources of everyday speech. Also note that a comparison between colon 18 and colon 8 yields a textbook minimal pair illustrating Wackernagel's Law: μου automatically takes its 'normal' P2 in both cases, although they are obviously meant to be an echo to each other.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

18	ταῦτά μου πάντα εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει,	All that came into my mind,
19	καὶ μεστὸς ἦν ὑποψίας.	and I was full of suspicion.

²¹⁵ The fact that the participle clauses are linked by...μὲν ...δέ suggests that they are **contrasted** in the Greek text, although a native speaker of a modern standard average European language would probably not be inclined to view these contents as contrasted in any real sense.

11.4 Lysias 10,22

The following excerpt has been selected because it presents a number of discourse patterns that are quite different from the ones we encountered in the previous excerpts. It is taken from the argumentatio of Lysias' speech *Against Theomnestus*, in which an anonymous speaker accuses a certain Theomnestus of slander because Theomnestus had accused him of parricide. For a summary overview of the rather complicated context of the excerpt I refer to section 18 below.

- (1) Οὗτος οὖν ἔνοχος μὲν ὢν τῇ αἰτία, ἐλάττονος δὲ οὔσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς, οὐ μόνον ὑφ' ἑμῶν ἠλεήθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα ἠτίμωσεν.
Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Now this man, on a charge which was well-founded, but which involved less disaster to him, obtained not only your pity, but even the disfranchisement of the witness for the prosecution.*

(a) Application of the segmentation criteria:

		left boundary	colon type
1	Οὗτος οὖν	οὖν /q/-particle in P2; οὗτος demonstrative preferential /M/ in P1	fronted subject NP; parallel to colon 6; scope over cola 2-5
2	ἔνοχος μὲν ὢν τῇ αἰτία,	μὲν /q/ in P2	autonomous participle clause (participium coniunctum); parallel to 3
3	ἐλάττονος δὲ οὔσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς,	δὲ /q/ in P2; anaphoric αὐτῷ potential /r/-postpositive (see commentary)	autonomous participle clause (genitivus absolutus); parallel to 2
4	οὐ μόνον ὑφ' ἑμῶν ἠλεήθη,	οὐ (or rather the unit οὐ μόνον) in P1; N.B.: ὑφ' ἑμῶν focal (not in P2)	main finite clause minus fronted subject; parallel to 5
5	ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα ἠτίμωσεν.	ἀλλὰ and καὶ /O/ (or rather the unit ἀλλὰ καὶ) in P1	main finite clause minus fronted subject; parallel to 6

The segmentation of this excerpt, as it stands, is quite straightforward at first sight: it consists of a full grammatical sentence, with a fronted subject, followed by two participle clauses linked by ...**μὲν...δέ**, and two main finite clauses linked by **οὐ μόνον... ἀλλὰ καὶ...**. However, on closer inspection, the internal structure of cola 2-3, and especially colon 3, is not entirely clear:

- The first issue is whether **αὐτῷ** is **focused** or not. One might want to argue that αὐτῷ is focused because there is a contrast between the contents of colon 3 “the disaster is less for him” and the exact echo of these contents in colon 13 “the disaster will be enormous for me”. However, this is not necessarily a valid argument for the focality of αὐτῷ: colon 3 is under the scope of οὗτος in colon 1 and therefore eminently ‘given’ in the local context; within the local context of the contrast between colon 2 and colon 3 no contrast between “him/Theomnestus” and “I/the speaker” is implied. Furthermore, in colon 13 the postpositive status of μοι is not in doubt, which suggests that this is also the case for αὐτῷ in colon 3.
- If **αὐτῷ** is unfocused, it is an /r/-postpositive and the P2-rule must apply to it. In that case, the status of οὔσης becomes an issue: even if the participle could be viewed as postpositive (but see my remarks concerning a similar case in section 11.3.2(2)), it would still be expected that αὐτῷ preceded the participle. One might also argue for an analysis in which ἐλάττονος δὲ would make up a separate colon, due to ‘emphatic

fronting’, but in that case the fact that the participle would be in P1 is problematic. Perhaps the most elegant solution is to surmise that the combination of the nominal part of the predicate ἐλάττωνος + the copula οὔσης makes up a word-like unit. A similar analysis would then also apply to colon 2 and colon 13.

Note that the word order suggests that ὕφ’ ὑμῶν in colon 4 and τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα in colon 5 are both focused, as if they were contrasted contents, which is not really the case.²¹⁶ For further discussion of the very artificial ‘rhetorical’ use of contrasts in this excerpt, see section 18 below.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

1	Ὁὗτος οὔν	Now this man,
2	ἐνοχος μὲν ὢν τῇ αἰτίᾳ,	who is liable to the charge,
3	ἐλάττωνος δὲ οὔσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς,	although it involved less disaster to him,
4	οὐ μόνον ὕφ’ ὑμῶν ἠλεήθη,	obtained not only your pity,
5	ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα ἠτίμωσεν.	but even the disfranchisement of the witness for the prosecution.

- (2) ἐγὼ δὲ ἑωρακῶς μὲν ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον ποιήσαντα ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε, αὐτὸς δὲ σώσας τὴν ἀσπίδα, ἀκηκοῶς δὲ οὕτως ἀνόσιον καὶ δεινὸν πρᾶγμα, μεγίστης δὲ οὔσης μοι τῆς συμφορᾶς, εἰ ἀποφεύξεται, τούτῳ δ’ οὐδενὸς ἀξίας, εἰ κακῆγορίας ἀλώσεται, οὐκ ἄρα δίκην παρ’ αὐτοῦ λήψομαι;

Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *But I, who have seen him do that which you likewise know, who have saved my own shield, who have been accused of a proceeding thus unholy and monstrous, and whose disaster will be overwhelming if he is acquitted, while his will be inconsiderable if he is convicted of slander, — am I not to obtain satisfaction from him?*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
6	<u>ἐγὼ</u> <u>δὲ</u>	δὲ /q/-particle in P2; ἐγὼ nominative personal pronoun preferential /M/ in P1	fronted subject NP; parallel to colon 1; scope over cola 7-17
7	ἑωρακῶς <u>μὲν</u>	μὲν /q/-particle in P2	fronted verbum percipiendi (epistemic marker?); parallel to colon 11; scope over correlative structure 8-9 (or even 8-10, see my analysis in section 18 below)
8	<u>ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον</u> <u>ποιήσαντα</u>	ἐκεῖνο demonstrative (preferential /M/) in P1	participle clause
9	<u>ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς</u> ἴστε,	ὃ relative (/O/) in P1; focused nominative ὑμεῖς	subordinate finite clause
10	αὐτὸς <u>δὲ</u> σώσας τὴν ἀσπίδα,	δὲ /q/-particle in P1	participle clause

²¹⁶ In the case of ὕφ’ ὑμῶν, the information cannot be really considered ‘new’ either. Note, however, that NPs and PPs are generally speaking more likely to carry the focus within a VP than the verb itself.

11	ἀκηκῶς δὲ	δὲ /q/-particle in P2	fronted verbum percipiendi (epistemic marker?); parallel to colon 7
12	οὕτως ἀνόσιον καὶ δεινὸν πράγμα,	οὕτως demonstrative (preferential) in P1	segmentation doubtful: non-fronted argument NP (but colon 11 probably autonomous)
13	μεγίστης δὲ οὔσης μοι τῆς συμφορᾶς,	δὲ /q/ in P2; μοι /r/ in P2 (see commentary below)	participle clause (genitivus absolutus): parallel to 15
14	εἰ ἀποφεύξεται,	εἰ /O/ in P1	subordinate finite clause
15	τούτῳ δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίας,	τούτῳ demonstrative (preferential /M/) in P1; οὐδενὸς complex negative (preferential /M/) in P1 (?)	elliptical participle clause (genitivus absolutus); parallel to 13
16	εἰ κακηγορίας ἀλώσεται,	εἰ /O/ in P1	subordinate finite clause
17	οὐκ ἄρα δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψομαι;	οὐκ /O/-introductory in P1; ἄρα /q/-particle in P2; anaphoric αὐτοῦ plausibly /r/ in P2 after the first /M/, not counting the negative	main finite clause, minus fronted subject (colon 6)

The overall grammatical structure of this segment is quite clear, at least formally (for difficulties concerning the interpretation of the contents and of the pragmatics, see section 18 below):

- colon 6: a fronted topic NP (parallel to colon 1);
- two parallel participle clauses (participia coniuncta agreeing with the subject/topic): cola 7-10 resp. cola 11-12;
- another two parallel participle clauses (genitivi absoluti): cola 13-14 resp. cola 15-16;
- colon 17: the main finite VP.

As for the additional colon boundaries within these segments and the internal structures of these cola, a number of issues need to be pointed out. The highly contrived **rhetorical parallelisms** yield a large number of segmentation cues, but the very artificial nature of these parallelisms often make it difficult to come to a 'natural' interpretation in cognitive terms and in terms of the usual colon types:

- Colon 7 and colon 11 are obviously parallel to each other. Although verba percipiendi are quite regularly fronted with respect to the complement clauses that they introduce (in which case they can function as an 'epistemic marker' with respect to the contents of the complement clauses), this is not really the case here, especially not in the case of colon 11: ἀκηκῶς is used in its technical sense of 'being accused' and arguably does not even function as a verbum percipiendi at all (also note that its complement is not a clause but an NP characterizing the accusation that the speaker faces).²¹⁷ Still, the autonomous status of colon 7 is warranted by the fact that it does introduce a complement clause and has scope over a complex structure. It can then be argued that the very conspicuous parallelism between 7 and 11 is sufficient for attributing a similar autonomous status to colon 11. This analysis is corroborated by the word order in colon 12: οὕτως can be expected to take P1 in a colon (especially when it expresses strong emotional emphasis); if there was no boundary between colon 11 and colon 12 one would expect the verb to be concomitant and to occur later in the colon.
- The boundary between colon 8 and colon 9 is warranted by the **correlative pattern** ἐκεῖνο... ὁ... . Note that the cataphoric function of ἐκεῖνο makes it precede τούτου in

²¹⁷ Cf. Aristotle's notion of 'false contrasts' (ψευδεῖς ἀντιθέσεις); see section 10.4.4(2b).

the internal structure of colon 8. Likewise, the word-like unit καὶ ὑμεῖς in colon 9 (adverbial καί being a focus marker) would tend towards P1, but obviously has to be preceded by the relative.²¹⁸

- The segment consisting of cola 13-16 is articulated by a parallel (contrastive) relation between cola 13-14 and 15-16, which -as far as the contents are concerned- coincides with a **contrast** between the speaker's and his opponent's respective situations (μεγίστης τῆς συμφορᾶς vs. οὐδενὸς ἀξίας), according to the speaker.

The internal structures of colon 13 and colon 15 are interesting. First, there is an issue concerning the segmentation itself. One might want to use the position of μοι in colon 13 to warrant a boundary between μεγίστης δὲ and οὔσης μοι τῆς συμφορᾶς. In that case, a similar boundary can be postulated between τούτῳ δ' and οὐδενὸς ἀξίας in colon 15 (in the latter case this boundary could be corroborated by the fact that the negative οὐδενὸς would be in its expected P1). The resulting cola μεγίστης δὲ and τούτῳ δ' could then be viewed as the result of some kind of 'emphatic fronting'. However, in that case the **copula** οὔσης would be in P1, which would look awkward. In what follows I will simply assume the analysis argued for with respect to cola 2-3 above: I will read the combination μεγίστης + οὔσης (nominal predicate + copula) as a word-like unit and consider cola 13 and 15 as single cola, of the familiar 'genitivus absolutus' type.

Next, we need to discuss the internal word order within colon 13 and colon 15: (i) there is an obvious **chiasmus** 'enormous - for me' vs. 'for him - inconsiderable'; (ii) the following issue arises: why is μοι unfocused, whereas its counterpart τούτῳ is focused? Both these aspects of the word order in these cola can be explained by referring to cognitive factors similar (but not identical!) to the ones that play a role in Sling's account of chiasmus (see section 10.4.3 above). At the moment colon 13 is uttered, the information conveyed by μοι is highly 'given' (note that this colon is under the scope of the topic ἐγὼ in colon 6) and there is no reason for it to be focused in the local context. Furthermore, the superlative notion of 'enormous' is quite prone to be put in P1 in Ancient Greek. At the moment the second member of the contrast needs to be produced, the notion of 'inconsiderable' is -cognitively speaking- already less salient because it is predictable from the notion of 'enormous' in the first member. The major contrastive focus is therefore on "him" (as opposed to "me"), especially because the local context is still under the scope of ἐγὼ in colon 6 as the general topic of the whole segment/sentence under scrutiny.

- The word order within colon 17 (οὐκ ἄρα δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψομαι;) is a canonical illustration of a number of **regular word order** phenomena as studied in Part I above:
 - οὐκ is /O/-introductory, and therefore tends towards P1 in the colon; in many of its uses it is also prepositive/proclitic, and therefore clings to the next Mobile word (which would in this case be δίκην); however, in this case it introduces a negative rhetorical question and has wide scope, in which case it might be argued to not be prepositive after all;

²¹⁸ Also note the quasi-chiastic pattern between colon 8 and colon 10: "ἐκεῖνο (object) τοῦτον (subject) ποιήσαντα (verb)" vs. "αὐτὸς (subject) σώσας (verb) τὴν ἀσπίδα (object)". The word order is quite natural and does not require any explanations involving rhetorical engineering. As already indicated, the P1 of ἐκεῖνο is easily explained by its cataphoric function within the correlative structure ἐκεῖνο... ὁ... , whereas the P1 of αὐτὸς is quite predictable due to the contrastive focus it carries (cf. what is said below about the status of μοι and τούτῳ in cola 13 and 15).

- ἄρα is a /q/-particle, clinging to the very first word of the colon, forming a unit with that first word (or with that first word and the following one); οὐκ ἄρα in this kind of use is a plausible formula (cf. 6.2(3e) above);
- δίκην is the first full word in the colon and therefore probably focused, which is quite plausible as it is the argument of a **low-content verb** (λήψομαι);
- παρ' αὐτοῦ is a word-like unit consisting of a /p/-prepositive preposition + an /r/-postpositive unfocused pronoun; the whole unit is postpositive and prosodically clings to the first full word of the colon;
- the verb λήψομαι is a /M/-mobile; as a low-content verb it is non-focal and immediately follows the /r/-postpositive.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

6	ἐγὼ δὲ	But I,
7	ἔωρακώς μὲν	I who have seen
8	ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον ποιήσαντα	that he did that
9	ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε,	which you likewise know,
10	αὐτὸς δὲ σώσας τὴν ἀσπίδα,	while I saved my own shield,
11	ἀκηκῶς δὲ	I who have been accused
12	οὕτως ἀνόσιον καὶ δεινὸν πρῶγμα,	of a proceeding so unholy and monstrous,
13	μεγίστης δὲ οὔσης μοι τῆς συμφορᾶς,	although the disaster will be enormous for me
14	εἰ ἀποφεύξεται,	if he is acquitted,
15	τούτῳ δ' οὐδενὸς ἀξίας,	while for him it will be inconsiderable
16	εἰ κακηγορίας ἀλώσεται,	if he is convicted of slander,
17	οὐκ ἄρα δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ λήψομαι;	- am I not to obtain satisfaction from him?

The specific exercise of retaining the segmentation of the original proved rather difficult: due to the relative poverty in particles and the fact that the possible uses of participles in English are highly restricted, the contrast relations marked by ...μέν...δέ or simple δέ could not be rendered without artifice. The solutions I have chosen, involving a relative clause for the participia coniuncta (colon 2 resp. cola 7-10) and concessive clauses for some of the contrasted participles ('although...' in colon 3 and colon 13, 'while...' in colon 10 and colon 15) are ad hoc but seemed to allow me to retain the parallelisms of the original and avoid too awkward an anacoluthon in colon 17.

It looks like these difficulties point towards a cultural difference (on top of the purely linguistic differences) between the Ancient text and modern usage: this particular type of formal speech is (or has become) completely foreign to present-day spoken (and even written) English.

11.5 Plato *Sph.* 216d-217e

This excerpt is taken from the very beginning of Plato's *Sophista* and displays a number of interesting conversational patterns (see section 19 below). As compared to the previous excerpts, one more obvious segmentation criterion can be added: the boundaries between the turns that the various speakers take are quite reliable for the segmentation into cola (if not for the more macrostructural aspects of discourse).

- (1) **ΣΩ.** τοῦ μέντοι ξένου ἡμῖν ἡδέως ἄν πυνθανοίμην, εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ, τί ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡγοῦντο καὶ ὠνόμαζον.
 Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Socrates: But I should like to ask our stranger here, if agreeable to him, what people in his country thought about these matters, and what names they used.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
1	τοῦ <u>μέντοι</u> ξένου ἡμῖν	μέντοι /q/ in P2; ἡμῖν /r/ in P2 (?)	fronted argument NP
2	ἡδέως <u>ἄν</u> πυνθανοίμην,	ἄν /r/ in P2	main finite clause minus fronted NP (colon 1) and minus finite complement clause (colon 4)
3	εἰ φίλον <u>αὐτῷ</u> ,	εἰ /O/ in P1; αὐτῷ (potential /r/-postpositive) in P2 (εἰ does not count for position)	parenthetical finite subordinate clause
4	τί ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡγοῦντο <u>καὶ</u> ὠνόμαζον.	τί /O/ in P1	finite complement clause

As far as the segmentation into cola is concerned, this excerpt does not present any serious problems: the word order cues are abundant and quite clear and yield cola of readily recognizable types.

However, the following details are perhaps worth noting:

- Colon 1: it is unusual for a /r/-postpositive to come at the end of a fronted constituent of the form /p q M r/ (see section 2.4.3 above), but this dativus does not have a clear syntactico-semantic function, which often gives rise to /q/-particle-like behavior (see e.g. 3.3(b)).
- Colon 2: the boundary between cola 1 and 2 is somewhat arguable: ἡδέως ἄν πυνθανοίμην is arguably a formula, in which case the position of ἄν need not necessarily be evidence for a boundary between colon 1 and colon 2, but as the 'normal' segmentation criteria give rise to cola of readily recognizable types, I will not take that possibility into account in what follows.
- Colon 4: καὶ ὠνόμαζον need not be taken as a separate segment, despite the presence of καὶ and the resulting parallelism: ἡγοῦντο καὶ ὠνόμαζον may be counted as a contextually motivated unit, especially as both verbs have all their complements in common; the alternative segmentation can, of course, trivially be substituted.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

ΣΩ.	Socrates
1 τοῦ μέντοι ξένου ἡμῖν	But from our stranger here,
2 ἡδέως ἄν πυνθανοίμην,	I would like to find out,
3 εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ,	if that is o.k. with him,
4 τί ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ τόπον ἡγοῦντο καὶ ὠνόμαζον.	what the people in his country thought of these things and what they called them.

The translation of colon 4 is somewhat problematic in that it does not sound like a plausible single IU: I have not been able to find a natural-sounding English translation in which the two verbs involved have the same syntactic valence ("what they considered and called these things" sounds awkward to me).

- (2) **ΘΕΟ.** Τὰ ποῖα δῆ;
ΣΩ. Σοφιστήν, πολιτικόν, φιλόσοφον.
 Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *Theodorus: What matters do you mean? Socrates: Sophist, statesman, philosopher.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
5	Τὰ ποῖα δῆ;	δῆ /q/ in P2, with article+ποῖα as a unit; ποῖα /O/ at P1	full separate turn; elliptical main clause
6a	Σοφιστήν,		elliptical main clause; parallel to 6b and 6c
6b	πολιτικόν,		elliptical main clause; parallel to 6a and 6c
6c	φιλόσοφον.		elliptical main clause; parallel to 6a and 6b

This excerpt consists of 2 complete speaker turns, each corresponding to syntactically autonomous (though elliptical) main clauses. Cola 6a-c consist of 3 nouns in asyndeton and are plausibly realized as 3 IUs.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

ΘΕΟ.	Theodorus
5 Τὰ ποῖα δῆ;	What kind of things?
ΣΩ.	Socrates
6 Σοφιστήν, πολιτικόν, φιλόσοφον.	Sophist, statesman, philosopher.

- (3) **ΘΕΟ.** Τί δὲ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν διαπορηθεὶς ἐρέσθαι διενόηθης;
ΣΩ. Τόδε· πότερον ἐν πάντα ταῦτα ἐνόμιζον ἢ δύο, ἢ καθάπερ τὰ ὀνόματα τρία, τρία καὶ τὰ γένη διαιρούμενοι καθ’ ἐν ὄνομα [γένος] ἐκάστῳ προσῆπτον;
 Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *Theodorus: What particular difficulty and what kind of difficulty in regard to them is it about which you had in mind to ask? Socrates: It is this: Did they consider all these one, or two, or, as there are three names, did they divide them into three classes and ascribe to each a class, corresponding to a single name?*^[219]

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
7	Τί δὲ μάλιστα	δὲ /q/ in P2; interrogative /O/ in P1	fronted illocutionary marker
8	καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν διαπορηθεὶς	καὶ /O/ in P1; interrogative ποῖόν /O/ in P1 (not counting καὶ); τι /t/ in P2	participial clause; parenthesis (see commentary below)
9	ἐρέσθαι διενόηθης;		rest-colon due to intrusion of parenthesis colon 8

²¹⁹ Albini’s edition, as used throughout this study, follows Schleiermacher’s unfounded conjecture to eliminate the word γένος. In what follows I will simply follow the manuscripts’ (and Lamb’s) reading, keeping the word in the text.

10	Τόδε·	τόδε cataphoric demonstrative (preferential /M/) in P1	elliptical main clause
11	πότερον ἐν πάντα ταῦτα ἐνόμιζον	πότερον /O/ in P1	finite clause
12	ἢ δύο,	ἢ /O/ in P1	elliptical finite clause (parallel to 11 and 13-16)
13	ἢ	ἢ /O/ in P1	marker with scope over coordinated constituent with complex internal structure 14-16
14	καθάπερ τὰ ὀνόματα τρία,	καθάπερ /O/ in P1	elliptical finite clause
15	τρία καὶ τὰ γένη διαιρούμενοι		autonomous participle clause
16	καθ' ἐν ὄνομα γένος ἐκάστω προσήπτον;	ἐν numeral preferential /M/ in P1 (preposition /p/ not counted)	finite clause (minus participle clause 14-15)

This excerpt consists of 2 complete speaker turns:

- cola 7-9, consisting of one main finite clause;
- cola 10-16, consisting of an elliptical main finite clause (colon 10: Τόδε [sc. ἐρέσθαι διενόηθην]) and three parallel subordinate clauses (second one elliptical).

The structure of cola 7-9 is difficult, involving both a syntactic problem and a segmentation problem. Consider the following three possibilities:

- (i) Τί δὲ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν διαπορηθεῖς | ἐρέσθαι διενόηθης; According to this possibility, the two interrogative expressions syntactically belong with the participle, and ἐρέσθαι has no overt direct object. This possibility can be excluded because Theodorus' question seems to be "What did you want to ask specifically?", and not "Because of what problem did you want to ask something?", as can be seen from the answer that Socrates actually gives.
- (ii) Τί δὲ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν | διαπορηθεῖς | ἐρέσθαι διενόηθης; According to this possibility, the two interrogative expressions again are coordinated (perhaps a 'politeness' device?) but are the object of ἐρέσθαι, the autonomous participle not having a direct object (which is perfectly possible with this verb). Although this is not impossible, it should be noted that Τόδε only answers the question with Τί δὲ μάλιστα (and not the one with τὸ ποῖόν τι) and that the position of περὶ αὐτῶν may then be a little bit awkward.
- (iii) Τί δὲ μάλιστα | καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν διαπορηθεῖς | ἐρέσθαι διενόηθης; The first interrogative belongs with ἐρέσθαι and the second one with the participle. This is the possibility adopted here. Colon 8 is then afterthought-like addition, possibly even a parenthetic one (note that the primary 'additive' value of καὶ is compatible with a parenthetic function). Colon 7 is an illocutionary marker of a frequent type (interrogative pronouns or particles can readily be separated from the contents of the question they introduce).

The segmentation of cola 10-16 is rather straightforward, but note the chiasmic word order in cola 11-12 and cola 14-15. Slings' cognitive explanation (see section 10.4.3 above; cf. also section 11.4(2a) here above) applies quite neatly.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

	ΘΕΟ.	Theodorus
7	Τί δὲ μάλιστα	What exactly is it
8	καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν διαπορηθεὶς	-and what kind of problem about them did you have?-
9	ἐρέσθαι διανοήθης;	that you had in mind to ask?
	ΣΩ.	Socrates
10	Τόδε·	It's this:
11	πότερον ἐν πάντα ταῦτα ἐνόμιζον	did they consider all these as one thing,
12	ἢ δύο,	or two,
13	ἢ	or did they,
14	καθάπερ τὰ ὀνόματα τρία,	just as there are three names,
15	τρία καὶ τὰ γένη διαιρούμενοι	divide them into three kinds as well,
16	καθ' ἐν ὄνομα γένος ἐκάστω προσῆπτον;	and assign a kind to each corresponding to one name?

The translation of colon 8 is rather awkward, but so is the syntax of the original Greek. Although the colon is syntactically more thoroughly integrated into the main clause in Greek than in my English translation (participle clause vs. main finite clause), its more or less parenthetical status allows for the fully parenthetical solution I have chosen for my translation.

- (4) **ΘΕΟ.** Ἄλλ' οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγὼ μαι, φθόνος αὐτῷ διελθεῖν αὐτά· ἢ πῶς, ὦ ξένε, λέγωμεν;
Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Theodorus: I think he has no objection to talking about them. What do you say, stranger?*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
17	<u>Ἄλλ'</u> <u>οὐδεὶς,</u>	'Ἄλλ' introductive particle /O/ in P1; complex negative in P1 (/O/-particle not counted)	fronted negative (illocutionary marker)
18	<u>ὡς ἐγὼ μαι,</u>	ὡς /O/ in P1	parenthesis
19	<u>φθόνος</u> <u>αὐτῷ</u>	anaphoric αὐτῷ /t/ in P2	main clause minus fronted negative (colon 17) and minus infinitival complement clause (colon 20)
20	<u>διελθεῖν</u> <u>αὐτά·</u>	anaphoric αὐτά /t/ in P2	infinitival complement clause
21a	<u>ἢ πῶς,</u>	ἢ introductive particle /O/ in P1; πῶς interrogative /O/ in P1	rest-colon (or illocutionary marker?); main finite clause 20a-c interrupted by short parenthesis 21b
21b	<u>ὦ ξένε,</u>		short parenthesis (vocative)
21c	<u>λέγωμεν;</u>		rest colon; main finite clause 20a-c interrupted by short parenthesis 21b

This segment coincides with a complete speaker turn, consisting of two main finite clauses (cola 17-20 resp. 21a-c).

As for cola 17-20, the usual segmentation criteria apply in a quite straightforward fashion: in both colon 19 and colon 20 anaphoric αὐτ- is in P2 of what could be a colon of an easily recognizable type. The only potential issue concerns the status of colon 18: should we read this short parenthesis as (i) a separate colon, or as (ii) taking P2 in a larger segment 17-19 Ἄλλ' οὐδεὶς φθόνος αὐτῷ? Solution (ii) is not entirely impossible in that the combination complex negative + noun is a plausible unit, but it is problematic to consider οὐδεὶς φθόνος as a unit for the purposes of the position of αὐτῷ, but at the same time allow for the fact this unit (?) is interrupted by a parenthesis. In any case, solution (ii) is not a necessary one, as

solution (i) is perfectly acceptable (the fronted negative in colon 17 is a well-established type of colon).

As for colon 21, ὦ ξένε can be (i) read as a separate colon but can be (ii) viewed as postpositive as well. In the first case, λέγωμεν would be a rather awkward rest-colon. The issue is in the end a trivial one.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

<p>ΘΕΟ. 17 Ἄλλ' οὐδεῖς, 18 ὡς ἐγὼ μαι, 19 φθόνος αὐτῷ 20 διελθεῖν αὐτά· 21 ἢ πῶς, ὦ ξένε, λέγωμεν;</p>	<p>Theodorus No, I think, he will have no objection to talk about that. Or what shall we say, stranger?</p>
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For the translation of colon 17 as 'No', I can refer to its status as an illocutionary marker. Theodorus seems to respond politely to Socrates' polite "εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ," in colon 3, which at least formally leaves the opening for the Stranger to decline the invitation to reply to Socrates' questions. For further analysis (incl. the function of the particle Ἄλλ'), cf. section 19.2(3a).

- (5) **ΞΕ.** Οὕτως, ὦ Θεόδωρε. φθόνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεῖς οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι γε τρί' ἡγοῦντο· καθ' ἕκαστον μὴν διορίσασθαι σαφῶς τί ποτ' ἔστιν, οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ἔργον.
 Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Stranger: Just what you did, Theodorus; for I have no objection, and it is not difficult to say that they considered them three. But it is no small or easy task to define clearly the nature of each.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
22a	Οὕτως,	beginning of a separate turn; Οὕτως demonstrative preferential /M/ in P1	elliptical main finite clause
22b	ὦ Θεόδωρε.		short parenthesis (vocative); alternatively in P2 of previous colon
23	φθόνος <u>μὲν γὰρ</u> οὐδεῖς	μὲν and γὰρ /q/-particles in P2	main clause
24	οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν	οὐδὲ introductive particle /O/ in P1	main clause (minus finite complement clause)
25	ὅτι γε τρί' ἡγοῦντο·	ὅτι /O/ in P1; γε /q/ in P2	finite complement clause
26	καθ' ἕκαστον <u>μὴν</u> διορίσασθαι σαφῶς	μὴν /q/-particle in P2 (preposition + mobile unit)	fronted infinitival clause (minus finite complement clause)
27	<u>τί ποτ'</u> ἔστιν,	τί /O/-introductive in P1; ποτ' /r/-postpositive (or /q/-particle?) in P2 (τί ποτ' is a formula)	finite complement clause
28	<u>οὐ</u> μικρὸν	οὐ /O/ in P1	nominal predicate of a main clause (minus fronted subject); coordinated with 29
29	<u>οὐδὲ</u> ῥάδιον ἔργον.	οὐδέ /O/ in P1	nominal predicate of a main clause (minus fronted subject); coordinated with 28

The segmentation of this excerpt does not present any particular difficulties (as always, the vocative in colon 22 can trivially be considered as a separate colon or as clinging to the previous colon) and its overall syntactic structure is obvious as well:

- colon 22 is a full main clause, though elliptical;
- cola 23-25 make up a complex main clause (nominal predicates), consisting of two coordinated main clauses (colon 23 and cola 24-25), connected by ...μέν... (οὐ)δέ... ; however, for the scope of μέν see below; colon 25 is a finite complement clause depending on εἰπεῖν in colon 24;
- cola 26-29 again make up a complex full main clause (introduced by μὴν in colon 26), consisting of two coordinated nominal predicates colon 28 and colon 29 and a fronted infinitival clause (cola 26-27) as their subject; colon 27 is a finite complement clause depending on διορίσασθαι in colon 26.

Anticipating slightly on the analyses in Part III, I would like to already point out that there are a few issues concerning the **scope** and the function of a number of **particles** in this excerpt:

- concerning the scope of the particle μέν in colon 23: on the one hand, it seems to announce οὐδέ in colon 24 on the other hand it might also correspond to μὴν in colon 26;
- concerning γάρ in colon 24: it is probable at first sight that this particle marks the fact that what follows explains why the Stranger said “yes” to Theodorus’ previous question; however, it remains to be seen what the exact scope of the particle is and whether this scope coincides with the scope of the particle μέν with which it makes up a cluster;
- concerning γε in colon 25, see (b) here below.

For further analysis of the issues concerning μέν, γάρ and μὴν, I refer to section 19.2(3b) below.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

ΞΕ.	Stranger
22 Οὕτως, ὦ Θεόδωρε.	Just as you said, Theodorus.
23 φθόνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς	No objection indeed,
24 οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν	and it isn’t hard to say
25 ὅτι γε τρί’ ἠγούντο·	that they actually did consider them three.
26 καθ’ ἕκαστον μὴν διορίσασθαι σαφῶς	But to define each of them clearly
27 τί ποτ’ ἔστιν,	as to what they are,
28 οὐ μικρὸν	that is not a small,
29 οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ἔργον.	nor an easy task.

It may be interesting to focus on a detail concerning colon 25. The **particle γε** marks the fact that a choice is made between three available options (cf. cola 11-16 above: are the sophist, the statesman and the philosopher 1, 2 or 3 different things?), picking one of these.²²⁰ Note, however, that γε is attached to ὅτι and not to τρία, which suggests that the focus is wide, i.e. on the whole clause; this is what I tried to convey in my translation.

²²⁰ Denniston makes the following remark concerning this occurrence: “[...] γε, while not falling under any of the above [sc. ‘emphatic’] categories, may be regarded as expegetic [...] (γε gives the effect of a slight pause after εἰπεῖν: ‘I do not grudge the answer, that they considered them to be three.’)” (Denniston 1934/1950, 140). This remark does not make sense to me: to me, it seems obvious that this use is (what Denniston would call) ‘limitative’ (Denniston 1934/1950, 140 seqq.). Furthermore, the matter of the ‘slight pause’ looks completely ad hoc: if there is a slight pause between εἰπεῖν and ὅτι, this pause would not be “the effect” of the particle.

11.6 Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b

- (1) ΣΩ. Τί οὖν ἔτι ἡμῖν λοιπὸν τῶν τοιούτων;
 EPM. Ταῦτα τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν, συμφέροντά τε καὶ λυσιτελοῦντα καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ κερδαλέα καὶ τάναντία τούτων.
 Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *Socrates: What further words of this sort are left for us? Hermogenes: Those that are related to the good and the beautiful, such as συμφέροντα (advantageous), λυσιτελοῦντα (profitable), ὠφέλιμα (useful), κερδαλέα (gainful), and their opposites.*

(a) Application of the segmentation criteria:

		left boundary	colon type
1	Τί οὖν	beginning of turn; Τί /O/ in P1; οὖν /q/ in P2	fronted illocutionary marker
2	ἔτι ἡμῖν λοιπὸν τῶν τοιούτων;	ἡμῖν probable /r/ in P2; ἔτι spatio-temporal modal adverb preferential /M/ in P1	main clause minus fronted illocutionary marker
3	Ταῦτα τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν,	ταῦτα cataphoric demonstrative preferential /M/ in P1	elliptical main clause; cataphoric expression has scope over cola 4-5
4	συμφέροντά τε καὶ λυσιτελοῦντα καὶ ὠφέλιμα καὶ κερδαλέα	τε /q/ in P2	complex NP coordinated to colon 5
5	καὶ τάναντία τούτων.	καὶ /O/ in P1	NP coordinated to colon 4 (see commentary)

The segment cola 1-2 as a whole coincides with a full turn. The segmentation into two cola is supported by the P2 of ἡμῖν (there is no particular reason why this first person dative should be focalized) and by the P1 of ἔτι. Colon 1 is then of a recognizable type (see section 10.2.4 above).

The internal structure of the next turn (cola 3-5) is somewhat more intricate:

- ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν in colon 3 could be analyzed as two coordinated cola (in which case the remaining words in the colon would plausibly require additional segmentation as well, with at least Ταῦτα as a separate colon). Note, however, that the coordination of ἀγαθός and καλός is a lexicalized one (cf. *καλοκάγαθία*), which easily explains the syntactic integration of the two members of the coordination into one syntactic unit that is hard to cut up into separate cola. Furthermore, this is the general description of what follows and not the actual ‘lemmata’: καλόν and ἀγαθόν are as such not dealt with below.
- One might trivially want to consider the four items (an actual list of lemmata dealt with below) linked by ...τε καὶ ... καί... καί... in colon 4 as four separate cola but this is not necessary and would not have any further consequences.
- Colon 5 (“and their opposites”) stands apart from the list in colon 4, if only in formulation (obviously the etymology of the words “τάναντία τούτων” is not at issue). Also note the fact that τούτων anaphorically refers to the items in colon 4 as a whole. Thus, one can argue that τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν only applies to the list of lemmata in colon 4, in which case colon 4 is subordinated to colon 3, and colon 5 is coordinated to cola 3-4. Also note the fact that both τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν and τάναντία τούτων are introduced by an article and both are abstract paraphrases, whereas the list in colon 4 consists of actual lemma-words without the article.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

<p>ΣΩ. 1 Τί οὖν 2 ἔτι ἡμῖν λοιπὸν τῶν τοιούτων; ΕΡΜ. 3 Ταῦτα τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν, 4 συμφέροντά τε καὶ λυσιτελοῦντα καὶ ἀφέλιμα καὶ κερδαλέα 5 καὶ τάναντία τούτων.</p>	<p>Socrates Well, what further words have we left of this kind? Hermogenes Those related to the good and the beautiful: 'advantageous' and 'profitable' and 'useful' and 'gainful', and their opposites.</p>
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- (2) ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν "συμφέρον" ἤδη που κἂν σὺ εὖροις ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐπισκοπῶν· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιστήμης ἀδελφόν τι φαίνεται.
Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Socrates: You might by this time be able to find the meaning of συμφέροντα by yourself in the light of the previous explanations, for it appears to be own brother to ἐπιστήμη.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
6	Οὐκοῦν		fronted strong discourse marker; wide scope (see commentary)
7	τὸ μὲν "συμφέρον"	μὲν /q/ in P2	fronted topic NP
8	ἤδη που κἂν σὺ εὖροις	see commentary below	main finite clause minus fronted NP
9	ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐπισκοπῶν·		autonomous participle clause
10	τῆς γὰρ ἐπιστήμης	γὰρ /q/ in P2	fronted argument NP (topic?)
11	ἀδελφόν τι φαίνεται.	τι /r/ in P2	main finite clause minus fronted NP

The overall structure of the excerpt is straightforward:

- colon 6 consists of a fronted marker, that evidently has a wide scope, at least over the entire segment discussed here (for further analysis, see section 20.2(init));
- colon 7 is a fronted argument NP (obviously a topic, in that it is one of the lemmata to be explained), which has semantic scope cola 8-11:²²¹ semantically, it is the direct object of εὖροις in colon 8 and the subject of φαίνεται in colon 11;
- cola 8-9 make up a first finite main clause that consists of (i) the VP of the main finite clause, and (ii) a non-argument participial clause (participium coniunctum, agreeing with the subject of the finite clause);
- cola 10-11 make up a second finite main clause, again consisting of a fronted NP (referring back to a previous lemma; see the commentary in section 20.1(1)) and finite VP.

The excerpt does not present any issues as far as the word order phenomena studied here are concerned, except perhaps the interesting internal structure of colon 8. Let us first review the lexical aspects of the word order:

- ἤδη is -what I have called- a 'spatio-temporal modal adverb'. This type of words shows a quite marked tendency towards P1, at least in some of its uses.

²²¹ Pragmatically speaking, its scope is wider (over cola 8-18); see section 20.2 below.

- πού is, qua indefinite adverb, in principle an /r/-positive and can hence be expected to occur after the first full word (or word-like unit). However, it does not mean “somewhere” in this case and in its particle-like uses it also behaves more like a /q/-particle.
- κᾶν σὺ: the καί in κᾶν is here ‘adverbial’ and marks the focus on σὺ (“you too”); the ἄν, qua /r/-postpositive, in would be expected in P2, but καί+ἄν is an established formula, which might yield at first sight unusual word order patterns.
- The verb εὔροις is at its canonical P-ult; it is not properly speaking a ‘low-content verb’, but is not the most focused word in the colon either.

According to the basic word order rules, as studied in Part I, the position of ἄν is potentially irregular: it would be expected that ἄν would immediately follow πού after the first full word ἤδη. But, then again, the order of καί+ἄν is formulaic: if καί and ἄν co-occur within the same colon it is very likely that they will occur in that order. The unit κᾶν (with adverbial καί) as a whole can thus be considered as prepositive with respect to σὺ. In that case, the question is why κᾶν σὺ, qua most focused element in the colon, would not take P1. However, if this were the case, one wonders where πού would have ended up: πού could not cling to ἤδη if ἤδη were not in P1.

One might, of course, also argue for a boundary before κᾶν, with (adverbial) καί in P1 and /r/-postpositive in P2. This is not impossible either: ἤδη πού would then be a fronted marker, of a not completely impossible type. In an actual performance this marker would be very likely to merge with the ensuing colon (intonational sandhi).

This instance closely reminds of the ambiguous status of /O/-introductives, as noted throughout Part I: /O/-introductives can either function as ‘full words’ in P1 or be prepositive with respect to such a ‘full word’. Of course, the difference between /O/-introductives and ‘preferential’ Mobiles is the product of mainly methodological considerations, allowing us to construe a workable categorization of the lexicon for the purposes of statistical analysis. It may well be argued that preferentials like the present type of ‘modal adverbs’ actually *are* introductive in the particle-like uses in which they are clearly ‘preferential’.

In any case, the present order looks like a very normal one, whether or not there is a boundary.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

ΣΩ.	Socrates
6 Οὐκοῦν	Well.
7 τὸ μὲν "συμφέρον"	As for ‘συμφέρον’ (‘advantageous’),
8 ἤδη πού κᾶν σὺ εὔροις	you too might now find out about it,
9 ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐπισκοπῶν·	if you look at what we said before.
10 τῆς γὰρ ἐπιστήμης	Because ἐπιστήμη (‘knowledge’)
11 ἀδελφόν τι φαίνεται.	it looks somewhat akin to.

- (3) οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δηλοῖ ἢ τὴν ἅμα φορὰν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πραττόμενα "συμφέροντά" τε καὶ "σύμφορα" κεκληθῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι. Ἔοικε.

Standard ‘Loeb’ translation: *It means nothing else but the motion (φορὰ) of the soul in company with the world, and naturally things which are done by such a power are called συμφέροντα and σύμφορα because they are carried round with (συμπεριφέρεσθαι) the world.*

(a) Application of the segmentation criteria:

		left boundary	colon type
12	οὐδὲν <u>γὰρ</u> ἄλλο δηλοῖ	γὰρ a /q/-particle in P2; οὐδὲν complex negative (preferential /M/) in P1	1st member of correlative structure 'οὐδὲν ἄλλο ...' - 'ἦ ...'
13	ἦ τὴν ἅμα φορὰν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων,	ἦ /O/ in P1	2nd member of correlative structure 'οὐδὲν ἄλλο ...' - 'ἦ ...'
14	καὶ	καὶ /O/ in P1	marker: scope over 15-17
15	τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πραττόμενα		participial clause; fronted subject NP of infinitival clause
16	"συμφέροντά" <u>τε</u> καὶ "σύμφορα" κεκληῖσθαι		predicate of infinitival clause
17	ἄπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι.		nominal predicate of main clause (fronted subject = 16-17)
18	Ἔοικε.		main finite clause; separate turn

This segment of the excerpt shows a number of problems. First, there is a **textcritical** problem in establishing the correct reading in cola 14-18:

- (i) Plato & Burnet (ed.) 1900 and Plato & Duke (ed.) & Hicken (ed.) & Nicoll (ed.) & Robinson (ed.) & Strachan (ed.) 1995 read ἔοικε as part of the previous sentence; their critical apparatuses mention that the codex Bodleianus omits the verb altogether;²²²
- (ii) Plato & Méridier (ed. & trad.) 1931 and Plato & Dalimier (trad. & comm.) 1998 read Ἔοικε as a separate turn by Hermogenes, following Stallbaum; Plato & Méridier (ed. & trad.) 1931 mentions that the codex Vindobonensis reads "συμπεριφέρεσθαι : ἔοικεν".²²³

Furthermore, the **syntax** is somewhat unclear, in both readings.²²⁴ The main problem is the status of the infinitive κεκληῖσθαι; a number of options can be taken into consideration:

- Option 1: the infinitive κεκληῖσθαι is a complement clause of δηλοῖ in colon 12. δηλοῖ then has two different constructions, implying two incompatible interpretations of the verb δηλώω: "word X means Y" and "word X shows that Y". In that case reading (i) is impossible, but reading (ii) yields a possible interpretation in which ἄπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι would be a kind of afterthought. Note, however, that even if one accepts this syntax, the meaning is dubious: "the word "συμφέρον" shows that what is realized by something like that is called συμφέροντα" (?).
- Option 2: if we adopt reading (i), τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πραττόμενα could be the subject of a 'personal construction' of the verb ἔοικε + the infinitive ("the things realized by something like that are evidently called συμφέροντα and σύμφορα"). However, in that case the PP ἄπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι is not interpretable in that position: if it followed ἔοικε, the syntax of the ἔοικε and the infinitive would be clear and ἄπὸ τοῦ

²²² The reading of the Bodleianus is probably not the original one (a later addition of ἔοικε is improbable as compared with a later omission) and will not be discussed any further.

²²³ The fact that neither of the two Oxford editions mentions the different reading of the codex Vindobonensis is remarkable.

²²⁴ Omitting Ἔοικε gives rise to the same problems of interpretation as considering it a separate turn. I will therefore not discuss this possibility separately.

- συμπεριφέρεσθαι would be a kind of afterthought. But in the transmitted order this interpretation is impossible.
- Option 3: we might try to interpret κекλησθαι as being somehow the main verb of an independent clause (but how?), or we could even argue for a conjecture in which the infinitive is changed into a finite verb (e.g. κέκληται). In that case, reading (ii) would be perfectly acceptable and ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι could -again- be interpreted as a kind of afterthought. However, the infinitive as the predicate of a main clause is syntactically hard to accept and the conjecture κέκληται would be a very drastic choice for an unattested lectio faciliior.
 - Option 4: alternatively, the infinitival clause τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου πραττόμενα "συμφέροντά" τε καὶ "σύμφορα" κекλησθαι as a whole could be construed as the subject of either the VP ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι ἔοικε (reading (i)), or of a verbless predicate ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι (reading (ii)), just as in the very next sentence (cola 19-20). In that case ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι (with or without ἔοικε) is not an afterthought-like addition, but the very predicate of the clause.

Option 1 does not yield an acceptable interpretation and options 2 and 3 are not compatible with either reading of the text. In the following analysis I will therefore adopt option 4 for the syntax: it yields an acceptable interpretation (see section 20.1(1) below) and does not require alterations of the transmitted text. Under this interpretation the two readings of the text are still possible; however, the position of ἔοικε is awkward in reading (i) and the codex Vindobonensis supports reading (ii), which has been adopted here.²²⁵

As for the segmentation into cola, the only difficulties are related to the syntactic awkwardness of cola 14-18:

- If we read ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι as the main predicate of the clause made up of cola 15-17 (as we decided to do in the above), it is very likely to make up a separate colon, because the complex subject of the clause (cola 15-16) would be very likely to be 'fronted' (see also the parallel case cola 19-20 below).
- The colon status of τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου πραττόμενα (colon 15) is somewhat doubtful. However, the fact that it contains a participial VP (analogous to an English relative clause) and that it can be read as a fronted subject of the infinitival clause (colon 16) may be sufficient to postulate a boundary. Alternatively, one might choose to read cola 15-16 as a single (though very long and complex) colon. In any case, the highly contrived (perhaps deliberately difficult) way of formulating the contents in this excerpt allows for atypical colon shapes, as the result of a certain degree of rhetorical engineering.
- The segmentation of cola 15-17 adopted above automatically entails that καὶ in colon 14 has to be considered an independent colon as well (scope over 15-17).

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

12 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δηλοῖ	It means nothing else
13 ἢ τὴν ἅμα φορὰν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων,	but the 'motion of the soul in company with things'
14 καὶ	and
15 τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου πραττόμενα	(the fact) that what is realized by such a situation

²²⁵ I have to admit that the passage remains somewhat problematic. Most importantly, one would expect the infinitival clause to be preceded by τό in the present interpretation.

- 16 "συμφέροντά" τε καὶ "σύμφορα" κεκλήσθαι is called *συμφέροντα* and *σύμφορα*,
 17 ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι. is from *συμπεριφέρεσθαι* ('moving around together').
EPM. **Hermogenes**
 18 "Ἔοικε. So it seems.

- (4) ΣΩ. Τὸ δέ γε "κερδαλέον" ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρδους.
 Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Socrates: But κερδαλέον is from κέρδος (gain).*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
19	Τὸ δέ γε "κερδαλέον".	cluster of /q/-particles δέ γε in P2	fronted subject NP
20	ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρδους.		predicate of main clause

Cola 19-20 make up an independent main clause, either a nominal clause or an elliptical one. The segmentation into 2 separate cola is not supported by any formal word order phenomena, but is highly plausible if one compares this clause with very many fronted NPs involving an article and /q/-particle (esp. μέν and δέ): cf. within the present excerpt, the colon-status of the topics colon 2 and cola 15-16.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

ΣΩ.	Socrates
19 Τὸ δέ γε "κερδαλέον"	And 'κερδαλέον'
20 ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρδους.	is from 'κέρδος'.

- (5) "κέρδος" δὲ νῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέλτα ἀποδιδόντι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα δηλοῖ ὃ βούλεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ὀνομάζει.
 Standard 'Loeb' translation: *If you restore nu in the word κέρδος in place of the delta, the meaning is plain; it signifies good, but in another way.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
21	"κέρδος" δέ	δέ /q/ in P2	fronted topic/subject NP
22	νῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέλτα ἀποδιδόντι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα		autonomous participle clause
23a	δηλοῖ		main finite clause minus fronted subject NP (and minus complement clause, if one would want to consider it as a separate segment)
23b	ὃ βούλεται·	ὃ /O/ in P1	finite complement clause
24	τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν	γὰρ /q/ in P2	fronted topic NP
25	κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ὀνομάζει.		main finite clause minus fronted NP

Cola 21-23 make up an independent main clause. The segmentation into three cola is warranted by the fact that colon 22 is an autonomous participle clause. Colon 21 is an obvious fronted topic, functioning in the context of this excerpt as a lemma in the list of lemmata that Socrates is 'explaining'. One can distinguish the relative finite complement clause ὃ βούλεται as a separate colon; this segmentation would not have any further consequences.

Cola 24-25 make up another independent main clause. As was the case for cola 19-20, the segmentation into two separate cola is not supported by any formal word order phenomena, but cf. e.g. the exactly analogous case of cola 10-11.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

21	"κέρδος" δὲ	And 'κέρδος',
22	νῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέλτα ἀποδιδόντι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα	if you put a nu instead of the delta in this name,
23	δηλοῖ ὃ βούλεται·	it shows what it means:
24	τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν	"good",
25	κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ὀνομάζει.	that's what it names in a different way.

- (6) ὅτι γὰρ κεράννυται ἐς πάντα διεξιόν, ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπονομάζων ἔθετο τοῦνομα· δέλτα (δ') ἐνθεις ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ "κέρδος" ἐφθέγγετο.
 Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Because it passes through and is mingled (κεράννυται) with all things, he who named it gave it this name which indicates that function; but he inserted a delta instead of nu and said κέρδος.*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
26	ὅτι <u>γὰρ</u> κεράννυται	γὰρ /q/ in P2; ὅτι /O/- introductory in P1	finite adverbial clause
27	ἐς πάντα διεξιόν,		autonomous participle clause
28	ταύτην <u>αὐτοῦ</u> τὴν δύναμιν ἐπονομάζων	anaphoric αὐτοῦ /r/ in P2; ταύτην demonstrative (preferential /M/) in P1	autonomous participle clause
29	ἔθετο τοῦνομα·		main finite clause
30	δέλτα (<u>δ'</u>) ἐνθεις ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ	/q/ δέ in P2 (if the editorial conjecture is accepted)	autonomous participle clause
31	"κέρδος" ἐφθέγγετο.		main finite clause

The overall syntactic structure of the excerpt is clear:

- Cola 26-29 make up an independent main clause, including a subordinate finite adverbial clause (cola 26-27) and an autonomous participle clause (colon 28). Colon 27 has been separated from colon 26 because it is an autonomous participle clause within the subordinate finite clause.
- Cola 30-31 make up another independent main clause, consisting of an autonomous participle clause (colon 30) and the finite clause itself (colon 31).
- If one accepts the editorial conjecture in colon 30 (adding δ'), the two main finite clauses are linked by the particle δέ in colon 31. The use of δέ (if accepted) fits well with Socrates' quasi-narrative account of the etymology of κέρδος; note that the naming in cola 28-29 (at that stage the name is apparently κέρνος) is one step in sequence of actions by the namegiver; changing the N into Δ and pronouncing the word as κέρδος are the next steps (see also section 20.2(2c) below).
- For the consequences of the syntactic issue concerning the grammatical subject switch between cola 26-27 (the subject is the lemma κέρδος in colon 21) and cola 28-31 (the grammatical subject is the hypothetical 'namegiver'), see section 20.2(2c) below.

The only segmentation issue in this excerpt involves the syntactic function of ἐς πάντα: does ἐς πάντα belong with κεράννυται (colon 26) or with διεξιόν (colon 27)? The potential (and all in all rather weak) tendency of quantifiers like πᾶς toward P1 can obviously not be used as a conclusive argument for the latter. The LSJ lemma κεράννυμι does not mention parallel passages in which this verb is construed with the preposition ἐς, whereas the lemma διέξιμι does mention Hdt. 2.148 as well as occurrences involving different complements denoting a

'direction'. However, these facts need not be a conclusive argument either. But within the context of this passage, it is clear that the point is not so much that it is mingled 'into everything' but that it is 'mingled', i.e. Socrates wants to link κέρδος with κεράννυμι. The **postposed participle** clause (present tense!) is then best interpreted as an explanation of what he means by κεράννυται.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

26	ὅτι γὰρ κεράννυται	Because it gets 'mingled' (κεράννυται),
27	ἐς πάντα διεξιόν,	when passing through everything,
28	ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπονομάζων	wanting to name this function of it,
29	ἔθετο τοῦνομα·	one gave it this name.
30	δέλτα (δ') ἐνθεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ	And by inserting a delta instead of the nu,
31	"κέρδος" ἐφθέγγετο.	one pronounced 'κέρδος'.

(7) EPM. "Λυσιτελοῦν" δὲ τί δῆ;

Standard 'Loeb' translation: *Hermogenes: And what is λυσιτελοῦν?*

(a) *Application of the segmentation criteria:*

		left boundary	colon type
32	"Λυσιτελοῦν" δὲ	δὲ /q/ in P2	fronted topic/subject
33	τί δῆ;	τί /O/ in P1	elliptical main finite clause minus fronted topic/subject

The segment as a whole is a full turn. The segmentation is based on the fact that the interrogative τί takes P1 and the /q/-particle δῆ takes P2. Colon 32 is an obvious fronted subject/topic.

(b) *Segmented text with translation:*

	EPM.	Hermogenes
32	"Λυσιτελοῦν" δὲ	And 'λυσιτελοῦν',
33	τί δῆ;	what about it?

12. Conclusions to Part II

In Part I the Colon Hypothesis was mainly dealt with as a hypothesis on Ancient Greek word order, i.e. we used the hypothesis to explain certain word order phenomena. In Part II we viewed the same Colon Hypothesis as a hypothesis on the nature of Ancient Greek texts and attempted to turn it into a practical method for the ‘reconstruction’ of the ‘natural’ segmentation of Ancient Greek underlying the written texts. For that purpose, we used the same relationship between segmentation and word order as in Part I, but -so to speak- in the opposite direction: this time, we took the word order phenomena (as well as other criteria) as a starting point for segmenting running Greek texts into cola.

12.1 The Colon Hypothesis and the practice of segmentation

- (1) Section 10 consisted in a systematic overview of a rather heterogeneous set of phenomena that could serve as formal criteria for the segmentation of Ancient Greek text into cola. We used two main sources:
 - (i) On the one hand, we took a number of word order phenomena into consideration that can be used as evidence for the presence of colon boundaries, most notably the relatively reliable word order rules that apply to certain lexical categories (see section 10.1, based on Part I of this study), but also focus-related word order phenomena (see section 10.3) and other cognitive aspects of word order.
 - (ii) On the other hand, we made use of a provisional and purely practical colon typology in mostly grammatical terms (see section 10.2), based on what is known about the typology of IUs and the results of applying the word order rules already mentioned sub (i).

It is important to mention that the application of any of these segmentation criteria typically yields not just a single boundary, but typically entails a number of consequences with respect to other boundaries (see the beginning of section 10.2 for a few examples).

- (2) In section 11 we applied this set of segmentation criteria to a number of excerpts of running Greek texts, taken from the corpus. For a few methodological remarks concerning this type of practice-oriented analysis, I refer back to section 11.0(1). In any case, it should be clear from these practical applications that the segmentation method proposed in this study cannot be viewed as an algorithm that can be applied blindly. On the contrary, I have tried to make it clear that the analytical tools introduced here are and should be embedded in a rather traditional ‘holistic’ approach to the texts, typical of the tradition of Classical scholarship. However, I have also tried to show that these ‘new’ (?) tools allow us to integrate a set of concepts and techniques taken from more recent approaches into our analytical toolbox, allowing for a much more detailed analysis of a number of aspects of the texts.

12.2 On translating segmented Greek

Although the matter of translation itself is not a main issue in this study, it may be useful to take into consideration the specific effects that arise when attempting to preserve the segmentation of the original Greek in the English translation, as applied throughout section 11 here above:

- This way of translating is only possible if one allows the translations to have a ‘speech-like’ flavor (as opposed to the ‘literary’ or at least ‘written’ flavor of traditional translations) and it’s easy to see that the excerpts as I presented them here immediately create an impression of spoken narrative, rather than of written prose (for similar observations, see Dover 1997, 69-71; Slings 2002a; Slings 2002b).
- The English translation is more ‘wordy’ than the Greek original: Greek seems to allow for a greater autonomy of constituents that do not have the status of a finite clause (including even single words).²²⁶ Thus, the fact that my English translation has many more pronouns than the Greek original should not be considered a defect: these pronouns almost exactly correspond to the agreement in case, person etc. that is coded in Greek morphology.
- For methodological reasons (see section 11.0(1) above), I have segmented whenever the segmentation criteria adopted allowed to do so. An actual realization in which every colon corresponds to a separate IU (i.e. a realization in which no intonational sandhi occurs) works best in a rather slow tempo; thus, my translations often only are plausible or even acceptable if one reads them aloud very deliberately and slowly. Faster performances would obviously involve numerous case of intonational sandhi.

Of course, this exercise was intended to serve the specific purposes of this study, and I obviously do not want to make the claim that this style of translating is in general superior to other styles serving other purposes. Still, it may be worthwhile to take the above remarks into account as a starting point for a reflection on the consequences of the present approach for the practice of translating these texts into modern languages, in which the differences between speech and writing are much more salient.

12.3 Final remarks

In the end, my main purpose in this Part II of the book was to demonstrate a way of reading Ancient Greek literature as much closer to spoken discourse than is usually the case. Although this ‘oral’ approach as such is -generally speaking- not exactly new (‘orality’ has been a buzzword for a long time), I have argued that this crucially involves reading Greek as essentially a string of IUs/cola and tried to illustrate how this approach, if taken seriously, requires us to incorporate a large number of aspects of the text/discourse into our analyses, which may involve a very detailed reading/analysis of the text. This type of reading/analysis also opens the door for applying discourse analytical approaches, as applied to spontaneous speech, to Greek texts, as will be illustrated in Part III.

²²⁶ This relative autonomy of the Greek word has been noted from the point of view of grammatical typology as well, for instance by Kurzová 1988 (see section 10.4.0).

Part III: Discourse coherence

13. Introduction to Part III

The starting point and the guiding principle of this book is the Colon Hypothesis, which posits that the colon is the elementary discourse unit. After having dealt with a number of mostly lexical, prosodic, grammatical and cognitive aspects of the notion of colon in Part I and Part II, I will focus on the colon as a pragmatic unit in Part III. As already briefly explained in section 0.2.5 above, this means that I will describe discourse segments in terms of their pragmatic functions, i.e. in terms of the kind of contribution they make to the overall structure of the discourse they are a part of. In other words, my account of the pragmatic function of discourse segments boils down to an account of the different structural relations (between these segments) that make up the coherence of the discourse.²²⁷ As announced in section 0.3.3, I adopt the simple device of a tree structure as a working model for the analysis of pragmatic relations between successive segments of both discourse and non-verbal behavior. For the sake of ease of reference, I will call this working model **the P(ragmatic)-tree model**. In section 13 I try to give as summary an account as I can²²⁸ of the specific features of this approach.²²⁹

13.1 A structural and radically pragmatic approach to discourse coherence

In this introductory section, I address aspects of the theoretical and methodological reasoning behind the analytical and conceptual tools that make up the P-tree working model (see also Scheppers 2003 and Scheppers 2004a).

13.1.1 Coherence as structure: the P(ragmatic)-tree device

- (1) Pragmatically speaking, discourse is a specific kind of human action. Discourse and non-verbal behavior have in common that they ‘make sense’, i.e. they are not perceived as a random succession of elementary units, but as an interpretable whole in which every unit has a particular point.²³⁰ In this section I am proposing a working model for the analysis of discourse qua ‘sensible’ behavior, arguing as follows:

²²⁷ In terms of the issues of Ancient Greek word order, as I reformulated them in section 8.3 above, this means that Part III will address the issue of the order of cola within discourse in pragmatic and discourse analytical terms.

²²⁸ Section 13 was the most problematic section in terms of my difficulties in reworking the material of Scheppers 2004t into this book, as briefly mentioned in section (4) of the Preface: the contents of over 200 pages of the original text had to be condensed in about 40 pages, while still offering a sufficient background for the analyses in the rest of Part III. Most importantly, extensive references to analyses of transcriptions of recorded spontaneous speech had to be eliminated almost completely.

²²⁹ Throughout this section, I will use footnotes to discuss convergences and divergences between the present approach and other approaches to discourse coherence, most importantly Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST), Polanyi’s Linguistic Discourse Model and Relevance Theory (RT). For references, see section 0.3.3(3) above.

²³⁰ Note that, pragmatically speaking, verbal and non-verbal behavior can often also de facto perform similar and sometimes interchangeable functions (compare ‘pointing at something’ and ‘mentioning something’, ‘hitting someone’ and ‘insulting someone’, ‘showing someone how to do something’ and ‘explaining someone how to do it’, etc.). Also note that complex actions can involve both verbal and

- (i) The sense of a complex action is a matter of its internal coherence.
- (ii) The coherence of a complex action depends on the specific cohesive relations between its segments and, conversely, the ‘point’ (the pragmatic function) of an action segment depends on the specific cohesive relations it has with other segments of the same complex action.
- (iii) Cohesion is a matter of articulation, i.e. a process of hierarchical structuration in which several consecutive low level segments together give rise to higher level segments, which in turn give rise to still higher level segments, etc.

Articulation (of whatever kind) can by definition be represented graphically by means of a tree: any segment beyond the elementary unit then corresponds to a node in such a tree (a **P-tree**). With this the basic operations that constitute the P-tree model as a working model have already been made available:

- the successive elementary actions that make up the action under analysis follow each other from left to right at the bottom line of the P-tree,²³¹ and correspond to its extreme branches;
- two adjacent segments give rise to a node (a **P-node**) if they cohere directly; otherwise, a segment coheres with its neighbors indirectly, through higher P-nodes.

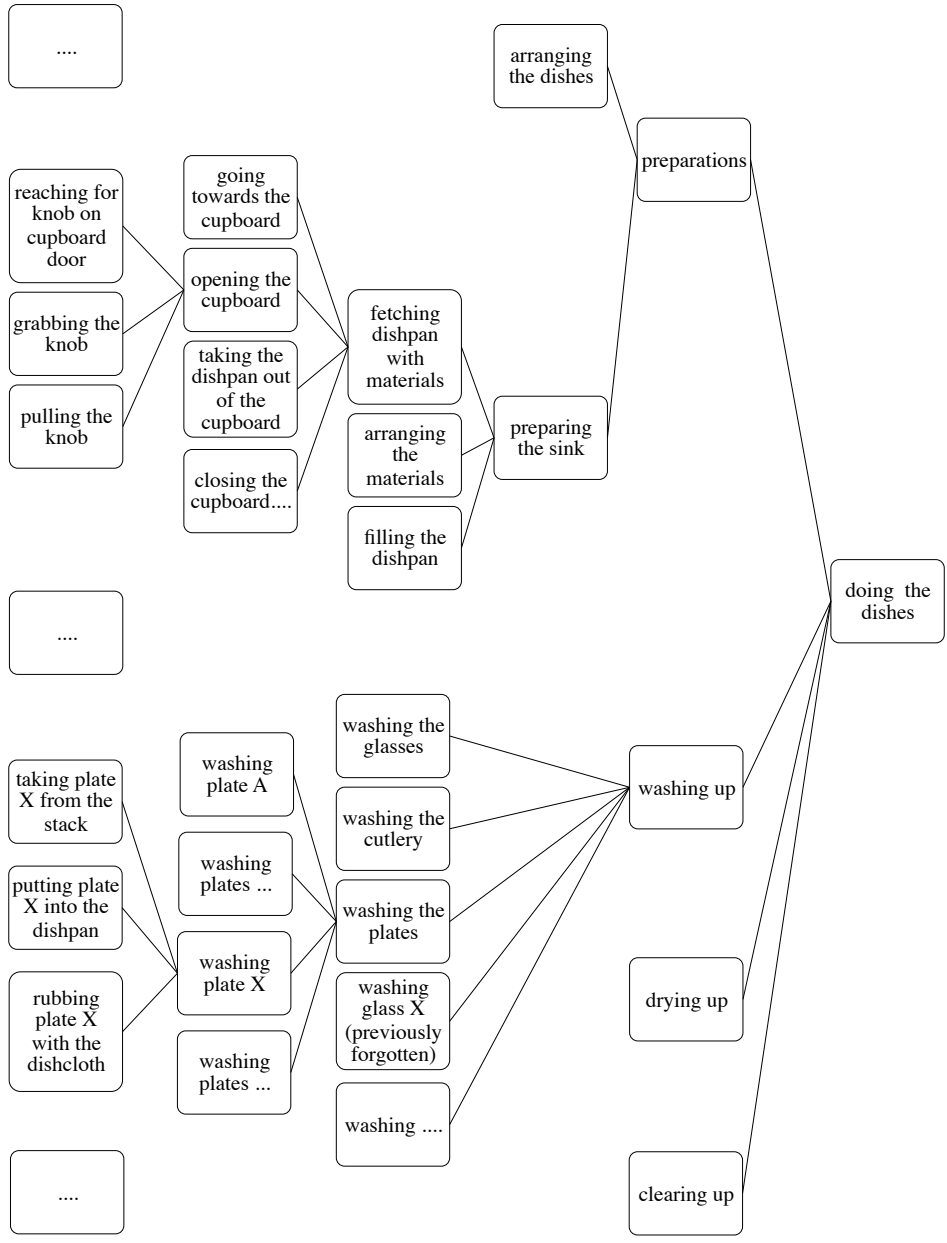
- (2) Experience has shown that the easiest way to introduce the general functioning of the P-tree model is to start from a non-verbal example (see also Scheppers 2003 and Scheppers 2004a). Observe e.g. someone doing the dishes. Understanding what he is doing implies minimally that we perceive the cohesion of the successive actions that make up his behavior. Figure 13.1.1 is a (partial) representation of the cohesive relations between the successive elementary actions that we perceive as he proceeds, and between the successive more complex actions constituted by these elementary actions. At the ‘bottom’ of the tree (i.e. at the level of its extreme branches), here presented vertically, a series of elementary actions is represented as they succeed each other in real time.
- (a) In a top-down reading of the resulting P-tree, several ‘chapters’ -so to speak- can be distinguished: ‘preparations’, ‘washing up’, ‘drying’, and ‘clearing up’. Each chapter consists of several ‘paragraphs’: ‘preparations’ consists of ‘arranging the dishes’ and ‘preparing the sink’. ‘Preparing the sink’ then consists of ‘fetching the dishpan with the materials to do the dishes’, ‘arranging the materials’ and ‘filling the dishpan’; and so on, until the level of the elementary action, i.e. the action to which we cannot attribute any internal pragmatic structure, is reached, e.g. ‘reaching for the knob of the cupboard door’.²³²

non-verbal behavior (e.g. asking “Pass me that plate, will you?” while doing the dishes). Cf. Edmondson 1981, 33-38. See also Schegloff 2007, 1-2 and 7-9.

²³¹ For graphic reasons - most importantly in order to stick to Chafe’s lay-out (see section 0.2.1 above), in which successive IUs follow each other vertically, each IU occupying a separate line - my trees will be tilted so that the bottom line of the tree is represented vertically.

²³² The P-tree model thus shares some of its functions with constructs like ‘Plan’ and ‘Script’ (Schank and Abelson 1977) or ‘Macrostructure’ (van Dijk 1980), in that all of these are intended to describe how a complex action is related to its components. Cf. also Hurley 1998, 356-359, on the related (though not identical) notions of ‘basic type’ (of acts) and ‘basic intention’.

Figure 13.1.1: P-tree 'doing the dishes'



- (b) The model allows for a description of effects that are usually accounted for in terms of the vague and metaphysically charged concept of ‘intentionality’ (cf. Anscombe 1976; Wittgenstein 1989, 343 and *passim*). In the case of discourse, the question as to ‘why’ a speaker says what he says is usually answered by evoking ‘extralinguistic’ or ‘prelinguistic intentions’, etc. As has been shown by Ferrara (1985), this conception of intentionality implies a hierarchy of goals and sub-goals, each pragmatically distinct segment (“speech act”) corresponding to one distinct “extra-illocutionary goal” (cf. also Grosz & Sidner 1986, 178-179). P-trees, as representations of the hierarchical structure of coherent behavior, can be expected to provide a hierarchy of the appropriate kind. However, ‘because’ or ‘in order to’ can at least partially²³³ be accounted for in terms of the properties of the pragmatic structure of the behavior itself. The ‘reason for’ or ‘the sense of’ a segment (its ‘point’) is then equal to its relevance for the action at large, i.e. to the specific contribution it makes. More specifically, the precise pragmatic point of a segment depends on the properties of the chain of higher (‘dominating’) P-nodes. If the question is “why does X reach for the knob on the cupboard door?”, a perfectly good answer might be “to open the cupboard, in order to take out the dishpan, in order to prepare the sink, because he is doing the dishes”. This is exactly the kind of answer that can be represented by the dominance relations in a P-tree. The same theoretical constructs thus account for two important aspects at once: (i) the cohesion between the segments; (ii) the point of these segments, i.e. the reason for their very occurrence.
- (c) There is a clear limit to the applicability of the model, which coincides with the line between **coherence** and **non-coherence**. If the model works well, this implies that, whenever no suitable analysis for a string of segments is possible, and only then, this string must be perceived as in some way non-coherent (cf. Mey 1993, 223-227, on ‘insertion sequences’ and ‘repairs’; Grosz & Sidner 1986, 192). Note that these notions apply to non-verbal action as well as to discourse. Compare the following instances: ‘X takes a match in order to heat water for dish washing’ (coherent), and ‘X takes a match to light a cigarette, having a break while the cutlery is soaking in the dishpan’ (non-coherent). Suppose that while doing the dishes, you engage in a conversation (“Did you hear about John? ...”). Obviously, this conversation will develop independently from the dishwashing, in other words its coherence will imply an independent P-tree. On the other hand, if you ask someone “Pass me that plate, will you?”, this utterance will be coherent with the dish washing but not with the conversation about John. Thus, not all actions by a single agent (or by two or more co-present and interacting agents) that can be ordered in linear time are necessarily coherent with each other. Besides cases in which agents engage in several mutually non-cohering actions at once, non-coherence also covers different kinds of intrusions, including catastrophic ones: obviously, whatever you do when an elephant crashes through the ceiling while you are doing the dishes will not be coherent with the actions that constituted your dishwashing behavior. However, some kinds of action segments, although evidently part of the same encompassing action as the surrounding segments, still resist an elegant analysis in terms of P-tree relations. Three general types can be distinguished here:
- (i) ‘fragmentary’ segments (cf. Chafe 1994, 63-64), constituting successive attempts to make the same point, including failed attempts that end up ‘beside the point’;

²³³ For a number of not straightforwardly pragmatic aspects of discourse structure, see section 13.3.6 below.

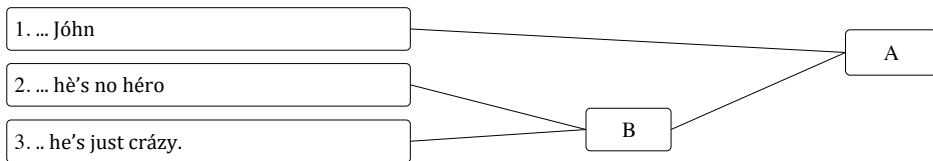
- (ii) ‘parentheses’ and afterthoughts (including macrostructural digression), consisting of backgrounded information that is inserted between regular segments;
- (iii) repairs, in which the point made in a previous segment is ‘erased’ or mitigated and replaced by a more suitable one (repairs often have the form of an afterthought, although the point made in a repair need not consist of background information).

Any more or less extended stretch of spontaneous action (including discourse) is likely to contain a number of such phenomena. These phenomena are inherently perceived as somehow non-coherent, or rather **paracoherent**, and thus could be considered as lying by definition outside the *immediate* scope of the model, just as e.g. metalinguistic apposition cannot, and need not, be accounted for by regular syntactic structures (see Scheppers 2002).²³⁴

13.1.2 The pragmatic structure of discourse: tree geometry (adjacency, dominance, scope), iconicity, thematization, node-types

- (1) Let us first look at a few very simple (constructed²³⁵) examples of a P-tree analysis of a stretch of spoken discourse.

Example 13.1.2a: P-tree of a constructed example



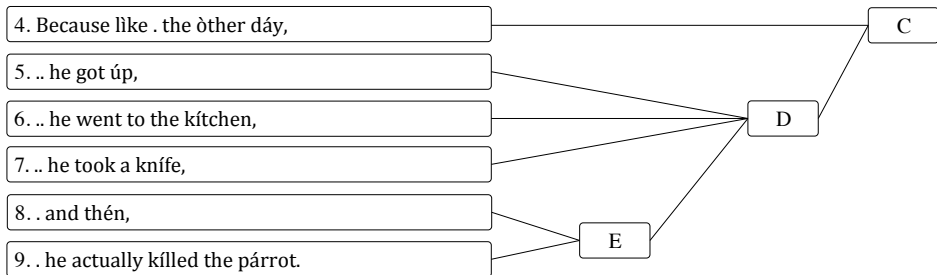
Intuitively, the only possible way to articulate the three segments of this utterance consists in taking the last two together and making the first segment cohere with the resulting node rather than with any of the two taken separately: IUs 2 and 3 are of the same type (both are main finite clauses, expressing similar contents) and the function of IU1 is the same with respect to the other two IUs, both grammatically (“John” is the subject) and pragmatically (IUs 2 and 3 are ‘about John’). This is what is represented by the above P-tree.

Example 13.1.2b here below (which one may read as the continuation of Example 13.1.2a²³⁶) is equally straightforward. The marker “and then” in IU8 obviously belongs with IU9; this is represented by node E. IUs 5, 6 and 7 and the segment made up of IUs 8-9 represent similar and parallel contributions to the overall structure of the discourse; this fact is represented by node D. The fronted marker in IU4 appears to introduce IUs 5-9 collectively, rather than for instance IU5 alone. This is represented by node E.

²³⁴ Still, it can be shown that paracoherent segments are dependent (‘parasitic’) on the overall pragmatic structure of the discourse: they can be represented as repeated realizations (reformulations, corrections, explicitations or elaborations) of some item that *is* directly motivated by its position in a P-tree. The parallel with grammatical apposition suggests the term ‘pragmatic apposition’ for these cases. Of course, paracoherent segments can present fully coherent internal structures.

²³⁵ Using real data for the purposes of this section would have taken more space than this book allows for.

²³⁶ For the relation between the two stretches of discourse, see 13.3.3 below.

Example 13.1.2b: P-tree of a constructed example

The bare geometrical structure of a P-tree, as introduced so far, already represents some pragmatically relevant features of the discourse at hand.

- (a) One formal relation between actions of which the relevance is immediately evident is **adjacency**: the mere fact that two actions immediately follow each other is a very strong indication that they pragmatically belong together (cf. Sacks 1992b, 521-569). However, it is also clear that adjacency is not always a reliable criterion for pragmatic structure: (i) two adjacent segments may cohere only indirectly; (ii) two segments that together do constitute a complex action of an immediately higher level can be interrupted by a segment that does not belong to this complex action (non-coherence, paracoherence). These considerations give rise to a notion of relative **structural distance** between action segments that belong to the same complex action. This notion of distance cannot be calculated one-dimensionally in terms of the linear succession of the actions, but has to take into account the hierarchical structure into which these actions fit, beyond mere adjacency. In the examples quoted here above, IU7 and IU8 are immediately adjacent, but their structural distance requires the intermediate hierarchical levels of nodes E and D to account for the fact that they belong to the same discourse.
- (b) As has already been pointed out, the notion of **dominance** (the relation between any non-elementary node and its daughters) in a P-tree is readily interpretable as well: a dominating node determines the pragmatic function of the daughter nodes, i.e. the reason why this action is performed at the moment it is performed. In example 13.1.2b, the point of IU5 (“he got up”) and IU6 (“he went to the kitchen”) depends on the fact that they are successive actions (node E), performed by the same agent (say: John), within the context of a succession of events that make up a coherent story. This P-tree can obviously be expanded so as to represent an encompassing context. For instance, the point of the story may be to offer evidence for the claim that John is crazy (for this type of relation, see 13.3.3 below). And the point of this claim may in its turn depend on an encompassing structure about ‘heroism’ or about John, etc.
- (c) These very simple examples already allow for the introduction of one more important notion: **scope**. The scope of a certain relation (node) is the amount of text it structures and the scope of a certain segment is the amount of text the specific pragmatic function of this segment (as determined by its dominating node) applies to. In the example above, the notion of scope applies in the following cases:
- node A trivially corresponds to the syntactic scope of the subject “John” over the 2 finite clauses IU2 and IU3; if we read IUs 4-9 as the continuation of IUs 1-3, the P-tree

- will have to be construed in such a way that IU1 has scope over the whole stretch IU2-IU9 (cf. section 13.3.3(3) below);
- the marker IU4 has scope over IUs 5-9 as a whole, which corresponds to the fact that it marks (a.o.) that the whole segment is an anecdote (“the other day”) that is evidence (“because”) for a previous claim (that John is crazy); likewise, IU8 has scope over IU9, indicating that the IU9 is the next (and in this case climactic) event of the story.

On the other hand, it is intuitively hard to construe a scope-relation between colon 2 and colon 3, or between IUs 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8-9. Obviously, scope (in the sense of ‘segment X having scope over segment Y’) is linked to a certain asymmetry between the left branch and the right branch of the dominating node, as will become clear later on.

- (2) A first pervasive principle in the construction of discourse is what can be called the Iconicity Principle:

The Iconicity Principle

The order in which elements occur (as well as other aspects of discourse) is often regulated by principles of a not strictly linguistic nature, i.e. by non- or extra-linguistic features of the contents of the discourse.

Perhaps the most obvious type of iconicity in discourse structure is the temporal iconicity in a chronologically structured narrative. This principle then accounts for the adjacency relations between the segments that present the successive events that make up the narrative plot. In example 13.1.2b, IUs 5-9 represent a series of events. It is crucial to the understanding of this excerpt that these events are construed as succeeding each other in time, in exactly the order in which they occur in the discourse. The understanding of what happens in the story does not depend on pragmatic mechanisms that are proper to discourse but on the very same principles that would have made the events understandable if they were perceived in another way, e.g. de visu. For instance, understanding my verbal account of someone doing the dishes in section 13.1.1 requires an understanding of the real-life practice.²³⁷

- (3) Most importantly, the model also allows for a more general formulation of what has been called ‘thematization’ (Brown & Yule 1983, 125-152).

The notions of ‘**frame**’ or ‘**guidepost**’ are suitable metaphors for the type of function intended. Thus, discussing the functions of ‘preposed adverbial clauses’, Chafe (1984, 444-445) suggests that such fronted non-argument clauses typically function “as a kind of “guidepost” to information flow, signaling a path or orientation in terms of which the following information is to be understood”. Chafe then says that the same function applies to what I call ‘structural markers’ (“anyway”, “however”) and quotes “Meanwhile, back at the ranch” as a guidepost par excellence. This guidepost strategy is then identified as one of the manifestations of a “more general strategy of providing a frame before providing the contents of the frame”. The ‘frame’-segment can be called ‘Theme’ and the corresponding more salient part ‘Rheme’, as follows.

²³⁷ Similarly, a less obvious kind of spatio-temporal iconicity can play a role in the structure of discourse, e.g. in a description of the contents of a room, the successive items typically occur in the order in which one sees them if one ‘goes over the room’, following the continuous movement of the observer/describer’s body and eyes.

The Thematization Principle

The leftmost branch (the **Theme**) of a node typically consists of material that can readily be linked with the current context: (i) ‘given’ or presupposed material, assuring continuity; (ii) regulatory devices, shifting devices, presentative and staging devices, explicitly marking (relative) discontinuity. The Theme serves as an ‘anchor’ or ‘frame’ for the Rheme.

Conversely, the rightmost branch of a node (its **Rheme**), typically represents the main point of the entire node.

The Thematization Principle represents a pervasive dynamic towards the right branch of every node, as in Chafe’s “light starting point” and “heavy added information” constraints (Chafe 1987, 36-38; cf. also Halliday 1985, 38-40): structural cohesion is mainly assured through the left branches of the nodes, and ‘new’, ‘counterpresuppositional’ and otherwise salient contents are typically introduced in the right branches. In the present formulation, thematization is recursive: the internal structure of a Theme or a Rheme is in its turn subject to the Thematization Principle (cf. Halliday 1985, 56-61).

In example 13.1.2a, which is quoted out of context, ‘John’ must in any case be sufficiently identifiable at the time of utterance in order to be able to serve as the anchor for the next two IUs. Note that the Thematization Principle is in a way applicable to the internal structure of IUs 2 and 3 as well. The very fact that it is said that John is not a hero implies in some way the presupposition that he is one; accordingly, this presupposed content is presented in the left branch of Node B. The main point of the utterance at large, the alternative thesis about John (that he is crazy), is then produced in the right branch.

Nodes C and E in example 13.1.2b are obvious examples of thematization: the markers in IU4 and IU8 do not contain any actual substance and serve merely as a ‘frame’ for the segments they have scope over, indicating the function of these segments with respect to encompassing context.

- (4) In order to construe the pragmatic sense of a sequence of segments, it is not sufficient to have access to the contents of its individual parts and to construe their mutual relations as represented by a bare P-tree, one needs to account for the specific nature of their pragmatic relation as well. In the dish washing example, understanding what the agent is doing depends on our ability to recognize a number of fairly basic types of human action (‘grabbing something’, ‘going somewhere’, ...), as well as an overall understanding of what it is to ‘get something out of a cupboard’, and ultimately also understanding what ‘dishwashing’ is (for the notion of **action-type**, see section 13.1.3 below). Likewise, our making sense of discourse depends on our recognizing the structural patterns that constitute it as a coherent whole (cf. already section 0.2.5(2) above). For instance, we understand Example 13.1.2b as a story. This implies (at least) that we understand that the relation expressed by node D link up several events in chronological order. I will call this type of pattern a ‘Plot’ relation (see section 13.3.3 below). Likewise, the specific Theme-Rheme relation exemplified by node A as discussed above, is recurrent and of an easily recognizable type (‘Topic-Comment’; see section 13.3.2(2) below), and the relations represented by nodes C and E are of the very common ‘Marker-Content’ type. Thus, the concept of **node-type** is an essential ingredient to the P-tree working model and developing a typology of coherence relations / node-types is a necessary component of our approach. This will be the specific topic of sections 13.2 and 13.3 below.

13.1.3 Pragmatic relevance and the notion of ‘scene’

So far, it has been shown how the P-tree model can account for structural aspects of discourse, as well as for the specific pragmatic functions of segments *qua* actions. Now it will be argued that a P-tree also represents the distribution of content items over the different segments in terms of the relevance of the items to the segments. The following claim summarizes this aspect of our approach.

The Pragmatic Relevance Principle:

- an action inherently implies a ‘scene’ in which specific items are related to each other according to the role they have in this action;
- the presence of items on this scene is pragmatically motivated by their pragmatic relevance (i.e. their relevance with respect to the action segment at hand);
- *what* items occur, *when* they occur, *where* they occur with respect to the foreground of the scene at hand, and *how* they occur (i.e. in what specific role) are all closely related aspects of their pragmatic relevance;²³⁸
- speaker and addressee as structural features of the discourse scene are subject to the Pragmatic Relevance Principle.

In order to explain the above claims, I would like to go back to the dishwashing example used in the above. At the moment one washes up plate X, this particular item is prominently present on the dishwashing scene. As soon as it has been washed, however, it does not take part in the action any longer. It disappears -so to speak- from the scene as no longer relevant. At the same moment, other items are implied by the action at hand, albeit more in the background of the scene, such as the dishcloth, the sink, or the dishpan with the detergent and the hot water. These items, as well as e.g. the kitchen floor, remain in their specific ways relevant throughout the dish washing. Note that e.g. the pictures on the kitchen wall, although ‘physically’ present, are not relevant to the action at hand and thus are (normally) not present on the dishwashing scene.

- (1) This summary account of the notion of ‘**scene**’ already allows for a description of some pertinent aspects of the relevance of specific items with respect to the action at hand.
 - (a) First, the relevance of items with respect to a complex action at large can be described in terms of the ‘**global-local**’ distinction. Some items are only locally relevant to rather low-level segments (e.g. plate X), whereas others are globally relevant throughout larger segments (e.g. the water). This aspect is straightforwardly linked to the dominance relations of a P-tree: ‘globally relevant’ means ‘implied by a high P-node’; ‘locally relevant’ equals

²³⁸ The notion of ‘item’ has to be taken in a very broad sense, not only referring to the prototypical correlates of ‘referential expressions’, but also to e.g. predicates. For the fact that linguistic data necessitate a rich and untraditional ontology, cf. the ‘abstract entities’ of Asher 1993. The present pragmatic-phenomenological observations agree with Asher in their relativistic (Asher’s use of the term ‘reductionist’ is -I think- infelicitous) and dynamic stance in metaphysics (Asher 1993, 387-419), without sharing his speaker-based mentalism or representationalism. Here, the focus is on the interrelation of cognitive content and action, as reflected in the not discourse-specific notion of ‘scene’, which suggests an altogether different metaphysics. Note the affinities of the present discussion with the notions of ‘Sprachspiel’ and ‘Lebensform’, as introduced in Wittgenstein’s *Philosophische Untersuchungen* (Wittgenstein 1989, 250, §23 and passim). For further discussion, see Scheppers 2004a).

‘implied only by a lower node’. For the purposes of the analysis of discourse, this notion has obvious implications related to the scope of (for instance) Topics: throughout the segment over which a topic has scope, the Topic-item will be in the center of the local scene and hence will have all the formal features associated with ‘given-ness’ (see e.g. the remarks on focus in section 18.2(3) below).

- (b) Second, the scene associated with each action segment is structured by ‘**background-foreground**’ relations between the items involved. Every segment, especially at the level of the elementary action, is characterized by the fact that (ex hypothesi) *one* item is ‘maximally foregrounded’ or ‘in focus’ (e.g. plate X at the moment it is being washed). Other items are present (the dishcloth, ...), but more in the background as compared with the one in focus. For the implications of this notion of ‘foreground’ with respect to ‘focus’ as a linguistic concept, see section 13.1.5 below.
- (c) Besides these two formal aspects, the different items that constitute a scene are relevant in *qualitatively* different ways, i.e. they have **qualitatively different pragmatic functions**. The approach suggested here is a more technical implementation of the point made by Heidegger when he distinguished ‘Vorhandenheit’ and ‘Zuhandenheit’ as two radically different ways of being available to human consciousness (Heidegger 1926/1976, 90-97, and *passim*). Here, however, I argue for a much more differentiated conception. For example, thinking of the dishcloth, it is tempting to coin a notion of ‘Inhandenheit’ to indicate the very specific way in which a tool is present at the moment it is used in the kind of action that it is designed for. In the same train of thought, the water in the dishpan, the sink and the hot water tap, and the kitchen floor, are all -in different and specific ways- present in the background of the dish washing scene.

There are a few immediate implications for discourse analysis. First, the Iconicity Principle predicts that the idiosyncratic features of, for instance, ‘doing the dishes’ or ‘a trial’ (cf. section 14 below) will fully apply to discourse describing such an action, i.e. the items that will appear on the discourse scene will be understood in terms of the action at hand. Second, various types of discourse (qua verbal action) have idiosyncratic features as well: understanding a story requires recognizing a narrative pattern as such; a fortiori, understanding discourse genres that are linked to less universal practices (say: a scientific article) requires for the reader to be familiar with this type of discourse, including a number of highly specific argumentative patterns.

- (2) The matter of the qualitatively different specific functions of items in terms of their relevance to the action in which they are involved is related to the issue of the type-token distinction as applied to behavior. All tokens of dishwashing behavior -as opposed to other kinds of behavior- have many features in common, so that an **action-type** ‘doing the dishes’ can be construed so as to account for the fact that any particular token can be recognized as a case of ‘doing the dishes’ in the first place. Devices like Schank and Abelson’s ‘Script’ (Schank & Abelson 1977) can be interpreted as attempts to tackle this issue. Whatever the approach chosen turns out to be, an action-type -possibly containing different sub-types- will have to involve ‘slots’ for the different items that are involved in the actions, as well as the relations that exist between them. For instance, ‘doing the dishes’ obviously and minimally involves the category of ‘dirty dishes’ (with a set of sub-categories: glasses, pots, plates, ...) as well as devices for washing them (in the example -as in many others- hot water, detergent,

a tile, a dishcloth, etc., but other sub-types of ‘doing the dishes’ exist, involving other washing devices such as sand, a dishwashing machine, ...).

Thus, the action-type already specifies some of the overall pragmatic ‘space-like’ relations between the items that are present on the action-scene by virtue of their being relevant to the action (cf. also what is said about discourse genres in section 13.2(11) below). In the case of non-verbal motor-action, this notion of ‘space’ is quite close to the common sense notion, as perceived through vision, motor and kinesthetic or proprioceptive perception. In other cases (e.g. discourse involving abstract notions), ‘space’ should be interpreted more abstractly or ‘metaphorically’.²³⁹

- (3) Thus, the present working model represents a rather **holistic** approach to discourse, in which the relevant data are not limited to the strictly linguistic items included in the ‘text’.²⁴⁰ On the contrary, I argue that the contents (objects, events, persons) involved in an action or in discourse cannot legitimately be separated from the pragmatic structure in which they occur. It is not possible to develop these lines of thought any further within the scope of this book, but it may be useful to point out that this kind of holistic approach has for a consequence that the distinction between **text and context** tends to become completely blurred and in the end irrelevant.²⁴¹

²³⁹ For the general fact that motor-visual-kinaesthetic space is somehow cognitively most basic, and more abstract cognition is grounded in spatial metaphor, see Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987.

²⁴⁰ For a similarly holistic approach, see also the notion of ‘pragmatic act’ as developed by Jacob Mey (see Mey 1998a; Mey 2001, 206-235). This author has drawn my attention to this affinity between the model developed here and his own ‘pragmatic act’ device (Mey, personal communication 2002).

²⁴¹ Note that in the present approach ‘relevance’ is defined in terms of coherence, whereas according to **Relevance Theory (RT)**, as introduced in Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995 and used in the critique on coherence-based approaches to discourse (Wilson 1998; Blakemore 2001; see also Moneva-Ruiz 2010 for overview of recent debates), coherence effects are derived from ‘relevance’.

In fact, hardly any of the basic presuppositions of the RT approach are shared by the present approach. The present approach evidently does not rely on a strict delimitation between communicative behavior and non-communicative behavior, and emphasizes the common features of understanding either discourse or any other action. Moreover, the concept of ‘ostensive communication’, crucial to RT, relies heavily on a naive view on ‘intention’, which is apparently conceived of as an irreducible property of the functioning of the agent as a psychological/cognitive subject. In the above, it has been argued that intention can be construed as a matter of (or at the very least crucially involves) the internal structure of the actions themselves; hence, the self-understanding of an agent requires the same mechanisms as the understanding of an agent by an observer (see also Scheppers 2004a). Next, according to RT, the ‘communicative’ interaction between ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’ is viewed as a matter of the transfer of ‘information’, which apparently has a status independent of the pragmatics of the interaction. In the above, it is argued that this interaction is mediated by the pragmatic structure of the discourse as a type of behavior itself, and that the appearance of cognitive contents on the discourse scene is in its turn determined by this pragmatic structure, in the same way that any other action implies the successive presence of various items. Furthermore, the very definition of Sperber and Wilson’s Relevance Principle requires a strict separation of the information which makes up the text and its context; although this context is of course conceived of as being dynamic and including the previous co-text -otherwise analysis would become impossible-, it is viewed as an ultimately irreducible ground and its structure is not subjected to any analysis. Here I try to argue that the relevant context is an integral part of the pragmatic structure underlying discourse or any other action.

Summarizing, one could say that Relevance Theory, as compared with the present approach, offers a rather traditional de pragmaticized view on cognition, based on the notions of ‘subject’ and ‘information’. Still, as compared with other approaches, it shows some affinities with the present approach, in that it is relatively ‘holistic’, including non-verbal cognition in the theory. Furthermore,

13.1.4 The ‘Pragmatics First’ claim; the relationship between pragmatic structure and linguistic form; syntactic sandhi

As for the theoretical and methodological status of the type of structure that is represented by a P-tree, the following claim is assumed throughout this study and constitutes one of its basic tenets:

The ‘Pragmatics First’ claim:

P-structure, as a ‘central’ level of cognition (i.e. common to all kinds of sensible behavior), *underlies* the other, more specific, levels of linguistic structure.

- (1) On the one hand, this claim explicitly states the specificity of the present approach as compared with clause-based ‘grammatical’ approaches. In the latter approaches, the syntactic/semantic structure is invariably construed as basic and the segmentation of discourse as well as other pragmatic features (such as word order and focus) as a matter of ‘packaging’, ‘staging’, ‘linearizing’ or ‘formatting’ this basic syntactic-semantic content. Our approach starts from the assumption that pragmatic structure includes the contents involved in it (see the Pragmatic Relevance principle in section 13.1.3 above) and that syntax (as well as phonology) is a more superficial aspect of discourse.
- (2) On the other hand, the Pragmatics First claim also predicts that, generally speaking, the prosodic and syntactic structures of discourse reflect its P-tree structure. By making the link between the theoretical constructs introduced above and formal linguistic phenomena, this homology makes the model descriptively operational.²⁴² This homology can be interpreted in cognitive terms (see section 0.2.3 above): if discourse is processed from one IU to the next, its syntactic coding is processed chunk by chunk as well. If this is correct, grammatical locality (i.e. the fact that constituents that grammatically belong together tend to not be interrupted by constituents that do not belong there) is grounded in an underlying discourse principle of a cognitive nature. This accounts for the homology at the level of the elementary discourse unit (colon/IU). However, the scope of syntactic articulation, although limited (if not in principle, then in practice), is somewhat broader than the scope of intonation, i.e. articulation through syntactic means can extend over longer stretches of discourse. Syntactic structure would then be expected to reflect the pragmatic articulation of the P-tree. Indeed, syntactic constituency and discourse articulation as a rule do show a certain degree of homology (cf. Chafe 1980, 20-29; Chafe 1987, 40-47; Croft 1995; see sections 0.2.4 and 10.2 above), in that syntactically coherent elements always presuppose some kind of pragmatic coherence, and pragmatically defined units typically coincide with grammatical units:

‘Relevance’ as a technical concept obviously is not completely unrelated to the general notion of ‘relevance’ as it is used here, and by making this concept a central one, both approaches distinguish themselves from (i.a.) approaches based on the notion of ‘truth’.

²⁴² Remember that, within the present approach, the grammatical status of cola or IUs (and of higher level segments) in *se* is not a main concern. The different functions of the segments are discussed in pragmatic terms. Still, there is an obvious interest in investigating the way grammatical structure interacts with pragmatic structure (cf. e.g. the different contributions to Ochs & Schegloff & Thompson (eds.) 1996 and Haiman & Thompson (eds.) 1988). This is especially the case if one studies Ancient Greek, for which intonation is not directly available. Syntactic structure may then offer additional formal criteria for segmentation (see section 10.2 above).

- a pragmatically elementary segment (IU/colon) corresponds to a full grammatical constituent (cf. ‘the full GU condition’ in Croft 1995, see section 0.2.4 above);
- a syntactic sentence, as defined by the presence of a subject and a main finite verb, corresponds to a pragmatically relevant segment;
- grammatically ‘dislocated’ constituents, whether right-dislocated or left-dislocated (fronted), and syntactically non-integrated elements (parentheses, appositions, ...) make up separate segments;
- syntactically parallel constituents make up separate pragmatically motivated segments.

Still, anomalies occur with respect to the expected ‘natural’ pragmatics-syntax correspondence, in that the syntactic structure locally often does not correspond completely to the pragmatic principles of articulation (cf. Chafe 1980, 29-32). These anomalies have to be accounted for in a principled way.

- (3) Some anomalies with respect to the expected homology between P-trees and syntax are related to the fact that the scope of syntactic structures is limited. Often a marker or a Topic is syntactically integrated in a particular sentence, although -pragmatically speaking- it has scope over a much larger segment of which that sentence is only the first part. In the same vein of thought of the notion of ‘intonational sandhi’ (as introduced in section 0.2.2(3) above), I will call this phenomenon ‘**syntactic sandhi**’.

Let us first consider a ‘sandhi’ version of Example 13.1.2a: “Jóhn’s no hèro | . he’s just crázy.” “John” is here syntactically integrated with the first branch of the contrast, but functions as the Topic with respect to the Contrast node as a whole. The anomaly becomes more complicated when the Topic, Marker or Setting has scope over longer segments. Suppose this example continued with the story in Example 13.1.2b (“Because like . the òther dáy, | .. he got úp, | .. he went to the kítchen, | ... he took a knífe, | . and thén, | . he actually kílled the párrot”). The anaphoric pronouns then refer to John, who is the Topic/agent throughout the whole story. “John” is then syntactically integrated with the very first IU of what is only the very first part of a complex P-tree pattern. Should the word “John” be analyzed as a separate segment, which is the Theme of a Topic-Comment node dominating the whole of this complex structure? This would give rise to a gross anomaly with respect to the ‘normal’ syntax-pragmatics homology.²⁴³

Likewise, discourse markers like ‘and’ and ‘but’ can make up a separate IU and then are the Theme-branch of a Marker-Content node, indicating the scope of the marker. Alternatively, they can take P1 in the first IU of the segment over which they have scope. This case would be analogous to the cases of Topic-sandhi discussed here above. However, cases of marker-sandhi can be found which show the extra complication that, according to the transcription, the marker seems to be intonationally merged with the *left* branch of the Contrast, for instance: Chafe 1994, 208 (= Example 0.2c) “.. I’m wáking =, .. like bàck to my hóuse and, [...]” – Chafe 1987 (see Scheppers 2003) “... It’s fúnny though, ... I dó think that makes a dífference .. but, [...]”. In the second case, the simple marker “but” has scope over an entire anecdote, but the intonation merges it with the last IU of the left branch of the node it marks, which is an obvious anomaly.

²⁴³ For a similarly complicated anomaly, in which the scope of a Setting does not coincide with its grammatical dependence, and a problem of Topic-scope related to it, see my analysis of Lysias 3.15-17 in section 16 below (cola 18-19).

No a priori solution for this type of anomalies is available. In the case of an analysis that follows the syntactic structure more closely, additional argumentation will be necessary in order to explain the topic continuity, or the exact status of the Contrast marker. However, since pragmatics is epistemologically prior in the P-tree framework, ‘maximal’ segmentation and articulation purely based on scope are licensed, even when this goes counter to the ‘normal’ pragmatics-syntax-prosody homology (cf. Polanyi 2001, 267). Sandhi could be a workable explanatory device for cases in which such anomalies occur, although the limits to its applicability are as yet not clear. The P-tree model at least has the merit that it allows for the formulation of the problem as a technical matter. But especially in the case of spontaneous speech, the general operationality of the P-tree model is not challenged by these occasional anomalies.

13.1.5 Focus and pragmatic structure

In section 0.3.4 and section 10.3 above, I have already briefly introduced the notion of ‘focus’, as it is understood here: some words (or constituents) within an IU are ‘focalized’, i.e. they have special phonological prominence, as compared to other less prominent or even destressed words. As focus-related issues will show up throughout the analyses in sections 15-20 below, it seemed useful to very briefly discuss the ways in which P-tree structure determines focus, without being able to go beyond a highly simplified, intuitive and programmatic account within the scope of this section.

- (1) In section 13.3.3 above, I already pointed out that focus can be seen as inherently linked to the **background-foreground** structure on the local level of a certain action segment. For instance, plate A is maximally foregrounded (in focus) throughout the action segment in which it is washed, and then disappears into the background. This holistic conception of pragmatic structure as including the scene that comes with it should be applied to discourse as well. Thus, discourse will be viewed as inherently implying a structured scene on which items continuously come to the foreground and disappear into the background (the letter of the text is then only the tip of the iceberg). Linguistic focus should then be understood as a direct reflection of the fact that an item is on the foreground of the local scene because it is directly linked to the pragmatic point of the IU in which it occurs.²⁴⁴
- (2) As far as the specific functions of focus as a linguistic phenomenon are concerned, the relevant literature distinguishes two general types of focus: (a) ‘**contrastive**’ focus and (b)

²⁴⁴ If focus is a direct reflection of the pragmatic function of an IU, it is to be expected that, as a rule, exactly **one focalized item per IU** will occur (cf. Chafe 1987, 31-36; Chafe 1994, 108-119). It follows that we can argue a priori that the presence of focal prominence on more than one item within what appears to be one IU *can* be a criterion for assuming that sandhi has occurred and that two pragmatically distinct segments have merged. However, complex focalizations can be engendered by other circumstances as well: for instance, the co-occurrence of a contrastive focus and a new focus within a single IU or the expression of a single new focus by more than one focalized word need not depend on sandhi (see Chafe 1987, 34-37). In Example 13.1.2b, the ‘one focused item per IU’ prediction is in general borne out. One exception has to be noted: “he killed the párrot” (IU9), in which both the verb and its direct object are focused; obviously, both words together represent a single point (the relevant event); the difference with the other segments in the example is that in this case the verb (‘kill’) is not a low-content verb which can be inferred just by making the link between the object and the agent.

‘new’ focus (for references, see section 0.3.4). Both kinds can be shown to be directly related to P-nodes, in that the constituents that bear the focus have a more privileged relation with the pragmatic function of the IU as defined by its position in a P-tree (see already Scheppers 1997).

- (a) The familiar Example 13.1.2a “1. ... Jóhn | 2. ... hè’s no héro | 3. .. he’s just crázy.” is a straightforward illustration of contrastive focus. The primary accent (a pitch deviation accompanied by loudness or lengthening) on “hero” and “crazy” indicates a contrastive focus, which directly reflects the function of the Contrast node B itself. As for the focus on “John” in IU1, this prominence is clearly motivated by the fact that it is the very point of this segment to introduce this item (the point of the introduction of this Topic depends on the nodes dominating node A). The privileged relation of focused words with the P-node - i.e. the fact that the P-nodes primarily select focused words, and that unfocused words are much less directly determined by pragmatic structure - can be seen from the fact that in some way the mere utterance of the focused words could still be interpretable (e.g. with exaggerated intonation): “John? Hero? Crazy!”²⁴⁵
- (b) Likewise, ‘new’ focus is typically borne by those items that the IU in which they occur has the very function to introduce, e.g. as a branch of a sequence of events. Consider Example 13.1.2b (“4. Because like . the òther dáy, | 5. .. he got úp, | 6. .. he went to the kíchen, | 7. ... he took a knife, | 8. . and thén, | 9. . he actually killed the párrót”). The point of IUs 5, 6, 7 and 9 is to introduce a series of events as required by the dominating Plot sequence (represented by node D in the P-tree). One might expect that in this case the point of the IUs would reflect into focus on the verbs, since the event-status of the segments is a matter of the semantic structure of the verbs. Note however that in IU7 and IU9 the most prominent stress is not on the verb but on the direct object of the verb (and in IU 6 on an argument PP). This can be explained by the general rule that the phonological prominence of (one of the syllables of) an argument of the verb can be an indication for ‘wide focus’ on the whole of the event represented by the VP that it is an argument of. This rule can be given a functional interpretation as well: verbs in general and especially verbs like ‘get’, ‘go’, and ‘take’, are relatively low-content as compared to typical nouns (see sections 5.2.1 and 6.3(3b) above). Furthermore, the basic action-types presented by these verbs (moving, taking objects, ...) are somehow presupposed by any Plot as a sequence of actions, i.e. the verbs alone underdetermine the specific events implied in this specific Plot. Thus, the arguments of the verbs presented by the focused NPs are more closely related to the specific points made than the verbs themselves. Note that in the one case in which the verb is not a predictable low-content verb (“killed” in IU6) the verb does carry a primary accent. Again, the link between P-structure and focus can be demonstrated by leaving out the non-focused items: “John?²⁴⁶ Up, kitchen, knife, killed parrot” is more or less easily interpretable as such. Within the context of a Plot structure and with a given agent, the introduction of the new item ‘kitchen’ (semantically a Place) implies that the agent moves to this Place, and the

²⁴⁵ Cf. Dover’s notion of ‘dispensability’ (see section 10.3 above).

²⁴⁶ In Example 13.1.2b as quoted, the Topic/agent is not specified. However, the use of the distressed pronoun ‘he’ implies that it was introduced in the previous context.

introduction of an object like ‘knife’ implies that he somehow gets ‘control’ over it and in the case of a knife the most obvious way of controlling it is taking it in one’s hands.²⁴⁷

13.1.6 Final remarks

Section 13.1 introduced a number of conceptual tools that will receive a more concrete implementation in the remainder of section 13 and will be exploited in the course of the analyses throughout Part III of this study. At least part of the more theoretical aspects touched upon in the above clearly fall outside the scope of this book on Ancient Greek, and could not be properly developed here. Still, it was impossible to leave these aspects out of the book, because they constitute the general framework underlying the approach of more practical and technical issues, as will be demonstrated throughout Part III.

13.2 Criteria for distinguishing coherence relations

It has been pointed out in section 13.1.2(4) above that we need a typology of coherence relations in order to make the P-tree model a viable tool for the analysis of discourse. Before giving an outline of such a typology in a descriptive manner in section 13.3, I will first discuss a few of the parameters that must/can be taken into account in the construction of such a typology.

(1) *pragmatic vs. semantic vs. syntactic*

In the literature, coherence relations between segments are sometimes categorized according to whether they are semantic or pragmatic by nature (e.g. Sanders 1997 and the references quoted there; for an overview of various classifications involving distinctions of this type, see Kroon 1995, 7-33).²⁴⁸

A relation is called semantic if it reflects a ‘real world’ relation between the contents of the related segments; it is called pragmatic if it holds between the ‘speech acts’ of the segments. The following examples (and the paraphrases) illustrate the intended distinction (Sanders 1997, 127), example (a1) under interpretation (a3) representing a semantic relation, and example (b1) under interpretation (b2) representing a pragmatic relation:

- (a1) Theo was exhausted because he had run to the university.
- (a2) ? The fact that Theo had been running *causes my claim* that he was exhausted.
- (a3) The fact that Theo had been running *causes the fact* that he was exhausted.
- (b1) Theo was exhausted, because he was gasping for breath.
- (b2) The fact that Theo was gasping for breath *causes my claim* that he was exhausted.
- (b3) ? The fact that Theo was gasping for breath *causes the fact* that he was exhausted.

²⁴⁷ For this abstract semantic notion of ‘control’, see Scheppers 2002; an alternative interpretation of ‘control’ would be ‘perceptual’ (e.g. ‘see’); however, this would not fit in with the ensuing (and previous) context, involving nothing but proper ‘actions’.

²⁴⁸ See also the distinction in Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) between ‘Presentational Relations’ and ‘Subject-Matter Relations’ (see e.g. Mann 1999/2005-2010). The kind of heterogeneity that is being criticized here is even more salient in RST because of the introduction of a third broad class of ‘Multinuclear Relations’ which is based on a purely structural distinction (cf. the notion of ‘symmetrical relations’, section 13.2(1) here below).

This distinction may be a relevant aspect in a description of the uses of ‘because’. However, as far as the coherence of discourse is concerned, even in the cases where there is a ‘semantic’ causal relationship between the segments, the coherence between them is primarily pragmatic: the question is *why* the semantic relation is expressed in the first place, in this case *why* the cause is mentioned; and this is a matter of pragmatics. In the examples above an adequate account of the pragmatic coherence relations does not have to mention ‘cause’ at all: in the case of (a1), supposing that it answers a question like “Why is Theo exhausted?”, a Topic-Comment relation holds between both segments; example (b1) exemplifies a completely different type of relation: the speaker states a claim and then elaborates this claim by specifying on the basis of what he makes it.

Likewise, the relations between segments (esp. on the lower levels) obviously can be described in syntactic terms as well: the grammatical status of the segments, the structural distance between them in terms of the argument vs. non-argument distinction, the syntactic relations between them in terms of coordination and different kinds of subordination, etc. (see also section 0.2.4 above) are all relevant factors that have to be dealt with. Still, it is evident from the outset that a one-to-one relation between syntax and pragmatics is not to be expected: the same grammatical patterns may reflect quite different pragmatic structures, as can already be seen from the examples quoted here above.

It is a specific feature of the approach adopted here that it proposes a homogeneously pragmatic typology of discourse coherence relation. Of course, semantic differences can be superposed on the pragmatic ones that are the main concern of this study, and syntactic considerations will play a major role in the actual analysis of the data.

(2) *binary vs. n-ary*

An obvious parameter is constituted by the number of segments that are related by the node in question. Especially the distinction between relations that involve only two daughters vs. ones that involve more than two daughters seems to be useful, for instance:

- Topic-Comment, Marker-Content, Setting-Event and Contrast relations inherently imply only two segments;
- the overall macro-structure of many different discourse genres (incl. spontaneous narratives such as anecdotes, fictional stories, jokes as well as e.g. scientific articles present a ternary pattern (introduction-body-coda);
- Lists, Plots and other sequences are indefinitely expandable.

It is mathematically always possible to reduce n-ary relations to a complex of binary structures.²⁴⁹ Although such a policy may raise in se interesting issues, it will not be adopted here: whenever a recurrent pattern involving more than one segment is observed, and the relations between these segments are not obviously recognizable as of one of the known types, a more than binary node type will be introduced. For instance in the recurrent case of Contrasted Topics and Contrasted Comments, the pattern involving 4 segments will be

²⁴⁹ For the mathematical features of trees in general, an extensive terminology has been developed within the Chomskyan tradition in linguistics (adjacency, dominance, c-command, ...). Although some of these concepts might have been useful for my purposes, I have refrained from using these terms beyond the most obvious ones, mostly for the sake of transparency. Note by the way that the functions of tree-graphs in the present approach are very different from the use made of this graphic device in Generative Grammar. Obviously, the concept of ‘transformation’ (‘movement’) is completely incompatible with the present approach.

broken down into a dominating Contrast node and 2 Topic-Comment nodes; in the case of a narrative pattern introduction-narration-coda, a separate node type involving 3 daughters will be introduced.

(3) *micro-structure vs. macro-structure*

Most approaches to discourse imply a fixed set of types of segments of different levels, such as the IU, the clause, the sentence, the paragraph. The existence of these fixed levels is often presupposed and taken as a starting point for investigating the features that can be ascribed to these types of segments. In the context of the present approach, no fixed set of pragmatically relevant segments will be presupposed beyond the elementary one. On the contrary, we will be able to observe that the recursive application of the same relations is sufficient to account for the effects that are usually ascribed to the levels of articulation mentioned above. Still, some structural patterns appear to be more typical of micro-structure (say: at the level of the sentence or paragraph). For instance, Topic-Comment patterns coincide quite often with sentences or paragraphs and are less typical of the macro-structural organization of longer stretches of discourse. Other patterns typically imply larger structures, obviously so in the case of genre-specific macro-structures like ‘exordium-narratio-argumentatio-peroratio’, characteristic of the overall structure of a forensic speech.

(4) *± symmetrical*

P-nodes can be distinguished as to whether their branches have similar pragmatic functions with respect to the nodes (‘symmetrical’), or contribute in completely different ways to their overall effect (‘asymmetrical’). Note that segments can be (a)symmetrical in several ways (for instance along the lines of the semantic-syntactic-pragmatic distinction introduced in (1) here above), but the symmetry intended here is pragmatic. Thus, two adjacent syntactically and semantically symmetrical segments under the same P-node can but need not be pragmatically symmetrical. For instance, two main finite clauses (syntactically symmetrical) can present successive events under the same Plot-node (pragmatically symmetrical) or the second one can present ‘evidence’ for the first one (pragmatically asymmetrical).

Still, the contents of the respective segments in a symmetrical relation are typically of the same semantic/ontological type e.g. object-object-object in a List of objects, or event-event-event in a narrative Plot sequence, whereas asymmetrical relations often imply ontologically different contents, e.g. ‘a person’-‘an action/event’ in some Topic-Comment nodes, ‘a contentless marker’-‘an event’ in some Marker-Content nodes, etc. This is not always the case, however: both the Setting and the Event of a Setting-Event pattern may consist of events; an event may be the Topic of a Topic-Comment pattern, etc.

(5) *± Theme-Rheme*

Thematization as a general principle underlying discourse structuration has been argued to be a pervasive one, in that it can apply to highly divergent types of structural patterns, including symmetrical ones (see section 13.1.2(3) here above). In the latter case, the Thematization Principle determines the order in which two (or more) items which have a similar function within the discourse are presented: the cognitively most accessible one first and/or the one that is most relevant for the overall discourse last. Still, some highly frequent asymmetrical patterns are qua node types completely determined by the Thematization

Principle, in that they have for a specific function to generate specific Theme-Rheme relations (e.g. Marker-Content, Topic-Comment, Setting-Event; see section 13.3.2).

However, some asymmetrical patterns of discourse structuration differ from the previous ones in that the main point of the P-node is already made in the left hand segment and the right hand segment seems to adduce only secondary additional information (cf. the formula ‘thought-afterthought’, Mann & Thompson 1988, 271), in which case the coherence relations are clearly non-thematizing (see section 13.3.3).

(6) *backgrounding vs. foregrounding*

This criterion applies to the function of the contents presented in the branches of the node with respect to the overall contents of the encompassing structure. In the literature (see e.g. various contributions to Tomlin (ed.) 1987), the distinction has been applied mainly to narrative structures and used to distinguish (i) information which helps to develop the plot in that it presents events in their temporal order, from (ii) information which does not and serves other purposes, which are subordinated to the development of the plot. In the present approach, a somewhat wider implementation of the distinction is construed, which includes the quoted one. In section 13.1.3 above, I introduced the notion that every pragmatic structure (whether verbal or not) implies a ‘**scene**’, in which the items involved in the action are organized in a quasi-spatial way according to their relevance with respect to the action at hand. The background-foreground distinction can then be construed as a property of a scene. For the present purposes, a somewhat informal conception of the distinction background-foreground will suffice (cf. section 13.1.5 above): *the contents which are the most crucially and specifically relevant to the point of the segment at hand are maximally foregrounded (‘in focus’) in that segment; the other contents are more or less in the background with respect to these focused contents.*

The foreground-background distinction is thus conceived as a relative one, i.e. in terms of the ‘distance’ of an item to the item that is maximally in the foreground (‘in the spotlight’, ‘in focus’). In many cases (esp. prototypical narratives and descriptions), these notions can be interpreted almost literally, in terms of spatial relations. In other cases (e.g. involving abstract contents), a more metaphorical reading is necessary.

(7) *± content-inheritance / ± content-percolation*

A potentially very important parameter for distinguishing P-nodes depends on whether or not the contents of the daughter-nodes climb up into the tree, i.e. are relevant with respect to the dominating node and hence for the overall structure. This bottom-up relation between the contents of a lower level segment and the higher level segments corresponding to dominating nodes will here be called ‘**content-inheritance**’ (cf. e.g. the notion of ‘feature inheritance’ in Polanyi 2001), e.g.:

- a Marker has no substantial contents and hence obviously does not contribute to the contents of the dominating node; cf. the notions of ‘regulatory IU’ in Chafe 1994, 63-64 and ‘discourse operator’ in Polanyi 2001;
- a Topic is by definition a constitutive and central element of the overall contents of the entire segment dominated by the Topic-Comment node;
- the items successively introduced by a symmetrical relation of the ‘List’-type add up so as to form a set in the contents of the overall segment;

- a descriptive digression in a narrative by definition does not add any contents which are crucial to the overall structure; likewise, an explanation to a claim can be argued not to contribute information relevant to the overall discourse at large which was not already present in the claim itself (for the notions ‘globally’ vs. ‘locally’ relevant, see section 13.1.3 above); thus, this parameter can constitute a defining criterion for the notion ‘pragmatic subordination’ (see section 13.3.3 below).²⁵⁰

It may be interesting to also take into account the converse top-down notion, which can be called ‘**content-percolation**’:

- In some cases, features of the scene which corresponds to a high level node (e.g. a complete Lysias speech) are readily available throughout the discourse, including in low level patterns, e.g. the ‘oppositeness’ (see (9) here below) between prosecutor and defendant in a forensic speech is reiterated as Contrast relations (e.g. οὗτοι - ἐγώ) throughout such a speech.
- In other cases, some features of the overall scene are not available at the local level, e.g. obviously so in many cases of quoted speech (the embedded speaker is not always supposed to know what the superordinate speaker knows).²⁵¹

(8) *± about*

‘Aboutness’, which in this study is the defining feature of **Topic**-hood (see section 13.3.2(2) below), is an intuitively strong notion, which is, however, hard to formalize. Some prototypical (and highly frequent) cases are easily characterized in terms of ‘aboutness’, e.g. whenever a segment consists of the mere introduction of a person, and the ensuing segment presents one or more events in which this person is the central agent; or whenever an object, a concept or a person is introduced, after which some characteristics of this person, concept or object are discussed. Other situations are less clear. For instance, it is not a priori clear whether the evidence that is presented for a claim is ‘about’ this claim; likewise, one might in some cases want to analyze a series of events as being said about the ‘period’ in which they occurred, rather than analyzing the segment “at that time, ...” as a mere discourse marker or the temporal ‘Setting’ in which these events take place, etc.

In the present study I adopt the following working definition: *For a discourse segment to be ‘about’ some item means that this item is somehow ‘central’ in the ‘scene’ which corresponds to this segment and that the other items occurring are ‘anchored’ to this item.*²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Note that the background-foreground distinction plays a role in the matter of content-inheritance, e.g. the contents introduced in the ‘setting’ branch of Setting-Event node do affect the scene which corresponds to the dominating node, but only the background of this scene.

²⁵¹ An interesting corollary to this parameter is the distinction ‘**spatio-temporal succession vs. co-presence**’, depending on whether the contents of the segments are to be interpreted as being co-present on the local discourse scene, or as succeeding each other in time. See my account of contrast in paragraph (9) here below.

²⁵² It follows from this definition that Topic-hood will typically be reflected in the syntactic-semantic function of the Topic: if the Topic by definition plays an important role in the ensuing Comment, this role will typically be coded in the linguistic form of the Comment and the Topic will typically (but not necessarily) have a grammatical function in this Comment, typically an argument of the verb, most typically the most prominent argument function, i.e. the function of grammatical subject (see section 21.2 below).

(9) *± contrastive*

Contrastiveness is a notion having a scope of application that extends beyond the structuration of discourse, i.e. items can be contrastive even if the contrast between them is not the main point of the discourse pattern they occur in. Most notably, the notion is used for the description of focus-phenomena that are not due to cognitive New-ness.²⁵³

The prototypical case²⁵⁴ of a contrastive relation between discourse segments is the binary symmetrical type of relation between two elements that are of the same general type (ontologically as well as formally) in which two items are placed opposite each other in the local context, i.e. there is no background-foreground relation between them: both items are co-present and equally (but often successively) foregrounded with respect to the encompassing segment dominated by the Contrast node. The notion of ‘oppositeness’ should here be taken in its widest possible sense (i.e. it does not necessarily suggest polar opposition, nor just spatial oppositeness). It is meant to cover not only mutually exclusive alternatives but also some kinds of comparison, and the pairwise alternation of the different agents in a story (as in “and then, HE did this ..., but SHE did that ...”).

The traditional term ‘contrast’ coincides by and large with the intended phenomena, though contrastiveness is not confined to cases in which the presentation of the contrast between two elements is the very point of the segments in question (see section 13.3.1(1) below).

(10) *intra-speaker vs. cross-speaker*

P-trees are not inherently linked to the activity of one agent/speaker (think, for instance, of several agents doing the dishes together). The structure of dialogue has been the specific subject matter of Conversation Analysis since the seminal work of Harvey Sacks from the mid 1960s onwards.²⁵⁵ In conversation analysis, the basic notion ‘**adjacency pair**’ is “defined as two subsequent utterances constituting a conversational exchange” (Mey 1993, 243). Adjacency pairs are in fact particularly good examples of what the P-node concept is intended to describe. In the case of e.g. a question-answer node, it is quite evident that the pragmatic functions of both the question branch and the answer branch are to be understood in terms of their mutual relation. In fact, in the case of a simple “yes” answer, its relation to the question is the only clue towards its interpretation at all. Likewise, many genres of

²⁵³ Myhill & Xing also introduce the notion of ‘implicit contrast (or listing)’: “In a number of cases it is clear that a clause has a contrastive or listing function even though there is no overt clause with which it stands in a contrastive or listing relationship” (Myhill & Xing 1996, 320). Two clear cases can be mentioned: (a) those involving an explicit particle with a meaning like “even” which is associated with contrast or listing; (b) those involving a choice by the subject (as can be made explicit by a particle like ‘only’).

²⁵⁴ Various criteria have been proposed in order to distinguish between subtypes of Contrast. See e.g. Chafe 1976 and Myhill & Xing 1996, 313-315.

²⁵⁵ See e.g. Sacks 1992a and 1992b, a posthumously published bundle of (edited) transcriptions of lectures held by Harvey Sacks from 1964 to 1972, in which the ‘birth’ and early development of Conversation Analysis as a discipline can -so to speak- be witnessed in situ. For the first authoritative handbook on Conversational Analysis, written by one of the pioneers of the discipline, see Schegloff 2007. Much of the early work in Conversation Analysis was concerned with the specific interactional features of conversation, such as turn-taking and the relevance of the sociological roles of the different participants, mostly to the expense of more general discourse features of conversation. However, although this bias is still present in the literature, conversational data are more and more frequently discussed in general discourse analytical and pragmatic terms (see e.g. Chafe 1997; Linell & Korolija 1997 and other contributions to Givón (ed.) 1997; several sections in Mey 1993 and Mey 2001).

everyday conversation (think of the many more or less ritualized kinds of small-talk) are organized according to stereotyped macro-patterns that closely resemble the nodes determining the macrostructural organization of monologic discourse genres. Within the present approach, I will analyze dialogue in terms of P-tree patterns, on a par with monologic discourse. Interestingly, monologue and dialogue can be observed not to differ much structurally, which can give rise to far-reaching theoretical consequences (see Scheppers 2004a and section 13.3.4 below).

(11) *genre-specificness*

The notion of ‘genre’ has a wide range of applications in many branches of linguistics (e.g. sociolinguistics, linguistics applied to language teaching, pragmatics, discourse analysis and related disciplines; see e.g. Ferguson 1985; Ferguson 1994; Swales 1990; Bex 1996). In these linguistic disciplines, the notion of ‘genre’ as it is used in literary theory in order to characterize types of literary products such as the novel, the sonnet, etc., is extended to all possible types of linguistic behavior, from academic articles and contributions to colloquia to patient-doctor interactions and teenage small-talk over the phone.

As a theoretical concept, ‘genre’ serves as an interface between several linguistic and non-linguistic (contextual) features of language behavior.²⁵⁶ The definition of a particular genre will include *both* features of the non-linguistic context in which the behavior belonging to the genre takes place *and* features of the discourse (‘text’) itself (cf. e.g. Martin 2001, 44-47):

- (i) *non-linguistic (‘contextual’) features*: the social, physical and communicative setting in which the discourse takes place (fortuitous encounter on the street, family dinner table, academic colloquium, business meeting, a doctor’s surgery, ...); the items in the physical setting that are available for reference (not only by virtue of their physical presence but also by virtue of their relevance/acceptability/appropriateness/suitability in the discourse context); the role, status, power, communicative purposes, etc. of the participants, e.g. the roles of patient and doctor are inherent features of the discourse genre(s) that are typical in a medical context: these roles are not features of the participants in the interaction in se but of the type of interaction (‘genre’) itself (the very same persons may engage in quite different interactions as well, e.g. as friends);
- (ii) *linguistic (‘textual’) features*: topic selection (‘what is talked about’ (and what not) obviously determines the lexical and semantic aspects of a discourse); ‘register’ or ‘style’ (according to the genre of the discourse, different varieties of the same language are appropriate).

Classifications of the different types of discourse genres necessarily will be based on several parameters, including the distinction ‘monologue-dialogue’, the traditional opposition ‘written vs. spoken’ (the ‘medium’ parameter), the difference ‘narrative-expository’, and the ‘formal-informal’ distinction.

What is important here is that the genre of which an actual stretch of discourse is an instance obviously determines its macro-structure, as well as the types of more micro-structural patterns that will be most likely to occur. The very fact that a stretch of discourse is a scientific article, a joke, a stretch of small-talk over the telephone, or an interview for the television news, obviously determines its overall structure. Thus, some patterns of discourse

²⁵⁶ Cf. the holistic notion of ‘action type’ introduced in section 13.1.3 above.

structure, such as can be analyzed by means of the P-tree device, are specific to certain genres (see section 13.3.5 below).

13.3 Patterns of discourse structure: a provisional typology of coherence relations

The parameters enumerated in section 13.2 here above, as such do not yet constitute an operational typology of structural discourse coherence relations or P-nodes. Ideally, questions like the following should be asked about every relation between two or more segments which is encountered in the data: is it a symmetrical or an asymmetrical relation? does the Thematization Principle apply? is the higher order segment represented by the node under scrutiny 'about' what is presented in one of the daughter segments? are the items in the different segments co-present or do they succeed each other? etc. This procedure would then automatically result in a typology of relations. However, it is clear from the outset that (i) such a typology would be a multi-dimensional one, giving rise to an indefinite number of types defined according to all possible combinations of parameters; (ii) in many cases the criteria -as they stand- are not sufficiently formalized to decide between different options.

For these reasons, I adopt an -admittedly- methodologically less rigorous approach: during the analysis of the data, some recurrent and easily recognizable patterns were indexed and classified according to the criteria that seemed to be most salient for their distinctiveness. It should be understood from the outset that the classification adopted is a compromise solution. On the one hand, a completely flat enumeration of types would have implied a high degree of redundancy and a lack of insightfulness in the presentation. On the other hand, any more articulated presentation inherently implies the choice of some criteria as more constitutive of the classification to the expense of others, which has for a consequence that some distinctions and similarities between types will always be stressed as compared to others, with some infelicities as a necessary result.

For the purposes of the presentation in this section and as a starting point for my analyses throughout Part III, I adopt a classification with the following broad outlines:

- (1) **symmetrical relations** (section 13.3.1): relations in which both branches present contents with a similar function with respect to the encompassing structure (most importantly: Plot sequences, Contrasts, Lists, Chains);
- (2) **Theme-Rheme relations** (section 13.3.2): asymmetrical relations for which the Thematization Principle is constitutive (Marker-Content, Topic-Comment, Setting-Event);
- (3) **elaboration/subordination relations** (section 13.3.3): asymmetrical relations which do not obey the Thematization Principle and in which the mother node inherits all its information from its left branch;²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ The outline of the present typology has a more or less close resemblance to some existing typologies: the distinctions made here are similar to the ternary distinction between 'coordination' (= \pm 'symmetrical'), 'binary structures' (= \pm 'asymmetrical') and 'subordination', introduced in Polanyi 1988 and Polanyi 2001; the symmetrical-asymmetrical distinction partially coincides with the distinction between Nucleus-Satellite relations and Multinuclear relations in Rhetorical Structure Theory (Mann & Thompson 1988, 265-271).

- (4) **genre-specific macro-structures** (section 13.3.4): discourse patterns that are immediately related to the specific features of the discourse genre to which the discourse at hand belongs;
- (5) **cross-speaker coherence relations** (section 13.3.5): conversational patterns that involve more than one speaker; these relations will be shown to be classifiable according to the same broad classes as monologic discourse, as discussed under (1), (2), (3) and (4).

13.3.1 Symmetrical patterns

Symmetrical relations are defined by the fact that the different segments that they relate all have a similar pragmatic function, i.e. that they all contribute in a similar way to the overall structure of the discourse. I will distinguish three different types of symmetrical relations: (1) Contrasts; (2) Lists and Chains; (3) Plots.

(1) *Contrasts*

The coherence relations that the notion ‘Contrast node’ is intended to characterize can be defined by means of the following distinctive features:²⁵⁸

- It is an inherently binary type of symmetrical nodes (having all the features characteristic of symmetrical nodes; see above).
 - The relation between the two items on the discourse scene is one of ‘oppositeness’, i.e. one is not more in the background than the other.
 - This implies that the items presented in both branches are in some sense co-present on the discourse scene.
- (a) One way of classifying different kinds of phenomena that are here subsumed under the notion of ‘contrast’ concerns the pragmatic functions of the segments in terms of the coherence relations that dominate them. Such a classification is implied by the typology of Rhetorical Structure Theory, which is based on the ‘perlocutionary effects’ of the coherence relations, i.e. on the ways the speaker’s utterances affect the addressee. Thus, the RST relation ‘Antithesis’ implies contrasted contents, but differs from the plain ‘Contrast’ relation as to their perlocutionary effect:
- ‘Contrast’: the situations in both Nuclei are contrastive (comparable in some respects, different in others); by the Writer’s presenting the Satellite, the Reader recognizes the comparability and the difference(s) yielded by the comparison;
 - ‘Antithesis’: the Writer has positive regard for the situation presented in the Nucleus of the relation; Nucleus and Satellite are contrasted; the contrast between Nucleus and Satellite implies that one cannot have positive regard for both Nucleus and Satellite; by the Writer’s presenting the Satellite, the Reader’s regard for the Nucleus is increased.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Cf. the definition for the ‘Contrast’ relation in Mann 1999/2005-2010: “Constraints on each pair of [Nuclei]: no more than two nuclei; the situations in these two nuclei are (a) comprehended as the same in many respects (b) comprehended as different in a few respects and (c) compared with respect to one or more of these differences. Intention of [the Writer]: [the Reader] recognizes the comparability and the difference(s) yielded by the comparison [...]”.

²⁵⁹ Note that, according to RST, both the ‘Antithesis’ and the ‘Concession’ relations (as opposed to the ‘Contrast’ relation), are defined as Nucleus-Satellite relations (i.e. asymmetrical ones), and both have for a perlocutionary effect to “increase [the Reader’s] positive regard for [the Nucleus]”. Still,

- (b) RST's distinctions (esp. the exact functions of the different criteria adopted) are obviously messy, but it has to be admitted that 'contrastive' relations in general are not as easy to analyze as they look. For the present purposes, it will suffice to enumerate a few recurrent types. A wide range of constructions are contrastive in that they imply the 'oppositeness' of two items on the local discourse scene because they involve a choice or a comparison between alternatives, for instance: (i) either X, or Y; (ii) neither X, nor Y; (iii) more X than Y; (iv) rather X than Y; (v) not X, but Y; (vi) not only X, but also Y; (vii) like X, so Y. Many of these cases of Contrast have **idiosyncratic** pragmatic features, which make them at least atypical instances of the symmetrical kind of relations. Thus, e.g. the negative-positive types (v) and (vi) have for an effect that the main point of the contrast is the second member, which suggest an analysis in terms of a Theme-Rheme relation rather than as a symmetrical relation (the contribution of both members to the overall discourse cannot be said to be similar); note also the similarity of the negative-positive relations to 'restatements' or even 'repairs', in that the second member sometimes seems to replace the first member. Likewise, comparisons of the type (vii) belong, at least formally, to a broad set of syntactically correlative constructions, of which the pragmatic function is not always easy to describe.

(2) *Lists and Chains*

A number of clearly symmetrical relations are less specifically structured than Contrasts and Plots. The features that these relations have in common are the following:

- They are symmetrical relations, in that their branches have similar functions with respect to the encompassing structure.
- They are not inherently binary (like Plot sequences and unlike Contrasts).
- The items in the different branches do not inherently imply a temporal succession (like Contrasts, unlike Plot sequences).

I will distinguish the following types:

- (a) lists of items which are enumerated and form a contextually defined set (i.e. constitute one complex item on the discourse scene);²⁶⁰
- (b) chains of segments which have a similar status with respect to the overall structure of the discourse, but which need not constitute a set as far as the ontological status of their contents is concerned, for instance 'Topic-Chains' (in which the discourse structure is determined by the successive introduction of a series of Topics), or 'Argument-Chains' (in defending a certain claim, many different types of support for that claim may be adduced: narratives exposing the different relevant facts, examples and testimonies for some point, credentials for the speaker, rhetorical devices aiming at obtaining the sympathy of the audience, attacks aimed at the opponent, etc.);²⁶¹

'Antithesis' is explicitly said to be a "subtype of Contrast" but not 'Concession' (Mann & Thompson 1988, 253).

²⁶⁰ Cf. the definition for the 'List' relation in Mann 1999/2005-2010: "Constraints on each pair of [Nuclei]: an item comparable to others linked to it by the List relation. Intention of [the Writer]: [the Reader] recognizes the comparability of the linked items [...]". Note that the criterion which constitutes the set can be a fairly general one (cf. e.g. the list of 'cosmological' terms in Plato *Cra.* 408d: *περὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε δὲ ἴτι σε κωλύει διελθεῖν, ἰοῖον ἢ ἡλίου τε ἢ καὶ σελήνης ἢ καὶ ἄστρων ἢ καὶ γῆς ἢ καὶ αἰθέρος ἢ καὶ ἄέρος ἢ καὶ πυρὸς ἢ καὶ ὕδατος ἢ καὶ ὠρῶν ἢ καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ;*).

²⁶¹ Cf. the very amusing definition for the 'Joint' relation in Mann 1999/2005-2010: "Constraints on each pair of [Nuclei]: None. Intention of [the Writer]: None" [sic!].

- (c) appositional sequences, in which different formulations of a single point are juxtaposed (this includes repairs).²⁶²

(3) *Plots*

The criteria for categorizing a coherence relation as a Plot sequence are the following:²⁶³

- The relation is a symmetrical one, i.e. the branches all contribute in a similar way to the overall Plot structure. More specifically, the different branches consist of events, which together constitute a narrative development.
 - The events that make up the branches of the Plot-node succeed each other in linear time.²⁶⁴
- (a) Note that ‘storyhood’ implies a number of idiosyncratic features that make it not so easy to define the plot relation according to formal criteria. Thus, chronological succession is not sufficient for a sequence of events to make up a plot: it is hard to perceive “Caesar conquered Gaul, and then Elvis came to Memphis and finally I woke up” as a story in any real sense of the term. The problem is not (only) the distance between the events in real time, nor the lack of coherence in the set of main agents (cf. the fact that “Bill woke up, he took a spoon, he brushed his teeth, he read the word ‘the’ in the paper” is hardly a story either). In terms of the approach adopted here, the key point seems to be that it has to be possible to perceive the actions that make up a plot-sequence as part of an encompassing action of a recognizable type.
- (b) Also note that a story does not usually consist of a flat structure consisting of a single plot relation. Typically, plot relations are embedded in each other in actual narrative discourse. For instance, a longer narrative will typically consist of several episodes, each of which includes one or more plot nodes in its internal structure, linked by an encompassing Plot node. Typically, such sub-plots will be introduced by a Theme, whether a Setting, a Topic (typically the main agent of the sequence of actions) or a mere Marker (e.g. “and then, ...”). Sections 14 to 17 will abundantly illustrate this type of pattern.

13.3.2 Theme-Rheme patterns

Some of the most common patterns of discourse structure are more or less highly specific implementations of the general **Theme-Rheme** relation, in that the node types that correspond to these patterns have the main point of the node at the right branch, whereas the contents of the left branch have the specific function to clear the ground for the interpretation of this main point. In this section I will distinguish between 3 types:

²⁶² Cf. the definition for the ‘Multinuclear Restatement’ relation in Mann 1999/2005-2010: “Constraints on each pair of [Nuclei]: An item is primarily a reexpression of one linked to it; the items are of comparable importance to the purposes of [the Writer]. Intention of [the Writer]: [the Reader] recognizes the reexpression by the linked items [...]”.

²⁶³ Cf. the definition for the ‘Sequence’ relation in Mann 1999/2005-2010: “Constraints on each pair of [Nuclei]: There is a succession relationship between the situations in the nuclei. Intention of [the Writer]: [the Reader] recognizes the succession relationships among the nuclei”.

²⁶⁴ Note that events can be linked by symmetrical relations which however do not constitute a plot: enumerations of events are not plots.

- (1) Marker-Content;
- (2) Topic-Comment;
- (3) Setting-Event.

What these relations have in common is that the Themes have for a function to articulate the discourse, i.e. to indicate boundaries between larger segments. Hence, the specific Theme-Rheme patterns typically occur whenever there is a discontinuity in the flow of discourse (e.g. Topic-switches, Setting-switches).²⁶⁵

(1) *Marker – Content*

The most extreme case of thematization, in which the Theme is merely structural and does not present any actual contents, can be found in the node type **Marker-Content**. The left branch of this node type has a ‘regulatory’ function (Chafe 1994, 63-64) in that it does not make a proper contribution to the overall development of the discourse contents, but only situates the contents that follow with respect to the context; in this sense what I call a ‘Marker’ has been called a ‘discourse operator’: rather than being a direct contribution to the contents of the discourse, it is an instruction as to how to integrate the ensuing content with respect to the overall contents of the discourse (cf. e.g. Polanyi 2001).²⁶⁶

Marker-Content relations can be characterized as follows:

- Marker-Content relations are clearly asymmetrical, in that the contribution made by the two branches is very different: whereas the right branch of the node can present information (of which the pragmatic function can be of any type at all), the Marker branch by definition does not present any substantial contents;
- Marker-Content nodes represent Theme-Rheme relations: the most important/relevant (i.c. the only relevant) content is presented in the right branch, whereas the left branch has for a function to assure the continuity or mark the discontinuity between the present segment and the previous one; as in the case of other Theme-Rheme relations, Marker segments have scope over their corresponding Content-branch;
- the mother node by definition does not inherit any of the contents of the left branch; therefore, Markers are in a way ‘permeable’ as far as content inheritance is concerned, i.e. whether or not a segment is introduced by a separate Marker segment, does not change its relations with dominating and adjacent nodes.

In connection with the lack of substantial content of Markers, it can be observed that they are often made up of ‘non-lexical’ words or expressions: particles, modal adverbs, modal verbs, formulaic expressions, etc. Although this node type is quite common in the shape of very short markers (a single IU, often one word or one expression, such as “but, ...”, “first of all, ...”, “and then, ...”), some kinds of more elaborate introductory sections can function as a Marker as well, e.g. when a guest lecturer addresses the audience and thanks the host for his

²⁶⁵ Note that Themes do not necessarily coincide with background-information: Markers, not presenting any elements that are relevant to the overall contents of the segment they introduce, can hardly be said to constitute a background at all; Topics (e.g. main agents in a Plot) are typically the most salient item on the local discourse scene, i.e. they are in the spotlight throughout the segment in which they are the Topic.

²⁶⁶ Note that Polanyi (1988; 2001) takes the proposition as her basic unit for analysis and hence does not take discourse operators into account as proper structural elements of the discourse; therefore, she does not need a coherence relation corresponding to my ‘Marker-Content relation’. Here, however, the IU/colon is taken as the basic unit, and the point of every IU/colon has to be accounted for.

invitation etc., before starting his actual talk. Many so-called ‘pre-sequences’ (cf. e.g. Mey 1993, 221-223; see also section 13.3.4(1b) below) come under this kind of node.

Different types of markers can be distinguished according to the different types of regulatory function they fulfill. I will distinguish the following types:

(a) *structural markers*:

Structural markers situate the content they introduce with respect to the previous and following discourse (co-text). This kind of marker is obviously the most important type for the present purposes, in that it is often directly connected to the coherence relations at hand. For instance, markers like “and, ...”, “and then ...”, and sometimes “so, ...” mark **different steps in a Plot sequence** in English speech; likewise, some particles in Ancient Greek having a similar function can have colon status (sometimes καί(τοι) and εἶτα). More frequently, resumptive devices involving an anaphoric pronoun are used with a similar function, e.g. PPs like μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ... (e.g. Lysias 1,15), or resumptive participles with a pronoun ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ... (Lysias 1,17) or without a pronoun προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἄνθρωπος τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς (Lysias 1,16).²⁶⁷ Other marker-segments mark steps in **non-narrative sequences** (argumentative sequences, Lists, etc.). A quite explicit device consists of counting the steps, more or less consistently: “First (of all), ... ; secondly/next, ...; thirdly, ...” (πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ... , ἔτι δὲ, ... , ἔπειτα, ...). Other more specific structural markers often have autonomous segment status: some Contrast-markers like ἀλλά alone, ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἀτάρ, νῦν δέ, etc.; markers indicating specific **‘logical’ relations** between different elements in an argumentative discourse (so, ...; because, ...; οὐκοῦν, ...; ὥστε, ... ; νῦν δέ, ... ; ἥδη τοίνυν, ..., etc.).²⁶⁸ Also note the existence of **macro-structural markers**, marking the beginning of a stretch of discourse of a particular genre (cf. Chafe 1980, 17): “Like one day ...” (anecdote); “Once upon a time” (fairy tale); “Have you heard this one?” (joke); “Ladies and Gentlemen” (speech before audience); “Hello. Hello. Hi. Hi.” (conversation); etc.²⁶⁹ Cf. section 13.3.4 and 13.3.5 below.

(b) *interactional markers*:

Interactional markers situate the Content with respect to the relations between speaker and addressee(s), e.g.: vocatives, greetings, attention-getters like “Hey”, phatic fillers like “you know what I mean?”, etc.; various other attention-getters, including explicit requests for attention as in expressions like “Look, what you need to know is ...” or Lysias 19,34 Φέρε πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων· ἰ οὕτω γὰρ σκοπεῖτε, ὦ (ἄνδρες) δικασταί ; requests for participation “Now, what do YOU say?” or Plato *Sph.* 257d Ἰθὶ νῦν ἰ τόδε μοι λέγε. ; introductions of the participants, either by the speaker himself, or by some other participant; various introductory segments to monologic stretches of discourse, in which the speaker addresses his audience, tries to capture their attention or sympathy, explains the reasons for his taking the floor, etc.

(c) *illocutionary markers*:

Illocutionary markers situate the content that they mark with respect to the kind of

²⁶⁷ For an analysis of the passage Lysias 1,15-17, see section 17 below.

²⁶⁸ Note especially the fact that in Greek some markers that are traditionally considered as **subordinating conjunctions** (prototypically marking Setting-Event patterns), can constitute autonomous cola as well (e.g. ἐπεὶ, ... ; εἰ μὲν γάρ, ... ; διότι, ...; ὥστε, ... ; etc.).

²⁶⁹ Note that many of these markers are ‘interactional markers’ as well as structural markers marking the genre-specific macro-structure of a discourse.

speech act (question, assertion, complaint, order, ...) the speaker intends to perform by uttering the content in question. Some of these markers have autonomous colon-status, for instance:

- interrogative markers: “Isn’t it true that ...?”, “What, I ask, is ...?”, “Can I ask you something?”, etc.;
- negatives/assertives: “It is (not) the case, that ...”, “Frankly, ...”, etc.
- directive markers (imperatives, deliberatives, ...): “Let’s do this, ...”, “Know what you should do? ...”, etc.

Note that in Greek many of these markers can be expressed by single words (interrogative pronouns or particles, fronted verbs, etc.), whereas in English such fronted constituents typically have to be fleshed out.

(d) *epistemic markers* (‘evidentials’):

Epistemic markers (evidentials) situate the Content with respect to its epistemic status, i.e. how it is known (seen, heard, said, ...), whether it is (just) the opinion of a certain person, how certain it is (probable, necessary, ...).

The most obvious kinds of epistemic markers consist of **modal expressions** (incl. modal adverbs and modal verbs): “maybe, ...”, “certainly...”, “no doubt, ...”, “in principle, ...”, etc. all can be used as the Theme of a Marker-Content pattern, as well as their Greek counterparts, such as δὴλον ὅτι ..., εἰκότως ..., λόγῳ/ἔργῳ..., etc. Especially in Greek, modal verbs like *χρή, δεῖ, ἔοικε* often occur in such a pattern. ‘Evaluative’ expressions may be subsumed under this heading as well: “wouldn’t it be nice, if ...”; ‘it would be a terrible thing, if ...’ (cf. Greek *δικαιότατ’ ἄν, καλῶς ἄν ἔχοι*, etc.).

The pattern in which a **reporting verb** (*verbum dicendi, verbum sentiendi/percipiendi*) introduces a reported content (complement clause or quoted direct speech) can be viewed as a special case of the ‘evidential’ type of a Marker-Content pattern (contra e.g. Polanyi 2001, who invariably analyzes reported contents as pragmatically subordinated). Evidence for this analysis may be that the reporting part can often be left out completely (as in telling a joke, or in dialogues in novels), or integrated in the complement as in the case of *ἔφη* (“she said”) after the first colon/IU of an *oratio recta*. On the other hand, it should be noted that the ‘reporting’ part is not always contentless, in that the fact that someone speaks may itself be relevant, e.g. as one of the events in a Plot sequence; the reporting segment can also involve the introduction of a new agent/Topic. These factors might be arguments for distinguishing the **reporting-reported** pattern as *sui generis*.

(2) *Topic – Comment*

The term ‘topic’ (as well as the term ‘theme’, the use of which in the literature overlaps with ‘topic’) covers many different notions, according to the different approaches in which it plays a role (for an overview see van Kuppevelt 1998; Brown & Yule 1983, 68-124). For the present purposes it will suffice to summarily indicate the way the term is used here:

- The main criterion for Topic-hood is ‘**aboutness**’: the Topic is the central item around which the ensuing discourse is built or which is the central item in the ensuing Comment (cf. also Bakker 1993).²⁷⁰
 - The Topic-Comment relation is thus inherently asymmetrical, in that the pattern is a canonical example of the Theme-Rheme relation. Once introduced, the Topic of a segment, the item that the segment is ‘about’, functions as the item that the contents of the Comment branch are anchored to (cf. Chafe 1976; Brown & Yule 1983, 68-73).²⁷¹
 - It follows from our definition of ‘aboutness’ that in terms of content-inheritance the Topic-item is necessarily a constitutive element of the overall contents of the mother node.
- (a) Note that Topic-hood is not studied here as such, i.e. the question as to which item any given stretch of discourse ‘is about’, is not a main concern in this study. Rather, the notion of ‘Topic’ comes into play as one of the parts of a Topic-Comment relation, and will only be taken into account insofar as the Topic-Comment relation is used as a strategy for structuring the discourse, i.e. in terms of the relation between segments A and B, where A introduces an item about which B presents the information that is the main point of the higher order segment A+B. What is important for the present purposes is the *relation* between two discourse segments and their respective pragmatic functions, rather than the status of the items that occur in these segments per se.²⁷² Note that the Topic-Comment pattern is only one strategy for organizing the discourse, and that in many cases other strategies can be adopted, sometimes even exactly the converse Comment-Topic strategy, resulting in a very different overall effect (see section 13.3.3 below).
- (b) In the present approach, a Topic is not inherently linked to some predetermined discourse unit. In particular it is not construed in terms of the sentence or clause: Topics can have (and often do have) scope over segments that encompass more than one clause, and conversely a sentence (though typically not a clause) can be structured so as to contain several (e.g.

²⁷⁰ The central role of the Topic in the Comment is often coded in the syntax and the semantics of the discourse, in that the role which the Topic-item plays often coincides with the fact that it is an argument of the verb(s) in the Comment (see section 21.2 below).

²⁷¹ Topic-hood (in the present sense, i.e. defined in terms of aboutness) is **independent from givenness and presupposition**. It is true that in many cases a stretch of discourse is construed around a Topic-item when this Topic is somehow accessible (‘known’, ‘old’, ‘given’ ...) to the participants (speaker(s)/writer and addressee(s)/reader) at the moment of its occurrence in the discourse (cf. the Thematization Principle, section 13.1.2). Still, a Topic-Comment relation typically occurs when there is a Topic-switch (i.e. the Topic changes). This ‘new’ Topic may very well be ‘New’ in the cognitive sense of the term. Note that the term ‘theme’ (which in the literature is often used in ways that overlap with some uses of the term ‘topic’) has been given a different function in this study: any left branch of any node, except for subordinating and some types of symmetrical nodes, has been called Theme (see section 13.1.2 above), without further qualification, whereas ‘aboutness’ is criterial for Topic-hood. Also note that the very common notion that topics are at the ‘**background**’ with respect to their comment (see e.g. Schiffrin 1992) seems to be simply wrong, at least if one accepts the present definition of ‘aboutness’: how can the item which is central in the comment be in the background?

²⁷² This conception of Topic should therefore not be confounded with the notion of ‘discourse topic’ defined as an abstract representation of the overall contents of a longer segment (as in Chafe 2001; Brown & Yule 1983, 71-73). The notion of ‘Topic’ will here only be used insofar as it is overtly present in the discourse: in the present study, I will not deal with so-called ‘discourse topics’ as abstract or implicit features of the contents of stretch of discourse, as is the case in Chafe 2001 or van Kuppevelt 1995 and van Kuppevelt 1998 (the latter author postulates a question-answer structure underlying any discourse).

Contrasting) Topic-Comment nodes. Still, the very definition of Topic-hood implies that there will be a certain correlation with the syntax into which it reflects (see section 21.2 below).

- (c) Semantically, the Topic of a segment can be constituted by items of different ontological statuses, which yields similar but not identical patterns, often according to the genre in which they occur. Some of the most common of these patterns are the following:
- the Topic can be the main agent of the event or series of events presented in the segment (in narrative genres);
 - the Topic can be a person, object or event that is characterized in the corresponding Comment (in descriptive and expository genres);
 - the Topic of a segment can be its general issue, definiendum, main problem, etc. (in expository and argumentative genres).

(3) *Setting – Event*

Another sub-type of the thematizing kind of asymmetrical node could be labeled **Setting-Event**. The following defining features distinguish the Setting-Event pattern from other patterns:

- The Setting-Event relation is defined as an asymmetrical relation. However, because both the ‘Setting’ part and the ‘Event’ part can (and often do) consist of items with a similar ontological status (events or states), the only way of distinguishing this pattern from e.g. a Plot sequence is by the different contribution they make to the overall structure.
- It is a clear case of a Theme-Rheme relation in that the main point of the overall segment is situated in the right branch of the node. More specifically, the thematic branch presents the **background** against which the Event that is the main point of the segment takes place.
- As opposed to Markers, Settings do present substantial contents. However, as opposed to symmetrical relations, content-inheritance by definition only affects the background of the scene.

Although the above definition is intuitively clear enough to make the notion useful for the purposes of analysis, the semantic implementations of this pattern are quite heterogeneous. For instance, the Theme can represent the following kinds of Settings:

- the general spatio-temporal ‘circumstances’ in which the Event takes place;
- the ‘cause(s)’ of which the ‘Event’ is the result;
- the conditional (possibly unreal) circumstances in which the Event may take, could take, or might have taken place;
- the reasons why a claim is made, the motive for an action, etc.²⁷³

²⁷³ Depending on the purposes of the analysis, one might wish to distinguish a large number of sub-types of the Setting-Event pattern. For instance, an analysis of the patterns that make up expository/argumentative genres would obviously require a detailed account of the idiosyncratic features of hypothetical, causal, etc. settings.

13.3.3 Pragmatic subordination: Elaboration patterns

The broad classes ‘symmetrical relations’ and ‘Theme-Rheme relations’ as discussed in the previous sections are fairly easy to recognize and distinguish (at least in more or less typical cases), and allow for the description of a large number of discourse coherence phenomena. Still, a wide array of recurrent relations between two discourse segments clearly does not fit in either of these classes. These relations present the following features:

- They are not symmetrical: the segments involved do not contribute in the same way to the overall discourse structure.
- They are anti-thematic: the main point of the overall segment resides in the left branch of the node.
- They do not suppose content-inheritance: the information presented in the left branch of the node seems to already contain the contents that are relevant with respect to the dominating P-tree structure.

Interestingly, *whenever a binary relation between segments is neither symmetrical nor Theme-Rheme an **afterthought** or **subordination** effect can be observed*, i.e. one perceives that the main point made in the second segment was already made in the first segment, either because the second segment only disambiguates some element of the first one or because it presents only additional information which supports that main point (cf. the formula ‘thought-afterthought’, Mann & Thompson 1988, 271).²⁷⁴

- (1) Although afterthoughts and digressive patterns may be the consequence of cognitive dysfluencies (paracoherence), a wide range of such patterns look entirely regular and have pragmatic functions that can be constitutive of discourse structure on a par with symmetrical and thematizing relations. Typically, this is the case whenever a proposition (a claim, an event in a Plot sequence, ...), introduced first, already constitutes a self-contained point with respect to the encompassing structure, and the adjacent segment only offers an elaboration (evidence, example, elucidation, ...) of this point.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴ Polanyi defines what she calls ‘subordination’ in terms of content-inheritance: “the mother node inherits all the information of its left daughter; the right daughter has no impact whatsoever” (Polanyi 2001, 269). The patterns which she classifies under the heading of ‘subordination’ are however highly heterogeneous, including not only elaborations, digressions, asides, appositives and interruptions, but also direct discourse, as well as syntactically defined elements such as sentential subordination and appositive or parenthetical elements (Polanyi 2001, 268-270). Note that Polanyi’s subordination analysis of some of the patterns quoted can immediately be criticized as infelicitous. At least some (non-coherent) intrusions are evidently not part of the current discourse and need not be assigned a node. Quoted direct discourse (or indirect discourse for that matter) can and often does contain the main point of the segment consisting of the ‘reporting’ part and the ‘reported part’ and hence can be analyzed as a Theme-Rheme relation (see section 13.3.2(1d) above). Likewise, the idea that syntactic subordination ipso facto implies pragmatic subordination appears to be also incorrect, as in the cases of Topic-Comment relations with a subordinate clause as comment (see section 21.2(g) below).

²⁷⁵ **Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST)**, which focuses primarily on written text (with apparently a certain bias towards expository texts), distinguishes a wide array of relations of this type. These relations are -in RST terminology- of the Nucleus-Satellite type, with a canonical order ‘Nucleus first - Satellite second’. This corresponds more or less exactly to ‘Elaboration’ in the present terminology. For the present purposes, I can rely on the RST classification for giving an overview of the possible functions of such subordination nodes. I will quote from the list in Mann 1999/2005-2010, taking over the following abbreviations: N = Nucleus; S = Satellite; W = Writer (including ‘speakers’); R = Reader

Suffice it here to briefly sketch a few elements that have to be taken into account in a description of subordination relations within the context of the P-tree model. Subordination relations can have different but related pragmatic functions with respect to the segment to which they are adjoined. Consider e.g. the following broad classes:

- (i) clarification of the point: including disambiguation of (something in) that point, an explanation of (something in) that point, giving more details about or simply describing (some items involved in) that point;
- (ii) enhancement of the point: including evidence for the point, credentials for speaker in uttering the point, etc.

In some cases (e.g. some types of descriptive afterthought-like segments) the link with the overall structure can be fairly loose, whereas in other cases (e.g. arguments for a claim) the pragmatic relevance of the subordinated segment, as well as its contribution to the development of the overall structure of the discourse, is quite evident. Note that even the difference between these two broad types is not entirely clear-cut: e.g. ‘giving examples’ can fit in either category.

(including the addressee of oral speech). I will quote from the ‘constraints on N+S’ part of the definitions.

On the ‘Subject-matter’ level, RST distinguishes a few different relations which may qualify as ‘subordination’ patterns, most notably the following ones: Elaboration (“S presents ‘additional detail’ about N”); Evaluation (“S relates N to degree of W’s positive regard towards N”); Interpretation (“S relates N to framework of ideas not involved in N itself and not concerned with W’s positive regard”). Alongside these relations, RST distinguishes a few types which are defined in purely semantic terms, e.g. Purpose, Unconditional (“N does not depend on S”), Non-volitional and Volitional Cause, Non-volitional and Volitional Result. For the present purposes all of these can easily be subsumed under other headings, e.g. under some general definition of the Elaboration type. As is already indicated by RST’s notion of “Subject-matter Relation” itself, the features which distinguish these types among each other often do not tell us anything about the pragmatic point which is made by the second member (i.e. the Satellite) of the relation.

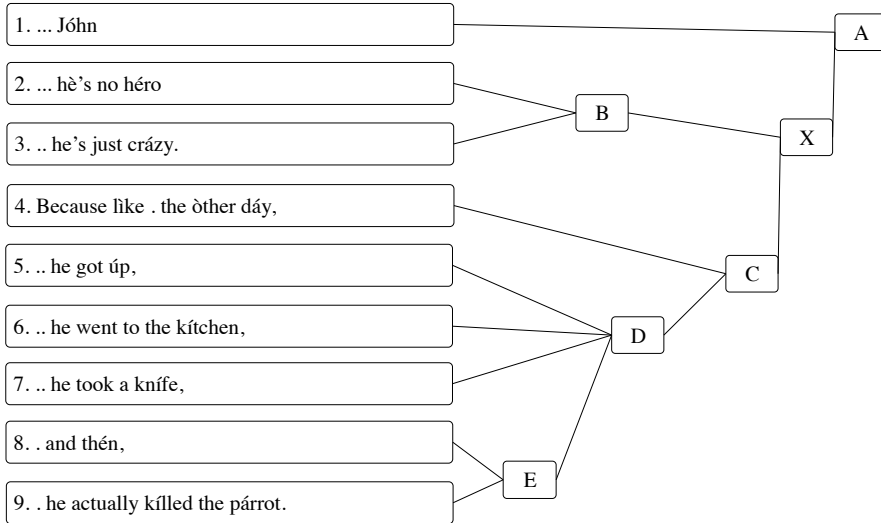
Among the ‘Presentational relations’, RST distinguishes a few different relations that can qualify as ‘subordination’ relations in the present sense: Evidence (“R’s comprehending S increases R’s belief of N”); Justify (“R’s comprehending S increases R’s readiness to accept W’s right to present N”); Motivation (“Comprehending S increases R’s desire to perform action in N”). These relations can be viewed as ‘pragmatic’ in the present sense: they offer an answer to the question as to why the speaker utters the ‘Satellite’ segment by specifying the relation between the point of this segment and the point made by the corresponding ‘Nucleus’ segment.

RST’s distinctions, as briefly introduced here above, do not seem to capture the common features of the patterns under scrutiny: it is not clear from the definitions that in all the cases quoted the main point of the overall Nucleus+Satellite pattern is already made in the first segment, and that this pattern has a distinctive effect as compared with e.g. (what I call) Setting-Event patterns. Especially, the common features between the ‘subject-matter’ relations and the ‘presentational’ relations is not formulated; thus, it is not clear at all what the specifically pragmatic function of the ‘subject-matter’ relations may be. Furthermore, it should be noted that the difference between the ‘intentions of W’ and the ‘constraints on N+S’ (not quoted here above: see Mann 1999/2005-2010) are often curiously vacuous, which is another clear indication that something has gone wrong with the formulation of the definitory parameters and criteria in RST.

- (2) I propose to use the term ‘Elaboration’ as a generic term for ‘regular’ subordinating coherence relations and to distinguish a few sub-types, without any claim to exhaustivity:
- Disambiguation, incl. e.g. Comment-Topic patterns;²⁷⁶
 - Description, incl. especially descriptive elaborations of some point in a narrative structure;
 - Exemplification;
 - Argumentation, covering i.a. RST’s ‘Evidence’, ‘Justify’, and ‘Motivation’ relations;
 - Explanation, implying a briefly formulated ‘main point’ (claim, proposition, ...), which is explained in the elaboration.
- (3) Subordinating relations present a number of **methodological problems** for the P-tree working model. In order to illustrate the issues, I would like to come back to the constructed examples I introduced in section 13.1.2 above. Let us suppose that Example 13.1.2b (“Because like . the òther dáy, | .. he got úp, | .. he went to the kíchen, | ... he took a knífe, | . and thén, | . he actually kílled the párrot”) immediately follows the claim that John is not a hero but just crazy in Example 13.1.2a. The most obvious way to read the whole stretch of discourse would be to interpret the story about what John did to the parrot the other day as *evidence for or an illustration of* the claim(s) about John in Example 13.2.1a. In terms of P-trees (see Example 13.3.3 below), it is obvious that John, qua fronted Topic, will have scope over the rest of the IUs in the example (node A). Then, we have to decide whether the anecdote is an elaboration on (i) the claim that John is crazy (IU3), or alternatively (ii) the claim that he’s not a hero, but crazy. Without further context it is not possible to decide between both interpretations, but let us suppose that we decide for interpretation (ii). In that case we need to link the contrast represented by node B with the node dominating the entire anecdote (node C). Node X represents this elaboration relation between the claim and the evidence for that claim.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ **Comment-Topic** patterns are not uncommon and sometimes are grammaticalized in constructions of the “It’s X, who did it” type. Cf. cases with an afterthought which disambiguates a fronted Topic, as in Plato *Sph.* 218c τὸ δὲ φύλον ὃ νῦν ἐπινοοῦμεν ζητεῖν | οὐ πάντων ῥῆστον συλλαβεῖν | τί ποτ’ ἔστιν, | ὁ σοφιστής: ...: in this case the Topic is first introduced in a regular Thematic position, followed by its corresponding Comment (“As for the tribe we now intend to search for, it is not the easiest thing in the world to grasp what it is”), after which the abstractly formulated Topic is disambiguated by an afterthought, which is grammatically an apposition, either to the topicalized subject of the whole sentence (τὸ δὲ φύλον ὃ νῦν ἐπινοοῦμεν ζητεῖν) or -which ultimately comes down to the same thing- to the zero-subject of the complement clause. Cf. also cases of emphatic fronting of the predicate/Comment, due to its emotional salience (“but it is a terrible thing ...”), as in Plato *Tht.* 163e Ἀλλὰ δεινόν, ὃ Σώκρατες, | τοῦτό γε φάναι. See also sections 17.2(2), 19.2(3a) and 20.2(2b) below for further examples.

²⁷⁷ Note that stories are actually quite typically framed as ‘an explanation of’, ‘evidence for’ or ‘an example of’ a preceding claim. Cf. the anecdote analyzed in Scheppers 2003, in which the story itself is an example that serves as counter-evidence (“... It’s funny though, ... I dó think that makes a difference .. but,”) for the claim of the previous speaker that interaction is important in teaching. Cf. also the use of the particle γάρ at the beginning of the narratio of a speech (see section 21.3(2d) below). It may be interesting to do further research into the kinship between ternary intro-body-coda **macro-structures** (narrative or otherwise) and claim-elaboration-(restatement of the claim) patterns. Cf. also my analysis of **cyclical** patterns in a cognitive vein in sections 17.3 and 20.2(2c) below.

Example 13.3.3: P-tree of a constructed example

However, there are a few disadvantages to this graphical representation of subordinating relations in a P-tree:

- P-trees straightforwardly reflect the Thematization Principle (cf. section 13.1.2 above) and the right-most branches of every node can be read as containing the most rhematic material in any stretch of discourse, except for subordinating relations. In the tree here above, the Thematization Principle would predict that John's killing the parrot would be more rhematic than the claim that he's crazy. However, under the given interpretation this is not the case: the story with the parrot is supposed to be evidence for the claim itself. The fact that subordinating relations are counter-thematic prevents the P-tree from remaining a straightforward representation of the Thematization Principle.
- More seriously, dominance relation P-trees are supposed to represent the 'intentionality' or 'pragmatic sense' of the discourse (see sections 13.1.1(2b) and 13.1.2(1b) above). Whenever subordinating relations intervene within a P-tree, this is not really the case anymore. In the example here above the negative-positive contrast between the claim that John would be a hero and the claim that he is actually crazy is (under the given interpretation) obviously not uttered 'in order to' present evidence about this claim (node X). Thus (as already stated above), elaboration nodes stand apart from other nodes in that they inherit all their contents from their left branch and none from their right branch. This makes it far more difficult to 'read' the tree graphs in a straightforward fashion.

Thus, the fact that nodes in a P-tree represent elaboration relations in exactly the same way as any other coherence relation, reduces the readability of the trees considerably.²⁷⁸ Of

²⁷⁸ Note that a similar remark could be made with respect to regular Marker-Content nodes, in that in these cases there is no content-inheritance either (cf. the fact that e.g. Polanyi (2001) does not represent 'discourse operators' in her trees), but in the case of Marker-Content nodes at least the Thematization principle is preserved.

course, one could choose to use different graphical devices (curved or dotted lines etc.²⁷⁹) to differentiate elaborations from other relations, but this would make the production of the graphs considerably more difficult. For the present purposes, it should suffice to have noted the problem.

13.3.4 Cross-speaker patterns

- (1) As a starting point for the analysis of conversational discourse (see section 13.2(10) above), it has been observed that conversation is not unordered, but can be analyzed in terms of recognizable and iterable patterns, just like monologic discourse. Some of these patterns are typical of conversation in that they involve factors that are not present in strictly monologic discourse. Thus, in most types of conversation, not more than one participant can speak at the same time if the conversation is going to be coherent (for the ‘one speaker at a time’ rule, see Sacks 1992a, 624-640). This fact gives rise to the notion of **‘floor’**: a participant who wants to speak first needs to ‘take’ or somehow ‘get’ the floor, i.e. the other participants have to recognize him as ‘the one who is speaking’.²⁸⁰ Thus, one of the principal structural features of dialogue is **turn-taking**, i.e. the fact that different speakers succeed each other on the floor.²⁸¹
- (a) Obviously, the different turns that constitute a dialogue can have an internal structure, which is a monologic one and can be analyzed by means of the criteria introduced so far. Beyond this turn-internal structure, different kinds of specific cross-speaker coherence relations, called **adjacency pairs** (see e.g. Mey 2001, 157-163; Schegloff 2007, 13-27), have been identified, for instance: question - answer; greeting - greeting; request (or order) - compliance (or refusal);²⁸² proposal - acceptance (or rejection); apology - acceptance (or rejection). Typical of adjacency pairs is the fact that, given the occurrence of the first part of a pair, the second part is immediately relevant and expectable to such a degree that whatever occurs just after an identifiable first part will by default be interpreted as the corresponding second part; the absence of such a second part is noticeable and has very definite pragmatic effects, e.g. the first part may be repeated or the very absence of an overt second part may be interpreted in such a way that it constitutes a second part in itself (Mey 2001, 158).²⁸³

²⁷⁹ Such a mode of presentation, with the extrinsic device of the curved lines indicating the links between paracoherent or subordinated segments and those regular segments to which they are adjoined, would be almost fully equivalent with the so-called ‘flow-model’ introduced in Chafe 1996: what is here represented by the regular P-tree nodes, corresponds to the embedded boxes in Chafe’s model. The links indicated by the curved or dotted lines would correspond to the side-steps in Chafe’s model. Chafe’s model is, thus, somewhat more flexible than the P-tree model, in that it can readily represent links between non-adjacent side-structures, but this need not be a methodological advantage, in that it puts less rigorous constraints on possible structures.

²⁸⁰ This type of conversation need not be the only one possible: for the phenomenon of ‘anarchic conversation’, cf. Mey 2001, 341 (n. 73).

²⁸¹ Furthermore, conversation gives rise to much more frequent disfluencies than monologue, due to misunderstandings, conflicts over who is going to get the floor, difficulties on settling on a topic which is convenient to all parties, etc. Obviously, the chances for disfluencies of a non-pragmatic (cognitive) nature increase considerably with the number of participants. Accordingly, much more elaborate regulatory segments are necessary in order to assure the coherence of the discourse.

²⁸² Note that ‘compliance’ typically consists of, or at least involves, non-verbal action.

²⁸³ Note that the classical speech act theory is not sufficient to account for the pragmatic functions of adjacency pairs. Thus, what looks like a question (even with the performative “I ask you ...”) can have many different functions (see Mey 2001, 162-163 and 212-217).

- (b) Although the concept of ‘adjacency pair’ is one of its most generally known achievements, Conversation Analysis has recovered other structural patterns of dialogic discourse that go beyond the binary adjacency pair. Schegloff (2007) calls this ‘expansions’. Two of these patterns, ‘**pre-sequences**’ (cf. Schegloff 2007, 28-57 on ‘pre-expansions’) and ‘**insertion sequences**’ (cf. Schegloff 2007, 97-114 on ‘insert expansions’), are parasitic on other patterns, in that the function of the segments involved is pragmatically dependent on the overall structure of e.g. an adjacency pair:
- Pre-sequences are initiated by a speaker who intends to realize the first part of an adjacency pair, but first wants to ‘clear the ground’ by a preparatory exchange, e.g. “Do you have a minute?”, introducing a question or a request, or “Are you doing something tonight?”, introducing an invitation; or “It’s cold in here, isn’t it?”, introducing a proposal to close the window. Note that some first segments which look as if they initiate pre-sequences can suffice to do the job of the expected ensuing adjacency pair (e.g. asking “Do you have pork chops?” in a butcher’s shop, is often interpreted as an expression of the wish to buy some); this kind of effect seems to be culture-specific (see Mey 2001, 145). For examples of elaborate pre-expansions on what basically is a rather simple Question-Answer pair, see the excerpt from Plato’s *Sophista* analyzed in section 19 below (Plato *Sph.* 216d-217e).
 - Insertion-sequences occur when speaker A has initiated an adjacency pair, but speaker B defers the second part by first engaging in an inserted exchange, e.g. “Are you doing something tonight? - Why? - Just asking. - Nope”.

- (2) Whereas all the patterns mentioned so far involved the specifically conversational aspect of the turn-transitions between different participants, it is evident that most types of conversation also imply structural patterns which have to do with the development of the contents at hand, which may to a certain extent be independent from turn-taking patterns (cf. Sacks 1992b, 561-569, on the distinction between ‘pair organization vs. topical organization’). For instance, the structure of a discussion will show patterns which closely remind us of monologic expository discourse such as Topic-Chains involving sub-Topic patterns, argumentative patterns, etc. Likewise, different participants in a conversation can contribute to the development of a single story, which will still be characterized by the basic overall narrative structures as discussed in section 13.3.5 below, including the introduction-body-coda structure and the Plot sequence patterns constitutive of a narrative.²⁸⁴

Despite the obvious specific features of dialogue, one can observe many structural parallelisms between monologue and dialogue. Interestingly, monologue and dialogue do not seem to differ much structurally: both can be represented by a P-tree representing the relations between the different segments that make up the conversation. Furthermore, quite comparable, if not the same, structural patterns and principles seem to be present in both cases. It would be an interesting exercise to systematically apply the basic criteria for classifying P-nodes to conversational patterns. Suffice it here to give a few examples:

- (i) A first obvious instance is constituted by **Question-Answer** adjacency pairs, to which the following familiar criteria apply: (a) Question-Answer patterns are asymmetrical: the question obviously makes a different contribution to the development of the

²⁸⁴ Good examples can be found in my analyses of Plato in section 19 and section 20 below; see also Chafe 1994, 123-132 (“Painting the House: Topic Development through Elicitation”). For the development of stories in conversation, see Ervin-Tripp & Küntay 1997.

discourse than the answer; (b) questions are typical Themes and answers typical Rhemes. The main point of a Question-Answer pair obviously is made in the answer; the question is a typical Theme in that it typically is made up of presupposed elements or explicitly introduces a new direction in the discourse. More specifically, note the functional parallels between **Topic-Comment** nodes and nodes relating a wh-question and its answer.²⁸⁵ For instance, the function of questions like “How is your wife?”, “How are you doing with the house?”, and “Any news from X?” is to introduce a central item around which the ensuing discourse will be built. The excerpt taken from Plato’s *Cratylus* analyzed in section 20 below shows a few clear examples of the parallelism between monologic Theme-Rheme relations and question-answer pairs.

- (ii) Some conversational patterns can easily be analyzed as **Setting-Event** or even **Marker-Content** nodes, in that the function of one speech act is to ‘clear the ground’ for another speech act, which is the main point for the whole of the complex pattern. See, for instance, what has been said about pre-sequences and insertion-sequences in paragraph (1b) here above.
- (iii) Due to the cognitive complexity of conversation as compared to monologue and the resulting difficulty of obtaining pragmatic coherence, conversation calls for much more frequent regulatory segments or markers.

A first type of conversational markers fits the canonical **structural Marker-Content** type, as encountered in monologic discourse. For instance, questions like “What’s up?” and “What’s next?” can serve as a pre-sequence for the introduction of a topic; likewise, “What did you say?” or “What do you mean?” introduce a subordinated explanation/restatement. Evidently, these questions are not of the Topic-Comment type: the question “What do you mean?” (in its normal use) does not introduce a separate content item “what X means” on the discourse scene, which is going to be the central item in the expected answer. In fact, this question does not introduce any separate item at all, but asks for an elaboration of whatever came just before. Thus, the function of this segment can be analyzed as merely regulatory, more specifically as a cross-speaker subordination marker.

Other segments in conversation are **interactional markers**. Some of these are mere attention-getters, indicating that a new interlocutor is addressed. Others regulate the distribution of the roles in a more complex way; thus, e.g. at the beginning of Plato’s *Sophista* the participants in the dialogue engage in a rather lengthy series of exchanges which –apart from settling the topic– mainly consist of remarkably explicit regulatory actions, determining that the Stranger and Theaetetus will be henceforward the main interlocutors (see section 19 below).

- (3) The line of thought briefly presented in (2) here above suggests that conversational structure somehow encompasses and ‘precedes’ the ‘intentions’ of the different participants in a conversation. It seems worthwhile to briefly mention some other features of conversation, because they shed some light on the status of the speaker and the addressee as participants in the same pragmatic structure.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Bolinger 1985, 261 and *passim*. The parallel can be extended to the intonation of both patterns: a continuation rise is characteristic of both question-intonation and monologic Topic-Comment patterns of the type “John, he’s no hero, ...”. Note that the difference between the latter example and a monologic question-answer pair like “John? He’s no hero, ...” seems to be only a matter of degree.

- (a) Some features of the interaction between participants in a conversation seem to be of a non-pragmatic nature, in that the contribution of the participant in question does not seem to carry any definite pragmatic point at all. Some of these features can be described as related to the **phatic** aspect of verbal interaction, in that they simply reflect the very fact that the participants *are* communicating, rather than any substantial aspect of that communication. In his May 24 1971 lecture, Sacks starts from the remark that ‘**uh huh**’, like ‘uh’, fills a pause, but, unlike ‘uh’, fills a pause in the other person’s talk. Sacks then adds two remarks (Sacks 1992b, 410-415):
- (i) ‘uh huh’ does not occur *after* the other person has paused, but typically occurs in such a way that there is ‘no gap and no overlap’ between speakers; ‘uh huh’ thus seems to anticipate the other speaker’s pause;
 - (ii) ‘uh huh’ does not simply mean “go on”, but anticipates the other’s intention to go on.²⁸⁶

What is interesting about this phenomenon is that, although in some sense different speakers contribute to the discourse, intuitively, these interventions can hardly be said to constitute a separate turn in any real sense at all. The discourse of the current main speaker is not interrupted by these interventions, no separate pragmatic point is carried by ‘uh huh’, (arguably) not even a regulatory one, and accordingly no separate ‘intention’ can be attributed to the speaker in any real sense of the term.

- (b) Starting from the ‘uh huh’ phenomenon, one can observe that comparable ‘**filler**’ functions can be fulfilled by segments which do involve some form of lexical content, such as “yeah”, “that’s right” or “oh no!” and “Jesus!”. Although, at first sight, some of these interjections may be interpreted as expressing some kind of (‘emotional’, ‘expressive’, ...) content, it is clear that, pragmatically speaking, their contribution to the development of the discourse is fundamentally the same as ‘uh huh’, i.e. none. In Plato, very many of the interventions by the interlocutors of Socrates or the Stranger can be argued to be of this type, for instance Πάνυ γε. - Ναί. - Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; - Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. - Φαίνεται. - Ἔοικε. - Ὅρθῶς (λέγεις). - etc.²⁸⁷ Similar phatic functions can be performed by exchanges involving both the current speaker and one of his interlocutors. The current speaker can give explicit cues that elicit a more or less contentless intervention on the part of another participant. Such a pattern of ‘contentless’ exchanges is highly frequent in Plato (see section 19 and 20 below).
- (c) The ‘no gap, no overlap’ phenomenon, introduced here above in connection with the ‘uh huh’ phenomenon, applies to more contentful exchanges as well, and as such is interesting with respect to the theoretical aspects of the present line of argument. As has been noted by Sacks (Sacks 1992b, *passim*), contribution of speakers overlapping each other is all in all rarer than could be expected. In fact, speakers are able to time their utterances in a very

²⁸⁶ For the purposes of a lecture, I once analyzed a recording of an interview which was made in the context of research in the domain of second language acquisition and in which a child was asked to tell a story on the basis of a series of pictures which were presented to him. In this recording, the interviewer was so much ‘in tune with’ the interviewee’s performance that she succeeded in obtaining a 100% correlation between her uh-huh’s and the child’s IUs. This extreme case obviously has to do with the genre-specific features of this kind of interview, which has for its overall aim to obtain as large a sample of the child’s speech as possible. Also note the following remark by Chafe: “Speaker A then coughed. He was suffering from a respiratory illness that made coughing unavoidable, but his coughs were generally located at significant boundary points [...]” (Chafe 1996, 63).

²⁸⁷ Similar observations can be made about phenomena like ‘echoism’, in which the interlocutor repeats the last word or words of an IU of the current main speaker.

meticulous manner (if they want to) and even to anticipate the end of their interlocutor's current IU and complete his utterance.²⁸⁸ This seems to point in the direction of an interpretation in which the different participants do not so much each contribute their share to the development of the discourse, but rather seem to 'embody' the very same discourse. For some preliminary remarks about the potential theoretical significance of this line of thought, see Scheppers 2004a.²⁸⁹

13.3.5 Genre-specific macrostructural patterns

(1) In section 13.2(11), I emphasized the importance of the notion of 'genre' for a variety of aspects involved in discourse analysis and related approaches. What is most important in the context of the present study is the connection between **discourse genre and discourse structure**. Not all node types have the same distribution or frequency across discourse genres, e.g.:

- sequences of the 'Plot' type are typical of narrative genres, but less typical of mainly descriptive or persuasive genres;
- the subordinating relation between a claim and evidence for that claim is more typical of argumentative expository genres than of narrative genres;
- descriptive digressions are typical of literary narrative, but much less so of jokes or anecdotes;
- argumentative patterns are highly typical of and have been the object of reflection in the context of philosophical and scientific genres, play a role in persuasive genres but are marginal in narrative genres.

Some patterns of discourse organization are highly idiosyncratic in that the very fact of engaging in this or that discourse genre (e.g. a joke, a fairy tale, or an article in a scientific journal) implies in a stereotyped way the occurrence of certain structural patterns of the kind that can be described in terms of P-nodes (cf. Polanyi 2001, 266 and 272; cf. the notion of 'Holistic Structure' in Mann & Matthiessen & Thompson 1992). There is a long-standing tradition in the study of the macroscopic organization of certain kinds of discourse: ancient rhetoric already studied the main parts that different kinds of speeches have or should have and presented a rather detailed typology of these (see e.g. Lausberg 1973, 139-240). Thus, e.g. the canonical structure of a forensic speech, as they are analyzed in the rhetorical tradition, can easily be represented in the form of a P-tree (for an example, see section 14 below).

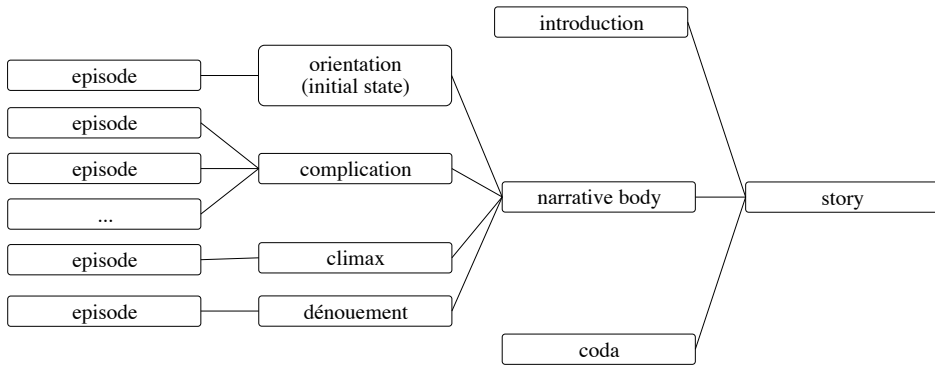
In more recent times a comparable effort has been made for story-telling in narratology. At present, the study of these patterns naturally comes under pragmatics, discourse analysis, and conversation analysis. Thus, e.g. a typical structure for a narrative in general would include a threefold overall structure 'introduction - narrative body - coda'; the narrative body consists of a series of episodes, to which -according to the literature- a relatively fixed series

²⁸⁸ Occasionally, these phenomena also occur in Plato's dialogue. Note e.g. the cross-speaker utterance completion in Plato *Cra*. 421c: EPM. Ταῦτα μὲν μοι δοκεῖς, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἀνδρείως πάνυ διακεκροτηκέναι· εἰ δέ τις σε ἔρωτο τοῦτο τὸ "ἰὸν" καὶ τὸ "ρέον" καὶ τὸ "δοῦν," τίνα ἔχει ὀρθότητα ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα - ΣΩ. "Τί ἂν αὐτῷ ἀποκρινάμεθα;" λέγεις; ἢ γάρ; EPM. Πάνυ μὲν οὔν.

²⁸⁹ On a more practical/methodological level, this implies that I reject the viability of multi-level approaches to discourse in which a separate 'interactional' level is distinguished from 'presentational' and/or 'representational' levels (see my footnote in section 22.1 on the fundamental differences between my approach and (for instance) the one taken in Kroon 1995).

of functions can be attributed, of which some may be optional (cf. Chafe 1994, 120-136; Chafe 2001; Polanyi 2001):

Figure 13.3.5: the canonical genre-specific structure of a narrative



This type of narrative structure is fairly general and in principle applicable to a wide range of sub-genres (from first-person anecdotes to novels), although some types obviously may deviate from the schema in some respects and some genres may display idiosyncratic features (e.g. in the case of jokes, the coda is typically replaced by laughter).

Note that structures of this kind can be embedded in each other: for instance, each of the episodes of a longer narrative structure (obviously so in a novel), can in itself present a full narrative structure; discourses of a certain genre may include structural elements that in se belong to a different specific genre: e.g. narratives may include descriptive sequences and conversational patterns, and everyday conversations often include narrative structures.

Although it may be possible to formulate more general and insightful principles that underlie these genre-specific patterns, for our purposes it is sufficient to recognize them as such: since the pragmatic function of the different parts of e.g. an anecdote depends on their mutual relation in the overall structure of an anecdote in general, it is possible and sufficient to construe the different sections as branches of a single node of the type 'anecdote'.

- (2) Genres may be culture-specific or more or less universal: e.g. some basic types of narratives may be universal (though not all kinds of narrative genres, e.g. the epos or the novel), but academic genres (articles, dissertations, ...) have a highly restricted socio-cultural scope.²⁹⁰

For Ancient Greek, the determination of different genres and the description of the linguistic and extra-linguistic features that constitute these genres as such imply additional difficulties in that we do not have direct access to the non-linguistic real-life contexts and often cannot rely on our own or informants' intuitions for evaluating the 'stylistic' aspects of the linguistic features of our data. This study tries to investigate a corpus in which two different

²⁹⁰ Discourse analysts in the ethnographic tradition have systematically paid much attention to the wider socio-cultural context and the particular setting of the linguistic data they analyze (see e.g. the cross-cultural bias in Chafe (ed.) 1980).

types of Ancient Greek texts are involved, as far as the overall genre to which the texts belong as a whole is concerned.²⁹¹

(a) *Lysias*

In the case of Lysias, the genre is straightforwardly determinable and readily recognizable for even the 21st century reader: the different texts are mainly **forensic speeches** (and a few ‘political’ ones). A number of non-linguistic contextual features are inherently part of the genre to which the texts belong and need to be taken into account in order to understand their pragmatic functions: forensic speeches are part of a juridical procedure and occupy a specific position within it. The position they occupy and -accordingly- their overall pragmatic function implies not only the pragmatic structure of such procedures in general, as determined by Athenian law and juridical tradition, but also the details of the specific case, e.g. the contents of the accusation, the social and socio-psychological features of the participants, etc. These contextual features necessarily and inherently are part of the relevant context of the texts, by virtue of their belonging to this genre. In order to minimally understand a Lysias speech (as a whole), one obviously needs to picture it as spoken aloud in front of some Athenian court by a defendant resp. accuser. According to the present approach, these features are an inherent part of the pragmatic structure of the discourse itself (see section 13.1.3(3) above, on the ‘holistic’ nature of the P-tree approach).

(b) *Plato*

As for Plato’s Socratic dialogues, the matter of genre is somewhat more complex. On the one hand, Plato’s dialogues constitute a literary genre *sui generis*, which as such can be expected to have some idiosyncratic features. On the other hand, it is part of the pragmatic features of this genre that it represents a spontaneous discussion, which determines a large part of its structure, which is made up of obviously conversational patterns. However, some of these conversational patterns are problematic.

- The distribution of roles between the participants as well as the pragmatics of their interaction is rather peculiar (cf. Hanke 1990): there is a marked asymmetry between the roles of a ‘persona doctoris’ (Socrates resp. the Eleatic Stranger in the *Sophista* and *Politicus*) and his interlocutors. In sections 19 and 20 we will see that this asymmetry is directly reflected by the P-tree patterns.
- Although the dialogues are set in a situation where more than two persons are present, the conversation typically is dyadic: only two persons take part in the discussion at the same time. Thus, in the first half of the *Cratylus* (until 427e), Socrates talks with Hermogenes and Cratylus remains silent, in the second half, Socrates talks with Cratylus and Hermogenes remains silent. The same goes for the *Theaetetus-Sophista-Politicus* trilogy (see the beginning of section 19 below). In section 19 we will analyze a remarkable example of an elaborate negotiation of the floor.
- The discussions are entirely topical: as soon as the participants have settled on a (i.e. philosophical) topic, this topic remains active throughout the conversation, though of course sub-topics may be generated.

In my analyses in sections 19 and 20 below a number of occasions will occur on which questions like the following arise: to which extent are these features of the Platonic

²⁹¹ Obviously, both overall genres involve segments which in their turn can be characterized in terms of ‘genre’, e.g. both Lysias’ speeches and Platonic dialogues have narrative and expository passages, etc.

dialogues literary artifacts? which features are specific to the Platonic/Socratic dialogue as a literary genre? which features mimic features of (specific types of) conversational genres? were conversational practices in ancient Athens different from the ones we are accustomed to?²⁹²

13.3.6 Final remarks

Section 13 here above offered a provisional typology of coherence relations intended to serve as a starting point for the analysis of the coherence of running discourse, as will be illustrated in the remainder of Part III.

- (1) This typology has in the first place been developed for and applied to (transcriptions of) recorded spontaneous speech (see e.g. Scheppers 2003) and in the second place adopted for the purposes of analyzing Ancient Greek. It is based primarily on (i) a bottom-up approach to the analysis of a corpus of spontaneous speech and of Ancient Greek texts, and (ii) a reflection on the various criteria/parameters for distinguishing coherence relations available in the literature (see my discussion in the footnotes throughout section 13).

In the above, I have presented a taxonomy, based on the criteria ‘±symmetrical’ and ‘±Theme-Rheme’, yielding three broad types: symmetrical relations, asymmetrical Theme-Rheme relations and subordinating relations. It should be clear from the outset that this taxonomy is not claimed to be exhaustive nor definitive and presents a number of difficulties, both in the formulation of the criteria itself, and in its application to actual discourse.

- (2) One of the ways in which the basic parameters that underlie the above typology fails to account cleanly for observed patterns in ‘real’ discourse, has to do with the nature of the subject matter itself: as is the case in other aspects of linguistics, a number of discourse patterns do not simply reflect the basic parameters but show **idiosyncratic** features, of an essentially non-pragmatic nature.

- (a) Two factors can immediately be mentioned, both of which are not specifically pragmatic in the present sense of the word and both of which involve non-pragmatic aspects of human **cognition**:

- some patterns depend on the availability of ready-made structural devices in the language and are as such more or less independent of the ‘productive’ mechanisms covered by the regular pragmatic patterns described in the above typology;²⁹³

²⁹² Thus, due to our lack of direct knowledge of real-life conversational practice in 5th-4th century Athens, one can only wonder what are the specific effects of some of the verbal behavior of the participants to Platonic dialogue. E.g. are Theaetetus’ repeated questions and his interruption of the Stranger in the following example annoying or not? Plato *Sph.* 233d-e: ΞΕ. Λάβωμεν τοίνυν σαφέστερόν τι παράδειγμα περὶ τούτων. ΘΕΑΙ. Τὸ ποῖον δῆ; ΞΕ. Τόδε. καὶ μοι πειρῶ προσέχων τὸν νοῦν εὐ μάλα ἀποκρίνασθαι. ΘΕΑΙ. Τὸ ποῖον; ΞΕ. Εἴ τις φαίη μὴ λέγειν μηδ’ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν καὶ δρᾶν μιᾷ τέχνῃ συνάπαντα ἐπίστασθαι πράγματα—ΘΕΑΙ. Πῶς πάντα εἶπες;

²⁹³ Cf. the traditional distinction in linguistics between ‘grammar’ and ‘lexicon’ (see section 6.0 above). Note that something similar applies to non-verbal action: although much of what is done while doing the dishes can be covered by basic patterns like ‘fetching items – then using them’ and a number of elementary action-types (‘grabbing’, ‘rubbing’, ...), a number of aspects of any P-tree will depend on not-strictly pragmatic aspects of the scene, such as the availability of equipment (boilers, dishwashing

- human cognition, because of the way it is grounded in human biology, imposes a number of constraints on the on-line development of discourse structure.²⁹⁴
- (b) For instance, the following patterns of discourse structure involve ready-made formal devices which explicitly mark the segmentation of the discourse and the cohesion between the segments involved in idiosyncratic ways:
- simple **cataphora**, involving cataphoric pronouns or expressions like “the following” or “this”, as in “I propose to do the following: ...”; cf. the use of a cataphoric pronoun (or pronominal adverb) in e.g. Plato *Cra.* 422e ἀπόκριναι δέ μοι τόδε... and Plato *Plt.* 265c NE. ΣΩ. Πῶς οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; ΞΕ. ὦδε...;
 - **correlative constructions**, involving both a cataphoric (demonstrative) and an anaphoric (relative) element, producing a (typically) binary pattern, the branches of which often present contrasted items, but the main function of which is not to produce a symmetrical Contrast; this pattern is much more frequent in Ancient Greek (cf. the wide array of correlative pronouns available in Greek morphology: ἐκεῖνος ... ὅς..., τοιοῦτος... οἷος..., etc.) as compared with modern languages, as in the following examples: Lysias 10,22 (cf. section 18) ἔωρακῶς μὲν | ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον ποιήσαντα | ὁ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε, - Lysias 1,1 Περί πολλοῦ ἄν ποιησαίμην, | ὧ ἄνδρες, | τὸ | τοιοῦτους ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ δικαστὰς | περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος γενέσθαι, | οἰοίμην ἄν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶητε | τοιαῦτα πεπονθότες·
 - constructions involving **comparisons** can be viewed as correlative as well, as in “the same... as...”, “more ... than...”, “rather... than...”; these constructions are probably best viewed as pragmatically *sui generis*;
 - rhetorical and stylistic devices such as parallelism and chiasmus, which are fairly frequent in Ancient Greek (cf. also the rhetorical use of correlative particles ...μὲν... δέ); the use of these devices does not always correspond to pragmatically regular contrasts (as evidenced in section 18).
- (c) These patterns suggest that -alongside the patterns motivated by general pragmatic criteria as studied here- discourse can also be structured according to formal -or rather: formulaic- patterns which can readily be accessed at all time and can function more or less independently from the overall pragmatic development of the discourse. The existence of merely formal patterns has to be accepted anyway for poetry and for the more exuberant applications of rhetoric in Ancient Greek (Gorgias, Isocrates, ...). Apart from their ‘poetic function’ (in the broad sense of the term, see section 10.4.4 above), which cannot be reduced to pragmatics as understood in the present study, these patterns also have a cognitively motivated function, in that they allow a speaker to circumvent **cognitive** constraints on the amount of information that can be processed at one time: (i) the fact that the linguistic form of most of these constructions consists largely of formulaic (‘lexicalized’) items in itself already reduces the cognitive effort of processing them (cf. also Wray 2002, *passim*); (ii) the utterance of low-content lexicalized items gives the speaker (and the reader) time to process whatever are the relevant contents (cf. the functions of stopgaps/fillers); (iii) complex contents and/or complex syntactic forms are spread across several IUs, so that they can be processed in several chunks. For instance, by saying “What I propose to do | is the

machines, sinks, ...) or not, human biology (having hands, arms and feet or not), social circumstances (distribution of roles within the household, schedules, being interrupted or not, ...), etc.

²⁹⁴ This reminds us of traditional linguistic issues, such as the ones embodied by the ‘langue-parole’ and ‘competence-performance’ distinctions.

following: ...”, a speaker gives himself the time to process a possibly complex utterance, which extends far beyond the single IU. Furthermore, in conversation, it allows him to signal that his turn is not terminated yet and thus prevents another speaker from interrupting.

- (3) Finally, it may be useful to explicitly remind us that the above typology is intended as a practical compromise solution for the purposes of the analyses below and not so much as a separate contribution to the theory of discourse coherence. Apart from the idiosyncratic features of a number of discourse patterns mentioned here above, any such typology will present inherent structural flaws. As has been pointed out at the beginning of section 13, a classification such as the present one inevitably stresses some common features between relations to the expense of other common features. Thus, for the purposes of the general outline of the taxonomy, abstraction has been made (as much as possible) from semantics, syntactic form and fixed levels of segmentation, and -more importantly for the present purposes- emphasis has been laid on the criteria \pm thematization and \pm symmetry, to the expense of equally important criteria such as content-inheritance, which only comes into play when discussing the differences between sub-types.²⁹⁵ In the course of the analyses in sections 14-20 below, this typology will therefore mainly serve as a heuristic starting point for discussing the coherence of the excerpts under scrutiny and not so much as a ‘demonstrandum’ in its own right.

13.4 Approach

- (1) In what follows we will be mainly reading excerpts from the Ancient Greek corpus and trying to make sense of the coherence of these excerpts by trying to draw P-trees and analyzing the relations that the nodes in these trees represent in terms of the typology presented here above. This type of analysis will involve a very close reading of the text, including a very detailed account of a number of formal features of the text (discourse markers, syntax, focus, content-related and rhetorical aspects, ...).
- (2) The P-tree device (including the typology of coherence relations that comes with it) will be used as a ‘working model’, i.e. a heuristic, problem-raising tool, forcing us to think in a very detailed and explicit fashion about the exact relations between discourse segments. In other words: the P-tree approach should not be viewed as a specific hypothesis on the nature of discourse that needs to be ‘proven’ by the results of the analyses. Frankly speaking, I am not interested in ‘clean’ results at all, and will not hesitate to dwell on problematic (and therefore interesting) aspects of the analyses.

In this context, it is important to remember that the provisional typology presented in section 13.3 above is merely a practical shorthand for the underlying parameters briefly surveyed in section 13.2. This typology will be used as a starting point for the analyses below (and it *does* account for a large number of relations as it stands), but in the course of the analyses,

²⁹⁵ Furthermore, even the criteria that differentiate the broad types can be problematic, as soon as one departs from the clear-cut prototypical cases in actual discourse. It has, for instance, been noted that some symmetrical relations do seem to be subject to the Thematization Principle (e.g. negative-positive Contrasts), and that reporting-reported patterns are in many ways *sui generis*.

many occasions will arise to address a number of methodological issues concerning this kind of typology.

It may be useful to also mention the following merely practical issue, which, however, has methodological consequences. The excerpts will in principle be analyzed as if they are self-contained stretches of discourse as far as the P-trees are concerned, i.e. I will not systematically take the preceding and following co-text into account, as this would make the analyses (and especially the P-tree graphs) considerably more heavy and lengthy. Similarly, the holistic approach adopted here could easily lead to a proliferation of relevant aspects that we would like to include in our analyses. Obviously, common sense dictates that decisions have to be made as to what is interesting or relevant enough to be included or not.²⁹⁶

- (3) As was already the case throughout section 11 above, I will also try to show how this type of analysis can be embedded within the ‘holistic’ practice of commenting on texts in the tradition of Classical scholarship. Although it is, of course, not my objective to offer a full commentary on the excerpts analyzed, the analyses below will not merely aim at illustrating the P-tree device for its own sake, but also at enhancing our understanding of the excerpts and thus at offering a contribution to Classical scholarship in the most traditional sense.

13.5 Outline of Part III

I start off (section 14) with an analysis of the macro-structure of a Lysias speech, which has been included for three reasons: (i) it provides us with an illustration of ‘genre-specific macro-structures’; (ii) it allows us to present an overview of how vocatives can function as markers of P-tree structure; (iii) it presents the context for the excerpts analyzed in sections 15 and 17, which enriches the analysis of these excerpts considerably.

The main body of Part III (sections 15 to 20) consists of a series of six analyses of more or less short excerpts taken from the Ancient Greek corpus and segmented into cola according to the criteria introduced in Part II above (cf. section 11 above). As already stated in section 11.0(2) above, I selected these excerpts so as to cover as large a spectrum of different discourse patterns as was possible.

The last two sections do not consist of an analysis of a single stretch of continuous discourse. In section 21 I discuss a number of aspects of the relation between the pragmatic structure of discourse and formal linguistic features of the text (sentence closure, use of verbal tenses and aspects, markers, focus, ...), to the extent that the results of my analyses allowed me to say something interesting about these aspects. Section 22 is the conclusion to Part III, in which I try to briefly summarize and assess the results obtained by the practice of applying the P-tree model to Ancient Greek texts.

²⁹⁶ A lot could, and perhaps one day should, be said about the pragmatics of the action-type ‘pragmatic analysis’ itself. Suffice it here to state from the outset that the Relevance Principle, as introduced in section 13.1.3 above, is inescapable in the case of scientific endeavors as well: which contents are included on the ‘scene’ of any scientific endeavor, in the end depends on the pragmatic features of the - i.e. scientific- activity itself.

14. The macro-structure of a forensic speech (Lysias 1)

Lysias 1 is the speech that a certain Euphiletus makes in his defense, being charged with the murder of Eratosthenes, his wife's lover. This section deals with some macrostructural features of the discourse, and as such will also serve as an introduction to sections 15 and 17.

14.0 Preliminary remarks

It is important to remember that this speech is part of a larger context, both in terms of the actions that have preceded it and those that will follow, and in terms of the general 'scene' in which these actions take place and which they help to shape. Furthermore, this speech is also part of an encompassing rhetorical tradition, in which a number of features of the genre had been established when Lysias wrote this particular specimen of the genre.

- (1) The very general **scene** in which all events take place is the Athens of the late 5th - early 4th centuries. Many distinctive aspects of the local culture are relevant for the understanding of the speech, and were common ground for speaker and audience. Especially, the juridical context (the laws, the procedures of the trial, etc.) is constitutive for some aspects of the structure of this discourse. Note that defendants and prosecutors act in court as private citizens and in person, i.e. they could not be represented by a professional lawyer. Thus, Lysias does not play a relevant role in the trial: his task has been to coach Euphiletus for his performance and no more than that.

The speech of the defendant is only one step in the course of a juridical procedure that is already well on its way. Especially, the speech of the prosecution has preceded it. Therefore, the most basic facts of the story of how Eratosthenes died are known to all the persons present, though some more or less important facts are disputed. The prosecution apparently accused Euphiletus of having dragged Eratosthenes from the street into his house (*πρόνοια*) because of some previous feud (*ἔχθρα*). If the prosecution were able to convince the jury of this, Euphiletus would be sentenced to death.

Euphiletus/Lysias adopts the following basic strategy: (1) establishing that the law allows the husband to kill his wife's seducer (in fact, he gives it a twist so as to make the law actually order the husband to do so); (2) proving that the law applies to his case, i.e. that there was no *πρόνοια* on his part (that he caught Eratosthenes in flagrante delicto), and that there was no other reason for him to kill Eratosthenes. Euphiletus does not present himself as a very sophisticated man, and Lysias, well-known for his skill in establishing an *ἦθος*, is able to let this (self-)portrayal of Euphiletus show through in the way he presents his case.

- (2) What is of interest here, are the devices by which Euphiletus/Lysias constructs his speech. These devices do not involve heavy '**engineering**', i.e. the use of literary techniques characteristic of more high-flown rhetorical styles. Instead, Lysias mostly sticks to mechanisms that are characteristic of everyday speech. The articulation is sometimes highly digressive, suggesting the absence of preparation, and shows many aspects of spontaneous speech. Still, as will be shown what follows, the structure of the speech (especially the much-praised narratio) shows a remarkable economy, in that almost everything that is said

(as well as when it is said) can be shown to be relevant and purposeful with respect to either the basic defense strategy or establishing Euphiletus' character as an innocent, somewhat naive citizen.

- (3) The macro-structures of traditional rhetorical genres (among which the forensic speech) has been one of the subject matters of rhetoric throughout antiquity, and the terminology that goes with it has belonged to the common ground of Classical scholars ever since.²⁹⁷ In accordance with the traditional practice of forensic speech writing, the present speech consists of 4 major parts (I will use the Latin terminology throughout):

- (1) exordium (§§1-5);
- (2) narratio (§§6-28[a]);
- (3) argumentatio (§§28[b]-46);
- (4) peroratio (§§47-50).

Figure 14 represents the macro-structure in the form of a P-tree. In my analysis below I will mainly focus on the formal features that mark the overall structure of the text. Some details of the segmentation are doubtful, especially at the boundaries of major segments, where transitional segments occur. In the following sections I will present a more detailed analysis of a number of excerpts from the text.

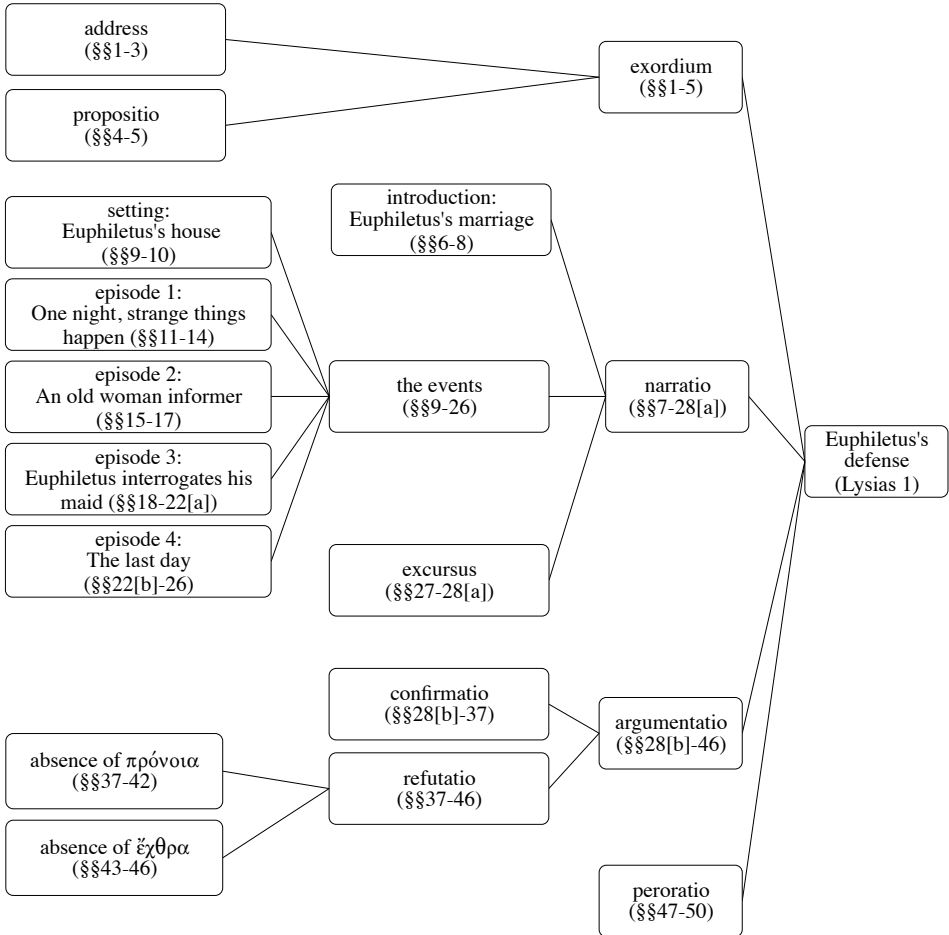
14.1 The exordium (Lysias 1,1-5)

This exordium is a rather typical one. Its main function is to state the topic (i.e. to present the case as it is perceived by the defendant), and to induce sympathy for the case to the audience (the jury). Stylistically, it is highly stereotypical and filled with *loci communes* (see Lysias & Groeneboom (ed. & comm.) 1924, 45-46). In this respect, the exordium is quite different from the quite 'natural' and 'spontaneous' narrative parts.

The internal structure of the exordium can be analyzed so as to consist of two major segments.

²⁹⁷ For my analysis of the macro-structure of Lysias 1, I will follow the indications of existing analyses in this respect: cf. Lysias & Groeneboom (ed. & comm.) 1924; Lysias & Gernet (ed. & trad.) & Bizos (ed. & trad.) 1924; Sicking 1993.

Figure 14: macro-structure of Lysias 1



(1) Address to the jury (§§1-3)

The exordium starts as follows: *Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ...*. The vocative after the first colon of the speech is predictable. Note the fact that the first colon *Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην* is obviously a marker as well (i.e. an illocutionary one).

In the first sentence, Euphiletus asks the jury to put themselves in his position. He then explains (cf. the particle *γάρ* in *εἶ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, ...*) that if they are impartial, they will feel the same indignation as he does and regard the penalties for seducers as too mild. Throughout the following argument the interactional character of the introduction is maintained by the use of the second person plural and the use of vocatives.

The rest of the first segment elaborates on the idea that “everybody” thinks that seducers cannot be punished too severely: *καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἂν εἴη μόνον παρ' ὑμῖν οὕτως ἐγνωσμένα, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι.*

This idea is first explained by stating that the laws universally provide the same penalty for this offence, regardless of the social status of the seducer. This explanation is introduced by means of a topicalization device (*περὶ* + genitivus) and the ‘explanatory’ particle *γάρ*: *περὶ τούτου γὰρ μόνου τοῦ ἀδικήματος ...*, and closed off by a summarizing sentence including a vocative, again stressing the interaction with the jury: *οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι δεινοτάτην ἡγοῦνται.*

In conclusion to the introductory segment (§3), Euphiletus restates that the jury will surely not be so easy-going (*ὀλιγώρως*) as to think that seducers deserve only mild punishments. The conclusion-like character of this paragraph is expressed by the particle cluster *μὲν οὖν*: *περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ζημίας ...*; the particle *μὲν* here allows for a smooth transition to the next segment, starting with *ἡγοῦμαι δέ*.

(2) The *propositio* (§§4-5)

After the address to the jury, Euphiletus announces what his strategy will be, i.e. which are the main points he will try to make with his speech. Such a segment has the technical name ‘*propositio*’ (*πρόθεσις*). In this case the *propositio* is introduced by means of an explicit marker-clause: *ἡγοῦμαι δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτό με δεῖν ἐπιδείξαι, ...* (note also the presence of another vocative at the beginning of this new segment).

Euphiletus proposes to prove the following points:

- that Eratosthenes seduced his wife and illegitimately entered his house;
- that there was no other feud between him and Eratosthenes;
- that he did not act for the sake of money, but only for the sake of obtaining the requital accorded by the laws.

As a conclusion to his exordium, Euphiletus then (§5) then states that he is going to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but it, and that he is certain that by doing so he will be saved. The concluding character of this paragraph reflects into the use of the particle *τοίνυν* (*ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ἐπιδείξω ...*).

14.2 The *narratio* (Lysias 1,6-28[a])

The second stereotyped element in a forensic speech is the ‘*narratio*’, in which the events that constitute the case under scrutiny are related. Euphiletus’ speech is constructed episodically, i.e. consists of several more or less self-contained sub-stories, which often have a typical story-structure (introduction-narration-coda) of their own.

After the ‘propositio’ in §§4-5, the ‘narratio’ starts with Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ... , after which the introductory part of the narratio starts. The particle γάρ has scope over the whole of the narratio (or even the narratio plus the argumentatio), and is appropriate as marking the relation of what follows to the propositio immediately above: the main lines of Euphiletus’ argument are summarized in the propositio and what follows is an explication of these main lines.

The ‘narratio’ itself has a ternary structure, if one takes the excursus (§§27-28a) to be the coda of the narratio:

- (1) an introduction, in which Euphiletus describes the relationship between him and his wife (§§6-8);
- (2) a series of episodes that constitute the main sequence of events that led up to the killing, told from Euphiletus’ point of view (§§9-26);
- (3) the so-called ‘excursus’, in which the narratio is closed off and a transition is made to the argumentatio (§§27-28[a]).

(1) **Introduction: Euphiletus and his wife (§§6-8)**

Paragraphs 6-8 can be analyzed as an introduction to the narratio: they do not present any events that make up the story that led up to Euphiletus killing Eratosthenes (except for the last segment of it, describing how Eratosthenes came to know Euphiletus’ wife), but sketch the different stages in the relationship between Euphiletus and his wife. The clause ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξε μοι γῆμαι καὶ γυναῖκα ἡγαγόμενην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ... can be analyzed as the Topic of the entire introduction (§§6-8).

This introduction is structured into 4 major segments, each representing a chronological stage in the relationship, and presented in contrasted pairs (stage 1 vs. stage 2; stage 3 vs. stage 4), as can be seen from the initia of each of these stages:

- stage 1 (§6a) τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ... : at first Euphiletus is careful and keeps a more or less close eye on his wife;
- stage 2 (§6b): ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι παιδίον γίγνεται ... : after the birth of their child, Euphiletus begins to trust his wife;
- stage 3 (§7a) ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ... : at first, Euphiletus’ wife is a model wife;
- stage 4 (§§7b-8) ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι ἡ μήτηρ ἐτελεύτησε, ... : after the death of Euphiletus’ mother, troubles begin: his wife meets Eratosthenes on the day of the burial (§8: ἐπ’ ἐκφορὰν γὰρ ...).

(2) **The Story (§§9-27)**

The story itself is built around 4 episodes, preceded by a sketch of everyday life in Euphiletus’ house.

(2.0) *Setting: Euphiletus’ house (§§9-10)*

This segment starts as follows: Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν διηγήσασθαι), οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, The marker Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ... indicates that the first part of the story is now about to start. However, this first part still does not present any actual events, but rather sketches the setting in which the events are going to take place. Euphiletus owns a house with one story on top of the ground floor. In order to avoid his wife having to go downstairs every time the child had to be washed, the women occupied the ground floor and Euphiletus the top floor. All this is important because it is this

disposition that made it possible for Eratosthenes to visit Euphiletus' wife while Euphiletus was in the house. Likewise, it is crucial for the way Euphiletus finally caught Eratosthenes the night he killed him. The disposition of the habitants within the house shows how much Euphiletus trusted his wife, and thus is linked with the topic of the relationship between them as described above.

(2.1) Episode 1: one night, strange things happen (§§11-14)

Again note the presence of a marker followed by a vocative at the beginning of this segment: Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, ὦ ἄνδρες, This first episode consists of the account of what happened one night:

- Euphiletus came home unexpectedly from the field;
- after dinner, his child began to cry (the maid made the child cry, because Eratosthenes was in the house, as he learnt afterwards);
- he sent his wife downstairs in order to feed it;
- his wife at first refuses and makes a joke about him and a girl slave;
- his wife locks him up, apparently as a joke, and goes downstairs;
- he laughs and goes to sleep;
- towards dawn, his wife comes upstairs to open the door;
- he asks her why the doors made a noise during the night; she answers that the child's light had gone out and she had gone and lit it at the neighbor's; he believes this;
- he has the impression that she had put on make up, but makes no remark on the fact and leaves the house.

(2.2) Episode 2: the old woman (§§15-17)

The beginning of the episode is again marked by means of a marker indicating chronological progression followed by a vocative: Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, In this episode, an account is given of how Euphiletus came to know about the fact that his wife had a lover: an old woman, sent by a neglected mistress of Eratosthenes', approached him in the street and told him that his wife had a lover, that he had to interrogate one of his servants in order to know everything, and also that this lover was Eratosthenes. For a detailed analysis of this episode, see section 17 below.

(2.3) Episode 3: Euphiletus interrogates his maid (§§18-22[a])

Episode 3 immediately follows the previous episode. The beginning of this episode is marked by the transition marker particle δέ, and by the fact that in the two first cola, both the general setting and the agents (except for the speaker Euphiletus) are switched: ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε ἠκέλευον ἀκολουθεῖν μοι τὴν θεράπαιναν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ... ²⁹⁸

Following the advice of the old woman (§16), Euphiletus takes the maid who has been involved in the affair between his wife and Eratosthenes along to the house of a friend of his, threatens her, and orders her to tell everything. At first she pretends not to know anything, but on his mentioning the name of Eratosthenes, she tells the whole story and promises to cooperate and help him to catch Eratosthenes in flagrante delicto.

At the end of this episode, the text becomes dubious: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεγόντο ἡμέραι τέτταρες ἢ πέντε, ... ὡς ἐγὼ μεγάλοις ὑμῖν τεκμηρίοις ἐπιδείξω. The mere fact that 4 or 5

²⁹⁸ The fact that the transition between episodes 2.2 and 2.3 is not marked very strongly by overt formal markers *and* the strong formal correspondence between the beginning of 2.2 (Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, χρόνου μεταξύ διαγενομένου...) and καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεγόντο ἡμέραι τέτταρες ἢ πέντε in §22 suggests perhaps more of a continuity between both episodes than is suggested by the analysis above.

days went by hardly calls for ‘strong evidence’, which makes it quite probable that there is a lacuna in which something is said to the effect that Euphiletus did not do anything in the meantime (cf. Lysias & Groeneboom (ed. & comm.) 1924, 82). In the following episode, relating the events of the last day, it is emphasized that the way Euphiletus caught Eratosthenes was not prepared in advance. This might be the strong evidence mentioned here. In any case, the presence of the particle καὶ before μετὰ ταῦτα indicates that the sentence under scrutiny belongs to the present episode and does not constitute a separate episode, nor belongs to the following one. The next sentence πρῶτον δὲ διηγῆσασθαι βούλομαι τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ seems to be the actual introduction to the next episode.

(2.4) *Episode 4: dénouement: the last night (§§22[b]-27[a])*

This episode is the last one and constitutes the dénouement of the whole narratio. Its beginning is marked by a very explicit structural marker: πρῶτον δὲ διηγῆσασθαι βούλομαι τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ. It is a more or less straightforward account of the sequence of events that happened the night Euphiletus killed Eratosthenes:

- Euphiletus meets his friend Sostratus and invites him for dinner; after dinner, Sostratus goes home and Euphiletus goes to sleep;
- Eratosthenes enters the house; the maid wakes up Euphiletus;
- Euphiletus gathers together as many neighbors as possible and enters the house;
- they catch Eratosthenes with Euphiletus’ wife;
- Euphiletus gives Eratosthenes a sermon and kills him (the killing itself is left implicit: the story ends with Eratosthenes being knocked down and being sermoned by Euphiletus).

Part of this episode will be analyzed in detail in section 15 here below.

(3) *Coda: the excursus (§§27-28[a])*

Immediately after the narratio proper, a transitional segment is added, the function of which it is, on the one hand, to close off the narratio (not unlike the ‘coda’ in narratives such as analyzed in sections 17.1, 17.2 and 17.3 above), and on the other hand, to introduce the next substantial part, the argumentatio.²⁹⁹ This excursus consists of 2 parts, coinciding with the traditional division into paragraphs.

(3.1) *A short refutatio (§27)*

The beginning of the excursus is again marked by the presence of a vocative, after which the speaker already draws an important conclusion from his narratio, by pointing out that it follows from this that some of the claims of the prosecution are not true (thus announcing the longer refutatio in §§37-46):

²⁹⁹ The transitional character of the excursus has led some commentators to have it belong with the argumentatio rather than with the narratio (thus, e.g. Lysias & Lamb (trad.) 1930, 8). However, the similarity with the coda of other kinds of narrative seems to be an argument for having it belong with the narratio (cf. also Lysias & Groeneboom (ed. & comm.) 1924, 55 and 90).

οὕτως,
ὦ ἄνδρες,
ἐκεῖνος
τούτων ἔτυχεν
ὄνπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντας,

οὐκ εἰσαρπασθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ,
οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καταφυγὼν,
ὡσπερ οὗτοι λέγουσι·

Thus it was,
Gentlemen,
that that man
got exactly the fate
that the laws ordain for those who do such
things.

He was not dragged from the street,
nor had he taken refuge at my hearth,
as those people say.

Then, Euphiletus/Lysias explains this refutation (πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ...) by resuming a few of the facts (?) narrated in the above: that Eratosthenes was immediately knocked down and immobilized; that there were too many people around for him to escape, especially since he did not have a weapon.

(3.2) A moralistic conclusion (§28[a])

The second paragraph is marked by the particle ἀλλά, the presence of a vocative and an explicit addressing of the audience (ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι ...). The paragraph consists of a generalizing moralistic observation on the fact that wrongdoers typically lie and try to make their opponents look bad. This paragraph obviously contains little substance and its structural/rhetorical function is obviously to mark the end of the narratio and the transition to the argumentatio.

14.3 The argumentatio (Lysias 1,28[b]-46)

This argumentatio consists of two -again traditional- sub-parts:

- (1) a *confirmatio*, in which the positive proofs for the defense are stated (§§28[b]-36);
- (2) a *refutatio*, in which the positions of the prosecution are refuted (§§37-46).

(1) *Confirmatio* (§§28[b]-36)

The confirmatio consists of 4 parts:

- right after the transitional paragraph which rounds off the excursus, the argumentatio starts out abruptly with the reading of a law (Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἰ ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον); right after the reading of this law, Euphiletus starts his argumentation (§29 Οὐκ ἤμφεσβήτει, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ὠμολόγει ἀδικεῖν, ...), by stating his claim that Eratosthenes acknowledged his guilt and that he consequently acted according to the law by killing him, and then produces witnesses to these facts;
- in §§30-31[a] ('Ανάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ...), he has the law from the pillar in the Areopagus read, and then goes on to argue ('Ακούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ...) that killing one's wife's adulterer is a completely legitimate vengeance, especially since the law permits it even in the case of mistresses;
- next, in §§31[b]-33 he has another law read (ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον.) and goes on to argue ('Ακούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι ...) that, according to the laws, adulterers deserve worse punishment than rapists, i.e. the death penalty;
- finally, in §§34-36, Euphiletus argues that his action was not only allowed by the law, but even ordered by it: Ἐμοῦ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐ μόνον ἀπεργνωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκελευκότες ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν ...; he then argues that, by not acquitting him, the judges would invalidate the laws, and in support

of this claim adds the platitude that otherwise even thieves would profit from the precedent.

(2) **Refutatio (§§37-46)**

The beginning of the second part of the argumentatio is marked by an interactional marker and a vocative: Σκέψασθε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες· Euphiletus' refutatio proceeds in two steps: (1) showing that there was no premeditation (πρόνοια) on his part; (2) showing that there was no previous conflict (ἔχθρα) between him and Eratosthenes.

(2.1) *No πρόνοια (§§37-42)*

The following arguments are proposed (note the fact that all major boundaries are marked by the presence of a vocative):

- §§37-39 (ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δίκαιον μὲν ἂν ποιεῖν ἠγοούμεν...): even if he had used all possible means to catch his wife's adulterer, he would not be in the wrong; but even this is not the case, as can be seen from the fact that he invited Sostratus to his house and then let him go away again (§39[b] ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, φίλος ὢν Σώστρατος ...);
- §§40-42: in conclusion, the following points have to be kept in mind:
 - §40 (καίτοι πρῶτον μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνθυμήθητε· ...): if he was planning anything against Eratosthenes, firstly, he would not have invited anyone to the house, because it could have deterred Eratosthenes from entering his house, and secondly (εἶτα δοκῶ ἂν ὑμῖν...), he would not have let him go away again;
 - §41-42 (ἔπειτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ...): the fact that he had to go out to look for help and that he could not reach some of the acquaintances he called upon shows that he had not been preparing his vengeance.

He then produces witnesses to these facts.

(2.2) *No ἔχθρα (§§43-46)*

The second part of the refutatio begins with the mere statement that there was no previous quarrel between him and his opponent (again note the presence of a vocative: Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες· σκέψασθε δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὕτως περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, ζητοῦντες εἴ τις ἐμοὶ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένει ἔχθρα πώποτε γεγένηται πλὴν ταύτης). He then enumerates a few possible reasons for quarrels in general and simply denies that these are applicable to him and Eratosthenes, and adds that if it had been his intention to do something criminal he would not have summoned so many witnesses.

14.4 The peroratio (Lysias 1,47-50)

The (very traditional) last part of this forensic speech again is marked by the particle cluster μὲν οὖν and by the presence of a vocative: Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, This peroratio is - typically- highly rhetorical and highly conventional: Euphiletus/Lysias takes up his argument that he has acted in the interest of the city, expanding and dramatizing the platitude that, if he were not acquitted, the laws would be invalidated and all kinds of wrongdoers would go free and honest citizens would be in danger.

14.5 Excursus: vocatives in Lysias 1

Throughout my analysis, I have remarked on the presence of vocatives and other interactional markers at pivotal points in the structure of the speech. It seemed interesting to briefly review the 26 occurrences of the collocation $\hat{\omega}$ +vocative in this speech.

- (a) At the beginning of all major parts of the speech vocatives occur:
- at the initium of the speech: §1 *Περὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ποιησαίμην, ὦ ἄνδρες, ...*
 - at the beginning of the narratio: §6 *Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,*
 - at the beginning of the excursus: §27 *οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκείνος τούτων ἔτυχεν ὧν περ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντας,*
 - at the beginning of the confirmatio (i.e. after the reading of the first law): §29 *Οὐκ ἠμφεσβήτει, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ὠμολόγει ἀδικεῖν,*
 - at the beginning of the refutatio: §37 *Σκέψασθε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες· ...*
 - at the beginning of the peroratio: §47 *Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἰδίαν ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ νομίζω ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης· ...*
- (b) Many of the other vocatives occur at important boundaries in the internal structure of these parts:
- In the exordium, the beginning of the propositio is marked by a vocative: §4 *ἡγοῦμαι δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτό με δεῖν ἐπιδειξάει, ... ;*
 - In the narratio, the beginning of a new episode is often marked by a vocative:
 - §7 *ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ χρόνῳ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,*
 - §9 (init. “house”) *Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, (δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν διηγῆσασθαι)*
 - §11 (init. “that night”) *Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, ὦ ἄνδρες,*
 - §15 (init. “old woman”) *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες,*
 - The two parts of which the excursus consists are marked by vocatives:
 - §27 *οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐκείνος τούτων ἔτυχεν ὧν περ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττοντας,*
 - §28 *ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι οἱ μὴ τὰ δίκαια πράττοντες οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς λέγειν ἀληθῆ,*
 - The internal structure of the argumentatio is articulated by the reading of various laws and the presentation of witnesses; typically, a vocative occurs when Euphiletus takes the floor again:
 - §30 (after law) *Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, ᾧ καὶ πάτριόν ἐστι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἀποδέδοται τοῦ φόνου τὰς δίκας δικάζειν, διαρρήδην εἴρηται*
 - §32 (after law) *Ἀκούετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι κελεύει,*
 - §43 (after witnesses) *Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες· σκέψασθε δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὕτως περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος,*
 - In the part in which Euphiletus claims that there was no πρόνοια on his part, the beginning of the four parts of the argumentatio (see section 14.2(2.1) above) are accompanied by a vocative:
 - §37 *ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δίκαιον μὲν ἂν ποιεῖν ἡγοῦμην*
 - §39 *ἐμοὶ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, φίλος ὢν Σώστρατος καὶ οἰκείως διακεῖμενος ἀπαντήσας ἐξ ἀγροῦ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς συνεδείπνει,*
 - §40 *καίτοι πρῶτον μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνθυμήθητε·*

- §41 ἔπειτα, ὦ ἄνδρες,
- (c) In the remaining cases, the vocative occurs at the beginning of segments that are somehow salient at a more local level in the development of the discourse:
- In segments which constitute a conclusion to an argumentation (note the co-occurrence with οὕτως resp. τοίνυν):
 - the conclusion to the argument that seduction is universally considered a very serious crime: §2 οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, ταύτην τὴν ὕβριν ἅπαντες ἄνθρωποι δεινотάτην ἡγοῦνται.
 - the beginning of his own conclusion to what the law says about adulterers and rapists: §32 οὕτως, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς βιαζομένους ἐλάττονος ζημίας ἀξίους ἡγήσατο εἶναι ἢ τοὺς πείθοντας·
 - the conclusion to the confirmatio: §34 Ἐμοῦ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐ μόνον ἀπεργνωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκελευκότες ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν·
 - In segments which constitute a climax in a narrative development:
 - at the moment the old woman has gone and Euphiletus starts to worry, which is the beginning of the sequence of events leading up to his killing Eratosthenes: §17 ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ὦ ἄνδρες,
 - at the moment Eratosthenes enters the house: §23 ὁ δ' Ἐρατοσθένης, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰσέρχεται,
 - at the moment Euphiletus knocks Eratosthenes down: §25 ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, πατάξας καταβάλλω αὐτόν,
 - The occurrence at §14 ἔδοξε δέ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸ πρόσωπον ἐψιμυθιωθῆαι cannot easily be classified in either of the categories above; however, it introduces the last segment in the description of the strange things that happened one night, and is in a way climactic in that the fact that the wife put on make-up is of all the events enumerated the one which is the least easy to explain away.

14.6 Final remarks

I would like to highlight three general aspects of discourse structure as they emerge from the above analysis of the macro-structural features of the entire speech.

- (a) First, this speech is a remarkable illustration of the fact that **genre-specific patterns** are a pervasive factor in the structure of this kind of discourse (as it is in other types). Note that for almost all of its structural features traditional terms are available, which evidences the degree of detail to which the structure of the speech is determined by the (then still quite young) tradition of speech writing.
- (b) Second, the analysis also provides us with a good illustration of what I have called '**content-inheritance**' and '**content-percolation**' (see section 13.2(7)). It is very obvious that many features of the local structure of the different segments that make up this speech are actually determined 'from above', i.e. by the overall features of the speech, as represented by the higher-level nodes of the P-tree structure. This is true for both the purely structural aspects of discourse coherence as represented by the geometry of the P-tree itself, and for the contents presented in these segments as such.

Thus, many of the aspects of the local context of every part of the speech are already present in the background of the discourse before even a word has been said: the main characters (Euphiletus, his wife, Eratosthenes), the most important events, especially that Eratosthenes had been killed by Euphiletus on a certain day at the latter's house.

Likewise, we will see in the course of the analyses in section 15, 16 and 17 below that the pragmatic features of the encompassing **action-type** 'doing a trial' also determines the local features on a structural level. The most conspicuous structural feature inherited from the highest levels of the trial-tree is the fact that contrast relations between plaintiff and defendant occur time and time again at all levels of the P-tree.

Furthermore, the encompassing pragmatic context of the entire trial also profoundly percolates into the details of the contents that are presented at a local level, both in terms of what is said (as opposed to what is not said),³⁰⁰ and in terms of the way in which things are told. The hierarchical structure of the discourse implies that the contents of each segment are inherently subservient to the points that have to be made within the context of the dominating nodes in the structure. At the highest levels of the overall P-tree of the speech (i.e. the 'strategy' that Euphiletus/Lysias adopts), this means that many aspects of the contents and the presentation of those contents are subservient to proving that (i) there was no previous conflict between Euphiletus and Eratosthenes, and (ii) there was no premeditation (*πρόνοια*) on the part of Euphiletus on the night he killed Eratosthenes. As can be seen from the above synopsis, Lysias achieves a remarkable economy in this respect: almost all the contents serve this purpose,³⁰¹ while maintaining a high degree of 'naturalness'. From the point of view adopted here, this economy need not be ascribed to heavy engineering on the part of Lysias: on the contrary, it is only natural that the pragmatic point of every segment of the discourse is inherited from above and -in a way- *precedes* (or at least cannot be separated from) the actual contents presented.³⁰²

- (c) Thirdly, the overview of the use of vocatives addressed to the jury throughout this speech (section 14.5) has shown that their presence coincides to a remarkable degree of consistency with structural articulation of the discourse. On a more theoretical level, these data might be used to cast some doubt on the relevance of the distinction between 'representational', 'presentational' and 'interactional' levels of discourse, as adopted by e.g. Kroon 1995 and Wakker 1995 (see also my footnote to section 22.1 below).

³⁰⁰ For a spectacular example of a crucial part of the facts being omitted from a seemingly 'iconic' presentation of real world facts, see the end of Euphiletus' narratio as presented in section 14.2(2.4) here above: the actual killing (which is the very subject matter of the trial) is not narrated at all.

³⁰¹ This is especially clear in the narratio summarized here above: for instance, the contents of Euphiletus' detailed account of what happened the last day (Sostratus who happens to show up for dinner; the fact that some neighbors he calls upon are not at home, ...) is clearly informed by his overall strategy, rather than by some 'documentary' implementation of the Iconicity Principle. For an account making a similar point, see Sicking & Stork 1997, 134-136. Sicking & Stork's remarks on how certain elements of the contents of the narrative parts of Lysias 1 and Lysias 3 are subservient to their encompassing defense strategy are interesting, independently from the point they attempt to make concerning the grammar of the historical present (see also section 21.1(2c) below).

³⁰² For instance, in section 17 below it will be made clear that the details of Euphiletus' presentation of his encounter with the old woman (including the oratio recta) cannot be understood in terms of the Iconicity Principle, but rather depend on the Thematization Principle within the encompassing context of his narrative.

15. A simple narrative episode (Lysias 1,23[b])

The last episode of the narratio of Euphiletus' defense concerns what happened the night he killed Eratosthenes. The beginning of the episode is formally marked by means of an explicit marker sentence: *πρῶτον δὲ διηγῆσασθαι βούλομαι τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.*

As opposed to the previously analyzed scene with the old woman, Euphiletus' account of the night he killed Eratosthenes is a more typical narrative. Its structure is determined by the successive events in their chronological order, and gives the impression of being a full account of what happened, not suppressing too many of the events. Still, it is obvious that the contents of the story are motivated by Euphiletus'/Lysias' defense strategy: the events are related so as to make clear that Euphiletus did not act with premeditation (*πρόνοια*), and all the events related are relevant to this purpose.

One can easily cut up the episode into five segments, more or less coinciding with the traditional editorial division into paragraphs:

- §§22[b]-23[a]: Euphiletus meets his friend Sostratus and invites him to have dinner with him; Sostratus leaves and Euphiletus goes to bed;
- §23[b]: Eratosthenes enters the house, the maid wakes up Euphiletus; Euphiletus goes out and looks for assistance;
- §24: Euphiletus and his gang enter the house and catch Eratosthenes in flagrante delicto;
- §25: Euphiletus overpowers Eratosthenes and interrogates him;
- §26: Euphiletus gives Eratosthenes a sermon and kills him.

For the present purposes, I will limit myself to an analysis of the second of these five segments.

Lysias 1,23[b]

1	ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης,	And Eratosthenes,
2	ὧ ἄνδρες,	gentlemen,
3	εἰσέρχεται,	he enters.
4	καὶ ἡ θεραπαινὴ	And the maid,
5	ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθὺς	she immediately wakes me up,
6	φράζει	and she lets me know
7	ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.	he's in.
8	κἀγὼ	And I,
9	εἰπὼν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς θύρας,	I tell her to watch the door,
10	καταβάς σιωπῇ	I go downstairs in silence,
11	ἔξέρχομαι,	and I go outside,
12	καὶ ἀφικνούμαι ὡς τὸν καὶ τόν,	and I go and call on such and such,
13	καὶ	and
14	τοὺς μὲν	some of them
15	ἔνδον κατέλαβον,	I could get hold of at their homes,
16	τοὺς δὲ	and others
17	οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντας ἤϊρον.	I found to be not even in town.

15.1 Preliminary analyses

The delimitation of this excerpt as a separate segment is marked by the vocative $\hat{\omega}$ ἄνδρες (colon 2), characteristically right after the first colon, and by the particle $\delta\grave{\epsilon}$ in colon 1. The excerpt is entirely narrative, i.e. its content consists entirely of a series of events in their chronological order:

- Eratosthenes comes in (cola 1-3);
- the maid wakes up Euphiletus (cola 4-5);
- the maid lets Euphiletus know that Eratosthenes is in (cola 6-7);³⁰³
- Euphiletus tells the maid to watch the door (cola 8-9);
- Euphiletus goes downstairs (colon 10);
- Euphiletus goes outside (colon 11);
- Euphiletus calls on neighbors (colon 12);
- Euphiletus does not find all his neighbors at home (cola 13-17).

A number of formal features indicate that the bare sequence of events has been given additional structure:

- the use of markers: particles ($\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$, ... $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$... $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\text{o}\ddot{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}$), the vocative;
- the alternation of participles and finite verbs throughout the excerpt;
- the changes of grammatical subject;
- the change from present tense (cola 1-12) to aorist tense (cola 14-17) in the finite verbs.

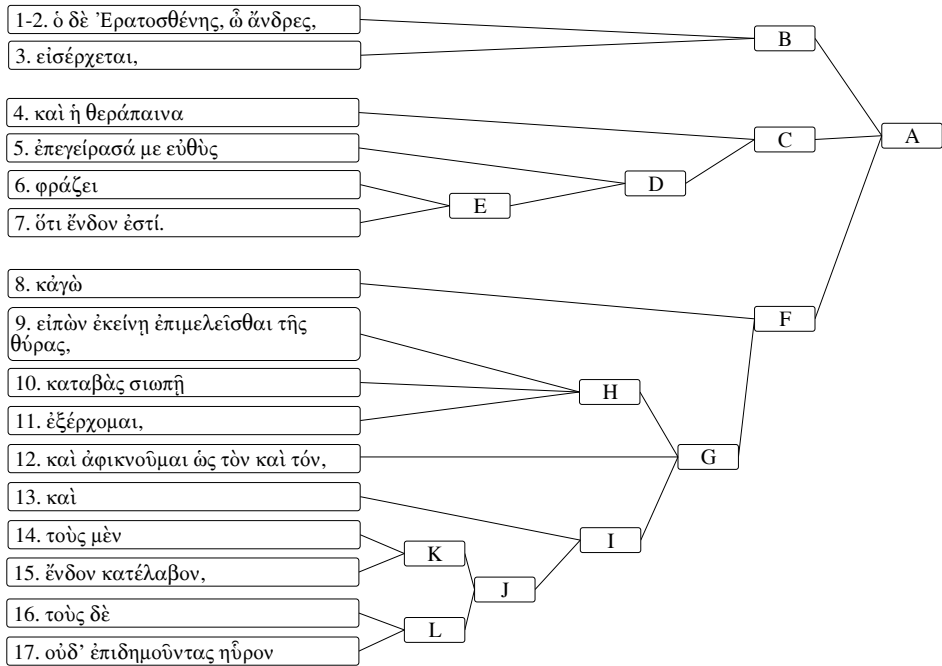
15.2 P-tree analysis

The overall structure of the excerpt coincides with or reflects into the changes of grammatical subject, pragmatically speaking corresponding with changes of Topic, each Topic corresponding to a different agent. Accordingly, the top node (**node A**) specifies a sequence of events (a plot), thus specifying three parts in the excerpt (interconnected by $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ in colon 4 and colon 8), each characterized by a different central agent, each of which is structured by means of a Topic-Comment node, the Topic part introducing the respective central agents:

- (1) cola 1-3 (node B): the Topic/agent is Eratosthenes;
- (2) cola 4-7 (node C): the Topic/agent is the maid;
- (3) cola 8-17 (node F): the Topic/agent is the speaker (Euphiletus).

³⁰³ For a note on the meaning of $\text{φρ}\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota$ see section 11.1(1a).

Figure 15.1: P-tree of Lysias 1,23[b]

(1) *Cola 1-3, node B*

As already noted, **node B**, linking ‘Eratosthenes’ and ‘he came in’ is a Topic-Comment node, here in its simplest possible shape: Topic=subject=agent, Comment=verb=action. Note the position of the vocative ὦ ἄνδρες in between Topic and Comment. It is quite possible that in actual performance one or more intonational sandhi phenomena occur: the vocative can easily merge with the previous colon and the boundaries between the three cola might be blurred to such an extent that they are realized as a single IU.

(2) *Cola 4-7, node C*

Again, the overall structure of this segment is determined by a Topic-Comment relation (**node C**), with colon 4 (‘the maid’) as a Topic and cola 5-7 (‘she wakes me up and tells me he’s in’) as its Comment.

The Comment (cola 5-7) is made up of two successive actions related by a plot relation (**node D**):

- waking Euphiletus up (colon 5);
- letting him know that ... (cola 6-7).

Node E, relating cola 6 (‘she lets me know’) and colon 7 (‘that he’s in’), is somewhat problematic, though only trivially so: technically speaking, finite complement sentences introduced by a relative can regularly be considered as separate cola, and a realization as two separate IUs at a moderate tempo seems to be plausible. The status of this relation (‘**reporting-reported**’) within the typology of coherence relations is not quite clear. The relation between a verbum dicendi (in the broad sense) and its complement clause can

sometimes be analyzed as a Marker-Content node (with the verb as an epistemic marker); this analysis is impossible here, because the action of ‘letting know’ has a substantial function in the overall context, being one of the events in the plot, rather than just situating or modalizing the content “Eratosthenes is in”, though of course as far as the Thematization Principle is concerned, the quoted content is here obviously rhematic, constituting the main point with respect to the overall story.

(3) *Node F (cola 8-17)*

Again the overall structure of the segment is generated by a Topic-Comment relation (**node F**), the Topic coinciding with the main agent (ἐγώ, i.e. the speaker Euphiletus) and the Comment with a series of actions.

The internal structure of the Comment is somewhat more intricate than in the previous events, though its immediate internal structure is again organized by a plot node (**node G**), specifying 3 (series of) actions linked by καί (colon 12, colon 13) and distinguished by the presence of one finite verb in each:

- (a) cola 9-11 (node H);
 - (b) colon 12;
 - (c) cola 13-17 (node I).
- (a) **Node H** (cola 9-11) again specifies a sequence of actions by the main agent Euphiletus, constituting a plot: (i) he tells the maid to watch the door (colon 9), (ii) he goes downstairs, (iii) he goes outside. Again the last action of the sequence is expressed by a finite verb (ἐξέρχομαι), the previous ones being expressed by a participle aoristus (εἰπὼν and καταβὰς).³⁰⁴
- (b) Colon 12 constitutes on its own the second event under node G, and shows no further pragmatic structure.³⁰⁵
- (c) **Node I** is a Marker-Content node, indicating the scope of καί (colon 13) over cola 14-17. The content part of node I (cola 14-17) is structured by a contrast node (**node J**), opposing two Topic-Comment nodes (**nodes K and L**), with a double contrast: contrastive Topics (“some neighbors”-“others”) and contrastive Comments (“at home”-“not even in town”).³⁰⁶

15.3 Final remarks

This very simple excerpt of a narrative allowed us to demonstrate the practice of drawing P-trees and to discuss some very common types of coherence relations:

- As can be expected from a narrative, its overall pragmatic structure is determined by a number of relations between successive events, i.e. relations of the type “plot”: out of 12 nodes in the P-tree 4 are of this type (A, D, G, H).

³⁰⁴ The dative of manner σιωπῇ could in principle be analyzed so as to belong with the ἐξέρχομαι as well, but silence is more strongly required in ‘going downstairs’ than in ‘going outside’, and by making it belong with καταβὰς, ἐξέρχομαι parallels εισέρχεται in colon 3 more exactly. See also 11.1(2a).

³⁰⁵ Alternatively, the connective particle καί in colon 12 could be argued to have scope over cola 12-17, in which case it would have been more appropriate to analyze it as a separate colon. The fact that there is a tense-switch in the finite verbs from praesens (cola 1-12) to aoristus (cola 13-17) is a good argument against the latter option. For the issue of tense switches in general, see section 21.1(2) below.

³⁰⁶ Or “not at home”-“not even in town”, depending on the reading. For the editorial addition of the word οὐκ, see section 11.1(2a), footnote.

- The narrative is given additional structure by alternating different main agents, each of which is introduced as a fronted topic in a topic-comment pattern, the comment each time consisting of one or more events related by one the plot relations. Typically, the first events in such a plot sequence take the shape of participle clauses (in the aoristus) and only the last event is expressed by a finite verb (see section 21.1(3) below).

The analysis of this excerpt also illustrates the fact that the ‘scope’ of topics and markers is a pervasive factor in using the P-tree device to account for discourse structure.

All the patterns observed in this excerpt will come back time and time again in the next few excerpts.

16. Another narrative episode (Lysias 3,15-17)

This excerpt has been taken from the speech *Against Simon*, in which an anonymous speaker defends himself against Simon's accusation that he had wounded him with the intent to kill. The general context in which the violence took place was the rivalry between the speaker and Simon over a boy named Theodotus. The speaker argues as follows:

- (1) that there was no premeditation (πρόνοια) and that any wounding that may have happened, happened in the course of a series of street fights;
- (2) that the first acts of violence always came from Simon and the gang of people he was running around with.

At some point, the speaker and the boy fled from the harassment by Simon and his gang to some place out of town, in order to avoid a scandal. In the paragraphs immediately preceding the present excerpt (Lysias 3,11-14), the speaker has explained that, just after their return, Simon and his gang had assaulted him and the boy when they left the house of a friend. The boy managed to run away and, thinking that this escape had been successful, the speaker took himself off via another street. The speaker then produces witnesses to the fact that on this occasion nobody got badly hurt. After a conclusion to the testimonies ("Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀδικήσας, ὃ βουλή, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενομένων μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν), the present excerpt begins.

Lysias 3,15-17

<p>1 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 2 τὸ μὲν μειράκιον 3 εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν, 4 οὔτοι δὲ 5 συνεισπεσόντες 6 ἦγον αὐτὸν βίᾳ, 7 βοῶντα 8 καὶ κεκραγῶτα 9 καὶ μαρτυρόμενον. 10 συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν 11 καὶ ἀγανακτούντων τῷ πράγματι 12 καὶ δεινὰ φασκόντων εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα, 13 τῶν μὲν λεγομένων 14 οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον, 15 Μόλωνα δὲ τὸν γναφέα 16 καὶ ἄλλους τιναὶς ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας 17 συνέκοψαν. 18 ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὔσι παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν 19 ἐγὼ 20 μόνος βαδίζων 21 ἐντυχάνω, 22 δεινὸν δὲ ἡγήσάμενος εἶναι καὶ αἰσχρὸν 23 περιδεῖν</p>	<p>After that, the boy he took refuge in a fuller's shop. But those men, they all burst in, and proceeded to drag him along violently, while he was shouting, and crying out, and calling for witnesses. And a crowd of people gathered around, and they were protesting against the whole thing, and saying that it was awful what was happening: of everything that was being said, they didn't worry about any of it, and Molon the fuller and some others trying to protect the boy, they beat them up. And they are already near Lampon's house, when I, walking by myself, encounter them. And considering it a monstrous and shameful thing to stand by and watch</p>
--	--

24	οὕτως ἀνόμως καὶ βιαίως ὑβρισθέντα τὸν νεανίσκον,	while the boy was being brutalized so lawlessly and violently,
25	ἐπιλαμβάνομαι αὐτοῦ.	I grab hold of him.
26	οὔτοι δέ,	And those men,
27	δι' ὅ τι μὲν τοιαῦτα παρενόμουν εἰς ἐκεῖνον,	as for the reason why they were doing such lawless things to that boy,
28	οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰπεῖν	they didn't want to say why,
29	ἐρωτηθέντες,	when they were asked for it,
30	ἀφήμενοι δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου	and they let the lad go
31	ἔτυπον ἐμέ.	and proceeded to beat me.

Some of the structural features typical of any narrative discourse show up in this excerpt:

- it consists basically of a sequence of actions, presented in their chronological succession;
- the sequence of actions has been given additional structure by the alternation of different main agents;
- there is an alternation of participles and finite verbs;
- particles (here especially δέ) play an important role in the articulation of the discourse.

Still, it is immediately obvious that the structure of this excerpt is not as transparent as the previous example and is actually quite intricate:

- Note the alternation of ...**μὲν**...**δέ** (colon 2 and colon 4) and **single δέ** (colon 10 and colon 26) and the problem of determining the exact scope of these particles. For instance: does μετὰ δὲ τὰῦτα in colon 1 have scope over cola 2-9, as suggested by the full stop in colon 9, or does its scope extend beyond that point, e.g. until colon 17 or even until the end of the excerpt?
- The alternation of different main agents sometimes coincides with the occurrence of a particle (e.g. in colon 4 and in colon 26) but sometimes does not, e.g. in colon 18 δέ marks the beginning of a new segment, but the subject/agent-switch towards ἐγὼ (without particle) occurs only in the next colon (colon 19); in colon 10 we notice δέ without there being a subject-switch (note however that the crowd is introduced as a separate -though secondary- agent).
- The alternation of participle and finite clauses is less simple as well. In the previous excerpt (Lysias 1,23) a series of actions was presented by means of a series of participles (note the aoristus tense) and the last action of the series as a finite verb. Here, this simple pattern is not the only one to account for the distribution of these verbal forms, e.g. the participles in cola 7-9 (note the use of the present and perfect) follow the main verb in colon 6, and the participle in colon 29 follows the finite verb in colon 28 (in this case the chronological order of the events 'answer'- 'question' is even reversed).
- Also note the fact that the spatio-temporal setting in which the events take place changes in the course of the narration:
 - cola 2-17 are situated in (or near) Molon's fuller's shop (colon 3);
 - cola 18-30 take place 'near Lampon's house' (colon 17).

16.1 Preliminary analyses

- (1) As is the case for all narratives, the overall point of this narrative excerpt is to present a series of events, in this case:
- a. the boy takes refuge at the fuller's (colon 3);

- b. Simon and his gang burst in after the boy (colon 5);
- c. Simon and his gang proceed to drag the boy along violently (colon 6);
- d. the boy shouts (colon 7);
- e. the boy cries out (colon 8);
- f. the boy calls for witnesses (colon 9);
- g. a crowd of people comes running (colon 10);
- h. the crowd protests against the whole thing (colon 11);
- i. the crowd says that what is happening is awful (colon 12);
- j. Simon and his gang do not worry about what the crowd says (cola 13-14)
- k. Simon and his gang beat up Molon the fuller and some of the bystanders (cola 15-17);
- l. Simon and his gang get as far as (near) Lampon's house (colon 18);
- m. the speaker is walking alone (colon 20);
- n. the speaker meets Simon and his gang (colon 21);
- o. the speaker thinks it a bad thing to just stand by and watch (colon 22-23);
- p. the speaker seizes hold of the boy (colon 24);
- q. someone (the speaker?) asks Simon and his gang why they treat the boy that way (colon 26, colon 29);³⁰⁷
- r. Simon and his gang refuse to answer the question (cola 28-29);
- s. Simon and his gang let the boy go (colon 30);
- t. Simon and his gang start beating the speaker (colon 31).

However, not all of these events have the same kind of relevance to the development of the plot:

- The main characters in the whole speech are the speaker and Simon and his gang. The boy has a slightly less prominent (and qualitatively different) status. These characters are consistently the ones who are successively introduced as the main agent of a particular segment.
- Events in which other agents perform the action, are typically backgrounded (thus e.g. actions h, i, and j in the above enumeration). Likewise, in the events b to l, in which Simon and his gang are the main agent, events d, e and f present actions by the boy, which are accordingly backgrounded.
- The overall main point of the narratio is to show that there has been a long history of repeated violence on the part of Simon and his gang. Accordingly, we can expect those events which specifically involve such violence to be more foregrounded and hence rhematic; for instance events c, k, and t.

- (2) As far as the overall structure of this excerpt is concerned, some of the now familiar criteria can be put to work:

criterion 1: particles

According to this criterion, the excerpt can be cut up into the following segments, if we take δέ as the main cue (and ...μέν...δέ as a cue for a lower level articulation):

- μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ... (cola 1-9): the scope of δέ in colon 1 is not immediately obvious, and may even be argued to extend over the whole excerpt;³⁰⁸ furthermore, if we take into

³⁰⁷ Here the spatio-temporal iconicity principle is obviously violated: the asking is introduced after the answering.

³⁰⁸ In that case the scope would probably even reach beyond §17, i.e. including the description of the fight in §18. Note that the description of the aftermath of this fight in §19 contains the expression μετὰ

account the corresponsive use of δέ in colon 4 (answering μέν in colon 2), we can cut up this segment into 3 parts:

- μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ... (colon 1);
- τὸ μὲν μειράκιον ... (cola 2-3);
- οὗτοι δὲ ... cola 4-9;
- συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ... (cola 10-17): again, the occurrence of μέν... δέ... allows for a further segmentation:
 - συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ... (cola 10-12);
 - τῶν μὲν λεγομένων ... (cola 13-14);
 - Μόλωνα δὲ ... (cola 15-17);
- ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὖσι παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν ... (cola 18-21)
- δεινὸν δὲ ἠγησάμενος εἶναι καὶ αἰσχρὸν ... (cola 22-25)
- οὗτοι δὲ ... (cola 26-31): again, the occurrence of μέν... δέ... allows for a further segmentation:
 - οὗτοι δὲ ... (colon 26);
 - δι' ὅ τι μὲν ... (cola 27-29);
 - ἀφέμενοι δὲ ... (cola 30-31).

critterion 2: main agents/Topics/subjects

The second criterion yields a somewhat different segmentation:

- τὸ μὲν μειράκιον (cola 2-3);
- οὗτοι δὲ (cola 4-17/18);
- ἐγὼ (cola 18/19-25);
- οὗτοι δὲ (cola 26-31).

One of the main agent-switches coincides with a switch in the verb tenses: the events in which the speaker is the main agent, as far the finite verbs are concerned (ἐντυχάνω, ἐπιλαμβάνομαι), are narrated in the historical present, whereas the other events are presented by means of past tenses.

Note that, in fact, the excerpt twice presents actions that are performed by agents which are not the main current Topic; these actions occur in grammatically subordinated participle clauses; note that the use of participia coniuncta and (especially) the genitivus absolutus constructions has the specific effect of not de-activating the current Topic/agent:

- cola 7-9: the boy: participia coniuncta in agreement with the (unfocused) object αὐτὸν, after which another subordinated agent is introduced (the crowd) but the main current Topic/agent οὗτοι remains active (see here below);
- cola 10-12 (or even 10-13): the crowd of bystanders (ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν): genitivi absoluti, after which the previously current Topic/subject/agent (οὗτοι δὲ in colon 4) apparently is active enough for the following finite verb (ἐφρόντιζον in colon 14) to occur without any reactivation of the subject.

Also note that the exact location of some of the Topic-switches is fuzzy:

- the crowd is clearly the agent in the genitivi absoluti (cola 10-12), but strictly speaking is also still the agent of τῶν μὲν λεγομένων (colon 13), which grammatically already belongs in the finite clause of which the main current Topic οὗτοι is the subject/agent;

ταῦτα, referring back to the fight (including the present excerpt or not). I will not pursue the option of a wider scope any further in what follows, sticking to the contents of the excerpt as such.

- similarly but more seriously, a major agent-switch occurs in colon 19, where the current agent/subject οὔτοι is switched for ἐγώ, the speaker; however, colon 18, grammatically dependent on ἐντυχάνω (colon 21, in which the new subject/agent is already active), still has the previous Topic for an agent (here anaphorically resumed by means of αὐτοῖς).

critterion 3: sentences and main finite clauses

The third criterion is a natural one as well: if we count out the fronted marker colon 1, the scope of which is ambiguous, we can distinguish the following sentences, coinciding with the full stops in editorial punctuation:

- sentence 1 (cola 2-9), consisting of 2 correlative main clauses:
 - cola 2-3: τὸ μὲν μειράκιον ... κατέφυγεν;
 - cola 4-9: οὔτοι δὲ ... ἦγον αὐτὸν βία, ... ;
- sentence 2 (cola 10-17), consisting of 3 coordinated fronted participle clauses (cola 10-12) and 2 correlative main clauses; note, however, that οὔτοι δὲ (colon 4) still is the grammatical subject of the finite verbs, which is an argument for not considering cola 10-17 a separate sentence:
 - ... τῶν μὲν λεγομένων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον, (cola 13-14);
 - Μόλωνα δὲ ... καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ... συνέκοψαν. (cola 15-17);
- sentence 3 (cola 18-25), consisting of 2 main finite clauses (connected by δὲ, colon 22) each preceded by a fronted participle clause:
 - cola 18-21: ... ἐγὼ ... ἐντυχάνω;
 - cola 22-25: ... ἐπιλαμβάνομαι αὐτοῦ;
- sentence 4 (cola 26-31), consisting of 2 main finite clauses preceded by a common fronted Topic (colon 26):
 - cola 27-29: ... οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰπεῖν ... ;
 - cola 30-31: ... ἔτυπτον ἐμέ.

critterion 4: tenses

Two major tense-switches occur, as far as the finite verbs are concerned, from past to present and back to past, yielding the following segments:

- cola 2-17 (sentences 1 and 2): the finite verbs κατέφυγεν, ἦγον, ἐφρόντιζον and συνέκοψαν are in various past tenses;
- cola 18-25 (sentence 3): the finite verbs ἐντυχάνω and ἐπιλαμβάνομαι are in the present tense;
- cola 26-31 (sentence 4): the finite verbs ἠθέλησαν and ἔτυπτον are in a past tense.

Note that the occurrence of the historical present, which is quite generally believed to signal heightened vividness and speaker-involvement (pace Sicking & Stork 1997), coincides with the appearance of the first-person agent in the front of the scene. As soon as the role of main agent shifts back to the other party, the speaker reverts to past tenses. Similar tense switches occur in other narrative excerpts (see section 2.1(2) below).

It is obvious that these criteria do not all coincide at all times, the most difficult transition points being the following:

- the status of δέ in colon 10, coinciding with the beginning of a new finite clause, but not with a switch between main agents (οὔτοι δὲ in colon 4 remains active as the subject/agent), is not immediately obvious; an additional complication is the fact that

this οὗτοι δὲ occurs in a corresponsive pattern with τὸ μὲν μετράκιον in colon 2: we have seen that ...μὲν...δέ patterns usually have a narrower scope than single δέ transitions,³⁰⁹ whereas the Topic continuity here would suggest that the converse is the case;

- the subject/agent-switch around cola 18-19 does not exactly coincide with the occurrence of δέ: whereas in all the other cases of subject/agent-switches in this excerpt (and most cases in the previously analyzed excerpts) are marked by means of a Topic-switch and the presence of a particle attached to new agent, ἐγὼ here is introduced only in the second colon and without the presence of a particle.

- (3) Some of these difficulties can be more or less convincingly resolved if we take into account a fifth criterion for the segmentation of this narrative sequence, related to what I have called ‘the Relevance Principle’ rather than the strictly textual and language-related features discussed so far: a P-tree can be expected to not only account for the formal features of discourse but also for the distribution of the contents (including ‘real world’ spatio-temporal items) as they show up on and disappear from the scene.

criterion 5: spatio-temporal setting

The events presented in the paragraph do not happen in the same place and can be divided into two episodes, each consisting of a series of events that take place in the same spatio-temporal setting and with the same participants:

- (1) the episode at the fuller’s shop (cola 1/2-17);
- (2) the episode near Lampon’s house (cola 18-31).

The transition between the two episodes implies (i) a change of spatial setting: from the fuller’s shop to some other place (“near Lampon’s house”); (ii) a change in the participants: from the boy+the gang+the crowd+Molon to the boy+the gang+the speaker; (iii) a lapse of time (cf. ἤδη δὲ in colon 18) in which the gang with the boy travelled from the first place to the second, and the speaker happened to get there by another route. The change of spatio-temporal setting is rather abrupt and does not coincide with many other of the criteria. Todd (2007, 321) comments on this: “The [ἤδη] marks what would otherwise be a rather abrupt scene-change, leaving us to infer that Simon and companions would have now finished with Molon, and have moved off dragging Theodotus away with them. This allows the next stage of the story to be told from the speaker’s own perspective, so as to emphasize the reasonableness of his alleged response”.

16.2 P-tree analysis

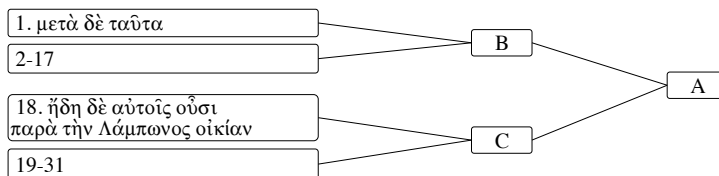
Taking into account the different criteria addressed in the above, I propose the following analysis of the overall structure of the excerpt (as represented in Figure 16.2a):

- **Node A** is a Plot-sequence relation, linking the two episodes (cola 1-17 and cola 18-31) distinguished according to criterion 5; the sequence is marked by the particle δέ in colon 18.
- Both episodes are introduced by a colon in which the transition from one episode to another is explicitly marked:

³⁰⁹ Note that the editorial punctuation (full stop after colon 9) suggests that the scope of δέ in colon 4 indeed does not go beyond colon 9.

- **node B** links μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (colon 1) to the series of events constituting the first episode (cola 2-17); one might analyze this relation as a Setting-Event relation (parallel to node C), but the lack of substantial content of colon 1 suggests a simple Marker-Content relation;³¹⁰
- similarly, **node C** can be analyzed as a Setting-Event relation marking the transition to the next episode and linking colon 18 with the series of events in cola 19-31 (but see (2) below).
- The internal structure of each of both episodes is similar and marked by switches from one agent/Topic to another one (see criterion 2 here above).

Figure 16.2a: P-tree of Lysias 3,15-17 (overall structure)



(1) Episode 1: cola 1-17 (node B)

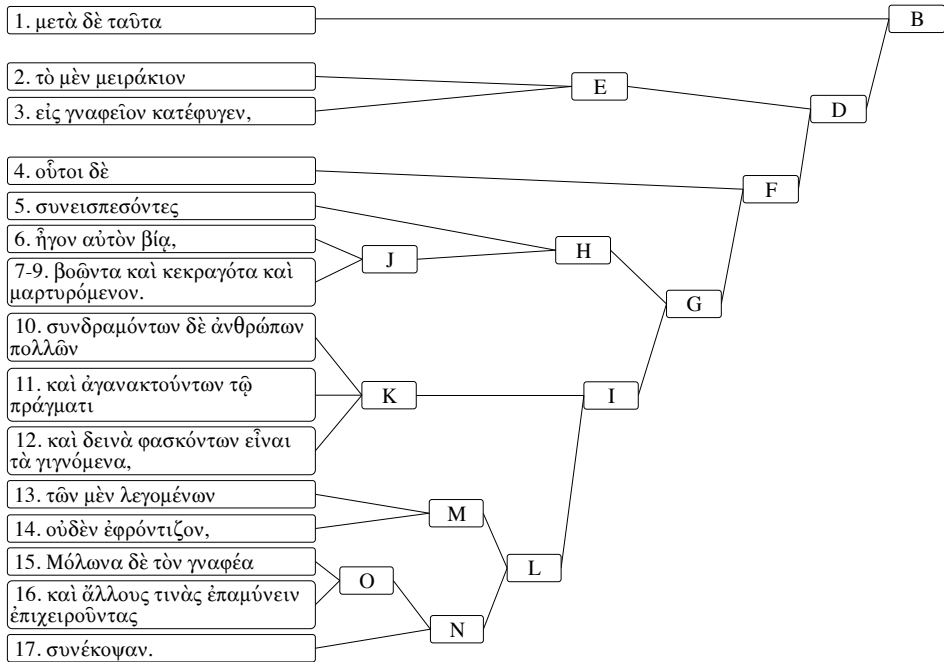
Under the Marker-Content relation node B, coinciding with the first episode identified in the above, the most important element is the Topic/agent-switch between the boy and Simon and his gang. In terms of a P-tree analysis, these switches yield the following patterns, determining the overall structure of the episode (Figure 16.2b):

- **Node D** is the contrast relation between the action of the boy (“seeking refuge at the fuller’s shop”) and the actions undertaken by the gang (basically “bursting in and beating everybody up”). This relation is marked by μέν in colon 2 and δέ in colon 4. Note that, although strictly speaking the ‘seeking refuge’ and the ‘bursting in (etc.)’ imply a (slight) chronological succession, the notion of co-presence which is typically implied in such a contrast relation is applicable: both agents are evidently co-present on the scene, and their respective actions are immediately linked within an action-reaction pattern.³¹¹
- **Node E** and **node F** are obvious Topic-Comment patterns, each linking one of the antagonistic agents with their respective actions. Node F has been construed so that colon 4 has scope over cola 5-17, in order to account for the Topic/agent/subject-continuity as analyzed under criterion 2 above.

³¹⁰ A wider scope for μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα may still be argued for (see my note to ‘criterion 2’ in the preliminary analyses here above), but the fact that colon 18 again marks a transition between two scenes (as does μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) looks like a good argument for treating colon 1 and colon 18 in a similar way.

³¹¹ Cf. also what has been said about the semantics of συνεισπεσόντες in section 11.2(1b).

Figure 16.2b: P-tree of Lysias 3,15-17 (first episode)



The internal structure of cola 5-17 is somewhat more intricate, as has been made clear in the discussion of the different criteria above.

Let us first identify a few obvious plot sequences, which determine the structure of the excerpt as a narrative. Thus, **node G** is an obvious Plot-sequence relation, linking two consecutive sets of actions by the gang: ‘bursting in and dragging the boy along’ (cola 5-9) and ‘not caring about the protesting bystanders and beating them up’ (cola 10-17); node G is marked by the particle *δέ* in colon 10. Under node G, **node H** is a Plot-sequence of a very typical shape, linking ‘bursting in’ (colon 5) and ‘dragging the boy along’ (colon 6-9). The events presented in cola 7-9 (the boy’s shouting, crying and calling for witnesses)³¹² have an important function in the context of the development of narrated contents. One might argue that because of these events the bystanders gather around. However, this is not how the speaker presents these events: note that these verbs (i) are participia coniuncta in agreement with a grammatically non-prominent object of the main finite verb, (ii) occur to the right of the finite verb and (iii) are in the present or perfect, whereas for events that have the status of a separate step in a narrative sequence one would expect aoristi preceding the finite verb. Accordingly, **node J** is best analyzed as a subordinating relation, giving cola 7-9 the status of a descriptive afterthought/elaboration.

The structure of cola 10-17, under node I, can be analyzed as follows:

- **Node K** is a symmetrical relation linking the three genitivi absoluti in cola 10-12 (συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν καὶ ἀγανακτούντων τῷ πράγματι καὶ δεινὰ

³¹² The internal relation between these three cola is not of the plot-sequence type (no succession between the three actions is implied), but is the mere coordination of quasi-synonymical descriptions of the same behavior (cf. node K).

- φασκόντων εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα) and is marked by καί in colon 11 and colon 12, and as such is best analyzed as coordinated descriptions of the same general behavior.³¹³
- **Node I** coincides with the grammatical relation between the three coordinated genitivi absoluti on the one hand and the two coordinated main finite clauses in cola 13-17 on the other. Two different analyses of this relation are possible: (i) a Setting-Event relation, in which case the attitude of the bystanders is interpreted as the circumstances in which the actions by the gang are situated; (ii) a Plot-sequence, which may be argued for because the bystanders' gathering around (aoristus) while protesting can be seen as an essential step in the narrative development (the fact that a genitivus absolutus is used rather than e.g. a main finite clause can be interpreted as a device allowing for topic-continuity).
 - **Node L** is a contrast relation marked by ...μέν...δέ: no temporal succession between 'not caring' and 'beating up' is implied; both members of the contrast together constitute a description of the same conduct, as is often the case with negative-positive contrasts.
 - **Node M** and **node N** are both Topic-Comment relations, dominated by the contrast node L. However, colon 13 'the things that were being said' and cola 15-16 'Molon and some others' are obviously not contrasted Topics (there is not even a set-relation between them). The contrast is in the Comments, or rather between both Topic+Comment patterns as a whole.
 - **Node O** is obviously a list relation, linking both victims of the gang ('Molon' and 'some others').³¹⁴

(2) *Episode 2: cola 18-31 (node C)*

I have pointed out in the preliminary discussion above that there are some major difficulties with the syntax and the use of the particle δέ in this stretch of discourse on the one hand and with the Topic-switches in colon 19 and 26 and the Setting-switch in colon 18 on the other. I will first give an analysis that accounts more or less satisfactorily for the Topic-continuity and Setting-switch, and then come back to problems this analysis causes with respect to the linguistic form. Referring to the P-tree in Figure 16.2c, I propose the following analysis for the events presented under the right branch of node C.

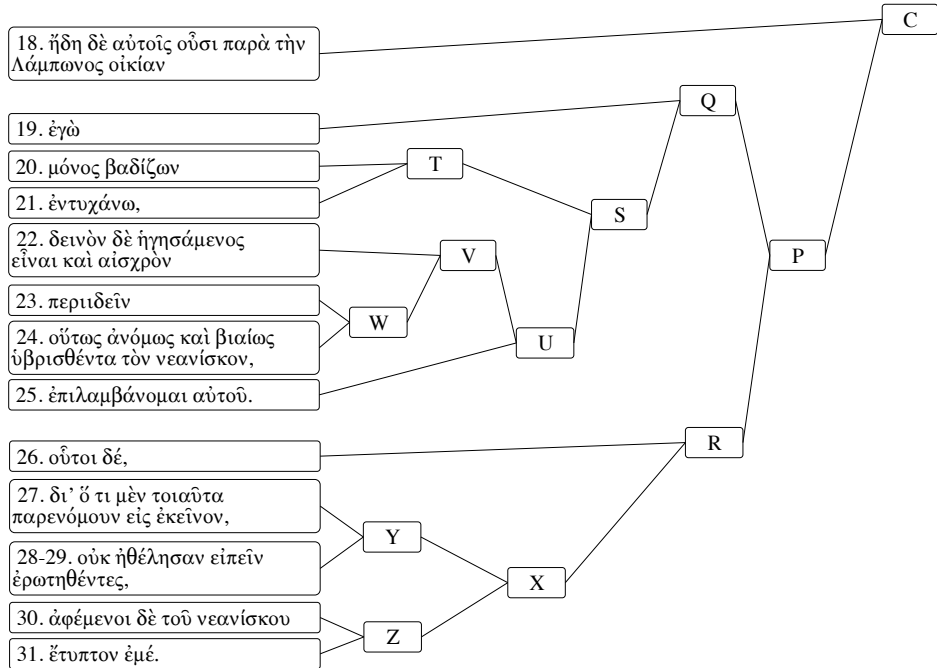
Node C has been analyzed as a Setting-Event relation marking the transition from the episode at the fuller's to the episode near Lampon's house. Assuming that the function of colon 18 is to indicate the setting in which the ensuing events take place, we have to assign it

³¹³ Still, whereas 'protesting' (colon 11) and 'saying it is awful' (colon 12) are obviously coordinated descriptions of the same general behavior, there could be a chronological succession between the 'gathering around' (colon 10) and the next two actions. Also note the fact that the first action is presented in the aoristus tense, and the next two in the present tense. These features might be arguments for assigning additional structure to what is here analyzed as a single ternary symmetrical node. The aoristus can be interpreted as we did for similar cases elsewhere, i.e. as a separate step in the main line of the plot; the present tense of the other actions may be interpreted as 'descriptive' of the behavior of those gathering around (see also section 21.1(3) below).

³¹⁴ An alternative segmentation of colon 16 according to which ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας is not taken attributively with ἄλλους τινάς, but as an autonomous participle in agreement with both Μόλωνα and ἄλλους τινάς, is possible; in that case, the participle might be analysed as a setting for συνέκομαν.

a scope extending from colon 19 to colon 31, at least (i.e. if we do not read beyond the present excerpt).³¹⁵

Figure 16.2c: P-tree of *Lysias 3,15-17* (second episode)



The idea that the agent-switch between the speaker (colon 19) and “them” (colon 26) is what determines the overall structure of this stretch of discourse yields the following P-tree pattern:

- **Node P** is a plot-sequence, linking the events with the speaker as a main agent in cola 19-25 (‘encountering the gang’, ‘grabbing the boy’) and the reactions of the gang in cola 26-31 (‘not wanting to answer’, ‘letting the boy go’, ‘beating the speaker’).
- **Node Q** and **node R** are Topic-Comment nodes, marking the agent-switches between the gang and the speaker (in colon 19), and between the speaker and the gang (in colon 26).

The internal structure of the first part, under node Q, can be analyzed as follows:

- **Node S** is again a Plot-sequence, marked by the particle *δέ* in colon 22 and linking two events in which the speaker is the main agent: ‘encountering the gang’ (cola 20-21) and ‘grabbing the boy’ (cola 22-25).
- **Node T** could be analyzed as a Setting-Event relation, colon 20 presenting the general circumstance ‘the speaker was walking alone’ (note the present tense participle) in which the encounter took place.³¹⁶

³¹⁵ Although the fight described in §18 strictly speaking still happens ‘near Lampon’s house’, the description has a climactic function within the narrative structure and should therefore probably be viewed as a separate episode (cf. also the particle and the vocative at the beginning of §18 *μάχης δὲ γενομένης, ὦ βουλή, ...*).

- **Node U** is again a Setting-Event relation, presenting the motive ('thinking it would be a shame not to intervene', cola 22-24) for the speaker's action ('grabbing the boy', colon 25). The internal structure of **cola 22-24** could be analyzed as follows:
 - colon 22 is an epistemic marker, indicating the attitude of the speaker towards the contents in cola 23-24, or marking these contents as the contents of his thought; **node V** thus represents a rather idiosyncratic type of marker-content relation ('reporting-reported');
 - the relation between colon 23 'stand by and watch' and colon 24 'while the boy was treated so badly' (**node W**) can be analyzed as a contrast relation, the only objection being that the two cola are syntactically not symmetric.

Cola 26-31, under node R, shows the following, rather straightforward, structural patterns:

- **Node X** is a contrast relation marked by ...μέν...δέ, again of the negative-positive type. The 'co-presence' aspect inherent to contrasts is evident: these are not two successive actions in the plot: both contrasted members together describe the behavior of the gang ('not wanting to answer' - 'letting the boy go and beating me').
- **Node Y** links the fronted complement clause 'why they behaved so lawlessly towards the boy' and the event in which this question plays a role ('not wanting to answer'). One might want to interpret this -somewhat awkward- construction as a question-answer pattern, but this does not fit in with the fact that the syntactically indirect question occurs immediately after the Topic/agent-switch towards οἱτοί, whereas the question would obviously be asked by someone else (plausibly the speaker). Therefore, it seems more natural to analyze the fronted subordinate clause as a Topic (as in my translation "as for the reasons why ..."). **Colon 29** (ἐρωτηθέντες) is again a little awkward and looks like an afterthought in which Lysias/the speaker presents a step in the sequence of events (the question) he had previously forgotten to introduce.³¹⁷
- **Node Z** links two actions by the gang: 'letting the boy go' and 'beating me'. This relation may be seen as a plot sequence, in which case the form is quite regular (participle in the aoristus followed by finite verb). Note, however, the double contrast between the two verbs ('letting go (i.e. stop treating violently)' vs. 'beating') and the two direct objects ('him' vs. 'me'). The co-presence criterion implied by a contrast analysis is again applicable, in that all participants to the events are obviously co-present and both members of the contrast could easily be viewed as describing the same general conduct, rather than two different events.

³¹⁶ Alternatively, a parenthetical status for μόνος βεδίζων may be argued for (which would not change much with respect to its function in the overall structure).

³¹⁷ Note that this way of presenting the events has a dramatical effect (perhaps even conveying the confusion of the events): the speaker grabs the boy and simultaneously asks why they are treating the boy so badly (cf. the demonstrative pronoun ἐκεῖνον in colon 27, reminiscent of direct speech, vs. the anaphoric αὐτοῦ in colon 25). The messy switches between the various agents and the fact that the structure of the narrative does not highlight the chronological order of the events as clearly and neatly as in other narratives reminds us of the jerky camera work that is typical of action scenes in contemporary cinema.

16.3 Final remarks

- (1) The above analysis, though accounting for most of the pragmatically relevant aspects, remains awkward with respect to some aspects of the expected homology between P-tree structure and linguistic form. Thus, colon 18 has been assigned scope over 19-31 (node C), but its syntactic function (dative case) suggests a scope extending no further than colon 21, and the Topic-switch in colon 19 remains formally underdetermined (no particle, etc.); furthermore, the linking of cola 20-21 and cola 22-25 by means of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, with both items under the scope of $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ looks dubious. On the other hand, if $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ is not analyzed as a Topic having scope over cola 20-25, on the same level as $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ in colon 26, the explicit Topic-switch in colon 26 would be unexplainable. Therefore, a flatter structure, which would follow the syntax more closely, would fail to account for the Topic-continuity and Topic-switches as well as for the Setting-switch.

The pragmatic requirements and the linguistic form (syntax, particles) may be reconciled by means of what I have called the notion of **syntactic sandhi** (see section 13.1.4 above). As compared with the pragmatic structure of the excerpt as indicated in my analysis, the syntactic structure has a narrower scope. The planning of the syntactic structure does not look far enough ahead to make it coincide with the pragmatic structure, so that elements that have a more global scope are integrated into syntactic constructions with a narrower scope:

- Whereas -from a pragmatic point of view- the Setting in colon 18 ('near Lampon's house') remains the Setting for the whole of cola 19-31, the planning of the syntactic structure did not go beyond colon 21 and the Setting was syntactically integrated into the sentence constituted by cola 18-21 (the dative case of colon 18 no longer has a syntactic function after this).
 - From colon 22 onwards a new syntactic unit was produced (coordinated to the previous one by means of the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$), though both the Setting and the Topic remained the same.
 - Another syntactic unit was initiated at colon 26, with a Topic-switch marked by the particle $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, though the same Setting was still active.
- (2) The above analysis also illustrates a remarkably wide array of different patterns structuring the narrative:³¹⁸
- The excerpt illustrates two competing ways to ensure narrative continuity (and discontinuity): (i) keeping the agents constant (and marking agent-switches) and follow them as they move from setting to setting; (ii) keeping the settings constant (and marking setting-switches) and present successive agents in this setting.
 - It also illustrates a number of ways in which the actions performed by the various agents can be situated with respect to the overall development of the plot, in terms of the pragmatic functions of these actions/events (events under plot-nodes vs. setting-event-patterns vs. descriptive elaborations) and in terms of the shapes the VPs conveying these actions take (participles vs. finite verbs; verbal aspect and tense). For a more systematic account of the issues concerning the various formal shapes of the VPs in this section, I refer to section 21.1 below.

³¹⁸ This remarkable variety in structural patterns can probably be explained by the highly dramatical presentation of the events and makes this excerpt an excellent 'case' for the present purposes.

17. Reported conversation in a narrative (Lysias 1,15-17)

In §§15-17 of the speech *On the murder of Eratosthenes* (cf. section 14 for the wider context) a crucial episode in Euphiletus' story is narrated: how he first came to know that Eratosthenes was having an affair with his wife. The principal character here is an old woman who comes up to Euphiletus in the street. For practical reasons I have divided the scene into three parts, coinciding with the division into paragraphs of the standard editions:

- §15 introduces the episode, situating it chronologically with respect to the previous events and introducing the main character;
- §16 relates in *oratio recta* what the old woman is supposed to have said;
- §17 relates the effect of this new information on Euphiletus.

The segmentation of the excerpt into three paragraphs is formally marked by the presence of different kinds of linking devices:

- §15: the whole excerpt starts with *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες*, ... the prepositional phrase being a typical discourse marker (through the anaphoric demonstrative), and the vocative, occurring -typically- on a major structural boundary (see section 14.5 above);
- §16: starts with *προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι ... ἡ ἄνθρωπος*, the resumptive participle and the definite article ἡ linking back to *προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβύτις ἄνθρωπος* in §15, and the particle οὖν marking the fact that the speaker takes up the main line of his story after a digression in §15;
- §17: starts with *ταῦτα εἰποῦσα, ὦ ἄνδρες*, ... , another resumptive participle (as at the beginning of §16) with an anaphoric demonstrative (as in §15), linking back to the *oratio recta* introduced by *ἔφη* (twice) in §16;
- §18 begins with *ἔλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε*, which marks the fact that the rather static episode with the old woman is finished and a more eventful sequence of actions sets in.

Note that this structure more or less closely reminds us of the canonical structure of any narration (cf. section 13.3.5), consisting of an introduction (§15), a main body or narration (§16), and a coda or conclusion (§17).³¹⁹ The excerpt is, however, not strictly narrative, i.e. not structured around a series of successive events constituting a plot.

17.1 Lysias 1,15

1	<i>Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,</i>	After this,
2	<i>ὦ ἄνδρες,</i>	Gentlemen,
3	<i>χρόνου μεταξὺ διαγενομένου</i>	some time passed in between,
4	<i>καὶ ἐμοῦ πολὺ ἀπολελειμμένου τῶν</i>	and I was left quite unaware of the bad things that
	<i>ἐμαυτοῦ κακῶν,</i>	were happening to me,
5	<i>προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβύτις</i>	when an old creature comes up to me,

³¹⁹ Paragraph 17 might alternatively be analyzed as the beginning of the next episode. This analysis would fit in nicely with the presence of a vocative at the beginning of a new episode, and the absence of such an emphatic marker at the beginning of §18. Still, as will be shown in the commentary, many aspects of both content and form of §17 have a very close connection to the two previous paragraphs, so that it seemed appropriate to analyze them together. Also note the fact that the spatio-temporal setting changes in §18 (including the fact that the main character apart from Euphiletus is no longer the old woman but the maid). See also 14.2(2).

	ἄνθρωπος,	
6	ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ὑποπεμφθεῖσα	she was secretly sent by a woman
7	ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐμοίχευεν,	he was having an affair with,
8	ὡς ἐγὼ ὕστερον ἤκουον·	as I heard later on.
9	αὕτη δὲ	But that woman,
10	ὀργιζομένη	she was angry
11	καὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζουσα,	and felt she was wronged
12	ὅτι οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἐφοῖτα παρ' αὐτήν,	because he wasn't visiting her regularly anymore like before.
13	ἐφύλαττεν	So she was keeping an eye on him
14	ἕως ἐζηῦρεν	until she found out
15	ὅ τι εἶη τὸ αἴτιον.	what was the reason.

This is the 'introductory paragraph' of the entire excerpt Lysias 1,15-17, in which the circumstances in which the scene with the old woman informing Euphiletus about his wife's lover took place. The paragraph can be divided into three parts:

- cola 1-4: consisting of fronted material, linking back to the previous context;
- cola 5-8: a first finite clause, in which the old woman is introduced, as well as then one who sent her;
- cola 9-15: a second finite clause, coordinated to the first one, consisting of a digression on the woman who sent the old woman's and her relationship to the lover of Euphiletus' wife.

The paragraph starts off by linking back and situating the scene with respect to the previous events (cola 1-4). Note the position of the **vocative** (colon 2) at the start of this episode, indicating that this is a major break indeed and helping to delimit the episode as a whole. In the P-tree analysis, I have analyzed the marker Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα as having scope over the whole paragraph (**node A**); it could even be argued that the scope of this marker extends to the whole excerpt including paragraphs 15, 16 and 17 and beyond. Likewise, the absolute participles constituting cola 3 and 4, simply coordinated by καί (**node C**), plausibly have scope over the whole paragraph (**node B**).³²⁰

After the linking back in cola 1-4, the old woman, the main character of the entire scene, is introduced in colon 5, as well as the woman that sent her (cola 6-8). The unity of cola 5-8 is evidenced by the grammar in that it contains only one finite verb, with a participle (participium coniunctum), including a relative clause and a parenthetical comparative clause, attached to it.

A major break occurs in colon 9, in which a **digression** (cola 9-15) on this latter woman is started. The break is evidenced by the presence of a single finite verb (colon 13) and the change of grammatical subject (αὕτη colon 9), which has the pragmatic function of a new Topic (as marked by the particle δέ).

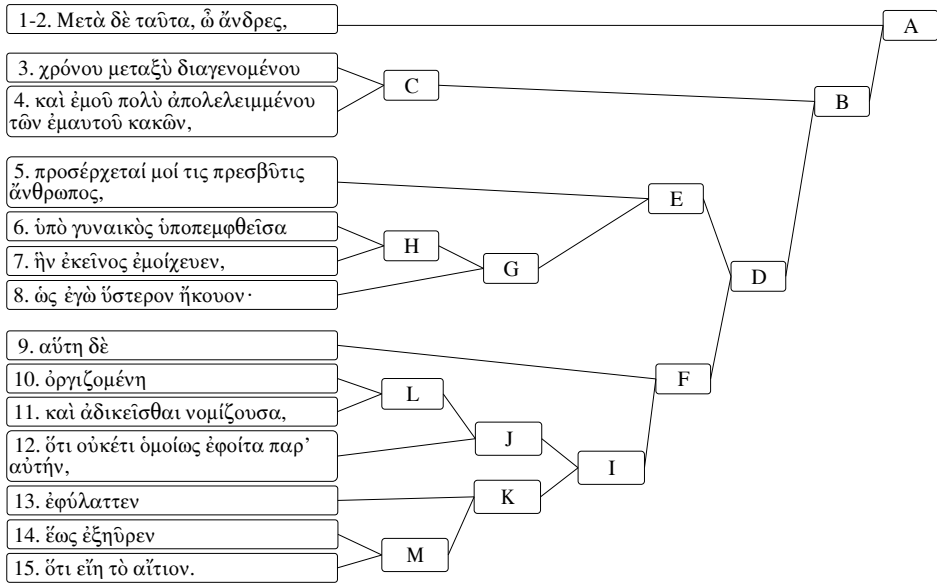
Node D links up the two major parts (content-wise) of this paragraph: the part introducing the old woman (cola 5-8) and the digression on the woman who sent her (cola 9-15).³²¹

³²⁰ As a matter of fact, one could make a good case for a very wide scope, up until §22 καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διεγένοντο ἡμέραι τέτταρες ἢ πέντε. In that case the episode with the old woman and the episode in which Euphiletus interrogates his maid (cf. section 14.2) constitute a whole. I will not pursue this option in what follows, allowing myself to confine the analysis to a single paragraph at a time.

³²¹ The exact relationship between the two women is not clear from what is said in the speech. I will refrain from speculating about the position of old women in Ancient Greek culture, and simply point out that the issue may be food for historical gender-studies.

Under this analysis, node D is of the ‘elaboration’ type, indicating that cola 9-15 are not rhematic but contain contents that are subordinate to the contents of cola 5-8.³²²

Figure 17.1: P-tree of Lysias 1,15



cola 5-8 (node E)

This segment coincides with the syntactic unit of a single finite clause.

Colon 5 already states the main event in this section: the old woman approaches Euphiletus. After this, however, Euphiletus/Lysias, instead of simply telling what happened then, chooses to elaborate on the old woman’s background. **Node E** is accordingly analyzed as an ‘elaboration’ relation, through which the old woman’s identity is further specified by linking her to the woman who sent her. Likewise, **node H** serves to specify the identity of the latter woman by linking her to Eratosthenes (ἐκείνος, colon 7).³²³ Colon 8 then is a stereotyped **afterthought**, which functions as an epistemic marker. It obviously has to be attached to (i.e.

³²² Alternatively, colon 5 could be interpreted as having scope over the rest of the paragraph, cola 6-15 then being an elaboration on the fact that this old woman came up to the speaker. An argument in favor of this analysis is the fact that the old woman coming up to Euphiletus clearly is the main point of the entire paragraph, as is evidenced by the fact that the following paragraph takes up precisely this point: προσελθούσα οὖν μοι, where the particle οὖν can easily be seen as having one of its typical functions which consists in taking up the thread after a digression. In that case, however, an anomaly in the syntax-pragmatics correspondence has to be accepted: both cola 6-8, grammatically subordinated to the main clause in colon 5, and the finite sentence in cola 9-15, grammatically independent of it, would be pragmatically subordinated to colon 5. I have chosen for a more conservative analysis here, following the syntax more closely.

³²³ Nodes E and H together make up a kind of **Elaboration-cascade**. See also section 20.2(2b).

it has -in some sense- scope over) both colon 6 and 7, hence the position of **node G** in the P-tree.³²⁴

A nice detail in the analysis of cola 5-8 is the order in which the different characters are introduced, which rather neatly illustrates the digressive (non-thematizing) structure of the segment: whereas the Thematization Principle predicts that **given** elements occur in segments having scope over, and occurring on the left of, elements that are **new**, in this structure the converse is the case:

- Euphiletus (ἐγὼ, colon 8) is obviously the ‘most given’ character;
- Eratosthenes (ἐκείνος, colon 7) the one most directly related to Euphiletus in the context of the process;
- the woman who sent the old woman’s (γυναικὸς, colon 6) the one most directly related to Eratosthenes;
- finally, the old woman is the most ‘new’ character.

cola 9-15 (node F)

Again, this segment coincides with a finite clause (main verb colon 13), with a few participles and subordinate clauses depending on it.

Node F, a Topic-Comment relation, indicates that αὕτη (colon 9), linking back to the last mentioned female character (the one who sent the old woman to Euphiletus), is the Topic of the whole segment, and has scope over cola 10-16. The Comment part (**node I**) is structured as a Setting-Event pattern, the Theme (‘Setting’) of which (cola 10-12) giving the reasons why she kept a close watch on Eratosthenes.

Node L represents an obviously symmetrical sequence relation, though of a rather loose type, conjoining two more or less equivalent descriptions of the state of mind of the woman.

Node J, relating the conjoined participles “she was angry and felt she was done wrong” (cola 10-11) with the ὅτι-clause “because he didn’t visit her anymore like before”³²⁵ (colon 12) is somewhat more difficult to characterize. Perhaps the most simple analysis is considering it a Topic-Comment relation: in this case, the fact that she was angry (etc.) is taken as a starting point (in itself the reason why she kept a close watch on Eratosthenes and finally contacted Euphiletus), about which it is then said that the reason for this was that he didn’t come around anymore. The Theme-Rheme relations between both segments are, however, not so easy to formulate under this analysis. Alternatively, analyses in terms of subordination may be taken into consideration: in that case the ὅτι-clause can be considered as a subordinated ‘explanation’ for this anger.

Likewise, **nodes K and M** are not easy to characterize pragmatically either, although the ‘bare’ structure in terms of closeness and distance is clear, and parallels the grammatical relations: colon 15 (“what was the cause”) immediately coheres with colon 14 (“until she

³²⁴ Note that in the case of afterthoughts, the scope of a marker in a P-tree analysis has to be expressed in a converse way as compared to regular ‘marker-content’ nodes. This is one of the cases in which the methodological decision to represent subordinating relations as regular P-nodes yields a formally inelegant procedure; see section 13.3.3(3) above.

³²⁵ In principle, the ὅτι-clause could be interpreted grammatically as a complement to ἀδικεῖσθαι, but in that case it is hard to interpret it as belonging to both colon 10 and 11 at once, since the grammatical relation to the verbs in both cola would be different anyhow; even if it could be interpreted as a complement of ὀργιζομένη as well, it would have a different semantic function there (“the contents of her rage”) as compared to its function as a complement of ἀδικεῖσθαι (“the wrong that was done to her”).

found out”) and colon 13 (“she kept a close watch on him”) coheres with the unit consisting of cola 14-15. As for the relation between colon 13 and cola 14-15 (node K), the same alternatives may be taken into consideration as for node J: either a Topic-Comment relation, or a subordinating relation, in which the ἕως-clause is an explanation for her being on the lookout. As for the relation between the complement clause (colon 15) and colon 14 containing the matrix verb to which this complement clause belongs, a similar -and already noted- problem occurs, with the additional possibility of considering colon 14 a mere marker and the complement as the content proper.

17.2 Lysias 1,16

1	προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι	So she came up to me
2	ἐγγύς	near
3	ἢ ἄνθρωπος	- I mean the creature -
4	τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς	near my house
5	ἐπιτηροῦσα,	- she had been on the look-out -
6	"Εὐφίλητε" ἔφη	"Euphiletus", she said,
7	"μηδεμιᾶ πολυπραγμοσύνη	"don't think it's out of meddlesomeness
8	προσεληλυθέναι με νόμιζε πρὸς σέ·	that I have come up to you.
9	ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ	Because the man
10	ὁ ὑβρίζων εἰς σέ καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα	who does wrong to you and your wife
11	ἐχθρὸς ὦν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει.	happens to be our enemy.
12	εἰάν οὖν	So,
13	λάβῃς τὴν θεράπειαν	if you take your servant-girl,
14	τὴν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσαν	the one that goes to the market
15	καὶ διακονοῦσαν ὑμῖν	and waits on you,
16	καὶ βασανίσῃς,	and if you torture her,
17	ἅπαντα πεύσῃ".	you will find out everything".
18	"ἔστι δ'" ἔφη "Ερατοσθένης Ὀῆθεν	"It is ... Eratosthenes of Oë", she said,
19	ὁ ταῦτα πράττων,	"who does all that.
20	ὃς	He's the one
21	οὐ μόνον τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα διέφθαρκεν	who ruined not only your wife
22	ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς·	but plenty of others as well:
23	ταύτην γὰρ [τὴν] τέχνην ἔχει".	He has this trade, you see".

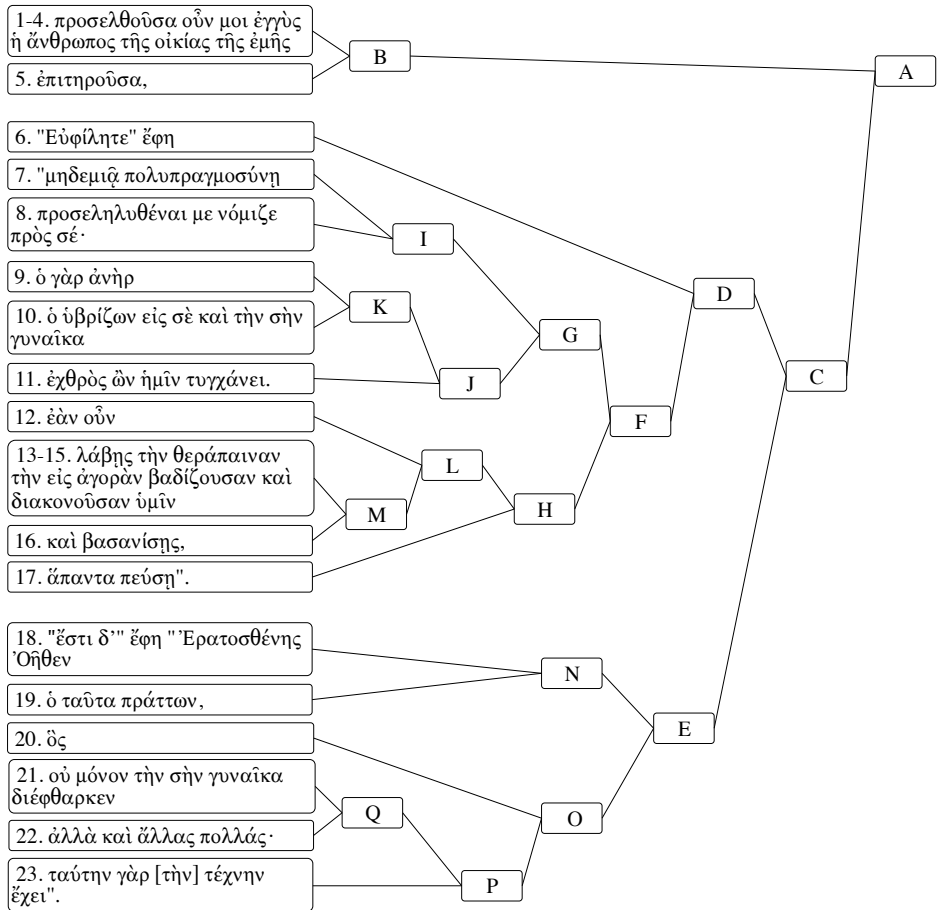
In this paragraph, 3 major segments can be delimited:

- (1) cola 1-5: introduction to the reported speech, linking back to the previous paragraph;³²⁶
- (2) cola 6-17: a first quotation from the reported conversation, introduced by ἔφη;
- (3) cola 18-23: a second quotation from the reported conversation, introduced by a second ἔφη, and connected to (2) by the particle δέ (colon 18).

Segment (1), consisting of cola 1-5, serves as an introduction to the two other segments evoking the setting in which the old woman's speech takes place; this speech is the main content of the whole paragraph. Accordingly, **node A** of the P-tree for this excerpt (see Figure 17.2 here below) can be characterized as a Setting-Event relation .

³²⁶ Note the resumptive particle οὖν, which explicitly links προσελθοῦσα to προσέρχεται in colon 5 of the previous paragraph, thereby de facto marking the rest of the previous paragraph as a digression with respect to the overall development of the plot (cf. section 21.3(2e) below).

Figure 17.2: P-tree of Lysias 1,16



The formal delimitation of segment (2), i.e. cola 6-17 under node D, and segment (3), i.e. cola 18-23 under node E, is made inescapable by the reiteration of ἔφη and the presence of δ' in colon 18. Note that this δ' is probably not to be interpreted as literally part of the reported speech, but is a structural marker with respect to the way the old woman's speech is reported by Eratosthenes. Without the presence of δ' and ἔφη it would be more natural to analyze the vocative Εὐφίλητε (colon 6) as an interpersonal marker having scope over the whole of the old woman's turn. As it stands however, Euphiletus/Lysias seems to present the purported contents of the speech as two separate parts. It is not easy to give a convincing account of the relation holding between the two segments (**node C**):

- what is the exact function of δ' in colon 18?
- what is the pragmatic and/or semantic relation between the contents of the two segments?

The fact that this oratio recta is still *reported* speech, edited, formatted or actually constructed for the purposes of the present monologue, and not a straightforward rendition of what has been said at the reported occasion, is crucial. For instance, the information about

the identity of the old woman and the woman who sent her (mentioned in the previous paragraph) must have occurred some time during the conversation reported here. Likewise, it seems unlikely that all the information reportedly transmitted by the old woman would have been expressed without interventions (questions for information, expressions of surprise, etc.) on the part of Euphiletus; these interventions at least must have been edited out. Thus, Euphiletus' quotations (cf. the two quotation markers ἔφη) of the old woman are at best excerpts of what she actually said or could have said. These considerations may help to motivate the fact that in the context of the present analysis the presence of the quotation markers has been considered as the main criterion for segmenting the text, instead of other factors, internal to the oratio recta, and the function of δ' has been interpreted in terms of Euphiletus' presentation, rather than as belonging to the reported conversation.

(1) *cola 1-5 (node B)*

For the remarkable word order and segmentation of this passage, see section 11.3.2(1) above. As has been explained there, the segmentation into 4 cola (cola 1-4) is largely due to the intrusion of the afterthought ἡ ἄνθρωπος within the grammatical unit ἐγγὺς τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς.

In any case, the two participles προσελθοῦσα μοι and ἐπιτηροῦσα plausibly constitute two pragmatically separate segments. With the parenthetic colon 3 omitted, 1, 2 and 4 could be either analyzed as two cola (colon 1 and a colon consisting of 2 and 4) held together by an elaboration relation of a quite common type, the elaboration part adding background information about the Setting in which an action takes place, or even as a single colon.³²⁷

Colon 5 can be analyzed as constituting (again) an afterthought-like digression or parenthesis: Euphiletus/Lysias adds this circumstantial information without employing the more deliberate Setting-Event strategy, but just inserts it in between the regular resumptive προσελθοῦσα-clause and the main clauses introduced by ἔφη. As for the circumstantial and background character of colon 5, note the present aspect of ἐπιτηροῦσα in contrast to the aorist aspect of προσελθοῦσα. **Node B** can then be analyzed as being of the elaboration type, connecting backgrounded information (colon 5) to a segment that has an independently established function (cola 1-4).

(2) *cola 6-16 (node D)*

Node D relates the address Εὐφίλητε to the rest of the quotation. After this marker, the segment contains three major sub-segments, both content-wise and as far formal marking is concerned:

- (i) colon 7-8: the old woman does not approach Euphiletus because of her meddlesomeness;³²⁸
- (ii) colon 9-11: a man is doing wrong to Euphiletus and his wife; this man is an enemy of the old woman's party;
- (iii) colon 12-17: if Euphiletus talks to one of his maids, he will know everything.

³²⁷ Dover (1960/1968, 46) makes ἐγγὺς τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς belong with ἐπιτηροῦσα rather than with προσελθοῦσα. This interpretation gives much less weight to the semantic content of ἐπιτηροῦσα, and relatively more to the location of the encounter. Though this interpretation is possible in principle and no decisive arguments against it are readily available, somehow it seems less plausible as compared to the analysis given above.

³²⁸ For a note on the function of the vocative (colon 6) and the fronted negative (colon 7), see section 11.3.2(2b) above.

Each of these sub-segments consists of a finite clause, each closed off by its own main finite verb in its last colon: (i) νόμιζε in colon 8, (ii) τυγχάνει in colon 11, (iii) πέτυχη in colon 16. Segments (ii) and (iii) are furthermore introduced by a connective particle (γάρ in colon 9 and οὖν in colon 12). These formal features warrant the segmentation into 3 sub-segments.³²⁹

As for the pragmatic relations holding between these three segments/sentences, a priori 3 different possibilities can be tried:

- (a) a flat structure, in which segments (i), (ii) and (iii) are daughters of the same (ternary) node;
- (b) a structure in which segments (ii) and (iii) together form a binary node, in its turn entertaining a binary relation to (i);
- (c) a structure in which segments (i) and (ii) together form a binary node, in its turn entertaining a binary relation to (iii).

Let us first review these three possibilities:

- (a) The first possibility immediately poses a problem concerning the type of relation that would hold between the different segments. The symmetrical node-types of the sequence type can immediately be ruled out: the three segments obviously do not present elements of the same ontological type making a similar contribution to the overall discourse structure. This is also reflected into the use of the particles γάρ and οὖν, suggesting different relations, rather than purely connective particles like δέ or καί, allowing for a flat structure of the sequence type. On the other hand, the succession of the three segments under consideration does not immediately remind us of any other recognizable pattern characterized by a ternary relation, at least not of the kinds already introduced.
- (b) The second possibility is at first sight more promising. In this case, segment (i) (“it is not out of meddlesomeness”) is a pre-sequence to the whole segment.³³⁰ The node relating this presequence to the more substantial segments (ii) and (iii) would be a nice example of the Marker-Content type. The fact that (i) does not contain any substantial

³²⁹ Again, it can be noted from the outset that, if this presentation were to be considered as the faithful rendering of an actual conversation, the ordering of the different segments and their contents would be most peculiar. Especially note the fact that the existence of a wrongdoer -supposedly unknown to Euphiletus at the moment the old woman approaches him- is not separately introduced, but simply considered ‘given’ in the old woman’s discourse (as reported): the wrongdoer is first mentioned as the subject/Topic of a sentence of which the main point is that he “happens to be an enemy of ours” (cf. also the definite articles in ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὑβρίζων ..., suggesting the givenness or at least definiteness of this man in the context). Supposing that the old woman -out of pragmatic incompetence or aiming at a very special rhetorical effect- had really started her conversation with Euphiletus in this way, she would most likely have been immediately interrupted by Euphiletus at the very moment she first mentioned the existence of a wrongdoer (“What man? What wrongdoing?”). If, however, this text is considered in the context of Euphiletus exposition, all this looks more natural: obviously, both Euphiletus and his audience already know what wrongdoing is meant and even who the wrongdoer (according to Euphiletus) is; if Eratosthenes had not been beaten to death by Euphiletus and his companions, there would not have been a trial and they would not be there, and Euphiletus would not have been making this speech. Again, these contextual elements should be taken into account when doing the analysis of this segment.

³³⁰ If the old woman started the actual conversation with this pre-sequence, it might have been analyzed as part of the overall structure of the whole conversation. However, as argued above, we should analyze this discourse in terms of Euphiletus’ presentation, rather than as an actual conversation.

contents, and the other two segments do, is the primary motivation for advocating this analysis. However, the relation between segments (ii) (“the man doing you wrong is our enemy”) and segment (iii) (“talk to the maid and you will know”), as well as the functions of γάρ and οὖν introducing them are then not entirely unproblematic:

- Regardless of the use of the particles, the relation between (ii) and (iii) is unclear: one might conjecture that (iii) is an elaboration of the fact that there is a man who is doing Euphiletus wrong, but, as already noted, sentence (ii) is not construed in such a way as if its main point is that there is a man doing wrong, its most rhematic element being the fact that this man is “our enemy”; content-wise (iii) can hardly be interpreted as an elaboration of (ii).
 - The particle οὖν in colon 12 is hardly suited to introduce an elaboration; on the contrary, it is prototypically used to indicate that a digression is closed and the main line of the discourse is taken up again.
 - Likewise, the function of the particle γάρ (generally introducing an explanation of whatever precedes) in colon 9 is hard to interpret: if (iii) is an elaboration of (ii), γάρ would be expected to have scope over both (ii) and (iii), but this interpretation is in conflict with the syntax, because ὁ γάρ ἀνήρ cannot easily be analyzed so as to have scope over (iii) which has a different grammatical subject.
- (c) The third possibility seems to be right one in that it allows for a satisfactory analysis of both the formal features of the text (syntax, particles) and the pragmatic functions of the segments.³³¹

According to possibility (c), pursued here, cola 7-11 are taken together as a presequence to cola 12-17. Accordingly, **node F** is analyzed as a Marker-Content relation. The presequence cola 7-11, as it functions in the present context (i.e. Euphiletus’ account of the conversation, see above), does not present any substantial information: its only function is that the old woman tries to explain to Euphiletus why she approaches him in the street.

The internal structure of this presequence is dominated by a negative-positive contrast-node (**node G**), opposing the expected (but wrong) explanation of why an old woman would approach someone on the street (“meddlesomeness”) to the right explanation (“the man doing you wrong is our enemy”). The Thematization Principle is now observed: the fact that he is “our enemy” is the main point (Rheme), i.e. it is the most relevant information as an explanation of why she comes up to him. The particle γάρ has its usual function: it introduces an explanation as to why she approached him, given the fact that it is not out of meddlesomeness.³³² The details of the internal structure of this presequence can now be accounted for as well:

- (i) The internal structure of segment (i) (cola 7-8), structured by means of **node I**, is not a Theme-Rheme relation: the fact that the old woman has come up to Euphiletus is obviously given and is the topic of the whole presequence, in the sense that this is what the whole presequence is about. The inversion of Topic and Comment into a Comment-Topic pattern with the Topic added as a kind of afterthought can be explained by the

³³¹ Note that this analysis corresponds with editorial punctuation as well.

³³² This interpretation of the function of γάρ is not incompatible with our analysis of node G as a contrast node. It is obviously not claimed that γάρ ‘expresses’ (or even ‘marks’) the contrast, only that the usual ‘explanatory’ function of the particle is in this context entirely compatible with the contrast analysis.

fronting of the Comment because it is contrasted: the most important thing to be said first is “it’s not out of meddlesomeness” and the addition of the ‘what is not out of meddlesomeness’ is added afterwards because the Comment alone might be difficult to understand and is grammatically incomplete.³³³

- (ii) As for segment (ii) (cola 6-8), **node J** is obviously a Topic-Comment node, relating the Topic “the man who is doing you wrong” and the Comment that “he is our enemy” (on the Theme-Rheme relation holding between them, see here above). The segmentation of cola 6 and 7 (**node K**) has been carried through because of the formal criterion that cola 7 consists of an articulated participial clause; however, this case is parallel to a restrictive relative clause which has been observed to often constitute a single IU with its antecedent as well; plausibly, both segments are better analyzed as constituting a single colon.

Segment (iii), i.e. cola 12-17, has been analyzed as constituting the main content of cola 6-17, cola 7-11 being only a presequence (**node F**). Thus, the main point Euphiletus/Lysias wanted to make in this segment is the introduction of the maid through which he came to know everything. In the paragraphs that follow the excerpt analyzed here, Euphiletus’ interrogation of the maid is indeed the next step in the narration and this maid will continue to play an important role in the story. These contextual factors make it quite understandable why the introduction of the maid is one of two elements that Euphiletus/Lysias chooses to retain from the scene with the old woman, which would be less understandable if one interpreted the present excerpt as faithful rendition of what the old woman actually said. Note that the particle οὐδὲν can now be interpreted as having its most basic function: it indicates that, after the pre-sequence cola 7-11, a more relevant point (content-wise) is about to be made. The internal structure of segment (iii) is rather straightforward:

- **Node H** connects the hypothetical protasis (“grab the maid and interrogate her”) and its corresponding apodosis (“you will know everything”).
- **Node L** is a marker-content node, linking the hypothesis marker ἐὰν οὐδὲν to its contents in cola 13-16.
- **Node M** connects the two successive actions “grabbing” and “interrogating” by means of a ‘plot’ relation.
- The internal structure of cola 13-15 (taken together for purely practical reasons) is determined by a relation between colon 13 (“you grab the maid”) and cola 14-15, an elaboration disambiguating the notion of ‘maid’ (Euphiletus has indeed more than one servant). Colon 14 and colon 15 are two characterizations having the parallel function to identify the right maid (“going to the market place” and “waiting on the family”), connected by a ‘chain’ relation.

(3) *cola 18-23 (node E)*

Euphiletus’ account of his conversation with the old woman is structured (**node C**) so as to be constituted by two separate stretches of oratio recta, coordinated by the particle δέ (colon 18) and both introduced by ἔφη. Cola 18-23 constitute the second quotation, coinciding with the second point Euphiletus/Lysias chooses to retain from the conversation: that the old woman told him the identity of the wrongdoer, i.e. that it was Eratosthenes who did it.

³³³ Cf. section 13.3.2(2b) above.

This second quotation is highly digressive in that the main point is already made in the first two cola. The fact that the remaining part (cola 20-23) is a digression reflects into the syntax of the segment: the first two cola coincide with a main finite clause, to which a relative clause is then attached (20-22); colon 23 is again a main clause (“this is his trade”), the digressive character of which is marked by the particle γάρ, indicating that this a further elaboration of the fact that Eratosthenes has affairs with many women. Accordingly, **node E** is analyzed as an elaboration relation, making 20-23 a digression on 18-19. The internal structure of both parts can be analyzed as follows:

- (i) Cola 18-19 are structured according to a Comment-Topic pattern (**node N**), the Topic ὁ ταῦτα πράττων being added as an afterthought when the main point (“it is Eratosthenes”) has already been made (cf. e.g. node I above).³³⁴
- (ii) The internal structure of cola 20-23 is dominated by the Topic-Comment relation between ὅς (colon 20), referring back to Eratosthenes in colon 18, and the Comment made in cola 21-23 (**node O**). Though the colon-autonomy of the relative pronoun is hardly ever rendered by editorial punctuation practice, it is quite regular and is here warranted by the fact that a parallel structure follows. **Node Q** represents an obvious contrast relation of the stereotyped negative-positive type (οὐ μόνον - ἀλλὰ καὶ). **Node P** represents the fact that colon 23 is a mere Elaboration on the Comment in cola 21-22, again marked by γάρ.

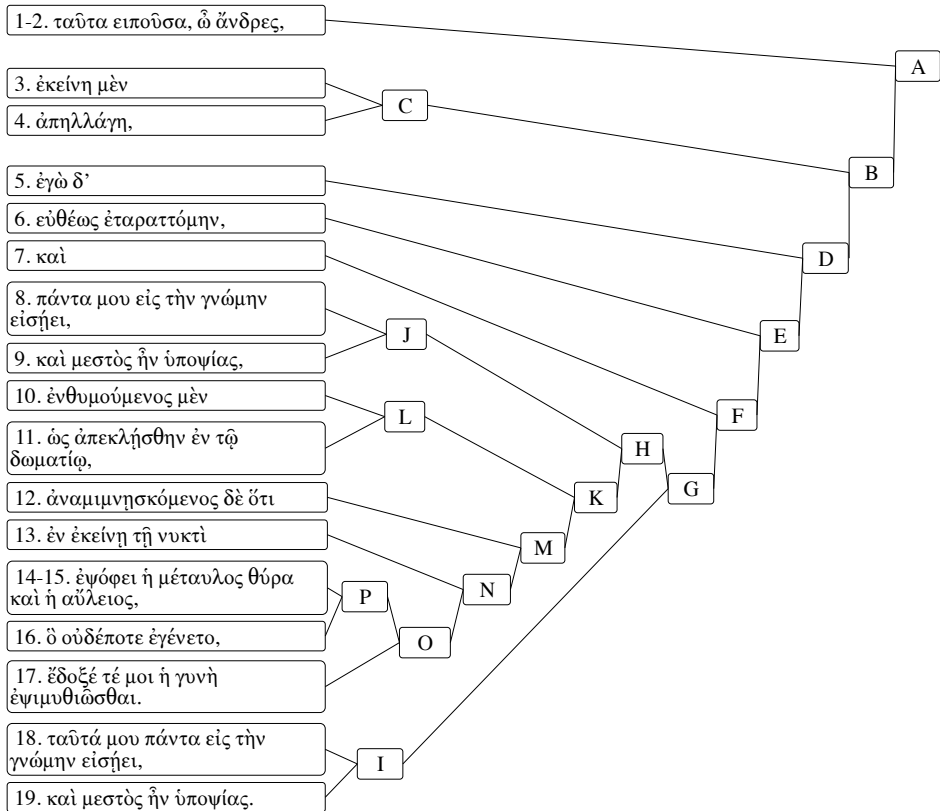
17.3 Lysias 1,17

1	ταῦτα εἰπούσα,	That's what she said,
2	ὦ ἄνδρες,	Gentlemen,
3	ἐκείνη μὲν	and the woman
4	ἀπηλλάγη,	she took herself off
5	ἐγὼ δ'	and I
6	εὐθέως ἐταραττόμην,	I was suddenly worried
7	καὶ	and
8	πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει,	everything came into my mind
9	καὶ μεστός ἦν ὑποψίας,	and I was full of suspicion.
10	ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν	I thought of
11	ὡς ἀπεκλήσθην ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ,	how I had been locked up in my room.
12	ἀναμνησκόμενος δὲ ὅτι	And I remembered that
13	ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ	on that night
14	ἐνόφει ἡ μέταυλος θύρα	the inner door had made a noise,
15	καὶ ἡ αὐλειος,	and the outer one,
16	ὃ οὐδέποτε ἐγένετο,	which had never happened,
17	ἔδοξε τέ μοι ἡ γυνὴ ἐπιμυθισθῆναι.	and that my wife seemed to have put on powder.
18	ταῦτά μου πάντα εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει,	All that came into my mind,

³³⁴ One might argue for a further segmentation of the Comment part (colon 18) on the basis of the presence of the short parenthesis ἔφη (see section 11.3.2(4a) above). Under this analysis ἔστι could be seen as some kind of illocutionary marker, marking the affirmation of the identity between “the wrongdoer” and “Eratosthenes”. This segmentation and the corresponding analysis are, however, doubtful: it is probably better to analyze “ἔστι δ' Ἐρατοσθένης Ὁῆθεν as a single colon and interpret the position of ἔφη in such a way that it fills the pause that can occur before Ἐρατοσθένης, producing the rhetorical effect of making the addressee wait for the crucial information (‘suspense’).

The beginning of this paragraph is marked by (i) the presence of ὁ ἄνδρες (colon 2), and (ii) the resumptive participle with a resumptive demonstrative ταῦτα εἰποῦσα (colon 1), anaphorically linking back to the stretches of oratio recta introduced by ἔφη in the previous paragraph. Colon 1 can, accordingly, be analyzed as a marker having scope over the ‘content’ of the whole paragraph (**node A**).

Figure 17.3: P-tree of Lysias 1,17



The ‘content’ part of the paragraph (cola 3-19) is structurally dominated by a contrast relation (**node B**), opposing two Topics/agents and their respective Comments/actions:

- (1) cola 3-4, about the old woman (**node C**);
- (2) cola 5-19, about the speaker Euphiletus (**node D**).

The contrast relation, though formally obvious (cf. the particles μὲν and δὲ, and the opposed personal pronouns in cola 3 and 5 respectively), is somewhat asymmetrical as far as the weight of its branches is concerned:³³⁵

- the left branch segment of the contrast (cola 3-4) is obviously much shorter than the right branch segment (cola 5-18);

³³⁵ This is one of the very many instances in which it can be observed that it is a peculiarity of Greek style to employ the contrasted topics/agents strategy much more extensively than is customary in the modern languages.

- furthermore, cola 3-4 (node C) in a way serves to mark the closure of the previous scene (ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπηλλάγη corresponds to προσέρχεταιί μοί τις πρεσβύτες ἄνθρωπος in §15 and to προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι in §16), whereas cola 5-18 contains the really ‘new’ content.³³⁶

As for the left branch of node B (cola 5-19), the analysis of the internal structure will have to be somewhat elaborate. Several alternative analyses are available:

- (1) One might read colon 6 (εὐθέως ἔταραττόμην), cola 7-8 (καὶ πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει) and colon 8 (καὶ μεστὸς ἦν ὑποψίας) as coordinated on the same level and constituting together the Comment on colon 5 (ἐγὼ). This analysis is in se quite plausible (the fact that ἐγὼ is not the grammatical subject of colon 8 is not an insuperable problem), and if one reads the text linearly up until colon 8, it is even the most plausible one. However, under this analysis the cyclical structure of cola 8-19, with cola 18-19 as an almost exact echo of cola 8-9, becomes less neat. Furthermore, the contrast between 3-4 and its counterpart looks very unbalanced.
- (2) If one chooses to make the **cyclus**³³⁷ 8-19 stand apart from cola 5-6, καὶ (colon 7) has scope over cola 8-19 and is best represented as a separate colon. Within this option (which I shall pursue here), several alternatives are possible: **(2a)** καὶ may connect cola 8-19 at the same level as the contrast node linking cola 3-4 and cola 5-6, which would imply a node above what I called node B (option not pursued in the above); **(2b)** the segment can be attached at the same level as the contrast Topic-Comment node linking cola 5 and 6; **(2c)** cola 8-19 can be attached at the same level as the Comment colon 6, so that ἐγὼ has scope over the whole segment. It is hard to formulate decisive arguments for or against any of these options. I will henceforward pursue option (2c).

Under the analysis pursued here, **node D** dominates the left branch (cola 5-19) of the contrast node B and is of the Topic-Comment type, just like its counterpart node C. The Topic ἐγὼ δ’ (colon 5) has scope over cola 6-19, which is also reflected in the syntax in that ἐγὼ is also the grammatical subject of the main finite verbs and the participia coniuncta depending on it, except for the main finite verb of colon 8 (πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσήει) and its echo in colon 18, in which however Euphiletus remains the Topic (note the presence of μου; cf. French, “Moi, mon papa est policier”). **Node F** is unproblematic: it is the Marker-Content node representing the scope of καὶ (colon 7) over the whole cyclical segment cola 8-19. **Node E** is the node that attaches the segment cola 8-19 to colon 6 (εὐθέως ἔταραττόμην).³³⁸

³³⁶ For this use of ... μέν...δέ, see Bakker 1993, 302-305 (cf. also section 21.3(2c) below).

³³⁷ For the notion of ‘cyclus’, see section 20.2(2c) below.

³³⁸ As for the type of relation that **node E** represents, one can doubt between: (i) a ‘plot’ relation (in which case Euphiletus first was worried (εὐθέως ἔταραττόμην), and then remembered everything and was suspicious; (ii) a loose kind of sequence, in which several quasi-tautological descriptions of his state are juxtaposed (cf. node J); (iii) an ‘elaboration’ relation, in which case the fact that he remembered and was full of suspicion is to be interpreted as an elaboration of his being worried. Nothing much hinges on the matter, so I will not pursue it any further.

The internal structure of the Comment part (cola 6-18) is rather interesting. It consists of the following elements:

- (a) 2 coordinated main finite clauses (cola 8-9);
- (b) 2 participle clauses (cola 10-11 and 12-17) connected by the particles *μὲν* (colon 10) and *δὲ* (colon 12);
- (c) 2 coordinated main finite clauses echoing the two finite clauses in (a).

I will discuss the internal structures of these three segments, and then the overall structure into which they fit.

- (a) The two main finite clauses cola 8-9, connected by the particle *καὶ* (colon 9), are in a symmetrical relation to each other (**node J**). The type of sequence is somewhere in between a ‘plot’ type (in which case Euphiletus first was reminded of the things that had happened, and then was full of suspicion) and a mere chain of quasi-tautological descriptions of his state.
- (b) The segment consisting of cola 10-17 is dominated by a contrast node connecting two ‘epistemic’ participles (*ἐνθυμούμενος μὲν* (colon 10) and *ἀναμνησκόμενος δὲ* (colon 12)), each having a finite complement, introduced by resp. *ὡς* and *ὅτι* (**node K**).³³⁹ As often in Greek, the contrast, though formally inescapable, is not really salient content-wise. Both participles merely introduce the contents of what “came to Euphiletus’ mind” (colon 8), and therefore the nodes that relate the participles to their complements (**nodes L and M**) can be analyzed as ‘Marker-Content’ relations, with an ‘epistemic marker’. These contents resume what has been narrated in §§11-14, just before the scene with the old woman,³⁴⁰ which confirms the coda-character of this paragraph, in which the relevance of the episode is made explicit.

The contents introduced by the second participle (cola 13-17) have some internal structure. **Node N** indicates that *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ* has scope over cola 14-17;³⁴¹ the relation can be analyzed as a ‘Setting-Event’ relation or alternatively as a ‘Topic-Comment’ one, but is in any case obviously a Theme-Rheme node. **Node O** connects two separate contents remembered by Euphiletus: the fact that the doors made a noise (cola 14-16), and the fact that his wife seemed to have put on make-up (colon 17). The entire segment cola 13-16 makes a digressive impression, and the addition of the second fact (“the make-up”), introduced by a non-corresponsive use of the particle *τε*, has the character of an afterthought-like addition, rather than a balanced and planned enumeration of parallel elements.³⁴²

³³⁹ For the difference in treatment in both complementizers as far as segmentation is concerned, see section 11.3.3 above.

³⁴⁰ This is another illustration of the very neat economy of Lysias’/Euphiletus’ narration, in which everything narrated is taken up elsewhere (or is in some way relevant to the points he needs to make in the context of his defense strategy), despite the overall impression of ‘spontaneous story-telling’.

³⁴¹ Alternatively, one may choose to read colon 13 (“that night”) as having scope over only cola 14-16, and attach colon 17 at the same height as 13-16. Nothing much hinges on this issue, but cf. §14 of the speech where we are told that Euphiletus noticed the make-up ‘towards dawn’ on that night. Note that, in fact, Euphiletus’ being locked up in his bedroom (colon 11) also happened ‘that night’; cf. my remark on the fact that there is no real contrast in node I.

³⁴² The archaic use of a single connective *τε* (colon 17) is not unparalleled in Lysias (see Lysias 1,6; 13,1; 13,82; 23,3; 31,2; 32,1; 32,22; cf. Lysias & Groeneboom (ed. & comm.) 1924, 77). Groeneboom, quoting Gildersleeve, speaks of an “afterthought *τε*”. See also Denniston 1934/1950, 497-503), who quotes this case in his list of rare examples of single connective *τε* (p. 499).

Colon 16 (“which had never happened”) is obviously an afterthought, as evidenced by the neuter relative pronoun with the whole previous sentence as antecedent. One might have some doubt about the scope of **node P**, which connects this afterthought to what precedes: here, I have attached it to both colon 14 and 15, though it might belong to colon 15 alone.³⁴³

- (c) Cola 18-19 (**node I**) are an exact reprise of cola 8-9 (except for the addition of the word ταῦτα in colon 18 as compared with colon 8; see here below), and the function of node I can accordingly be analyzed just as node J, discussed above.

As for the overall structure that relates the three segments (a), (b) and (c), it looks most plausible to make (b) (cola 10-17) an elaboration of cola 8-9. **Node H** is then a subordinating node, representing the fact that cola 10-17 elaborate on the contents of Euphiletus’ worries. Evidence for this analysis is the word ταῦτα in colon 18: ταῦτα evidently refers to the contents of the previous cola (segment (b)) and thus confirms our interpretation of segment (b) as an elaboration of πάντα μου εἰς τὴν γνώμην εἰσῆει κτλ. in colon 8-9.

The two echoing segments (a) -plus its elaboration- and (c) cohere by virtue of **node G**, which can be seen as rhetorical exploitation of a phenomenon that is quite common in spontaneous speech: a point that has to be made in the context of the overall structure of a discourse fails to be delivered smoothly in one run, and needs several tries before it is brought to a satisfactory end. Likewise, the speaker (Euphiletus/Lysias) felt that his statement “everything came to my mind and I was full of suspicion” was not sufficiently clear at its first utterance, and went therefore into a rather elaborate elaboration, making clear what happenings came to his mind, after which he felt he could restate without ambiguity his original point (this type of restatement would fall under the header of **Chain** relations). The exploitation of this device fits in very neatly with the quasi-spontaneous style that Lysias adopts throughout this narration.

17.4 Final remarks

- (1) Some of the particular features of the structure of this excerpt are the consequence of the tension between competing factors. On the one hand, the Iconicity Principle would imply a chronological succession of the events that constitute the story line, with each step in the story constituting a ‘new’ event. On the other hand, most of the elements (especially the important ones) are already known to both speaker and audience before this story is told. For instance, Euphiletus’ discovery of the fact that his wife has a lover, and who this lover is, would normally be the climax of such a story, though in the context of this trial, these facts are among the most ‘given’ ones to both Euphiletus and his audience. Furthermore, Euphiletus obviously does not aim at just telling the story and informing his audience of what happened, but has to make certain points with respect to his defense strategy: the relevance of the respective events reported determines the economy of the narratio, determining which events are necessary and which are not. All these factors contribute to a

³⁴³ The relation between ἐψόφει ἢ μέταυλος θύρα (colon 14) and καὶ ἡ ἀΐλειος (colon 15), can be read as an elaboration of the afterthought type rather than as a regular list: note that the verb ἐψόφει occurs in the first colon, and as a consequence the clause is syntactically complete after the first colon; furthermore, the verb is singular; finally, the ‘additive’ particle καὶ is entirely compatible with an afterthought reading.

rather hybrid discourse (in between a regular story and an argumentation), reflecting into the details of discourse structure, as has been shown in the analysis above.

- (2) Euphiletus'/Lysias' mode of presentation in the above excerpt is in a number of ways less clearly (or at least differently) structured as compared to the previous purely narrative excerpts (and a fortiori than to the very formal argumentative excerpt analyzed in section 18 below). Apart from the consequences of being a case of reported conversation (see (1) here above), the most conspicuous aspect of the structure of this excerpt is that it is highly digressive, i.e. the Thematization Principle is quite often violated (cf. also the frequent use of the particle γάρ throughout the excerpt). In terms of P-tree structure, this digressive aspect yields a large number of elaboration relations, afterthoughts and loosely structured chains. In the same vein, we also notice a number of resumptive elements (coming back to the main line of the story/argument after an elaboration/digression; cf. also the use of the particle οὖν) and repetitions (e.g. the remarkable cyclus in §17). All these elements may be interpreted as representing an artless, 'natural' and spontaneous style, fitting to the ἥθος of the peasant Euphiletus.

18. Excerpt from an argumentatio (Lysias 10,22)

This excerpt is from an argumentative part (more precisely the beginning of the ‘confirmatio’) of Lysias’ speech *Against Theomnestus*. It has been selected here because it is structurally very different from the previous ones: it does not contain any narrative elements, and is structured according to different principles. Furthermore, it is highly ‘rhetorical’, as opposed to the rather ‘natural’ style of the narrative excerpts introduced above.

The trial of which this speech is part opposes an anonymous speaker and a certain Theomnestus. The main elements of the context of this trial are the following (for the legal aspects of the trial I simply refer to Todd 2007, 660-694):

- The speaker accuses Theomnestus of slander, because Theomnestus had accused him of parricide.
- Athenian law expressly forbids certain defamatory statements, among which accusations of murder. Theomnestus objected that he did not use the word ἀνδροφόνος, which is forbidden by law, but said that the speaker had “killed his father” (ἀπεκτονέναι).
- Lysias’/the speaker’s argument focuses on (1) dismissing the substance of the accusation of having killed his father, (2) dismissing Theomnestus’ argument on the letter of the law (which gives rise to a rather hilarious reductio ad absurdum), (3) stressing the dubious military and legal past of Theomnestus and his father as opposed to his own and his own father’s impeccable record.
- In connection with the latter strategy, reference is made to another trial which is permanently in the background of the present one: some time before, a certain Lysitheus had impeached Theomnestus for speaking in the assembly after having lost his shield; Theomnestus was acquitted and in his turn accused Dionysius, one of Lysitheus’ witnesses, of perjury, and got him convicted and disfranchised. It was at the same occasion that Theomnestus had accused the present speaker of parricide.

Lysias 10,22

1 Οὔτος οὖν
2 ἔνοχος μὲν ὦν τῇ αἰτίᾳ,
3 ἐλάττονος δὲ οὔσης αὐτῷ τῆς συμφορᾶς,
4 οὐ μόνον ὑφ’ ὑμῶν ἠλεήθη,
5 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν μαρτυρήσαντα ἠτίμωσεν.

6 ἐγὼ δὲ
7 ἑωρακῶς μὲν
8 ἐκεῖνο τοῦτον ποιήσαντα
9 ὃ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε,
10 αὐτὸς δὲ σώσας τὴν ἀσπίδα,
11 ἀκηκοὺς δὲ
12 οὕτως ἀνόσιον καὶ δεινὸν πρᾶγμα,
13 μεγίστης δὲ οὔσης μοι τῆς συμφορᾶς,
14 εἰ ἀποφεύξεται,
15 τοῦτῳ δ’ οὐδενὸς ἀξίας,
16 εἰ κατηγορίας ἀλώσεται,
17 οὐκ ἄρα δίκην παρ’ αὐτοῦ λήψομαι;

Now this man,
who is liable to the charge,
although it involved less disaster to him,
obtained not only your pity,
but even the disfranchisement of the witness for
the prosecution.

But I,
I who have seen
that he did that
which you likewise know,
while I saved my own shield,
I who have been accused
of a proceeding so unholy and monstrous,
although the disaster will be enormous for me
if he is acquitted,
while for him it will be inconsiderable
if he is convicted of slander,
- am I not to obtain satisfaction from him?

In order to facilitate the understanding of the contents of the excerpt, it may be useful to point out the following elements:

- In cola 1-5, reference is made to the previous trial in which Theomnestus was accused of losing his shield: the charge mentioned in colon 2 is exactly this, and cola 4-5 refer to the outcome of that trial.
- Likewise, cola 8-9 refer to Theomnestus' losing his shield.
- Cola 11-12 refer to Theomnestus' accusation that the speaker had killed his father.
- Cola 13-16 refer to the possible outcomes of the present trial: if Theomnestus is acquitted, the speaker is ipso facto accused of parricide; if Theomnestus is convicted, he only is convicted for the comparatively minor offence of slander.

18.1 Preliminary analyses

- (a) The highly **rhetorical** style of this excerpt is evident at first glance. Note the highly conventional character of its contents, which is very close to being one big locus communis and presents hardly any substantial argument. As for its structure, it looks like an exercise in **parallelism** and **contrast**:
- Note the parallelism between the two major parts cola 1-5 and cola 6-17:
 - first, a fronted subject: colon 1 resp. colon 6, corresponding to the stereotypical contrast accuser-defendant;
 - then, one or more participia coniuncta (colon 2 resp. cola 7-12) followed by one or two genitivi absoluti (colon 3 resp. cola 13-16);
 - finally, one or two main finite clauses (minus the fronted subject): cola 4-5 resp. colon 17.
 - Some contrasts are immediately connected to the contents, especially those expressing the opposition of the respective situations of the antagonists (having lost his shield - not having lost his shield, small risk - great risk, etc.).
 - Other contrasts are artificial and merely rhetorical, e.g. the οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί... construction in cola 4-5, and even more conspicuously the contrast ἑωρακῶς μὲν... - ἀκηκῶς δὲ... in cola 7-12 (in this case the lexical opposition between two modes of perception 'see'-'hear' is not even pertinent for the overall meaning of the text, in that ἀκούω is here used in its legal sense of 'being accused').
 - Also note the chiasmus in cola 13-16 and the parallelism between colon 3 and colon 13.
- (b) Some difficulties concerning the use of the **particles** can already be noted. In cola 2-3, there is not any real problem, in that there is only one μὲν to which only one δέ obviously corresponds, although the syntactic coordination of a participium coniunctum and a genitivus absolutus to some might look syntactically anomalous. In cola 7-16, however, which is obviously parallel to cola 2-3, there is only one μὲν (in colon 7) but no less than four occurrences of δέ, not all of which are easy to interpret (especially the one in colon 10).
- (c) See also my comments on various issues concerning the segmentation into cola and the internal structures of these cola in section 11.4. As for my experimental translation, see my remarks in section 11.4(2b) above.

18.2 P-tree analysis

The overall structure of this paragraph is clear: it is dominated by a contrast (**node A**) between two Topics, typically coinciding with the foremost participants in the trial:

- (1) cola 1-5, dominated by Topic-Comment **node B**, with as a Topic the defendant (Theomnestus, colon 1);
- (2) cola 6-17, dominated by Topic-Comment **node C**, with as a Topic the plaintiff (the speaker, colon 6).³⁴⁴

Even at first sight some of the rhetorical parallelisms between the two are apparent:

- in both parts, the Comments (cola 2-5 and cola 7-17) consist of participial clauses followed by a main finite clause minus the fronted subject:
 - in part (1), the finite clause is a coordinated one (cola 4-5);
 - in part (2), it is a simple one (colon 17);
- in both parts, the participial clauses leading up to the finite verb clause are parallel:
 - first, a participium coniunctum (or participia coniuncta) in agreement with the fronted subject (colon 2 resp. cola 7-12);
 - next, one or two genitivi absoluti (colon 3 resp. cola 13-16); note that the genitivus absolutus in cola 13-16 starts with an echo of colon 3.

Although it will quickly become clear that the analysis in terms of regular pragmatic and cognitive mechanisms is not as easy as it seems (cf. already section 11.4), we will have to take these parallelisms into account as an obvious and inescapable starting point for our P-tree analysis of the excerpt (see Figure 18.2 below).

³⁴⁴ One might argue that colon 17 (“am I not to obtain justice from him?”) is the main point of the whole excerpt and that the entire stretch from colon 1 to colon 16 serves as a motivation for this rhetorical claim. However, I will not pursue this line of argument here and will stick to a more conservative P-tree analysis, adhering more closely to the syntax and the use of particles. Note that, in support of this policy, one can argue that the Thematization Principle in its most general sense (cf. section 13.1.2 above) already accounts for the rhematic status of colon 17 anyway: after all, colon 17 *is* the right-most branch of the right-most branch in the P-tree.

contextually evident opposites) and only contextually belong to the same set in that they both are events that are not appropriate in the circumstances (according to the speaker).

(2) **Cola 6-17**

The overall structure of the second part is clear as well:

- **Node C** is a Topic-Comment relation, parallel to node B, the scope of which indicates that the speaker will be the central character in cola 6-17.
- **Node G** is a Setting-Event relation, parallel to node D, though the relation between the circumstances in cola 7-16, and the ensuing ‘Event’ (here formulated as a rhetorical question) is not a concessive one. As compared with the **Setting-Event** relations in the purely narrative contexts of the previous excerpts, the non-narrative character of the excerpt has consequences for the pragmatic function of this relation: it gives the motives that would make the claim in colon 17 reasonable (at least formally/rhetorically: whether the motives quoted by the speaker are really good motives is another matter).

The internal structure of cola 7-16 is somewhat more intricate. Observe, for instance, the abundance of occurrences of the particle *δέ* (colon 10, colon 11, colon 13, colon 15) and the single occurrence of *μέν* (colon 7), not all of which are easy to interpret. Still, some relations are immediately obvious:

- It is clear from the parallelism between part (1) and part (2), i.e. between cola 1-5 and cola 6-17, that cola 7-16 must be first of all segmented in two parts, linked by **node H**:
 - cola 7-12: participia coniuncta in agreement with the subject (cf. colon 2 in part (1));
 - cola 13-16: genitivi absoluti (cf. colon 3 in part (1)).
- The formal and highly rhetorical contrast between *ἑωρακῶς μὲν* (colon 7) and *ἀκηκῶς δὲ* (colon 11) is so conspicuous it certainly has to be taken into account, even if it is merely formal. Hence **node I** makes the link between cola 7-10 and cola 11-12. The formal contrast between the two quoted participles (both in the perfect tense and constituting a lexical contrast “hear”-“see”) is sufficient to call this node a contrast node, although the contrast between the contents of the two members is not really motivated pragmatically (the meaning of *ἀκηκῶς* involves here the specialized legal use in the sense of “being accused of”).
- Likewise, there is a very conspicuous contrast between cola 13-14 and cola 15-16 (**node J**): “the disaster for me will be very great, if he is acquitted” - “the disaster for him will be inconsiderable, if he is convicted of slander”. Beside this very clear contrast as far as the contents are concerned (it is the same stereotypical contrast between accuser and defendant which was already constitutive of node A and which is actually inherited from the encompassing pragmatic structure of the trial as whole), the contrast is also clear from the formal parallelisms and the chiasmus (see below).
- **Node M** and **node L** are obviously of the same type and can -arguably- be analyzed as Marker-Content relations: both participles (colon 7 and colon 11) are at least formally *verba percipiendi* (‘see’ resp. ‘hear’), which can regularly have the function of an evidential marker. In this case, they are furthermore involved in a highly artificial contrast, in which their emphatic fronting as separate cola serves rhetorical-structural purposes rather than a real contrast between seeing and hearing as a relevant distinction.
- **Node N** is a **correlative** structure, engendered by the correlative pronouns *ἐκεῖνο... ὅ...*

We can now take a look at some of the details of the structure of cola 7-16, which are not always very easy to characterize.

- (a) First, there is an issue concerning the use of the particles in cola 7-16: what is the scope of the particle μέν in colon 7, and which δέ is its correlate? Three different occurrences of δέ could qualify and -accordingly- three different scopes of μέν could be argued for:
- (i) δέ in colon 10: in this case μέν would have scope over cola 7-9; the contrast (**node K**) would be between “I have seen him loose his shield”³⁴⁶ and “I myself saved mine”, which makes perfect sense;
 - (ii) δέ in colon 11, in which case μέν would have scope over cola 7-10 and the correlative particles would mark the contrast **node I**, which is inescapable anyway because of the conspicuous contrast ἑωρακῶς-ἀκηκῶς;
 - (iii) δέ in colon 13, in which case μέν has scope over cola 7-12 and the correlative particles would mark contrast **node H**, which is warranted anyway, if only by the parallelism with node D.

Concerning **node K**, and hence the status of colon 10 and option (i) here above, an alternative analysis may be argued for: colon 10 “I myself have saved my shield” may be analyzed as an afterthought-like parenthesis, somehow falling outside the regular rhetorical structure of the excerpt. However, against this analysis one could argue that the fact that the speaker himself saved his shield is much more relevant as an argument for why he should obtain justice than the fact that his opponent lost his, and -more specifically- is a much more relevant contrast with the fact that he “is accused of such an unholy and monstrous thing”.³⁴⁷ Option (ii) above seems to be the least easy to ignore on formal grounds, but if one adopts this option to the exclusion of the other options, some other features of the text become less satisfactory:

- the parallelism between cola 2-3 on the one hand and between cola 7-12 and 13-16 on the other is no longer marked by ...μέν...δέ in the second case, and -accordingly- the particle δέ in colon 13 becomes more problematic;
- the alternative analysis for colon 10 as a parenthesis has to be adopted, which however would not be very satisfactory, especially within the highly constructed context of this rhetorical exercise in contrasts, and would involve a not very canonical use of the particle δέ.

Note, however, the following: if Lysias had wanted to express all the contrasts involved (i.e. the ones involved in option (i), (ii) *and* (iii)) by means of ...μέν ...δέ, with every δέ corresponding to a different μέν, this would yield ἑωρακῶς μὲν μὲν μὲν in colon 7, which is

³⁴⁶ Note the fact that the speaker does not actually say “I have seen him loose his shield” but uses the prudent paraphrase “I have seen him do what you also know”. Perhaps he uses this way of putting it so as to avoid bluntly stating that Theomnestus lost his shield (cf. Todd 2007, 688), thus echoing the rather ridiculous game his opponent plays with respect to the difference between “parricide” vs. “you killed your father”. In this case, the quasi-prudence of the speaker is especially ridiculous because the mitigating effect of the paraphrase is immediately canceled out by the very explicit contrast with the very next colon “whereas I saved my shield”.

³⁴⁷ One might even try and argue for an analysis in which colon 10 is under the scope of colon 7, and contrasts only with cola 8-10. In that case there would be a clear formal contrast between τοῦτον in colon 8 and αὐτὸς in colon 10 and a parallelism between the two aoristi ποιήσαντα and σώσας. This analysis seems to be formally incongruous (it would imply a syntax in which σώσας is interpreted as a complement of ἑωρακῶς, which would -even if syntactically not impossible- be semantically bizarre: “I have seen myself save my shield”).

obviously not a possible cluster.³⁴⁸ Thus, one might -very tentatively- argue for a triple function of μὲν, corresponding to three different occurrences of δέ and marking three Contrast nodes, embedded in one another. As has been indicated in the above, there are very strong arguments for such an analysis in two of the three cases, though it has to be admitted that the case of colon 10 (node K) is structurally less clear-cut under any analysis.

- (b) Next, we should take a look at the details of the contrast under **node J** (cola 13-16), especially the status of the two conditional clauses colon 14 and colon 16 (**node O** and **node P**). Semantically, they present the ‘Setting’ in which it would be the case that the speaker is subjected to a great disaster, resp. his opponent to a lesser one. However, these settings are not presented as a Theme, but as an afterthought, by means of which the speaker makes his rhetorically more important point (the difference between the respective risks carried by both opponents) explicit.

(3) *Remarks on ‘focus’ and P-tree structure*

I would like to take up the issue of the word order within colon 13 (μεγίστης δὲ οὔσης μοι τῆς συμφορᾶς) and colon 15 (τούτῳ δ’ οὐδενὸς ἄξιός) again. In section 11.4(2a), I have already pointed out that the chiasmus is essentially due to the fact that μοι/“I” is unfocused, whereas τούτῳ/“him” is focused in the local context. For a general discussion of the cognitive mechanism underlying the chiasmus I simply refer to section 11.4(2a) above, but it may be interesting to point out that the P-tree analysis helps to understand the reasons why μοι is unfocused, despite the contrast ‘me’-‘him’ that is involved in the contrast relation represented by node J.

The key point seems to be that, as per node C, the speaker (“I”) is the central agent in the entire complex structure encompassing cola 6-17. Being the ‘central agent’ / topic, “I” will be the most ‘given’ element throughout the stretch of discourse it has scope over. Anytime an other element will receive local topic-status, this will have to be formally marked and the ‘new’ sub-topic will receive focus marking. This is obviously the case for τούτῳ in cola 15-16.³⁴⁹

18.3 Final remarks

If we compare the present excerpt with the previous (essentially narrative) excerpts, the most notable differences are perhaps due to the variation in genre. For instance: whereas plot-sequences played an important role in determining the overall structure of the narrative excerpts, this type of relation does not occur in the present excerpt at all. Likewise, the type of coherence relations that I continued to call ‘Setting-Event’ for practical reasons (and they

³⁴⁸ Similarly, if Lysias had wanted to mark node J by means of ...μὲν ...δέ (in se a very plausible option), this would have resulted into μεγίστης δὲ μὲν in colon 13, which is not possible either.

³⁴⁹ This mechanism neatly applies to other cases within this excerpt: thus, the unfocused status of αὐτῷ in colon 3, under the scope of οὔτος in colon 1, is exactly parallel to the case of μοι discussed here above. The case of τοῦτον and αὐτός in cola 8-10 is more intricate: if τοῦτον would be the local topic of 8-10, the focus on αὐτός would be straightforwardly explained by the above mechanism, but this not the case because Lysias apparently chose to structure the contents by means of the correlative structure ἐκεῖνο... ὅ... and to integrate τοῦτον into this structure, rather than formally introducing τοῦτον as a topic. Note however that αὐτός in colon 10, although under the encompassing scope of ἐγὼ in colon 6 (like μοι in colon 13), is the second member of the contrast (unlike μοι in colon 13), and it would at that point have been impossible to formulate the contrast without a focus on “I”.

do fit the definition I adopted in section 13.3.2(3) above), have a slightly different function in the expository/argumentative context of this excerpt: rather than providing a spatio-temporal background against which the main events of a narrative develop, settings in a argumentative context serve as ‘motives’ for a subsequent claim.

As far as the overall structure of the excerpt is concerned, we immediately noticed the multi-level embedding of contrastive and parallel patterns in each other. We already observed the fact that Ancient Greek appears to be extraordinarily prone to see contrasts (even in narrative contexts) where we would not spontaneously see or express them. However, in this excerpt this tendency is taken to a rather extreme level: I have repeatedly commented on the fact that a number of the formally undeniable contrasts in this excerpt are purely formal indeed and do not necessarily correspond to any relevant conceptual opposition within the context of the argument at hand. This artificial aspect made it sometimes very hard to apply the P-tree device (cum its corresponding typology of coherence relations) to the structure of this excerpt.³⁵⁰

These remarks lead up to two related but not identical theoretical issues, which cannot be dealt with here as such, but which should be mentioned here because their importance and relevance are perfectly illustrated by the above analysis:

- (i) *The opposition between ‘natural’ discourse vs. ‘rhetorical engineering’* (cf. already section 10.4.4 above): Several aspects of this excerpt indicate that, unlike the previous excerpts, it is quite different from everyday spontaneous speech, most notably: the semantically void contrasts, the degree to which parallelism determines all levels of the pragmatic structure and the fact that some structural patterns require much more planning than is possible or customary in average spontaneous speech.
- (ii) *The issue of the ‘universal’ vs. ‘culture-specific’ nature of pragmatic patterns*: Although the structural patterns underlying this excerpt look quite familiar to those of us who have been educated with Classical rhetoric, they are foreign to spontaneous speech as we know it and even to more formal genres of present-day spoken discourse.

It would be interesting to investigate to what extent the ‘natural’ (?) pragmatic patterns underlying everyday spontaneous speech are universal and to what extent culture-specific factors determine various types of discourse cross-culturally.

³⁵⁰ From the perspective of a highly literate tradition, it may be unexpected that the heavy rhetorical engineering that is obvious in this passage makes its structure *less* clean and *less* easy to analyze by means of our P-tree model and the corresponding typology of coherence relations, as compared to the more ‘natural’ spontaneous-sounding narrative excerpts analyzed in the above. This expectation may be due to a literate prejudice with respect to orality (transcriptions of recorded speech look less clean than normal written texts), but it should also be kept in mind that the P-tree model was in the first place developed to be applied to spontaneous spoken discourse (cf. the differences between the P-tree model and RST, as noted in section 22.2 below).

19. A pre-sequence to a discussion (Plato *Sph.* 216d-217b)

The excerpt that I am analyzing in some detail below is part of a rather elaborate introductory section of the Platonic dialogue *Sophista*. It is typical of Platonic dialogue as a literary genre to place the actual philosophical conversation in an everyday setting. This is achieved by having the characters meet in everyday circumstances and discuss everyday topics before settling on the philosophical subject matter that will constitute the real topic of the conversation. In the case of the *Sophista*, it should be borne in mind that the dialogue is the second part of the *Theaetetus* - *Sophista* - *Politicus* trilogy:

- At the beginning of the *Theaetetus* (*Tht.* 142a-143c), the dialogue (or dialogues) is introduced by means of a most peculiar frame story. Euclides and Terpsio meet on the street and start talking about Theaetetus, who is then dying. The conversation between Socrates and the young Theaetetus is presented as actually being read to them by a slave from a transcription made some time after the actual conversation took place. Thus, the entire trilogy should in principle be pictured as being read to Euclides and Terpsio, although any reader is likely to forget this almost immediately.³⁵¹
- The *Theaetetus* consists mainly of a dialogue between Socrates and Theaetetus, although this dialogue (after the frame story) is introduced by an introductory conversation between Socrates and the mathematician Theodorus, who is the teacher of Theaetetus as well as of the latter's pal Young Socrates (the homonymy of the two characters - *the* Socrates and the young fellow introduced here - is remarked on in *Tht.* 147d and *Plt.* 257d-258a). Young Socrates, introduced in the beginning of the *Theaetetus* will not play any role in the *Theaetetus* nor in the *Sophista* and is given the floor only in the *Politicus*, replacing Theaetetus.
- The *Sophista* is situated the day after the action of the *Theaetetus* (cf. the initium of *Sophista*: *Sph.* 216a Κατὰ τὴν χθὲς ὁμολογίαν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἤκομεν ...). Theodorus brings along a Stranger from Elea. After a somewhat elaborate introductory conversation between Socrates, Theodorus and the Stranger (see the excerpt below), the latter takes over Socrates' habitual role and conducts the dialogue with Theaetetus.
- The *Politicus* is situated right after the *Sophista*, as is made clear from the fact that somewhere at the beginning of the *Politicus* (*Plt.* 257c-d) Theaetetus is replaced by his pal Young Socrates, because he might be somewhat tired from the discussion. Again, the actual dialogue is preceded by an introductory conversation (*Plt.* 257a-258) in which Socrates and Theodorus take the floor again, only to give back almost immediately to the Stranger and his new partner. At the end of the *Politicus* the dialogue breaks up and none of the other participants (nor the characters of the frame story) make a last appearance. This could be interpreted as an indication that Plato's project was not finished yet, since the 'Philosopher', unlike the 'Sophist' and the 'Statesman' has not been given a separate treatment, although this was announced in the *Sophista* (see excerpt below).

³⁵¹ This frame story looks as if it is designed to be an illustration of a (Derrida-esque) argument on the iterability of discourse and the relativity of the text-context distinction, but in the ensuing trilogy no such argument can be found. The frame story is not taken up in any of Plato's extant books.

The introductory conversations mentioned here above closely remind of the way actual conversation is structured: conversations typically start out with more or less ritualized pre-sequences, before settling on some topic.³⁵²

Plato *Sph.* 216d-217b

<p>ΣΩ. 1 τοῦ μέντοι ξένου ἡμῖν 2 ἡδέως ἄν πυνθανοίμην, 3 εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ, 4 τί ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ τόπον ἠγοῦντο καὶ ὠνόμαζον. ΘΕΟ. 5 Τὰ ποία δῆ; ΣΩ. 6a Σοφιστήν, 6b πολιτικόν, 6c φιλόσοφον. ΘΕΟ. 7 Τί δὲ μάλιστα 8 καὶ τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν διαπορηθεῖς 9 ἐρέσθαι διανοήθης; ΣΩ. 10 Τόδε· 11 πότερον ἐν πάντα ταῦτα ἐνόμιζον 12 ἢ δύο, 13 ἢ 14 καθάπερ τὰ ὀνόματα τρία, 15 τρία καὶ τὰ γένη διαιρούμενοι 16 καθ' ἓν ὄνομα γένος ἐκάστῳ προσῆπτον; ΘΕΟ. 17 Ἄλλ' οὐδεῖς, 18 ὡς ἐγῶμαι, 19 φθόνος αὐτῷ 20 διελεθεῖν αὐτά· 21 ἢ πᾶς, ὃ ξένε, λέγωμεν; ΞΕ. 22 Οὕτως, ὦ Θεόδωρε. 23 φθόνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεῖς 24 οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν 25 ὅτι γε τρί' ἠγοῦντο· 26 καθ' ἕκαστον μὴν διορίσασθαι σαφῶς 27 τί ποτ' ἔστιν, 28 οὐ μικρὸν 29 οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ἔργον.</p>	<p>Socrates But from our stranger here, I would like to find out, if that is o.k. with him, what the people in his country thought of these things and what they called them. Theodorus What kind of things? Socrates Sophist, statesman, philosopher. Theodorus What exactly is it - and what kind of problem about them did you have? - that you had in mind to ask? Socrates It's this: did they consider all these as one thing, or two, or did they, just as there are three names, divide them into three kinds as well, and assign a kind to each corresponding to one name? Theodorus No, I think, he will have no objection to talk about that. Or what shall we say, stranger? Stranger Just as you said, Theodorus. No objection indeed, and it isn't hard to say that they actually did consider them three. But to define each of them clearly as to what they are, that is not a small, nor an easy task.</p>
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³⁵² As has been remarked by Sacks (Sacks 1992b, 188-199), the beginning and the end of conversations are typically marked by ritualized patterns (cf. e.g. “Hi”-“Hi”; “How are you?” - “Fine” - “How are you?” - “Fine”). This feature can be compared with the highly conventional character of the beginning and end of monologic genres; see e.g. the formulaic beginnings and endings of fairy tales or public speeches (“Ladies and Gentlemen, ... Thank you.”) or the stereotyped (‘rhetorical’) features of exordium and peroratio in Ancient Greek forensic speeches (see section 14 above).

19.1 Preliminary analyses

- (1) A major structural difference with the previous excerpts is the presence of a new type of structural boundary: as this is a dialogue, it consists of speaker **turns**, i.e. successive contributions by several speakers. Thus, the excerpt consists of 7 turns by 3 participants:
- turn 1: cola 1-4 by Socrates (addressed to Theodorus);
 - turn 2: colon 5 by Theodorus (addressed to Socrates);
 - turn 3: cola 6a-6c by Socrates (addressed to Theodorus);
 - turn 4: cola 7-9 by Theodorus (addressed to Socrates);
 - turn 5: cola 10-16 by Socrates (addressed to Theodorus);
 - turn 6: cola 17-21 by Theodorus (cola 17-20 addressed to Socrates; colon 21 addressed to the Stranger);
 - turn 7: cola 22-29 by the Stranger (addressed to Theodorus).

The turn-taking happens in a quite orderly fashion in this excerpt of an apparently very formal conversation. In almost every case the next speaker only takes the floor when he is prompted to do so by what the previous speaker said. The transitions from turn 2 to turn 3, from turn 4 to turn 5 and from turn 6 to turn 7 are obvious cases of a Question-Answer adjacency pair. But other transitions are also prompted by the previous speaker: Theodorus' question in colon 5 (turn 2) is the direct result of the cataphoric pronoun τὰὐθ' in colon 4, which Socrates left unresolved; likewise, Theodorus' request for elucidation in turn 4 is the consequence of Socrates' brachylogic introduction of the topics he wants to address (cola 6a-c: Σοφιστήν, πολιτικόν, φιλόσοφον).

This very orderly way of managing the floor by overt structural devices also makes it easy to determine that each speaker -at least formally- addresses one other participant (see list above). A clear example is turn 6, in which Theodorus first addresses Socrates and then switches to the Stranger by explicitly addressing him by means of the vocative in colon 21.

However, an analysis of turn-taking as such (however interesting in se) is not sufficient (or not even of primordial importance) to describe the pragmatic structure of this stretch of discourse. It is already clear from the present account that the formal aspects of the interaction are rather superficial. For instance, it is clear that Socrates, while formally talking to Theodorus, is actually already addressing the Stranger (who is formally still a bystander). Note that the Stranger is supposed to have listened to what was said between Socrates and Theodorus, which is confirmed by the fact that when he finally gets the floor, he actually does reply to Socrates' questions. Furthermore, it will become clear in what follows that the turn-transitions often do not even coincide with major boundaries in the development of the overall structure of the conversation.

- (2) A better starting point for the analysis of the discourse structure of this excerpt may be to isolate the **substantial** contributions from the **regulatory** ones (cf. section 0.2.5(1) above). This yields the following summary:

(i) *Cola 1-16: Socrates formulates a question:*

- what do the people in Elea think of the following and what names do they use (colon 4): σοφιστήν, πολιτικόν, φιλόσοφον (colon 6)?
- more precisely: do they consider them as 1, 2 or 3 different things (cola 11-16)?

(ii) *Cola 17-29: the Stranger answers the question:*

- they are considered as 3 different things (colon 23)
- giving a definition is, however, a difficult task (colon 24-27).

- (a) This summary shows that, as far as the ‘substantive’ content of this excerpt is concerned, the whole interaction might have been concluded in 2 turns, totaling no more than 8 cola or so, instead of the actual 29 (or 32), and could have been done without the interventions of Theodorus, which are entirely ‘regulatory’. Note that the project of defining sophist, statesman and philosopher remains the guiding program for the whole of the *Sophista* and the *Politicus*, and is thus of major importance in the development of the content of the conversation.

Theodorus’ contributions to formulating the question are entirely regulatory and can be analyzed as mere structural markers of coherence relations between different segments in Socrates’ question:

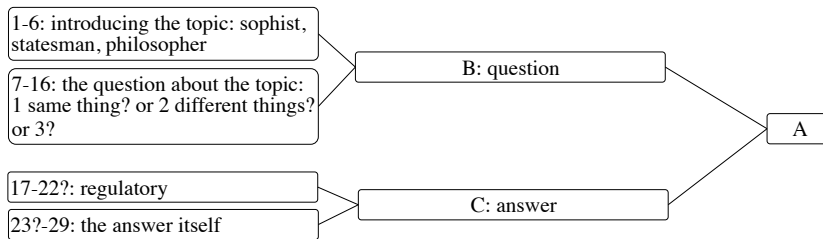
- colon 4: Τὰ ποῖα δῆ; is an entirely phatic question, linking the in se already cataphoric τὰῦτα in colon 3 with the explicitation Σοφιστήν, πολιτικόν, φιλόσοφον in colon 5; Socrates could have (and would have) made this transition perfectly well without Theodorus’ intervention;
 - cola 7-9: Theodorus asks for an elaboration on Socrates’ general question ‘what the people in Elea think of the Sophist, the Statesman and the Philosopher’; Theodorus’ question can be viewed as an Elaboration marker; Socrates replies in the first place by a cataphoric Τόδε (colon 10), and then by the substance of his question (cola 11-16), which is in fact directed at the Stranger, and taken as such by Theodorus, so that Theodorus does not even attempt to answer it.
- (b) It is clear, however, that other types of conversational activity are being performed besides the contents described here above and Theodorus does seem to play a crucial role in this aspect. Most importantly, in this excerpt, a few crucial moves are made with respect to who is going to take the floor in what follows:
- Up until the beginning of the excerpt analyzed here, Socrates and Theodorus have been discussing the Stranger without addressing him personally.
 - With colon 1-3 (τοῦ μέντοι ξένου ἡμῖν | ἡδέως ἂν πυνθανοίμην, εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ, ...), Socrates, while formally still addressing Theodorus, for the first time makes a move towards giving the floor to the Stranger. Note the use of the strong particle μέντοι and the fact that the Stranger is introduced in a separate fronted colon.
 - After colon 16, an answer to Socrates’ question by the Stranger himself might have seemed appropriate, but instead it is Theodorus who formally makes the first reply, actually responding only to the polite and prudent interactional marker of Socrates in cola 1-3 (esp. εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ), after which he hands the floor over to the Stranger by asking him to confirm the fact that he has ‘no objection to talk about that’.
 - From colon 22 onwards, the Stranger finally speaks. While formally addressing Theodorus, he actually answers the questions asked by Socrates: cola 21-22 answer Theodorus’ question as to whether he has any objection against the topic proposed by Socrates; from colon 23 onwards he starts answering the substance of Socrates’ question.

19.2 P-tree analysis

- (1) In terms of a P-tree analysis, the overall structure of the excerpt seems to be binary (**node A**):
- (i) a question (cola 1-16);
 - (ii) an answer (cola 17-29).

If we take into account the distinction between ‘substantial’ and ‘regulatory’ contributions to the discourse, we come to the following analysis of the overall structure of the excerpt.

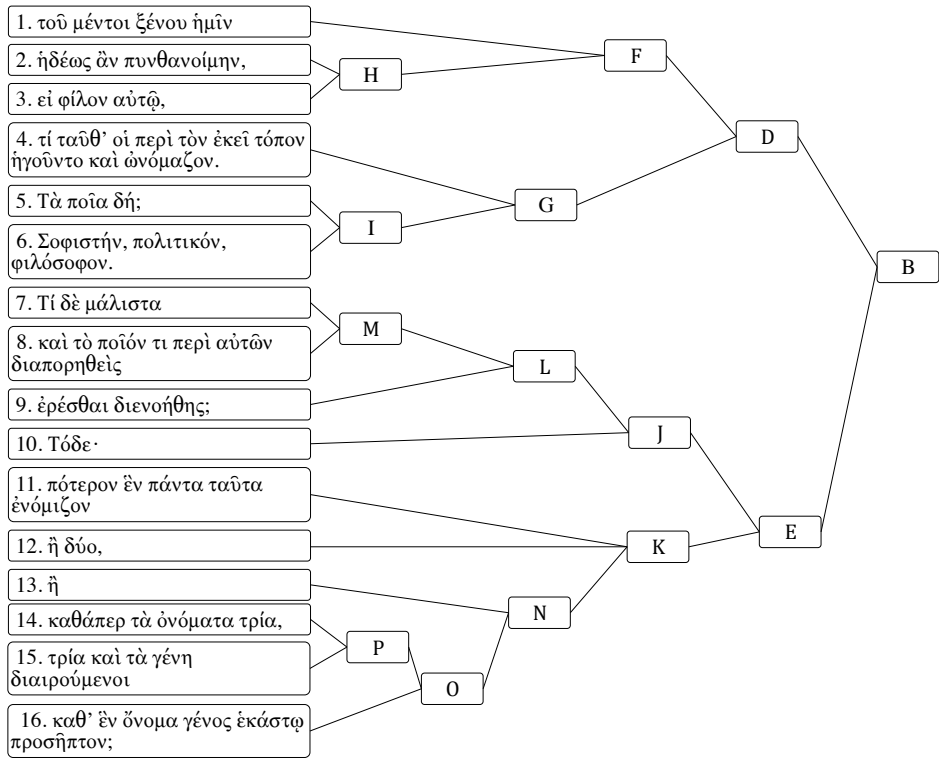
Figure 19.2a: P-tree of Plato *Sph.* 216d-217b (overall structure)



(2) **Cola 1-16: Socrates' question (Node B)**

As suggested by the analysis above, **Node B**, dominating the internal structure of cola 1-16, links the two parts of Socrates' question, the second one being more specific than the first one, which suggests an Elaboration relation:

- (a) cola 1-6: basic question: what do the Eleans think about the sophist, the statesman and the philosopher?
- (b) cola 7-16: elaboration (specification) of that question: are they 1 or 2 or 3 different things?

Figure 19.2b: P-tree of Plato *Sph.* 216d-217b (first part: Socrates' question)*(a) Cola 1-6 (node D)*

The structure of this segment is determined by the difference between the purely regulatory material in cola 1-3 and the ‘substance’ of Socrates’ first question in cola 4-6. Accordingly, **Node D** can be analyzed as a Marker-Content node; the Marker in cola 1-3 is an illocutionary one, marking the interrogative force of the Content in cola 4-6, but an interactional one as well, in that it designates -although indirectly- the Stranger as the addressee of the question.

Let us first take a look at the internal structure of the illocutionary marker:

- **Node F** links the fronted argument NP (cola 1: τοῦ μέντοι ξένου ἡμῖν) with the corresponding VP (ἡδέως ἄν πυνθανοίμην), which suggests a Topic-Comment analysis (also note that the Stranger is going to be the central character of the whole dialogue from now on). Note, however, that the pragmatic effect of the fronting is to mark an implicit switch to the new addressee, which reminds of interactional markers (this function may be already implied by the dominating node D).
- **Node H** represents the link between the postposed afterthought-like politeness formula εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ and the preceding illocutionary/ interactional marker ἡδέως ἄν πυνθανοίμην.

Then, we need to discuss the structure of the ‘substantial’ part of the segment, i.e. the actual question itself:

- **Node G** represents the recognizable correlative construction ‘cataphoric ταῦτα ὅ substantial content’. Note the fact that colon 6 (Σοφιστήν, πολιτικόν, φιλόσοφον) is rhematic with respect to the whole segment cola 1-6.
- **Node I** is a Question-Answer relation of the Marker-Content type: Theodorus’ question only marks the cataphoric relation represented by node G and is in fact literally dispensable, as far as the development of the structure of the discourse is concerned (the cataphoric construction would have required the implementation of the content of ταῦτα anyway).

(b) *Cola 7-16 (node E)*

This segment presents Socrates second question (“Do they Eleans consider the sophist, the statesman and the philosopher as 1, 2 or 3 different things?”). Again, the overall structure is determined by a marker-content relation (**Node E**), which links the substance of Socrates’ second question (cola 11-16) with regulatory elements that do not present any substantial content and only mark the transition from the general question (“what about the sophist, the statesman and the philosopher, according to the Eleans?”) to the more specific question (“are they three different things?”).

As for the ‘regulatory’ left branch of Node E, I would like to argue that the cataphoric τόδε (colon 10) is taken with the Marker part of node E: note that the whole exchange (“What do you want to ask specifically?” “This.”) is literally dispensable. The internal structure under the left branch can thus be analyzed as follows:

- **Node J** represents the Question-Answer adjacency relation between Theodorus’ question “What do you intend to ask?” (cola 7-9) and Socrates’ reply “The following” (colon 10).
- **Node L** links the fronted illocutionary marker expressed in cola 7-8 (roughly: “what is your question? and what is your problem?”) to the main clause with respect to which it is fronted and **Node M** links the badly integrated parenthesis colon 8 to the first illocutionary marker in colon 7 (Node M can thus be read as representing an afterthought-like elaboration relation). For the syntactic and segmentation-related issues concerning cola 7-9, I refer back to section 11.5(3a).

As for the ‘substantial’ right branch of node E (cola 11-17), it is clear that **Node K** represents the recognizable and recurrent symmetrical relation (perhaps best analyzed as a type of Chain) between the (i.c.) three members of a polyadic question. The last member of the ternary question has a somewhat more complex structure:

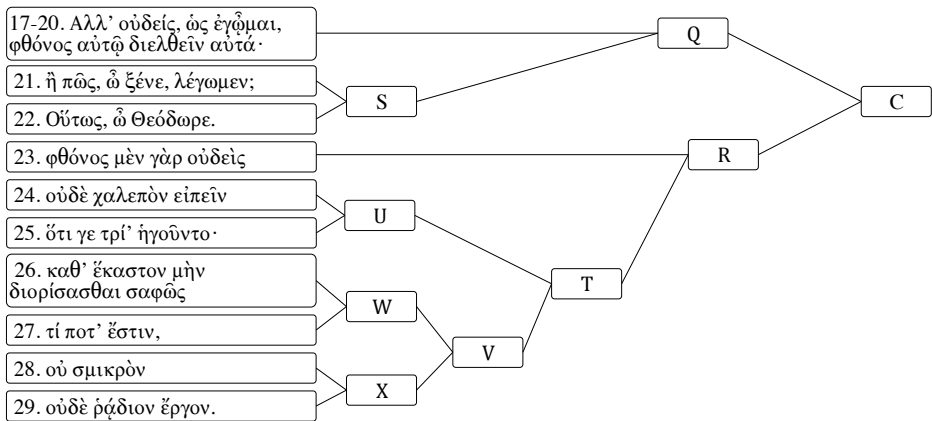
- **Node N** is an obvious Marker-Content node, linking the structural marker ἦ with the contents it has scope over.
- **Node P** links the two members of a comparison (“just as there are three different names, there are also three different things”) and may best be analyzed as a Contrast relation, though the second member is rhematic, but we know that comparisons have idiosyncratic features (see sections 13.3.6(2b) and 13.3.1(1b))
- **Node O** links the participle clause “dividing them into three, just as there are three names” with the main clause “they attribute a kind to each name”. This formally looks like a Setting-Event relation (present participle followed by main finite clause), as if the left branch merely provided the necessary background for the main point (?) in colon 16. Note, however, that the notion of “three”, which could be expected to be rhematic occurs in the left branch and that the two branches in fact express the same notion (node

O is then some kind of Chain). This analysis suggests that the wording of this question is somewhat artificial and in any case -needlessly?- difficult.

(3) **Cola 17-29: the Stranger's answer (node C)**

As has been observed above, the substantial content of this stretch is limited to cola 23-29, presenting the Stranger's answer to Socrates' question. Cola 17-22 consist in a merely regulatory exchange, by means of which the floor is handed over to the Stranger. Accordingly, **node C** can be analyzed as a Marker-Content node (formally not unlike node E).

Figure 19.2c: P-tree of Plato *Sph.* 216d-217b (second part: the answer)



(a) *cola 17-22 (node Q)*

This entirely regulatory exchange only serves at handing over the floor to the Stranger. First, **Node Q** links Theodorus' reply to Socrates ("I don't think the Stranger will object to discuss this") to his (Theodorus') question to the Stranger, asking for confirmation of what he just said (some type of Chain?). **Node S** then links Theodorus' question with the Stranger's answer. The internal structure of cola 17-20 is not very problematic:

- Colon 17 is a fronted illocutionary marker, comparable to "No" in English, having scope over cola 19-20. Its function is to eliminate the suggestion that the Stranger might not wish to participate in the debate (presupposed by Socrates' polite εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ in colon 3).³⁵³
- Colon 18 is obviously a parenthetic marker, probably having the same scope as colon 17.

³⁵³ It may be interesting to take a look at the function of the particle *ἀλλά* in this occurrence. In terms of Denniston's classification of uses, this occurrence would probably fit best with what he calls the "assentient" use, expressing agreement on the part of the speaker, who repudiates any suggestion to the contrary, more specifically the case in which "the particle protests [sic!], in effect, against the asking of a superfluous question" (Denniston 1934/1950, 16). However, note that it can also be argued that the particle *ἀλλά* here has exactly the function that Denniston ascribes to it as its primary one: "eliminative, substituting the true for the false" (Denniston 1934/1950, 1): in that case, 'Ἀλλ' (together with the negative) signifies that the very suggestion that the Stranger would object is 'eliminated' by Theodorus. This interpretation fits more closely what has been said about *ἀλλά* in the more recent literature (see section 21.3(2f) below).

- Cola 19-20 make up the contents of the reply; colon 20 looks like an afterthought-like disambiguation: colon 19 is rhematic in that it already presents the main point of Theodorus' reply ("he will have no objection"), after which he adds the element "to talk about that", which was already present in Socrates' question and presupposed in colon 19 (this type of disambiguating pattern could be called Comment-Topic).

(b) *cola 23-29 (node R)*

After the short answer "As you say, Theodorus" (colon 22) to Theodorus' question, the Stranger goes on to address Socrates' questions directly in cola 23-29.

The overall structure of this segment is determined by its status as a reply to Socrates' questions:

- colon 23 answers to the polite request (cola 1-3, especially colon 3 εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ as reformulated by Theodorus in cola 17-20);
- cola 24-25 answer Socrates' more specific question "Do the Eleans think the sophist, the statesman and the philosopher are 1 thing or 2 or 3 different things?";
- cola 26-29 answer Socrates' more general question "what do the Eleans think about the sophist, the statesman and the philosopher?" (cola 4-6).³⁵⁴

Thus, we can first separate the Stranger's reply to the purely regulatory part of Socrates' question (colon 23) from the more substantial part (cola 24-29): accordingly **node R** can be analyzed as a fairly loose contrast relation, formally marked by the particle combination μέν - (οὐ)δέ, which corresponds to the transitional use of ...μέν...δέ as observed by Bakker in narrative contexts (Bakker 1993, 302-305; cf. section 21.3(c) below):

- colon 23 takes up and rounds off the current issue (i.e. the matter of whether the Stranger is willing to play along);³⁵⁵
- in colon 24 the transition is made to the next stage (i.e. the substance of the Stranger's answer).

According to this analysis, the δέ of οὐδέ in colon 24 arguably could have scope over 24-29 (or even beyond the excerpt): it marks the end of the regulatory issues and the beginning of the substantial discussion which makes up the rest of the dialogue.³⁵⁶ Also note that the Thematization Principle is respected by node R: the left branch is regulatory and hence necessarily thematic, whereas the right branch conveys substantial, rhematic elements.

The internal structure of the right branch of node R, i.e. the substance of the Stranger's reply, then consists of (i) the Stranger's answer to Socrates' more specific question (1, 2 or 3 different things?) and (ii) to his answer to the substance of Socrates' more general question (what are the sophist, the statesman, the philosopher?). These two questions are linked by

³⁵⁴ Note the (macro-)chiasmus in the overall structure of the excerpt: question A "what about the sophist, the statesman and the philosopher?" : question B "are they 1 or 2 or 3 different things?" :: answer B "3 different things" : answer A "not easy to define". Note that this pattern can be analyzed in a similar vein as Sling's cognitive analysis of **chiasmus** in general (see section 10.4.3 above): the Stranger first answers the question which is the most accessible (i.e. the last one), after which he tackles the other one. Actually, this type of explanation is even more straightforwardly applicable to this type of discourse pattern than it is to word order phenomena at the level of the colon.

³⁵⁵ γάρ most plausibly indicates that colon 23 is an explication of οὐτως in colon 22. It would not make much sense to let it have scope beyond colon 23: beyond colon 23 the 'regulatory' issue as to whether the Stranger wishes to take the floor and discuss the topic introduced by Socrates has been settled completely. This is also what is suggested by the P-tree drawn in the present analysis.

³⁵⁶ This is not straightforwardly expressed by the P-tree structure: the fact that δέ takes P2 prevents it from making up a separate colon having scope over the entire following context (sandhi).

Node T. Node T is probably best analyzed as some kind of a contrast relation; the contrast is marked by the particle μήν in colon 26³⁵⁷ and is also evident from the formal chiasmus: colon 24 - colon 25 (“easy” :: “they are 3”), cola 26-27 - cola 28-29 (“definition” :: “not easy”).

The internal structure of the two branches of node T is pragmatically somewhat less straightforward, as can be expected from the asymmetry implied by chiasmus:

- **Node U** represents the relation between a reporting matrix clause (“it’s not difficult to say”) and a postposed reported subject clause (“that they are 3”). This relation is obviously thematic and could be analyzed as a Marker-Content relation (epistemic marker).
- **Node V** conversely links a fronted complement clause (“to exactly define what they are”) and the main finite clause (conveying “is not so easy”). This type of fronting is readily explained by the cognitive mechanism explained in 10.4.3: the two questions asked of the Stranger form a contextually determined set and the fact that the first question was answered in colon 25 ipso facto made the second one accessible at colon 26. Though cognitively transparent, this relation is pragmatically less easy to characterize (as is often the case with anti-thematic relations).³⁵⁸

19.3 Final remarks

- (1) As opposed to the previous (monologic) excerpts, this excerpt is a dialogue and hence presents various speaker turns as an inherent feature of its pragmatic structure. Although the interaction between the participants showed a number of interesting features as such (see (2) here below), our P-tree analysis shows that turn transitions are not necessarily major boundaries in the overall structure of the discourse (both ways: some turn-transitions occur at very local levels of the P-tree; major structural boundaries can occur within a single turn).
- (2) The excerpt (as a matter of fact the whole introductory segment of the *Sophista* as well as the corresponding segments in the *Theaetetus* and the *Politicus*) would be excellent, though difficult, material for Conversation Analysis. This would, however, involve conversation analytical techniques that are not the main concern of this study. Still, it seems interesting to formulate a few questions and remarks that arise in the context of my analysis of this excerpt. Especially, the turn-taking organization of the conversation is very peculiar:
 - The Stranger is not allowed to take the floor until colon 17 in this excerpt (i.e. after more than a full page in the Oxford edition). All this time, Theodorus keeps his role of ‘doing the introductions’ (cf. Sacks 1992a, 281-299, on this function of hosts at parties, or therapists in psychiatric group sessions).

³⁵⁷ Denniston distinguishes an ‘adversative’ use of the particle μήν: “As an adversative, μήν normally balances, denoting that a fact coexists with another fact opposed to it: ‘yet’, ‘however’” (Denniston 1934/1950, 334). He also notes (p. 335): “In prose, often answering a preceding μέν”, quoting a number of examples from Plato. However, in this case, μήν in colon 26 cannot possibly correspond to μέν in colon 23, as should be clear from the above analysis.

³⁵⁸ As for the relations between cola 26 and 27 and cola 28 and 29: **node X** is a symmetrical relation between two quasi-synonymic expressions “small task” and “easy task” (an appositional Chain); **node W** links a matrix clause (epistemic marker?) to a postposed complement clause, a relation which is quite common but pragmatically idiosyncratic.

- Theodorus continues to be the intermediary between Socrates and the Stranger (the two obvious protagonists in the introductory segment) until 217c in which Socrates addresses the Stranger for the first time directly (ὦ ξένε), after which Theodorus does not speak anymore until the beginning of the *Politicus*.
- Likewise, Socrates completely vanishes from the floor as soon as Theaetetus is introduced as the Stranger's partner in conversation.

Different factors might be investigated in order to get a grip on these problems:

- Are the mechanisms which organize turn-taking in Ancient Greek conversation different from ours, e.g. in such a way that there is a preference rule for breaking up multi-party conversations into a sequence of one-to-one conversations? or is this rather a feature of a specific genre of conversation?³⁵⁹
- To what extent does the Platonic dialogue reflect an existing genre of conversation and to what extent is it an 'artificial' literary device?
- Does the social status of the participants play a role? what is then the relation between the Stranger, Socrates and Theodorus (Theaetetus evidently standing apart due to his age and his status as a pupil of Theodorus)? In connection to this, the notoriously enigmatic identity of the Stranger has to be dealt with.

³⁵⁹ I would like to suggest here that the application of conversation analytical techniques to Greek texts would make up a rich field for further investigation. For instance, a thorough investigation of the different types of question-answer pairs in Plato could have important consequences for the understanding of the contents of some passages (see e.g. Hoekstra & Scheppers 2003, where we emphasize the importance of the fact that Theaetetus does not seem to understand the Stranger's explanations). Likewise, turn-transition in general could be investigated as such (not only in Plato, but also e.g. in tragedy and comedy).

20. Topic development in conversation (Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b)

The main issue in Plato's *Cratylus* is the 'correctness' (ὀρθότης) of the names. This issue, the importance or even the sense of which may elude the modern reader, is a typical issue within the context of the archaic state of the reflection on language, which is characterized by a number of (quasi-)magical presuppositions about the close bond between an object or person and its/his name (for a brief exposition of some of these presuppositions, see Hoekstra & Scheppers 2003).

The dialogue can easily be divided into two parts on the basis of the fact that in the first part Socrates talks with Hermogenes, convincing him that Cratylus is right in claiming that words teach us something about the nature of things (385a-427c), and in the second part Socrates talks with Cratylus, trying to show him that the position he takes leads to serious problems (428b-440e). This line of argument results in an ἀπορία.³⁶⁰

The excerpt is taken from the first part of the dialogue, i.e. Socrates' argument in favor of the notion that names teach us something about the οὐσία of things. It seemed useful to briefly situate the excerpt within the overall structure of the conversation between Socrates and Hermogenes, which develops in several stages:

(a) *preparatory investigation (385a-391b): the name as a tool*

Socrates first shows that a name is like a tool: it has a purpose (to teach and discern the οὐσία of a thing, i.e. 'what a thing is'; cf. 388c Ὀνομα ἄρα διδασκαλικὸν τί ἐστὶν ὄργανον καὶ διακριτικὸν τῆς οὐσίας ὡσπερ κερκὶς ὑφάσματος), it is produced by a specialist craftsman (the νομοθέτης) and it is intended to be used, the specialist user who can judge the craftsman's work being the expert conversationalist (διαλεκτικός).

(b) *the correctness of a well-made name: the issues (391b-397c)*

The investigation of the main issue of the 'correctness of the names' starts with a few methodological problems: which experts to turn to?, what about names which are handed down from father to son? what about the relation between the meaning of a word and its form in terms of the letters and syllables that constitute it? Socrates illustrates his exposition with accounts of a number of personal names of (mostly) heroes and concludes that these are not good examples and proposes to look at the names of the gods first.

(c) *the etymological investigations I: non-primary names (397c-421c)*

The main part of Socrates' investigations consists of a sequence of etymologies, grouped in different series, which are intended to give an overview of the possible ways in which the 'giver of names' has proceeded in order to produce names which convey the οὐσία of the objects they name:

- a digression on θεός, δαίμων, ἦρωες, ἄνθρωπος, ψυχή and σῶμα (397c-400c);
- a series of names of gods, as announced in 397b (400c-408d);
- a series of names of forces of nature: stars, sun, moon, fire, seasons ... (408d-410e);

³⁶⁰ Part 1 of the dialogue is preceded by a short introduction (383a-384e), which might be argued to belong with Part 1 (because Cratylus hardly speaks). The two parts are separated by a transitional passage (427d-428b), in which the floor is handed over to Cratylus and Hermogenes retreats.

- a series of names of ‘virtues’ (τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν), or perhaps rather ‘human functions’: thought, wisdom, knowledge, righteousness, good/bad, ... (411a-421c; this is the part the excerpt below is taken from).

In the course of his investigations, Socrates demonstrates his method and occasionally comments on it. Basically he tries to show how the ‘natural’ meaning of a word (i.e. the fact that its form fits the object it is applied to) derives from the combination of a few primary names (or expressions), which is then (‘afterwards’) modified by the addition, subtraction and/or modification of a number of ‘letters’.

(c) *the etymological investigations II: the primary names (421d-427d)*

The next step in the investigation is a logical one: one should examine in what way the primary/elementary names, from which the other names are derived, fit the essence of whatever they name. The answer is logical as well: one should look at the meaning of the components of these names, i.e. ultimately at the ‘letters’ they are made of. Socrates then demonstrates this thesis by discussing the intrinsic meanings of the letters ρ, ι, φ, ψ, σ, ζ, δ, τ, λ, ν, α, η, ο and shows how they are reflected by the meanings of a number of words they occur in. Thus, the wellformedness (so to speak) of the primary names depends on their being composed of the right letters (i.e. the letters whose meaning corresponds to whatever the name names) and the other words are made on the basis of these words.

For the purpose of understanding the excerpt analyzed here below it is important to remember:

- (i) that the excerpt is part of very long and highly structured context in which the conversation develops according to a -pragmatically speaking- quite uniform pattern: a general super-topic is announced (e.g. τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν), which is then subdivided in several series of lemmata; each of these lemmata typically consist of the introduction of the lemma (i.e. the word that will be analyzed) followed by the body of the lemma (i.e. its etymological analysis);
- (ii) that Socrates is using these ‘etymological analyses’ as a demonstration of the thesis that the ‘giver of names’ proceeded in such a way that the names correspond to the οὐσία they are intended to convey: he does not present these ‘etymologies’ for their own sake but in order to make a more general methodological point.

Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b

<p>ΣΩ.</p> <p>1 Τί οὖν</p> <p>2 ἔτι ἡμῖν λοιπὸν τῶν τοιούτων;</p> <p>ΕΡΜ.</p> <p>3 Ταῦτα τὰ περὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν,</p> <p>4 συμφέροντά τε καὶ λυσιτελοῦντα καὶ</p> <p>ὠφέλιμα καὶ κερδαλέα</p> <p>5 καὶ τὰναντία τούτων.</p> <p>ΣΩ.</p> <p>6 Οὐκοῦν</p> <p>7 τὸ μὲν "συμφέρον"</p> <p>8 ἤδη που κἂν σὺ εὔροις</p> <p>9 ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐπισκοπῶν·</p>	<p>Socrates</p> <p>Well,</p> <p>what further words have we left of this kind?</p> <p>Hermogenes</p> <p>Those related to the good and the beautiful:</p> <p>‘advantageous’ and ‘profitable’ and ‘useful’ and</p> <p>‘gainful’,</p> <p>and their opposites.</p> <p>Socrates</p> <p>Well.</p> <p>As for ‘συμφέρον’ (‘advantageous’),</p> <p>you too might now find out about it,</p> <p>if you look at what we said before.</p>
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10	τῆς γὰρ ἐπιστήμης	Because to ἐπιστήμη ('knowledge')
11	ἀδελφόν τι φαίνεται.	it looks somewhat akin:
12	οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δηλοῖ	it means nothing else
13	ἢ τὴν ἅμα φορὰν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων,	but the 'motion of the soul in company with things'
14	καὶ	and
15	τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πραττόμενα	(the fact) that what is realized by such a situation
16	"συμφέροντά" τε καὶ "σύμορα" κεκληῖσθαι	is called συμφέροντα and σύμορα,
17	ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι.	is from συμπεριφέρεσθαι ('moving around together').
	ΕΡΜ.	Hermogenes
18	"Εοικε.	So it seems.
	ΣΩ.	Socrates
19	Τὸ δέ γε "κερδαλέον"	And 'κερδαλέον'
20	ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρδους.	is from 'κέρδος'.
21	"κέρδος" δὲ	And 'κέρδος',
22	νῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέλτα ἀποδιδόντι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα	if you put a nu instead of the delta in this name,
23	δηλοῖ ὃ βούλεται·	it shows what it means:
24	τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν	"good",
25	κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ὀνομάζει.	that's what it names in a different way.
26	ὅτι γὰρ κεράννυται	Because it gets 'mingled' (κεράννυται),
27	ἐς πάντα διεξιόν,	when passing through everything,
28	ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπονομάζων	wanting to name this function of it,
29	ἔθετο τοῦτομα·	one gave it this name.
30	δέλτα <δ> ἐνθεῖς ἀντὶ τοῦ νῦ	And by inserting a delta instead of the nu,
31	"κέρδος" ἐφθέγγετο.	one pronounced 'κέρδος'.
	ΕΡΜ.	Hermogenes
32	"Λυσιτελοῦν" δὲ	And 'λυσιτελοῦν',
33	τί δῆ;	what about it?

20.1 Preliminary remarks

- (1) The text of this excerpt presents a few problems, both insofar as the establishment of the text is concerned and insofar as its syntax and meaning are concerned. For the textcritical and syntactic issues in cola 12-17, I refer back to section 11.6(3a). The contents of this deceptively simple passage on closer scrutiny are not always crystal-clear either and may require a few explanations:
- Cola 10-11: a little before this passage (in *Cra.* 412a),³⁶¹ Socrates has formulated an etymology for the word ἐπιστήμη ('knowledge'), which involved the notion that "the soul follows the things which are in movement".
 - Cola 12-17: there is a problem with the expression τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πραττόμενα ('what is done by something/someone like that'): what does the demonstrative τοῦ τοιοῦτου refer to? One might think of the ψυχή mentioned in the previous colon, but 'something like the soul' does not seem to be a likely expression in Plato (what things are 'like the soul'?). Another possibility is τὸ "συμφέρον" itself, but this would yield a

³⁶¹ *Cra.* 412a καὶ μὴν ἢ γε ἐπιστήμη μὴνυει ὡς φερομένοις τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπομένης τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἀξίας λόγου, καὶ οὕτε ἀπολειπομένης οὔτε προθεούσης· διὸ δὴ ἐμβάλλοντας δεῖ τὸ εἶ "ἐπεῖσθήμην" αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν.

dubious meaning as well: “what is done by something like the advantageous is called advantageous”. Perhaps it refers to the whole phrase “τὴν ἅμα φορὰν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων”, in which case the entire sentence means “the fact that the effects of a situation like the one in which ‘the soul moves together with the things’ are called συμφέροντα is motivated by their etymological relation with συμπεριφέρεσθαι (‘moving around together’), which makes sense in the context, although the formulation is needlessly complicated.

- Cola 21-31: it may be useful to paraphrase the argument: κέρδος (‘profit’) comes from κέρνος (not attested with a meaning suitable to this context) which in its turn comes from the verb κεράννυμι (‘to mingle’); cf. Plato & Dalimier (trad. & comm.) 1998, 254-255, n. 307. The third person here rendered by ‘one’ (colon 29 and colon 31) is the hypothetical ‘maker/giver of names’ which plays an important (though instrumental) role in the discussion.³⁶²

(2) This being said, we can now take a look at a few formal features of the text that can be expected to be relevant for our analysis of the discourse structure underlying the text.

- (a) The overall structure of this excerpt as well as of the wider context around it is obviously determined by the different words that are successively analyzed by Socrates. The excerpt itself is the beginning of a new series of words, all belonging to the same general semantic class of ‘values’ (good, bad, profitable, useful, etc.). This series is introduced by Hermogenes, as a reply to Socrates’ invitation (cola 1-5). Then, the discourse structure of the excerpt (and beyond) consists of the successive analysis of the following words:
- first, συμφέρον (cola 7-17);
 - then, κερδαλέον (cola 19-20);
 - next, κέρδος (cola 21-31);
 - cola 32-33 announce the analysis of the next word: λυσιτελοῦν, which consists of a very long single turn by Socrates.

Each of these parts is introduced by a **fronted topic-NP** in a separate colon, in which the word that will be dealt with is introduced. The text-articulating function of these topic-cola is obviously similar to the functions of the fronted agents/subjects in the previous excerpts. Note that the fronted topics in this excerpt (colon 7, colon 19, colon 21 and colon 32) need not coincide with the subject of a main finite clause. Also note the use of the following **particles**:

- the use of μέν and δέ in connection with the topic-switches (colon 7, colon 19, colon 21, colon 32) looks familiar, in that it is all in all quite similar to topic-switches we observed in the previous excerpts;
- particularly characteristic for this excerpt is the use of γάρ (colon 10, colon 12, colon 24, colon 26);
- note Socrates’ use of οὖν (colon 1) and Οὐκοῦν (colon 6) at the beginning of the major turn-transitions.

- (b) An obviously relevant feature of the excerpt is its conversational set-up: two participants interact and the discourse consists of different ‘turns’. Thus, an obvious criterion for

³⁶² The reference to the similarity between κέρδος and ἀγαθός in cola 24-25 probably refers to the ‘etymology’ of the latter word in *Cra.* 412c, in which Socrates analyses ἀγαθός as “the admirable (ἀγαστός) part of the swift (θούος)”.

articulating the text is its segmentation into 6 turns (cola 1-2, cola 3-5, cola 6-17, colon 18, cola 19-31, cola 32-33) and to investigate the mechanisms that assure the coherence between the different turns (e.g. the question-answer pattern of cola 1-2 and cola 3-5). However, this criterion is not always insightful with respect to the overall discourse structure, which seems to develop in part independently of turn-transitions, e.g.:

- colon 18 (Hermogenes interjecting Ἔοικε) can hardly be seen as a pivotal point in the discourse structure (cf. also the text-critical problem, section 11.6(3a) above);³⁶³
- the function of colon 32 (starting a new turn by Hermogenes) is not different from the functions of colon 7, colon 19, and colon 21, all of which are fronted topic-NPs, introducing a new item for analysis;
- likewise, it would not have made a great difference for the overall development of the discourse if the introduction of the whole series of words in cola 1-5 had been operated by a single speaker, instead of by means of the cross-speaker question-answer device (note that, conversely, the question-answer device itself might even have been used by a single speaker).

Thus, the question arises again as to the structural differences *and* homologies between **dialogue and monologue**: what is it that makes conversation coherent? is it something different from whatever makes a single-speaker discourse coherent? what is the function of prototypically conversational patterns (question-answer and other turn-transition devices) in terms of their function with respect of the overall structure of the conversation? to what extent is Platonic dialogue different from everyday conversation? Etcetera.

20.2 P-tree analysis

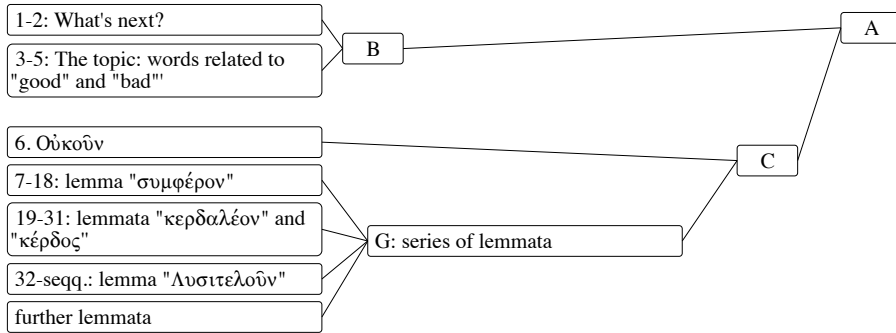
We can now analyze the excerpt by means of the P-tree device, starting by its overall structure.

A few salient features of the overall structure are immediately clear:

- **node A** links (i) an introductory part (cola 1-5), in which the overall topic -i.e. the list of Topics which are going to be dealt with- is specified, with (ii) the body of text in which these Topics (or ‘lemmata’) are successively addressed; the regulatory function of cola 1-5 can be viewed as a conversational equivalent of titles in printed texts;
- **node B** determines the internal structure of the introductory part (see section 20.2(2a) below);
- **node C** links the marker οὐκοῦν to the contents it has scope over (see section 20.2(1a) here below);
- from colon 7 onwards the overall structure of the discourse is determined by a Topic-chain (**node G**) linking the various segments that correspond to these Topics/lemmata; this chain extends beyond the present excerpt (see here above);
- the internal structure of each lemma is determined by a Topic-Comment node with the lemma-word itself as a Topic (cf. **node H**, **node T**, **node U**, **node J** in the analyses in section 20.2(2) here below).

³⁶³ It is not entirely clear to me what the exact effect of this intervention by Hermogenes would be. To what extent is this type of marker purely phatic (cf. “uh huh”)? Or does it imply some kind of reservation on the part of the speaker (as opposed to e.g. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν)? If so, is this reservation in this case a matter of not understanding or of not being convinced?

Figure 20.2a: P-tree of Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b (overall structure)



- (1) A few problematic aspects of the overall structure of the excerpt can immediately be noted as well.
- (a) The scope of **οὐκοῦν** in colon 6 is not immediately clear. The following options can be considered:
- The marker οὐκοῦν might have scope over just cola 7-17; however, δέ in colon 19 evidently corresponds to μέν in colon 7, which implies that οὐκοῦν has to have scope over the two markers at once.
 - Thus, οὐκοῦν might have scope over cola 7-20. However, there seems to be a close relationship between cola 21-31 and cola 19-20 (the etymology of κέρδος is only relevant in the context of the etymology of κερδαλέον, announced in the above).
 - Hence, the scope of οὐκοῦν may be very wide, probably extending over the whole Topic-Chain announced in cola 1-5 (i.e. its scope extends beyond the present excerpt, perhaps until the end 417c (the end of the ‘positive’ lemmata announced at the beginning of the excerpt), or even up until halfway 419b (where the whole series, including both ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ lemmata is closed).

I will adopt this last option in the present analysis (**node C**). The particle οὐκοῦν thus marks Socrates’ acknowledgement of the task of dealing with the series of value-words quoted (and their opposites).

- (b) The following conspicuous issue is the interpretation of the **turn-taking** in this excerpt:
- In cola 1-6 three turn transitions occur: (a) in cola 1-2 Socrates takes the initiative to go on with a next series of etymologies, but leaves it up to Hermogenes to determine what exactly these lemmata will be; (b) in cola 3-5 Hermogenes supplies a next series of lemmata; (c) in colon 6 Socrates starts the new series of lemmata, announced by Hermogenes. Thus, the entire exchange serves as an introduction to the ensuing chain of lemmata.
 - The turn-transitions implied by Hermogenes’ intervention Ὀυκε (Colon 18) have little structural impact.³⁶⁴ Under the interpretation adopted above, it does not interfere with

³⁶⁴ One might consider οὐκοῦν (colon 6) as introducing a question (having a narrower scope, until colon 16), in which case the turn-transition at colon 18 would be a Question-Answer pair, but an analysis as a mere phatic reply is possible as well and yields a better account of the scope of the particles (this interpretation has been adopted here); ὄυκε then simply marks the transition between the first two lemmata of the series.

the development of Socrates' exposition in that Socrates simply goes on with the next lemma, introduced by *δέ*, which he would have done anyway (cf. the corresponsive *μέν* in colon 7).³⁶⁵

- In cola 32-33 Hermogenes acknowledges the fact that the previous lemma has been terminated and takes the initiative of introducing the next one, in the cooperative fashion typical of Socratic dialogue.

(2) In the remainder of this paragraph, I will review the internal structures of the main parts that make up the P-tree of this excerpt:

- (a) cola 1-5: the introductory part, in which the next series of lemmata is introduced;
- (b) cola 7-17: the lemma *συμφέρον*;
- (c) cola 19-31: the lemma *κερδαλέον* (including the lemma *κέρδος*);
- (d) cola 32-33: the beginning of the lemma *λυσitteλοῦν*.³⁶⁶

As I have already pointed out, node A indicates that the introductory segment (a) has scope over the remainder of the excerpt; likewise, node C indicates that the marker *οὐκοῦν* has scope over the Topic-Chain dominated by node D; *ἔοικε* has been analyzed as a phatic intervention, marking the boundary between segments (b) and (c).

(a) **Cola 1-5 (node B)**

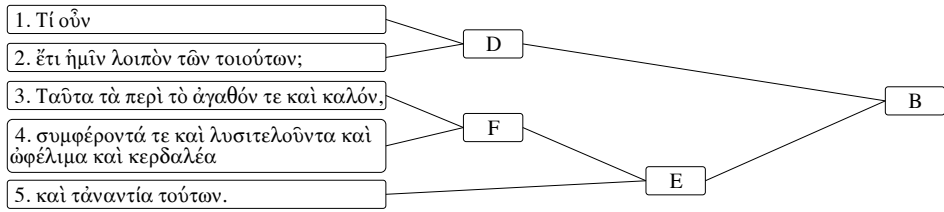
Cola 1-5 constitute the introduction to a series of etymologies. The internal structure of this introductory part is dominated by a Question-Answer pair (**node B**), linking cola 1-2 (Socrates' question) with cola 3-5 (Hermogenes' reply). Note that Socrates' question does not present any substantial content and merely delegates the choice of the next topic to Hermogenes. Hence node B can best be considered a Question-Answer pair of the more general type Marker-Content.

The internal structure (**node D**) of cola 1-2 (if the segmentation is accepted) is of the recognizable type in which an interrogative is fronted in a separate colon, and serves as an illocutionary marker.

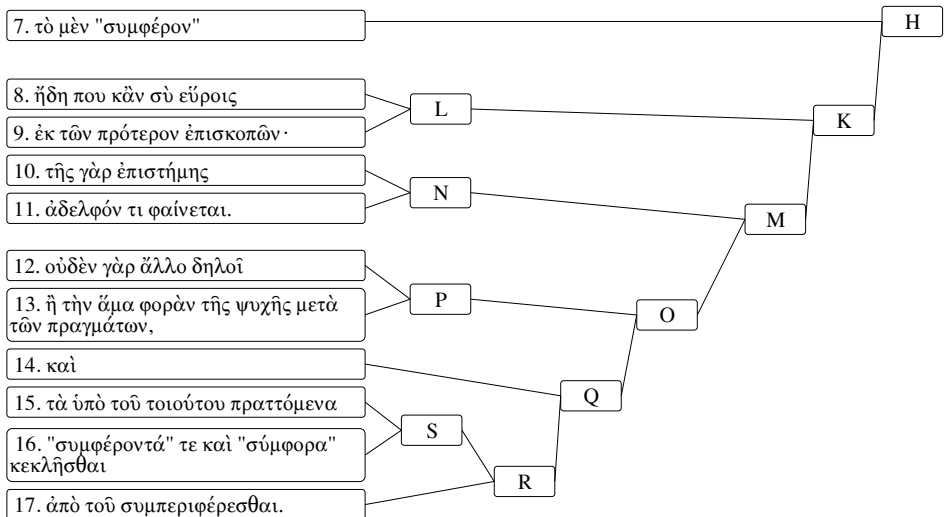
Cola 3-5 contain the actual contents of the exchange and introduce the next topic to be dealt with: a number of lemmata having to do with "good" and their opposites (see already section 11.6 above): **node E** simply links the 'positive' side of the series of words with the 'negative' side of the same series (list); **node F** is an Elaboration relation, making the general description "things related to the good" explicit by stipulating a number of lemmata, which will afterwards be analyzed.

³⁶⁵ Note, however, that the start of the following lemma (*Τὸ δέ γε "κερδαλέον"* colon 19), accompanied by *δέ* in a typical way, is strengthened by the additional particle *γε*, which may be an additional confirmation of the reading adopted: perhaps Socrates acknowledges the weakness (?) of Hermogenes' assent and 'promises' -so to speak- that the next lemma is going to be different.

³⁶⁶ Actually, an analysis of a wider excerpt would perhaps make it necessary to introduce an extra Contrast (or List) node, echoing node E, in between what is now node C and node G (or between node A and node C?) in order to link the 'positive' words to their opposites (cf. *Cra.* 417d in which the 'negative' series is introduced). As already explained in 13.4 I read the excerpts in relative isolation, for the sake of simplicity.

Figure 20.2b: P-tree of Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b (introductory segment)(b) *Cola 7-17 (node H)*

Cola 7-17 are dominated by a Topic-Comment node (**Node H**) of a type that is very common in the etymological parts of the *Cratylus*: it links a lemma-word (i.e. colon 7) with the commentary that makes up the body of the lemma (cola 8-17).

Figure 20.2c: P-tree of Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b (lemma συμφέρον)

Pragmatically speaking, colon 7 τὸ μὲν "συμφέρον" has evidently scope over the whole segment cola 8-17, but syntactically it is integrated with cola 8-9 alone (syntactic sandhi): τὸ μὲν "συμφέρον" can only be the object of εὐροις in colon 8, but, if anything, must also be understood as the subject of φαίνεται in colon 11 and δηλοῖ in colon 12; however, in cola 15-17 no grammatical function can be attributed to it. Thus, the Comment part of node H (cola 8-17) consists of four syntactic main clauses (preceded by a common fronted topic):

- (i) cola 8-9, main verb εὐροις;
- (ii) cola 10-11, introduced by γάρ, main verb φαίνεται;
- (iii) cola 12-13, introduced by γάρ, main verb δηλοῖ;
- (iv) cola 14-17, introduced by καί, main predicate ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι (under the reading and interpretation adopted above).

First, I will discuss the internal structures of these four clauses:

- (i) Clause (i) (cola 8-9): **Node L** links the claim that the meaning of *συμφέρον* is already known to Hermogenes with the postposed present participle indicating the way he can find this out (“by looking at what was said before”); this relation is not a prototypical case of any of the node types discussed so far. Note, however, that the Thematization Principle seems to apply: with respect to the encompassing structure the main point is that the key to the etymology of *συμφέρον* can be found in the previous discourse. Likewise, “you too can find it out” is not a pragmatically important point and can -in fact- be dispensed with. Thus, it can be considered as one of the many interactional devices that do not really determine the overall development of the discourse. Hence one might argue for an analysis as a Marker-Content relation.
- (ii) Clause (ii) (cola 10-11): **Node N** links the fronted NP *τῆς γὰρ ἐπιστήμης* in colon 10 with the rest of the clause in colon 11. This NP is not a topic-NP: the point of the clause is not to present a fact concerning *ἐπιστήμη*, namely that is akin to *συμφέρον*; on the contrary, the word *ἐπιστήμη* in itself already conveys the main point of the clause qua explanation of the claim that the etymology of *συμφέρον* can be retrieved from something said before (see here below). As such, the position of colon 10 is a result of emphatic fronting, and colon 11 merely finishes the clause, by adding elements that might have been thematic, but certainly cannot be rhematic. Thus, node N may be analyzed as an Elaboration node, possibly of the Comment-Topic type.
- (iii) Clause (iii) (cola 12-13): **Node P** links the two members of a corresponsive pattern ‘nothing else - than...’.
- (iv) Clause (iv) (cola 14-17):
- **Node Q** is an obvious Marker-Content node, indicating the scope of *καί* over cola 15-17.
 - **Node S** is a Topic-Comment pattern, linking subject (“that what is realized by such a situation”) and predicate (“is called *συμφέροντα* and *σύμφορα*”) within the infinitival clause.
 - **Node R** is a Topic-Comment pattern linking the infinitival clause (grammatical subject) with the main grammatical predicate *ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι*.

Next, we can look at the relations holding between the different clauses, which together make up Socrates’ commentary on the lemma “*συμφέρον*”.

Socrates first states that the etymology of “*συμφέρον*” is already known to Hermogenes if he only looks at what has been said before (cola 8-9); obviously, this statement as such is not sufficient as an account for the meaning of that word and requires explanation (or rather explicitation). Socrates starts the required explanation/explicitation (marked by *γὰρ* in colon 10) by referring to his own etymology of *ἐπιστήμη* (cola 10-11); again, this explanation is allusive and requires further explanation. This is offered in cola 12-17 (again marked by the presence of *γὰρ* in colon 12), consisting of the explicitation of the way in which the ‘meaning’ of *συμφέρον* is akin to *ἐπιστήμη*. This explicitation consists of two parts (linked by *καί* in colon 14): (i) a paraphrase of the ‘meaning’ of *συμφέρον* (which is indeed akin to Socrates’ paraphrase of the ‘meaning’ of *ἐπιστήμη*) in cola 12-13; (ii) an explicitation of how this ‘meaning’ is linked with the form ‘*συμφέρον*’ in cola 14-17.

In terms of P-nodes, this analysis of the internal structure of cola 8-17 can be formulated as follows:

- **Node O** links the two elements of the explicitation of the claim that the meaning of συμφέρον is akin to the meaning of ἐπιστήμη (as analyzed by Socrates). As such, node O can be analyzed as an argument-Chain, marked by καί.³⁶⁷
- **Node K** and **node M** are both Elaboration nodes of the type Explanation, both marked by γάρ. Node K has scope over node M, which yields what I would like to call an **Elaboration-cascade**. This type of cascade shows a few idiosyncratic features: formally, an explanation is pragmatically subordinated to a statement, but the explanation is actually much more contentful than the statement (in this case the ‘statements’ are so allusive -as compared to the explanation- that they have a suspensive effect reminding us of cataphora: the statement in cola 8-9 (“you might find it out yourself...”) -in a way- does not present any proper substantial content and only announces its interpretation, but this interpretation is again suspended by an almost equally allusive subordinated statement (“it is akin to ἐπιστήμη”) which announces the substantial analysis in cola 12-17.³⁶⁸

(c) *Cola 19-31*

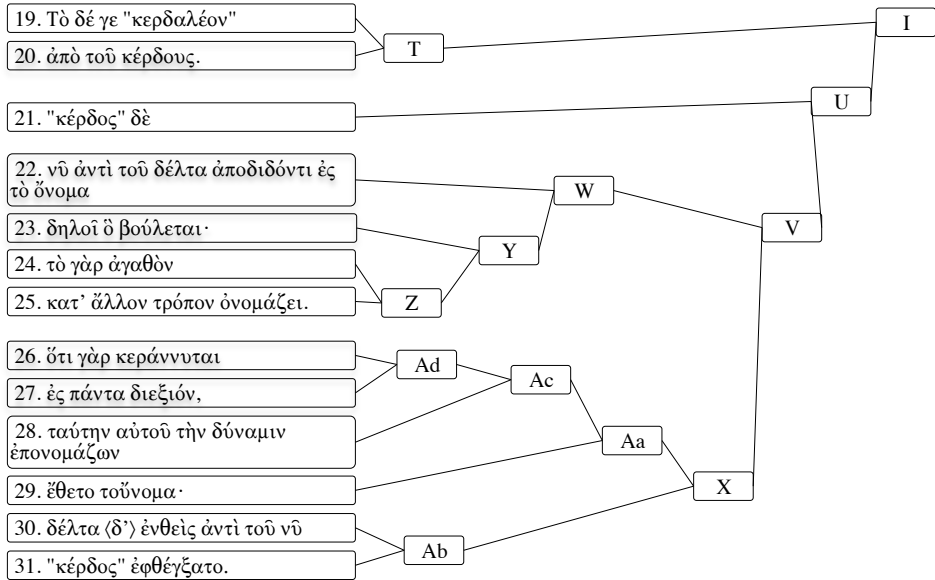
The lemma κερδαλέον, announced in colon 4, is dealt with in two steps: first, it is stated that κερδαλέον is from κέρδος; then κέρδος is dealt with. One might want to argue that κερδαλέον in colon 19 has scope over cola 19-31. However, the particle δέ accompanying κέρδος (colon 21) makes an analysis in which the announced lemma κερδαλέον is dealt with in two separate steps more probable. **Node I** is then a Topic-Chain linking the two related lemmata. **Node T** and **node U** are both Topic-Comment nodes of the familiar type (lemma-body).

As was the case under node H (see here above), the body of the lemma κέρδος under **node U** again consists of a succession of clauses, two of which are introduced by γάρ. Also note the syntactic sandhi: the Topic NP (lemma) κέρδος (colon 21) is the grammatical subject of cola 22-25, but not anymore of the main finite verb of cola 26-31. I will use this syntactic cue as the starting point for my analysis of cola 22-31. Thus, **node V** links two parts with each other:

- (i) cola 22-25 in which Socrates claims that changing the delta of κέρδος into a nu is the key to understanding κέρδος;
- (ii) cola 26-31 in which he explains how the namegiver coined the word κέρδος.

³⁶⁷ Note that the use of the particle καί suggests that the two elements together constitute a single argument. This is appropriate in that both elements (the notion that the word denotes the movement (φορά) of the soul with (συν) the things *and* the notion that the naming of συμφέροντα and σύμφορα is based on this “moving around together”/συμπεριφέρεσθαι) are needed for cola 12-17 to be able to function as an explicitation of cola 10-11.

³⁶⁸ Note that the -at first sight- similar succession of two occurrences of γάρ in colon 24 resp. 26 requires a different analysis.

Figure 20.2c: P-tree of Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b (lemma κερδαλέον/κέρδος)

I will first analyze the internal structures of the two branches of V and then come back at their exact relationship.

- (i) Socrates starts his account of the etymology of κέρδος by preparing the setting in which his analysis will proceed: the prerequisite for understanding κέρδος is that you change the delta of κέρδος into a nu; everything else follows. As for the details of the internal structure of cola 22-25, the following relations can be discerned:
- **Node W** links the participle clause ‘if you put a N instead of the Δ into κέρδος’ to the main finite clause ‘it is clear what it means’, including the explanation of this in cola 24-25. The syntactic pattern (also note the present participle) suggests a Setting-Event relation. In this case, the participle presents the situation in which the meaning of the word under scrutiny is clear (i.e. if you read it as κέρνος instead of κέρδος); this situation can (perhaps) be viewed as a ‘frame’ for the desired result (i.e. that its meaning is clear), but it should be observed that the operation expressed by the participle is much less ‘given’ and much more substantial than the contents in the main clause, which suggests an anti-thematic relation. Apparently, a number of patterns have idiosyncratic uses in non-narrative contexts; perhaps this relation between a recipe and its result is one of these.
 - **Node Y** links the claim that κέρδος is another name for ‘good’ (cola 24-25) to the idea that ‘κέρδος shows what it means’ if you change it into κέρνος. As suggested by the use of the particle γάρ, the reference to (his own etymology of) ἀγαθός (‘good’), is indeed just an explanation of the previous claim. Node Y thus represents an Elaboration relation.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁹ One might want to argue that cola 24-25 explain cola 22-23 taken together (following the syntax) instead of just colon 23. The present analysis conveys the wider scope of the setting ‘if you put a N instead of the Δ into κέρδος’.

- **Node Z** links the emphatically fronted NP τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν with the syntactic rest of the clause, exactly like node N (cola 10-11).
- (ii) The internal structure of the explanation in the right branch of node V is dominated by a node which is marked by δέ in colon 30 (**node X**). This relation links the namegiver's action of 'coining the name κέρνος' (cola 26-29) with the action of 'changing it into κέρδος' (cola 30-31). Socrates' explanation of the origin of κέρδος (as of other words) involves a personal agent ('the namegiver') and is thus a 'story' in the normal sense of the word. Node X can then be analyzed as being of exactly the same type as the Plot nodes that we encountered in the narrative passages. The internal structure of these two branches of node X can be analyzed as follows:
- **Node Aa** links the action of 'giving the concept of gain/κέρδος the name κέρνος' itself (cola 29) with a complex fronted formulation of the how and why of this action, i.e. of the motivation for this coinage (cola 26-28). A Setting-Event pattern may be argued for, but the relation is not canonically thematic, in that the action conveyed by the main clause (ἔθετο τοῦνομα in colon 29) as it is formulated has much less substantial contents than its 'setting' (?) (cf. node W here above). The fronted motivation for coining the name κέρνος consists of 2 parts: (i) the fronted adverbial clause in cola 26-27 and (ii) the fronted participial clause colon 28. The relation **node Ac** between cola 26-27 ("because it gets mingled") and colon 28 ("naming this power") is difficult to assess. Note that the demonstrative as well as αὐτοῦ in τούτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν are used anaphorically, referring back to the contents of cola 26-27. One can argue that the two segments both contribute to presenting the motivation for coining κέρνος and in a way make the same point; thus conceived, the node may be analyzed as some kind of Appositional Chain. As for **node Ad**, the participle clause ("passing through everything") in colon 27 is a descriptive Afterthought explaining in what sense κέρδος "gets mingled".
 - **Node Ab** links the participle clause colon 30 ("he put a Δ into κέρνος instead of a N") to the main finite clause colon 31 ("he uttered the word κέρδος"). We should note the aorist tense of the participle instead of the present in colon 22 and colon 28. A regular Plot relation looks very plausible here: in the vein of Socrates' habitual narrative-like way of picturing the 'making' of words as the result of the namegiver's practice, the insertion of a Δ instead of a N can easily be viewed as two successive actions in that procedure.

Thus, cola 26-31 - in which Socrates explains the fact that κέρδος ('profit') is 'mingled with everything' (κεράννυται) is the reason why one called it κέρνος, after which one changed it into κέρδος - can be interpreted as an explanation (**node V**) for the claim in cola 22-23 including the subordinated claim in cola 24-25, which corresponds with the use of the 'explanatory' particle γὰρ.³⁷⁰

³⁷⁰ It could be objected that the claim 'if you change Δ into N, the meaning of κέρδος is clear', to which -according to this analysis- the details of the explanation are subordinated, is in se not very informative. One might argue (i) that the point of Socrates' account is to explain what κέρδος really means, (ii) that colon 22 'it is clear what it means' is just a kind of cataphoric expression announcing the main point, and (iii) that cola 24-29 therefore should be analyzed as rhematic with respect to cola 21-23. However, one should keep in mind that Socrates' 'etymologies' are illustrations of the overall claim that the correctness of the words depends on whether they are 'made correctly' (see the introductory paragraphs to the present section 20 here above). Thus, the procedure according to which the various words are derived from 'primary words' are indeed more relevant to the overall point Socrates wants to

Something needs to be said about the fact that the very end of cola 21-31 exactly echoes its very beginning. Such a pattern, in which the last element of a complex segment is the same as the very first, has been categorized as a ‘figure of speech’, under the name ‘**cyclus**’ (cf. e.g. κύκλος in Hermogenes *Inv.* 4.8). Still, such patterns can readily occur in not overtly rhetorical everyday speech. The cyclic form of this excerpt involves not just the first and the last colon, but even the first two and the last two of the segments, as can be seen from the following schematic representation:

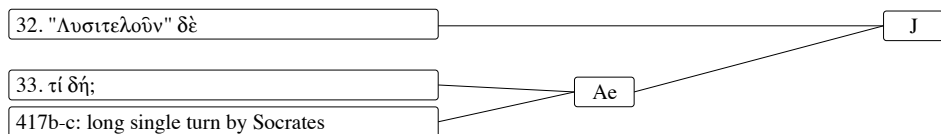
IU21 (κέρδος)	→	IU22 (N instead of Δ)	→	IUs 23-25
IU31 (κέρδος)	←	IU30 (Δ instead of N)	←	IUs 26-29

Still, this passage does not leave the impression of being the result of heavy engineering. The cyclic nature can be seen as the ‘natural’ result of an on-line process: Socrates starts his account of the etymology of κέρδος by claiming that ‘if you change the delta into a nu, you can see what it means’ (cola 2-3), and adds that it means something like ‘good’ (cola 4-5). Next, he explains what he means by this, by pointing out the link between κέρνος and the verb κεράννυμι and that it was that what the ‘giver of names’ had in mind when he made this name (cola 6-9). At that point, Socrates has nothing more to add and rounds off by explaining - somewhat redundantly - that ‘the giver of names’ then simply changed the nu in κέρνος into a delta and thus said ‘κέρδος’. Thus, nothing in this pattern specifically requires rhetorical engineering.³⁷¹

(d) **Cola 32-33**

Cola 32-33 introduce the following lemma ‘λυσιτελοῦν’. Hermogenes’ contribution consists in a fronted topic-NP accompanied by δέ, which is the most usual way of introducing a new lemma, followed by the semantically empty question τί δῆ, which is obviously of the type Marker. Thus, I propose an analysis, in which colon 32 is the Topic of the lemma, having scope over the whole body starting at colon 33 (**node J** is a Topic-Comment node), and in which **node Ae** is a Marker-Content node introducing the body of the lemma. The fact that the question in colon 33 syntactically belongs with its subject in colon 32 can in the present framework be analyzed as a -fairly straightforward case- of merger due to ‘syntactic sandhi’.

Figure 20.2d: P-tree of Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b (beginning of lemma)



make than the actual meaning of the words itself, which is consistent with the analysis presented here. Cf. section 13.1.1 on the notion that dominance relations in a P-tree represent the **intentionality** of the segments of an action, and section 13.2(7) on **content-inheritance/percolation**.

³⁷¹ Similar patterns can be observed throughout the etymological passages of the *Cratylus*; cf. e.g. the lemmata σοφία (*Cra.* 412b), ἀγαθός (*Cra.* 412c), ἀνδρεία (*Cra.* 413e-414a), μηχανή (*Cra.* 415a), etc. Compare Example 0.2c, in which the Setting (“I was .. uh cārrying my gārbage,” IU2) of the first half of the story is repeated in an afterthought-like fashion as the last IU of this first half (“.. I was still cārrying my gārbage.” IU7), thus achieving a similar kind of closure.

20.3 Final remarks

- (1) This would obviously not be a ‘perfect example’ if it had been my intention to achieve ‘clean results’ or to somehow ‘prove’ a specific hypothesis about discourse coherence. Despite a major textcritical problem and a number of linguistic and content-related issues, I decided to keep this excerpt in, as it does show the analytical tools developed here in their ‘natural’ habitat, including the complexities of Classical scholarship. In this sense, this *is* a good example of how the P-tree device forces us to reflect in a much more detailed way about a number of discourse analytical (and other) issues that otherwise may be passed over too easily or simply swept under the carpet.
- (2) Despite the difficulties, the above analysis allows for some clear conclusions:
- (i) First of all, this excerpt presents some good examples of the similarity between cross-speaker patterns and monologic ones. Thus, we noticed that the introduction of a new topic/lemma by means of what I called a Topic-Comment node can proceed in very similar ways within a speaker turn (e.g. the introduction of the lemmata συμφέρον in cola 7-17, κερδαλέον in cola 19-20 and κέρδος in cola 21-31) or across speakers (e.g. λυσιτελοῦν starting at colon 32). Generally speaking, the turn-transitions in the etymological passages seem to hardly interfere with the overall structure of the discourse, which might have developed in very similar ways if this were a monologue.³⁷²
- (ii) Next, the analysis sheds some light on a number of issues concerning this Platonic dialogue in terms of discourse genre. First of all, it is clear that the excerpt above participates in a number of features that are typical of expository genres. Thus, we were able to point out a number of specifically expository discourse patterns:³⁷³
- the particular implementation of the Topic-Comment pattern, in which the Topic consists of a key concept (in this case a ‘lemma’) serving as a ‘heading’ for the Comment;
 - various patterns in which an initial claim is explained by means of an elaboration on this claim (often marked by particle γάρ), including an elaboration-cascade, as well as argument-chains linking segments that have similar functions with respect to the overall argumentative points made.³⁷⁴

Furthermore, the excerpt illustrates a clear correlation between the ‘roles’ of the participants and the structure of the discourse/conversation: it is easy to see that all the substantial/rhematic contributions are made by Socrates and many (but not all) ‘thematic’ ones (including sometimes the choice of Topics) by Hermogenes. This asymmetry in the distribution of the contents over the participants in the dialogue *and*

³⁷² I would like to stress that this does *not* imply that Platonic dialogue therefore is only pseudo-conversational discourse: many real-life conversations show structures that are very much akin to monologic structure, as far as the development of the substantial content is concerned (cf. section 13.3.4 above).

³⁷³ Still, we also noted pseudo-narrative patterns, due to Socrates’ ‘mythological’ presentation of the ‘namegiver’s’ activities.

³⁷⁴ Such observations may contribute to an investigation the history of the development of expository genres (cf. van der Eijk 1997) from the point of view of some kind of historical pragmatics.

its functional correlation with the overall structure of the discourse is clearly a genre-related feature of Platonic dialogue, which reminds us of the roles of the ‘*persona doctoris*’ and the ‘*persona discipuli*’ in various (real-life and/or literary) didactic genres.³⁷⁵ Again, the issue has to be raised as to which of the features of Platonic dialogue are *sui generis*, in how far they reflect real-life practices, and to what extent these practices are culture-specific.

³⁷⁵ See Pierrard 2006-2007 for an application of this notion to Lucretius.

21. Aspects of the relationship between discourse structure and linguistic form

As pointed out in section 13.1.4 above, adopting the Pragmatics First claim gives rise to the following important issue: how does the underlying pragmatic structure relate to the other more superficial levels of the language, and most notably syntax? Of course, it will not be possible to systematically deal with this vast issue here. Section 21 will therefore remain largely programmatic and consists of merely an illustration of some conspicuous aspects of the issue about which my research happened to allow me to say something interesting, mostly by cross-referencing back to the analyses above:

- section 21.1 addresses a number of aspects related to various features of verb-centered clauses (incl. sentence closure, the discourse functions of participles and of the tenses);
- section 21.2 enumerates the various grammatical shapes that the Topic-Comment pattern can take;
- in section 21.3 I give a summary overview of my analysis of the functions of various discourse markers (especially a number of Greek particles);
- in section 21.4 I briefly recapitulate my findings on some focus-related issues.

21.1 Discourse structure and verb-centered constituents

The clause, as defined by the fact that it is ‘held together’ by a verb (or sometimes by a non-verbal matrix predicate), has been the basic element of most approaches to discourse cohesion, so that ‘discourse’ could even be defined as ‘linguistic structure beyond the clause’ (see e.g. Martin 2001). In the present discourse analytical approach, syntactic structure is not taken as a starting point, and -accordingly- the functions of clauses (and sentences) need to be accounted for independently. In the present section, I will try and formulate a few preliminary remarks concerning the status of verb- and clause-related aspects of grammatical structure in terms of their pragmatic functions.

(1) *Sentence closure*

Traditional approaches have used the notion of ‘**sentence**’ as indicating a level of articulation beyond the clause. The ‘sentence’ can also be defined as a prosodic segment characterized by ‘sentence-final falling pitch’. Though somewhat fuzzy, this notion has a strong intuitive appeal. However, sentence closure (in the prosodic *and* in the syntactic sense) is not a very stable feature of discourse structure, in that it apparently depends on local on-line cognitive processing factors.

- (a) First of all, it should be noted that the relevant **prosodic** features are rather limited in scope: the range of the vocal substratum in which prosody is grounded does not allow for the multilevel embedding of contours in one another. Likewise, the timing of pauses (both in production and in perception) is a rather local phenomenon as well, and not a high precision tool for the marking of the hierarchical status of boundaries. Generally speaking, the prosodic delimitation of higher level discourse segments (beyond the IU) is not a very

dependable criterion for the underlying hierarchical pragmatic structure, as is evidenced by the fact that in retellings the content of IUs (as well as the pragmatic relations between them) tends to remain stable but the points at which sentence-closure is realized are more variable (cf. Chafe 1994, 142-144).

- (b) Similar closure effects can be achieved by **syntactic** devices, such as (in English) the alternation between verb clauses with an overt lexical subject/topic, verb clauses with an anaphoric subject and verb clauses with a zero-subject, as well as by the alternation of asyndeton and linking by means of discourse markers. The following constructed example illustrates the effects of such alternations.

Example 21.1a: syntactic and prosodic sentence closure effects

.. He got úp,	.. He got úp,	.. He got úp,
.. he went to the kíitchen,	.. went to the kíitchen,	.. went to the kíitchen,
... he took a kníife,	. and took a kníife.	. took a kníife,
. and thén,	.. And thén,	
. he actually kíilled the párrrot.	he áctually kíilled the párrrot.	.. and áctually kíilled the párrrot.

Evidently, the effect of the different wordings is that the same Plot sequence is articulated into different sub-sequences: the pattern “X, Y, and Z” suggest a closer relation between X, Y and Z than “X, and (then) Y, and (then) Z”; likewise, verb clauses without any overt subject are felt to be closer to the previous verb clause than clauses with a repeated overt subject. Also note the fact that whenever sentence closure occurs (in whatever way this is achieved) the last segment in the resulting sub-sequence seems to be more salient than the other segments in the sub-sequence, by virtue of the Thematization Principle (in its general, cognitive, interpretation). For similar effects due to the ‘participle-finite verb’ alternation in Ancient Greek, see paragraph (3) here below.

(2) *The alternation between verbal aspects and tenses of finite verbs*

The last few decades a substantial amount of energy has been devoted to the description of verbal aspect, both in the context of general linguistics and for specific languages including Ancient Greek. Recently, attention for the discourse functions of the different verbal aspects has been increasing (e.g. Thelin (ed.) 1990). Some of the results of these investigations are becoming part of mainstream linguistics (e.g. grammars for educational purposes: for Ancient Greek, Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 65-71; for English, Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1998, 161-181).

Within the context of the present study, it is not possible to review this literature. Suffice it to briefly indicate a few patterns in which the use of the tenses seems to be more or less directly linked to P-tree structure.

- (a) First, let us consider the use of the tenses in the following example of recorded speech (already quoted as Example 0.2c).

Example 21.1b (Chafe 1994, 208)

- 1 Like óne day I was just
 2 .. I was .. uh càrrying my gárbage,
 3 to the gárbage dùmp.
 4 ... And this gùy came b`y on a mótorcycle.
 5 And thèn he went bàck in the óther dirèction,
 6 and wènt back in the óther dirèction,
 7 .. I was stìll càrrying my gárbage.
 8 And thén,
 9 .. I`m wáking =,
 10 .. like bàck to my hóuse and,
 11 .. this .. mòtorcycle gets sló=wer and slówer and slówer,
 12 ... and it`s like .. ró=lling,
 13 and fínally this gùy is sàying,
 14 ... I lóve you.
 15 ... I lóve you.
 16 ... I lóve you.

The use of the tenses in this example, as far as the aspectual distinction ‘continuous tense - simple tense’ is concerned, seems to obey a rather simple pattern:

- (i) *simple tenses are used for the events that make up the plot (‘foreground’)*:
- “this guy came by on a motorcycle” (IU4);
 - “he went back in the other direction” (IU5, IU6);
 - “this motorcycle gets slower and slower and slower” (IU11);
 - however, a continuous tense is used in “this guy is saying” (IU13), but this use can be shown to be idiosyncratic (see below);
- (ii) *continuous tenses are used for Settings and other backgrounded segments*:
- both Setting-segments that articulate the binary structure of the story: “I was carrying my garbage” (IU2) and “I’m walking” IU9 (N.B.: alternation past continuous and present continuous (historical present));
 - “I was still carrying my garbage” (IU7).

Only two occurrences do not seem to fit this neat pattern:

- “and it’s like rolling” (IU12) at first sight is the next step in the series of events that makes up the story, it cannot be said to be more in the background than the ‘slowing down’ in IU11;
- “this guy is saying” (IU13), which is undoubtedly the ‘climactic’ event of the whole anecdote, is expressed by a continuous tense as well.

As for the first apparent exception, it should first be noted that ‘to roll’ as it is used here (without an indication of a ‘path’) does not easily allow for a simple tense, in that it semantically represents a ‘state’ rather than an ‘event’. As far as the function of the segment with respect to the pragmatic structure of the story is concerned, the pertinent factor seems to be that the ‘rolling’ is a description of the end-state of the slowing down in IU11. Also note that this state de facto serves as the relevant background state of the scene for the next event to happen in.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁶ An exact parallel of such an end-state, expressed by means present and perfect participles (which are typically used to convey backgrounded information in Ancient Greek) can be observed in Lysias 3,15, cola 7-9 (βωδῶντα καὶ κερκαγῶτα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον) of the excerpt analyzed in section 16 (also quoted as Example 21.1c here below). See paragraph (3) here below.

As for the second apparent exception, one can immediately note that -in contrast with the other occurrences of the continuous tense- this occurrence could easily be replaced by a simple tense (“and finally this guy said”) without a resulting change in the discourse structure. Indeed, this occurrence seems to correspond to an attested ‘special use’ of the continuous tenses: “The particular frequency of the verbs *saying* and *thinking* with the past progressive is puzzling. It seems that the use of the past progressive with these verbs (as in *She was saying ...*, *I was thinking ...*) conveys a more vivid imagery and a greater sense of involvement than the simple past tense” (Biber & Johansson & Leech & Conrad & Finegan 1999, 475).³⁷⁷

It has also been observed that -besides the intrinsic values of the tenses- a *change* of tense can mark pragmatic structure (cf. Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1998, 166-167). Thus, in the example above the binary structure of the plot is marked by the fact that the first part is in the past tense whereas the second part is in the historical present.

- (b) Let us now turn to the excerpt of an Ancient Greek narrative analyzed in section 16, and try to evaluate the use of the tenses of the finite verbs in the same vein of thought.

The alternation of indicativus aoristi and indicativus imperfecti in the main finite clauses is interesting. A first example occurs in cola 2-6 of the excerpt.

Example 21.1c (Lysias 3,15-16)

2	τὸ μὲν μειράκιον	the boy
3	εἰς γναφεῖον κατέφυγεν,	he took refuge in a fuller’s shop.
4	οὗτοι δὲ	But those men,
5	συνεισπεσόντες	they all burst in,
6	ἤγον αὐτὸν βίβη,	and proceeded to drag him along violently,
7-9	βοῶντα καὶ κεκραγῶτα καὶ μαρτυρόμενον	while he was shouting, and crying out, and calling for witnesses.

The aoristus κατέφυγεν in colon 3 and the imperfect ἤγον in colon 6 convey actions performed by the contrasted agents “the boy” and “the gang”. The aoristus can be seen as the default tense in such a case. The imperfect may be interpreted in terms of one of its basic ‘semantic’ functions as an expression of an unfinished process (the gang will keep dragging the boy along with them, at least until they ‘get as far as Lampon’s house’), or more specifically in terms of its ‘inceptive’ use: the gang starts dragging the boy along, but within the context of the ensuing plot sequence, a number of events (the attempted intervention by the crowd; the gang beating some of the bystanders up, ...) occur before they actually leave the scene. In this context, one might also invoke the ‘immediative’ use of the imperfect: the beginning of the event described by the imperfect immediately follows upon the previous event, typically in the aoristus (see Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 68-19). Under this interpretation, this alternation between aoristus and imperfectum can be linked to the pragmatic function of the Contrast (node D, marked by μὲν in colon 2 and δὲ in colon 4) between the action by the boy (cola 2-3) and the series of actions by the gang (cola 4 seqq.) within the narrative structure: throughout my analyses of the excerpts from Lysias, I have remarked upon the fact that Ancient Greek is quite prone to express contrasts between successive events in a Plot sequence. In these cases, the contrasts typically express

³⁷⁷ The quotation is about the ‘past progressive’ whereas our example is present progressive. However, this present tense is a ‘historical present’, which can be interpreted as an additional sign of “more vivid imagery and a greater sense of involvement”. “Vividness” and “involvement” are evidently applicable to the segment under scrutiny.

interrelated actions (e.g. action-reaction) of (typically co-present) antagonists, which fits in nicely with the proposed analysis of the alternation of aoristus and ‘immediative’/‘inceptive’ imperfectum.³⁷⁸

- (c) Something needs to be said about the alternation between historical present and past tense as well. **Sicking & Stork 1997** introduce an interesting hypothesis concerning the use of the present to relate past events: “The primary function of the H[istorical] P[resent] is to lift out from their context those narrative assertions that are essential for what the speaker has stated to be his immediate concern: together the HP assertions constitute what is primarily important with respect to the purpose the narrative is to serve in its context” (Sicking & Stork 1997, 165). In the case of a Lysias speech, this would coincide with those elements of the narrative that are important for the main points of the argumentation (for a brief analysis of Lysias 1 and Lysias 3 in this vein of thought, see Sicking & Stork 1997, 134-136). If this hypothesis were correct, we would expect a correlation between rhematicness and HP. However, if we take a closer look at the details of passages in which HPs alternate with past tenses, this is not borne out, as can be seen in the following excerpt from Lysias 1,23 (cf. section 15 above):

Example 21.1d (Lysias 1,23[b])

8	κἀγὼ	And I,
9	εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνη ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς θύρας,	I tell her to watch the door,
10	καταβάς σιωπῇ	I go downstairs in silence,
11	ἐξέρχομαι,	and I go outside,
12	καὶ ἀφικνοῦμαι ὡς τὸν καὶ τόν,	and I go and call on such and such,
13	καὶ	and
14	τοὺς μὲν	some of them
15	ἔνδον κατέλαβον,	I could get hold of at their homes,
16	τοὺς δὲ	and others
17	οὐδ’ ἐπιδημοῦντας ἤδρον.	I found to be not even in town.

Contra Sicking & Stork’s claims (using this very example), I would like to point out the following facts. For the purposes of Euphiletus’ defense, in which he needs to show that there was no premeditation (πρόνοια) on his part (see section 14 above), the most important element in this passage is exactly the one expressed by means of the aoristus, i.e. the fact that he did not find all the neighbors he called upon in town cola 14-17, rather than the fact that he had to go out in silence.³⁷⁹ That this *is* the most important element in this excerpt is confirmed by the fact that he comes back to it in the context of his refutatio (Lysias 1,41; cf. section 14.3 above; see also Sanders 2008).

The most important link between discourse structure and the alternation between past tenses and historical present seems to be that the switch typically coincides with a discourse boundary of some sort. In Example 21.1d both the verbs of the contrasted events in cola 14-17 are aoristi, which make them stand apart from the previous verbs in the (historical)

³⁷⁸ Cola 13-17 (τῶν μὲν λεγομένων | οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζον, | Μόλωνα δὲ τὸν γναφέα | καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἐπαμύνειν ἐπιχειροῦντας | συνέκοψαν.) of the same excerpt exhibit a similar imperfectum-aoristus alternation, again in a contrastive ...μὲν...δέ pattern, but this time in the reversed order and without an agent-switch. Probably, a semantic interpretation of the imperfect ἐφρόντιζον as an expression of an unfinished process will do (the gang’s ‘paying no mind’ to what the bystanders are saying is an ongoing process while they beat them up).

³⁷⁹ Euphiletus would have gone downstairs and outside in silence, even if there were premeditation on his part, although -admittedly- not if he had dragged Eratosthenes off of the streets into his house. But in that case he would not have had to go outside and gather a gang either.

present tense.³⁸⁰ This is also true of the alternation between historical present and past tenses in Lysias 3, 15-17, as analyzed in section 16 (see section 16.1(2), criterion 4):³⁸¹ all such switches coincide with important discourse boundaries within the P-tree structure of that excerpt.

- (d) As compared to the uses of the tenses in finite clauses discussed here above, the use of the tenses / verbal aspects in Ancient Greek is much more directly linked to the functions of these segments in terms of P-tree structure in the case of the participles. I will come back to this aspect here below.

(3) *The pragmatic functions of participles in Ancient Greek (incl. verbal aspect)*

Throughout my analyses of narrative patterns in section 11 and sections 14-17, I have drawn the attention to the following pattern: the events and states that make up a narrative are presented by means of finite verbs or participles in alternation. An analysis of this ‘participle - finite verb’ alternation in connection with P-tree structure yields some interesting results. Three types of patterns can be observed:

- (i) *one or more participles expressing events (typically in the aoristus tense) are followed by a finite verb*

The pattern does not involve particles and all verb forms follow each other in asyndeton. This pattern typically coincides with a Plot sequence (or a similar expository pattern): the different verb forms all present events in chronological order. The switch from participles to finite verb indicates closure and has effects like the sentence closure devices discussed in paragraph (1) above.

Cf. examples like εἰπὼν ἐκείνη ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς θύρας, | καταβάς σιωπῆ | ἐξέρχομαι in Lysias 1,23[b] analyzed in section 15 or συνεισπεσόντες | ἦγον αὐτὸν βίᾳ in Lysias 3,15 analyzed in section 16 and many more examples in the narrative parts of any Lysias speech.

- (ii) *one or more participles expressing a state or event (typically in the present or perfect tense) followed by a finite verb expressing an event or state*

This pattern typically corresponds to a Setting-Event structure: the participles constitute the background for the events presented in the main clause (cf. Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 148, where the distinction with pattern (i) is however not made; see below). In its purest form it can be observed e.g. in ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὖσι παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν | ἐγὼ | μόνος βαδίζων | ἐντυχάνω (section 16, cola 18-21), as well as in Lysias 1,22 τούτῳ | ἡλίου δευκότος | ἰόντι ἐξ ἀγροῦ | ἀπήντησα.³⁸² In Lysias 3,15-17, the genitivi absoluti συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν καὶ ἀναγκαζούντων τῷ πράγματι καὶ δεινὰ φασκόντων εἶναι τὰ γινόμενα (cf. section 16, cola 10-12) can be

³⁸⁰ Note that this tense-switch coincides with the switch in the background of the scene between ‘in the house’-‘outside the house’, which could be interpreted in terms of the traditional ‘vividness’ or ‘involvement’ interpretation of the historical present: obviously, there is more adrenaline/drama involved in sneaking out of the house than in finding out that some people are in and others are not.

³⁸¹ Note that in Lysias 3,15-17 the switch to the historical present coincides with a switch from Simon’s gang as the main agent to the speaker as the main agent and the converse switch back to the past tense with the converse agent-switch. Again, this seems to lead in favor of the traditional interpretation of the historical present.

³⁸² Translation: “This Sostratus, after the sun was down, was coming from the country, when I met him”. Literally: “That one, the sun having been set, him being coming from the country, I met”.

analyzed in a similar way: even if the first of the three participles is an aoristus³⁸³ and even if the three participles present actions rather than proper states, a definite backgrounding effect can be observed in that the actions of the bystanders are evidently not part of the backbone of the story of the violent encounters between the speaker and Simon's gang.³⁸⁴

(iii) *finite verb followed by a right-dislocated or postposed participle*

Postposed participles typically constitute afterthoughts or descriptive Elaborations (cf. Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 149). In Lysias 3,15-17 (section 16, colon 28-29) a clear example of an afterthought occurs οὐκ ἠθέλησαν εἰπεῖν | ἐρωτηθέντες, where the postposed participle indicates an event ("being asked") which obviously occurs before the action in the main finite verb ("did not want to answer").

In cola 7-9 of the same excerpt, the present and perfect participles βοῶντα καὶ κερραγῶτα καὶ μαρτυρούμενον are a descriptive Elaboration of the behavior of the boy while the gang dragged him along. Note that this postposed stative verb clause is parallel to "it was rolling" in IU12 of Example 21.1b above. In both cases, the Elaboration presents the description of the final state of the preceding action: it does not present a separate step in the story, though temporal iconicity seems to be observed.³⁸⁵

Plato *Cra.* 417a τὸ μὲν "συμφέρον" | ἤδη που κἄν σὺ εὔροις | ἐκ τῶν πρότερον ἐπισκοπῶν (cf. section 20.2(2b) above) shows a similar pattern, but in a non-narrative context.

This account, especially my analysis of pattern (i), is at odds with the view that participles always correspond to backgrounded elements (cf. e.g. Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 148). In the examples quoted sub (i), the participles obviously belong to the development of the main story line. If these participles were all 'backgrounded' elements, the 'main line' of Ancient Greek narratives would be extremely meager as compared with e.g. English narratives.

A related point can be made concerning the view that participia aoristi express temporal anteriority (see *ibidem*): this view looks incompatible with Ancient Greek's lack of a 'consecutio temporum' in general and of the 'aspectual' (i.e. non-temporal) character of the Greek tenses (except for the indicativus). Besides, many examples can be quoted in which this view is descriptively inadequate.³⁸⁶ According to the present account, the impression

³⁸³ The aorist tense can be explained by the fact that the 'gathering round' (literally: "running together") of the crowd in the present context cannot be represented as a process or state; on the contrary, the segment serves as a stage-setter in which the crowd is introduced on the scene.

³⁸⁴ Note that in the genitivus absolutus, the three participles are coordinated by means of καί, which suggests that they are not backgrounded with respect to each other, whereas in the example quoted from Lysias 1,22, we have a case of asyndeton, which corresponds to the fact that the first participle ("when the sun had set") is in the background of the second participle ("when Sostratus was coming from the country").

³⁸⁵ Note also the (partial) parallel with "I was still carrying my garbage" (IU7 in Example 21.1b) in which the postposed state also constitutes the relevant background for the ensuing events.

³⁸⁶ Especially, cf. cases in which a postposed participium aoristi indicates *how* the action in the main verb is performed, in which case there is obviously no anteriority of the participle with respect to the finite verb, e.g. Plato *Plt.* 263c-d ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτὸν ἐπονομάζειν ἔσχες ὄνομα, θηρία καλέσας ("because you were able to apply the same name to all of them, calling them 'beasts'"), in which case the 'calling' can hardly be considered as occurring before the 'applying a name'; Plato *Tht.* 167d ἀμφισβῆται λόγῳ ἀντιδιεξεληθῶν ("... dispute [sc. my doctrine] by arguing against it"); Lysias 17,6 ὀρισάμενην οὖν ἐμαυτῷ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς ἐκείνων οὐσίας οὐ τὴν ἀκριβείαν ἐπισκευόμενος, ἀλλὰ

that participia aoristi inherently imply anteriority is a side-effect of the frequency of the pattern in which a Plot sequence is realized by a series of participles expressing Events, viewed as successive points in a sequence (hence the aoristus tense), and closed off by a finite verb (with a sentence closure effect). Likewise, the impression of (relatively) greater salience of the events expressed by finite verbs -which may (mistakenly) lead to the impression of ‘backgrounding’ for the participles- may have to do with the ‘sentence closure’ effect mentioned here above.³⁸⁷

21.2 Grammatical shapes of the Topic-Comment pattern

Throughout my analyses, one of the most common discourse patterns has been the Topic-Comment relation. In the present study, the Topic-Comment distinction is not necessarily linked to clause- or sentence-level. Still, it is no wonder that the same terms often are used in connection with analyses, which do take the clause as a basic unit (for Ancient Greek, see e.g. Dik 1995, followed by e.g. Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 146-150).³⁸⁸ Indeed, one could regard the following pattern as the prototypical realization of a Topic-Comment node:

- the Comment is a main finite clause, either simple or complex (extended with one or several syntactically subordinated clauses, or consisting of two or more coordinated clauses);
- the Topic is a fronted argument of the verb (or verbs) in the Comment (most typically the subject, but other arguments qualify as well).

The close association between argument-status (esp. subject-status) and pragmatic Topic-status is easily understandable from our definition of ‘aboutness’ in terms of the ‘central role’ the Topic has in the Comment (see sections 13.2(8) and 13.3.3(2) above). It follows that this ‘central role’ will be reflected by a prominent structural position in the semantic structure of the Comment. A case in point is the recurrent pattern of topicalized agents.³⁸⁹ Although the most clear-cut and prototypical examples of Topics indeed have the shape of a simple NP (most typically a subject NP, but other argument NPs qualify equally well),

πολλῶ πλεόν ἢ τὸ δύο μέρει τῷ δημοσίῳ ὑπολιπόν (“so I have limited my own share to one third of their property, not *making* an exact calculation, but *leaving* much more than two thirds to the Treasury”).

³⁸⁷ For the issue of the tenses of the participle, see Jacquinod & Lallot 2003, 21-22, giving a summary of a lecture by Anna Pompéi for the ‘Groupe Aspect Verbal’, in which it is argued -as I do here- that participles only reflect aspectual values and that any temporal relations which one might want to read into their uses should be considered as effects of these aspectual values. Despite the enormous amount of work which has been spent on the issue of the verbal aspect in Ancient Greek by the ‘Groupe Aspect Verbal’, reported on in the journal *Syntaktika* and in Jacquinod (ed.) 2000, remarkably little attention has been given to participles (Jacquinod & Lallot 2003, 22: “C’est la première fois que le participe fait l’objet d’un exposé pour lui-même. Il faudra qu’on y revienne”).

³⁸⁸ Also, cf. the fact that terms like ‘psychological subject’ have been applied to what now is discussed in terms of ‘topic’. Likewise, the development of the function of syntactic subject and of nominative case in general have been discussed in terms of (the grammaticalization of) pragmatic topic function (see e.g. various contributions to Li (ed.) 1976).

³⁸⁹ Note in this context the fact that passivization can be viewed as one of the means for counteracting the inherent association of semantic agenthood and the ‘central role’ associated with subject-hood: passive constructions can be used when the agent is not pragmatically ‘central’.

Topic-segments -in the present sense- can have different grammatical shapes, as will be shown here below.

(a) **Topic = subject NP**

As has been pointed out, this is the prototypical case. A very clear-cut and highly typical case is the one in which the fronted subject NP with Topic-function is the subject of the clause and the agent of the event(s) expressed in those clauses, as in the following familiar example: Lysias 1,23 ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης | ὧ ἄνδρες | εἰσέρχεται, | καὶ ἡ θεραπεία | ἐπεγείρασά με εὐθύς | φράζει ὅτι ἔνδον ἐστί.

Likewise, the particularly frequent occurrence of subject-NPs as separate fronted IUs has been observed in the research based on recorded speech as well, as in the following examples taken from Croft 1995, 847: [.3] and then *a little boy*, | [.35] /about/ [.15] a bic a red bicycle, | that was too big for him, | [.8] he stopped – .. some .. *a little boy*, | [.5] on a .. bicycle who's coming by.

However, Topics in general (like grammatical subjects in general) obviously need not coincide with human agents taking part in events, e.g.: Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b (analyzed in section 20) shows different examples, e.g. *Τὸ δέ γε "κερδαλέον"* | ἀπὸ τοῦ κέρδους. | "*κέρδος*" δὲ | νῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ δέλτα ἀποδιδόντι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα | δηλοῖ ὁ βούλεται. ... – Plato *Plt.* 302e *Μοναρχία τοίνυν* | ζευχθεῖσα μὲν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀγαθοῖς, οὓς νόμους λέγομεν, ἀρίστη πασῶν τῶν ἕξ. – Plato *Sph.* 262a *Τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ὄν δῆλωμα* | ῥῆμά που λέγομεν.

Note that these functions can be fulfilled by different kinds of pronouns (including relatives): Lysias 13,43 *Οὔτοι μὲν τοίνυν*, | ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, | ὑπ' Ἀγοράτου ἀπογραφέντες | ἀπέθανον. – Lysias 13,57 ὅς γε | τὸν τε Μενέστρατον ἀπογράψας | αἴτιος ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ Μενεστράτου ἀπογραφείσι ...

(b) **Topic = oblique NP**

Whereas in English and related modern languages the correlation between Topic-hood and grammatical subject-status is very strong and the sentence-initial position of the subject shows a high degree of grammaticalization, in Ancient Greek, with its 'free word order', Topic NPs can occur in many different grammatical cases and functions: Plato *Plt.* 289d *Τοὺς μὲν δὴ μεγίστους ὑπηρετάς*, | ὡς ἐνθένδε ἰδεῖν, | τοῦναντίον ἔχοντας εὐρίσκομεν οἷς ὑποπεύσαμεν ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ πάθος. – Plato *Plt.* 260c *Τὴν ἐπιτακτικὴν δὴ τέχνην* | πάλιν ἂν εἶη θεατέον εἴ πη διέστηκεν. – Plato *Tht.* 163e Ὁ δὴ | εἶδέ τις, | μέμνηται που ἐνίοτε; – Lysias 13,46 οὓς, | ὧ ἄνδρες δικασταί, | ποίαν τινὰ οἴεσθε γνώμην περὶ τούτου ἔχειν, | ἢ ποίαν τινὰ ἂν ψήφον θέσθαι, ... – Plato *Tht.* 186e Ὡι γε, | φαμέν, | οὐ μέτεστιν ἀληθείας ἄψασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐσίας.

Especially note the case of fronted partitive genitives introduced as 'super-Topic' for several 'sub-Topics', as e.g. in the following examples: Plato *Sph.* 219d *Κητικῆς δὲ* | ἄρ' οὐ δύο εἶδη; τὸ μὲν ..., τὸ δὲ λοιπόν, ... – Plato *Sph.* 220b *Νευστικοῦ μὴν* | τὸ μὲν πτηνὸν φύλλον ὀρώμεν, | τὸ δὲ ἔνυδρον;

(c) **Topic = non-integrated NP**

Occasionally, Topics can coincide with fronted NPs that do not have a determinable syntactic function with respect to the main finite clause. Thus, for instance, in the French example "Moi, mon père est policier". In Greek, something similar occurs in the well-known case of 'nominativus pendens' (cf. Slings 1992; Slings 1997a).

(d) **Topic = PP**

Though PPs in general are not typical Topics, the preposition **περί** (both with the accusativus and the genitivus) is often used to introduce a Topic. This construction can occur in a rather loose attachment to the following sentence at large, but can also quite often be analyzed as belonging grammatically to some verb within the ensuing Comment, e.g. Lysias 1,3 *περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ζημίας* | ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς νομίζω τὴν αὐτὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδένα οὕτως ὀλιγώρως διακεῖσθαι, ὅστις οἶεται δεῖν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν ἢ μικρᾶς ζημίας ἀξιόους ἡγεῖται τοὺς τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων αἰτίους. In this example the PP is grammatically best analyzed as belonging with *διάνοιαν ἔχειν*, though the scope of the Topic pragmatically extends to the whole paragraph as quoted. – Plato *Sph.* 243c-d *Τῶν μὲν τοίνυν πολλῶν πέρι* | καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο σκεψόμεθ', | ἂν δόξῃ, | *περὶ δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου τε καὶ ἀρχηγοῦ πρώτου* | νῦν σκεπτέον. – Plato *Sph.* 262e καὶ *περὶ τὰ τῆς φωνῆς ἀὐ σημεία* | τὰ μὲν | οὐχ ἀρμόττει, | τὰ δὲ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῶν | λόγον ἀπηργάσατο. Here the PP cannot be construed as an argument of any of the verbs in the comment.³⁹⁰

(e) **Topic = complement clause**

Fronted clauses that are the complement of a finite verb in the Comment can have Topic-status. This case is not very different from the cases discussed sub (a) and (b): here as well, the Topic is an argument of the verb in the Comment, only the morphological status is different:

- fronted infinitival construction as Topic: Plato *Plt.* 285d Ἦ που | τὸν τῆς ὑφαντικῆς γε λόγον αὐτῆς ταύτης ἔνεκα θηρεῦειν | οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐθελήσειεν νοῦν ἔχων · ...
- fronted complex infinitivus introduced by an article as Topic: Plato *Sph.* 253d Τὸ κατὰ γένη διαίρεισθαι | καὶ | μήτε ταῦτὸν εἶδος ἕτερον ἡγήσασθαι | μήτε ἕτερον ὄν ταῦτὸν | μὴ οὐ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς φήσομεν ἐπιστήμης εἶναι;
- fronted finite complement clause: Lysias 3,15-16 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀδικήσας, ᾧ βουλή, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτω, | ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενομένων | μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν. Cf. English examples such as “*That he was stupid, that I knew. But that stupid? No.*”

(f) **Presentative constructions**

Whenever a ‘brand new’ Topic (i.e. a Topic that is not accessible in any way at the moment that the dominating structure requires its presence on the scene) has to be introduced (see here below), the most frequent grammatical shape of the segment in which this occurs is one of the so-called presentative constructions (cf. Dik 1995, 22-235):

- Expressions like “**there was ...**” (as in “There was a guy. And he ...” at the beginning of a story),³⁹¹ or **ἔστι** (as in Plato *Sph.* 261e ἔστι γὰρ ἡμῖν που τῶν τῆ φωνῆ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν δηλωμάτων διττὸν γένος, introducing two brand new concepts - ὄνομα and ῥῆμα into the discourse; cf. Hoekstra & Scheppers 2003) are prototypical presentative constructions. They are semantically empty and their specific function is to introduce new Topics.
- Though not semantically empty, some verbs can function as ‘**stage-setters**’ in that they can be used to introduce new items on the discourse scene; these verbs include

³⁹⁰ In English, the PP constructions “As for X, ...”, “As far as X is concerned, ...” have comparable functions.

³⁹¹ Cf. Chafe 1980, 19. For the fact that these constructions are to be distinguished from constructions with ‘existential there’ (both pragmatically and syntactically), see Lakoff 1987, 463-585.

‘epistemic’ verbs such as ‘to hear’ or ‘to see’ (as in “Suddenly, I saw a guy with a gun ...”) as well as verbs of motion (as in Lysias 1,15 προσέρχεται μοί τις πρεσβυτις ἄνθρωπος; cf. also “And this guy came b`y on a motorcycle” in Example 21.1b above). Note that in these cases, as in the case of the presentative constructions with ‘to be’, the verb tends to come first and the item to be introduced towards the end of the segment, both in English and in Greek.

(g) **Topic = main finite clause or VP**

In some cases a predicate or even an entire main finite clause is part of the Topic (cf. Dik 1995, 207-235; Rijksbaron & Slings & Stork & Wakker 2000, 147). As for the form which the Comment part takes, different cases can be distinguished:

- Comment = adjunct: this pattern is well established in recorded speech data; the adjunct may be a subordinate adverbial clause or some other adverbial or prepositional constituent, e.g.:
 - “She hit him | *because he stole her toys.*” Many examples of this type can be found in Chafe 1984.
 - Several examples with an adverbial or prepositional constituent as Comment can be found in the anecdote from Chafe 1987 (see Scheppers 2003 for a P-tree analysis of the entire anecdote), e.g.: “... A--nd .. he would come into class, [...] | precisely one minute after the hour, | ... a--nd he-- .. wou-ld .. immediately open his notes up, | in the front of the room, [...]”.
- Comment = postposed argument: this case is somewhat rarer, but see several examples in Dik 1995, 209-221 (although not all Dik’s Topics necessarily would qualify as such in the present approach); the following example from the corpus may be a case in point: Lysias 3,36 καίτοι | ποτέρου χρῆ αἰτίου τῶν γεγενημένων εἶναι νομίζειν, | τοὺς φεύγοντας | ἢ τοὺς ζητούντας καταλαβεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι | πᾶσιν εἶναι δῆλον ὅτι | φεύγουσι μὲν | οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν δεδιότες, | διώκουσι δέ | οἱ βουλόμενοί τι ποιῆσαι κακόν.³⁹²

(h) **Topic = question**

In conversation (and sometimes even in monologue), the Topic-Comment pattern can correspond to a question-answer pair; cf. the fact that some approaches view Topic-hood in terms of underlying questions (e.g. van Kuppevelt 1995, van Kuppevelt 1998). Note especially the use of questions as presentative constructions: New Topics can be introduced by means of ‘**question-answer**’ patterns, as in “What about X? ...” or “How are you doing with the house?”; this kind of question-answer pairs are pragmatically a conversational equivalent to Topic-Comment pairs (see section 13.3.4(2) above for a more elaborate account and section 20 above for examples).

21.3 Markers

- (1) The study of **discourse markers** occupies a prominent position in Discourse Analysis (for references, see Schiffrin 2001) and has motivated much of the research on discourse

³⁹² Translation: “Now, | which party should one hold responsible for what happened: | those who flee, | or those who seek to capture? | In my opinion, | it is clear to all that | the *fleeing* | is done by those who are in fear for themselves | but the *pursuing* | is done by those who want to do something wrong”. Literally, in Greek the fleeing and the pursuing are main finite verbs and what I have translated with “is done by” is the grammatical subject.

coherence (see e.g. Kroon 1995). Discourse markers can be seen as the most explicit and straightforward formal reflection of the mutual relations between discourse segments (as represented by a P-tree). However, beyond the observation of a few obvious regularities, one-to-one correspondences between single lexical or grammatical markers and single pragmatic patterns are hard to establish, as is witnessed by the large number of controversies in the field of particle research (cf. e.g. Rijksbaron 1997). Still, even at first sight, many obvious correspondences between P-tree patterns and uses of markers can be quoted (cf. Schiffrin 1987; see also Chafe 1988):

- Contrast relations (or at least certain types of Contrast) are canonically marked by “but” and “on the one hand ..., on the other ...”; for the Greek particles ...μέν...δέ and ἀλλά, see here below.
- The successive steps in a Plot sequence are typically marked by “and (then) ...”; “so” and “and so” can have similar functions (Chafe 1988). For the functions of, most notably, δέ and καί in Ancient Greek, see below; εἶτα, ἔπειτα, κἄτα, etc. are frequently used in similar ways.
- Some of the canonical parts of a narrative structure (see section 13.3.5(1) above) are marked by special markers (e.g. “at first, ...”, “then suddenly, ...”, “finally, ...”, etc.).
- A Topic-Comment structure, although often not characterized by a specific marker, can occasionally be marked by constructions like “as for X, ...” and “concerning X, ...”. New Topics can be introduced by ‘presentative’ constructions, like “there was a man, ...”.³⁹³ In Ancient Greek, Topics often bear particles, typically those marking the discourse articulation which coincides with the Topic-switch (see here below).
- Some markers indicate pragmatic subordination: “like, ...”, “thus, ...”, “Consider the following example, ...”; “I shall now proceed to produce evidence to this claim ...”. This is one of the typical uses of the Greek particle γάρ (see paragraph (2d) here below).
- At the end of major segments, end-markers, often constituting a segment of their own, can occur, e.g. “that’s it” or simply “yes”. Some of these make up stereotyped branches of macrostructural nodes (e.g. “and that’s the end of the story, children” in fairy tales, or “thank you” after a speech in front of an audience).³⁹⁴

(2) Ancient Greek has a notoriously vast repertoire of lexical discourse markers, generally known as “particles”, though many words that fall outside the class of particles (if defined narrowly) could count as markers as well (for a broad implementation of the notion, see e.g. Berlage 1935). Thus, in terms of the lexical classes introduced in Part I, the following items could count as structural discourse markers:

- many /q/-particles: especially δέ, μέν, οὖν, γάρ, μέντοι, τε, τοίνυν and clusters involving these particles, but regularities between specific discourse patterns and e.g. ἄρα, δή, and μήν can be observed (cf. van Ophuijsen 1993 and the fact that Denniston

³⁹³ In written discourse, titles often entertain a Topic-Comment relation with the section they introduce; the typographical features that constitute a title as such can be viewed as (graphical) Topic markers.

³⁹⁴ Besides these purely structural discourse markers, one can distinguish ‘epistemic’ markers, ‘illocutionary’ markers and ‘interactional’ markers (see section 13.3.2(1) above), which can often be shown to also have structural functions (Schiffrin 2001, 65-67). See section 14.5 above for examples of the occurrence of vocatives at structurally crucial places in a Lysias speech and section 13.3.4(2-3) for some more theoretical remarks that might contribute to a better understanding of the link between interactional features and pragmatic structure.

- 1952/1960 stipulates ‘connective’ uses for many particles which seem to be primarily focus-particles);
- introductive particles: ἀλλά, ἀτάρ, ἤ, καί, καίτοι, οὐδέ, μηδέ, οὔτε, μήτε, οὔκουν, εἶτα, ἦ, ἄρα, οὐκοῦν, μῶν;
 - preferential Mobiles: many ‘modal adverbs’ often function as structural discourse markers: ὅμως, ἔτι, προσέτι, ἤδη, ὡσαύτως, νῦν, νυνδὴ, etc.; likewise, ordinals and demonstratives like πρῶτον, ἔπειτα, etc. can have obvious structural discourse functions.

My research did not focus systematically on particle use, which was only an instrumental aspect with respect to the overall aims of this study. Still, it seemed useful to briefly indicate a few of the more obvious correspondences between particle use and P-tree patterns, as we encountered them in my analyses in Part III. The brief notes here below will mainly consist of cross-references to the analyses above and some scanty references to the literature, insofar as that literature directly contributes to a better understanding of the patterns under scrutiny or vice versa.³⁹⁵

(a) **δέ**³⁹⁶

According to Bakker 1993, already the locus classicus on the discourse functions of this particle, δέ can be characterized as a ‘boundary-marker’, marking different kinds of discontinuity in the development of the discourse. Bakker distinguishes 3 types of discontinuity as relevant to boundaries in narrative discourse (Bakker 1993, 281):

- (i) topic-switches on sentence level (“switch-reference”);
- (ii) text-organizing boundaries related to the presentation of events and participants;
- (iii) ‘perspectival’ boundaries, related to the point of view from which the story is presented.

From the perspective of the present approach, Bakker’s distinction of function (i) ‘Topic-switches at sentence-level’ as a separate function of δέ cannot be accepted, since sentencehood itself (including the Topic-switches associated with it) is viewed as a secondary effect of underlying discourse structure. However, function (i) can easily be reduced to functions (ii) and (iii).³⁹⁷

In any case, δέ typically marks the transition to a “new step” in a sequence (cf. already Ruijgh 1971, 128-132), whether a Plot sequence (see numerous examples in the narrative passages in Lysias analyzed in sections 15, 16 and 17 above) or e.g. a Topic-Chain (see the etymological passages of the *Cratylus* analyzed in section 20 above).³⁹⁸ A good example

³⁹⁵ A systematic overview of the quickly expanding literature is not possible here and more extensive referencing would have inflated this section far beyond proportions that would be warranted by the (very limited) importance of my contribution to the issues. For references and discussion, I can especially refer to Sicking & van Ophuijsen 1993; Bakker 1993; Dik 1995, 38-51; and various contributions to Rijksbaron (ed.) 1997. See also section 7.1 above, for a number of theoretical remarks on the morphological and morphosyntactic status of particles in general.

³⁹⁶ This paragraph concerns single δέ. For ...μέν...δέ, see (c) here below.

³⁹⁷ Likewise, Bakker’s claim that the ‘special bond’ between δέ and the word or unit in P1 is a later ‘rhetorical’ phenomenon, not typical of orality (Bakker 1993, 281 and passim) may be dubious: for instance, Lysias’ narratives are often structured by the successive topicalization of various agents (very frequently accompanied by δέ); however, these narratives have an undeniable oral flavor, and the structural patterns meant here seem to correspond to patterns in spontaneous recorded speech.

³⁹⁸ This is of course only one of the parallels between narrative structure and expository structure. Cf. e.g. the parallel functions of Topics in both kinds of structure. Also note that primarily (?) or at least

illustrating the pervasiveness of δέ in its discourse-structuring function is the overall structure of the narratio in Lysias 1 (see section 14.2(2) above): every episode starts with a thematic device involving δέ: episode 1 (Lysias 1,11) Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, ὃ ἄνδρες, ...; episode 2 (Lysias 1,15) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὃ ἄνδρες, ...; episode 3: (Lysias 1,18) ἐλθὼν δὲ οἴκαδε (setting-switch); episode 4 (Lysias 1,22[b]) πρῶτον δὲ διηγήσασθαι βούλομαι τὰ πραχθέντα τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.

The occurrence of the particle very often coincides with Topic-switches and Setting-switches, in which case the particle is combined with the constituent that presents the new topic or new setting.³⁹⁹ For several Topic-switches in an expository context marked by δέ (the first of which is marked by μὲν), see section 19 above. For an example of a Setting-switch in a narrative context, see Lysias 3,15-17 (analyzed in section 16) ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐσί παρὰ τὴν Λάμπωνος οἰκίαν

The particle δέ is also frequently used as a constitutive part of more elaborate markers, involving other discourse-structuring devices. See e.g. the case of the structural marker μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, which can have wide scope, potentially even over several paragraphs, for instance in Lysias 3,15 (cf. section 16) and Lysias 1,15 (cf. section 17.1). These discourse-structuring devices may also include vocatives (see section 14.6) and other interactional markers, for instance in Lysias 1,37 (see section 14.3(2)), where the beginning of the refutatio (i.e. the second main part of the argumentatio) is marked by an interactional marker involving δέ: Σκέψασθε δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες· Likewise, Euphiletus' confirmatio (Lysias 1,28[b]-36; see section 14.3(1)) is punctuated by three readings of the law (followed by a conclusion); the first one is marked by πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, but the second and the third are marked by ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον.

(b) **καί**

As pointed out by Bakker (1993, 288), the use of καί as a connective is best understood in connection with its basic value as an 'inclusive focus particle' ('also', 'even'): "a speaker using καί as a connective [...] extends the segment he is currently engaged in, by including a new clause in its scope [...]. The result in discourse terms is that καί in comparison with δέ is *continuous*, in that it does not imply any shift whatsoever in the presentation of the discourse". As a result, καί often links different segments occurring within the scope of a single δέ (cf. already Ruijgh 1971, 129-135; Sicking 1993, 10-17; see also the excerpts analyzed in section 15 and 16).

Thus, καί can mark symmetrical relations, esp. sequences (Plots, Lists, Chains), in both narrative and expository contexts. For examples in a narrative context (typically in alternation with δέ as explained here above, see Lysias 1,23 ὁ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης, ... καὶ ἡ θεράπεινα ... κἀγὼ ... (analyzed in section 15) and a little further in Lysias 1,25-26 ἐγὼ δ' ... κἀκεῖνος ... ἐγὼ δ' For a case in which καί links two arguments for the same claim, see Plato *Cra.* 417a οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δηλοῖ ἢ τὴν ἅμα φορὰν τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου πραττόμενα "συμφέροντά" τε καὶ "σύμφορα" κεκλήσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπεριφέρεισθαι (see section 20.2(2b), on node O in the P-tree).

prototypically 'temporal' markers can have discourse-organizing functions in expository discourse, e.g. 'next, ...' or ἔπειτα.

³⁹⁹ For the fact that the various criteria that signal discourse boundaries are not always clear-cut, see my analysis of Lysias 3,15-17 in section 16.1(2), especially the boundaries marked by δέ in colon 10 and cola 18-19.

Note, however, that the ‘additive’ primary value of *καί* is entirely compatible with uses which do not imply symmetrical relations, including the introduction of digressions, parentheses and afterthoughts, as for instance in Plato *Sph.* 217a Τί δὲ μάλιστα | καὶ τὸ ποιόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν διαπορηθεὶς | ἐρέσθαι διενεόθη; (see section 11.5(3a) above).⁴⁰⁰

(c) *...μέν...δέ*

The corresponsive pattern *...μέν...δέ* typically marks symmetrical Contrast nodes.⁴⁰¹ Note however that (i) the ‘Contrast’ relation itself is rather heterogeneous (many contrastive relations have idiosyncratic features; cf. section 13.3.1(1b) above), and (ii) contrast is a much more frequent strategy in Ancient Greek discourse as compared with modern usage.

Thus, in Greek discourse, a contrast is often not a semantic or content-related contrast but a discourse-organizing one:⁴⁰²

- (i) One can distinguish a ‘transitional’ use of the *...μέν...δέ* pattern: the part introduced by *μέν* marks the rounding off of a previous segment, and *δέ* marks the beginning of a new segment (cf. Bakker 1993, 302-305).

In Lysias 3,14-15 (see the beginning of section 16), *...μέν...δέ* marks the transition between a conclusion to some testimonies concerning the events that immediately preceded the episode that starts at §15 (“Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀδικήσας, ὃ βουλή, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτω, ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενομένων μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν), and the episode itself, which starts with *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*. – In Lysias 1,3 (*περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ζημίας ...*) the particle *μέν* allows for a smooth transition to the next segment, starting with *ἡγοῦμαι δέ ...* (see section 14.1(1)). – In Lysias 1,43 the transition between the two parts of the refutatio is marked by a *...μέν...δέ* pattern, in which the first member of the pattern refers back to the witnesses that closed off the previous part and the second member (*...δέ*) introduces the second part: *Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, ὃ ἄνδρες· σκέψασθε δὲ παρ’ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὕτως περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος, ζητοῦντες εἴ τις ἐμοὶ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένει ἔχθρα πάποτε γεγένηται πλὴν ταύτης* (see section 14.3(2)). – In Lysias 1,17 (section 17.3), *ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπηλλάγη* marks the closure of the previous scene (*ἐκείνη μὲν ἀπηλλάγη* corresponds to *προσέρχεταιί μοι τις πρεσβῦτις ἄνθρωπος* in §15 and to *προσελθούσα οὖν μοι* in §16), and *ἐγὼ δ’ εὐθέως ἐταραττόμην, ...* is the actual beginning of the current paragraph. – In Plato *Sph.* 417b *φθόνος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι γε τρί’ ἡγοῦντο* (section 19.2(3b)), the first member of the particle combination *μέν - (οὐ)δέ* rounds off the current issue (i.e. the matter as to whether the Stranger is willing to

⁴⁰⁰ Furthermore, it should be noted that *καί* alone but especially *τε...καί...* can be used to connect different items so as to form a whole, in which case the different items need not constitute separate segments. See e.g. section 6.1(4) above.

⁴⁰¹ For an interesting case in which it can be argued that several instances of *δέ* (each marking a separate binary contrast) correspond to a single *μέν*, see my analysis of Lysias 10,22 in section 18.2(2) above.

⁴⁰² The particles in the corresponsive *...μέν...δέ* pattern often have a smaller scope than single *δέ* as a boundary marker. In Lysias 1,15 (cf. section 16), there are three instances that illustrate the smaller scope: (i) *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ...* (colon 1) has scope over *τὸ μὲν μειράκιον ...* (cola 2-3) and *οὗτοι δὲ ...* (cola 4-9 (or even beyond)); (ii) *συνδραμόντων δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ...* (cola 10-12) has scope over *τῶν μὲν λεγομένων ...* (cola 13-14) and *Μόλωνα δὲ ...* (cola 15-17); (iii) *οὗτοι δὲ ...* (colon 26) has scope over *δι’ ὅ τι μὲν ...* (cola 27-29) and *ἀφήμενοι δὲ ...* (cola 30-31). It often even has smaller scope than *καί* as a clause-combining device. See for instance Lysias 1,23[b], analyzed in section 15, cola 13-17: *καὶ | τοὺς μὲν | (οὐκ) ἔνδον κατέλαβον, | τοὺς δὲ | οὐδ’ ἐπιδημοῦντας ἤρπον*).

participate in the discussion), and the second member makes the transition to the next stage (i.e. the substance of the Stranger's answer).

- (ii) It can be observed that Greek discourse is prone to use binary contrasts between main agents as a device for organizing stories (for several examples in a narrative context see section 16). Similar patterns occur in an expository context (see section 18). Special mention can be made of the pervasive contrast between plaintiff and defendant in forensic speeches, which is reflected into numerous contrasts between ἐγώ / ἡμεῖς/... and οὗτος / οὗτοι / ἐκεῖνος /... .
- (iii) An extreme case of the tendency to use purely formal contrasts as a discourse-organizing device are so-called 'false contrasts' (see section 10.4.4(2b) above). For a good example of an almost content-less contrast, see the opposition ἑωρακῶς μὲν - ἀκηκῶς δὲ in Lysias 10,22 (cf. sections 11.4 and 18.2(2) above), in which ἀκηκῶς is used in its technical sense of 'being accused of' and thus does not correspond to ἑωρακῶς (which has its usual meaning of 'de visu perception') in any real sense.⁴⁰³
- (d) **γάρ**

The particle γάρ is a connective that gives a specific indication as to the particular status (with respect to the encompassing pragmatic context) of the segment over which it has scope: it indicates that this segment serves as an explanation of what precedes. This 'explanatory' value determines its different uses (cf. Sicking 1993, 20-25):

- (i) One of its most typical uses is marking an Elaboration relation, sometimes a digression or side-structure. In Lysias 1,16 ταύτην γάρ [τὴν] τέχνην ἔχει (section 17.2(3)), γάρ marks a digressive elaboration of the fact that Eratosthenes has affairs with many women, within the context of an already digressive structure. – In Lysias 1,16 ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὁ ὑβρίζων εἰς σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα ἐχθρὸς ὧν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει (section 17.2(2)), the particle γάρ introduces an explanation as to why the old woman approached Euphiletus, given the fact that it is not out of meddlesomeness (the occurrence of γάρ here marks a relation between two segments that are also contrastive).

The particle can also mark a fully parenthetical explanation (as in Plato *Tht.* 196d ὁμῶς δέ | —πάντα γὰρ τολμητέον— | τί εἰ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν ἀναίσχυντεῖν;).

- (ii) It very frequently marks arguments to establish a claim. Note, however, that γάρ does not seem to indicate the argument-status of the segment as such, but only the fact that the segment is supporting the main line of the speaker's point.⁴⁰⁴ For several examples

⁴⁰³ Of course, one might argue that the greater reliability of 'seeing' as compared to 'hearing' is still pertinent in this context,

⁴⁰⁴ Thus, in some cases, it seems to be used very loosely, connecting several successive segments in a single stretch of discourse, which probably leaves the impression that the speaker is able to answer all questions regarding the point he wants to make, for instance in Lysias 24,2-3 four occurrences of γάρ occur: καίτοι ὅστις τούτοις φθονεῖ οὐς οἱ ἄλλοι ἔλεουσι, τίνας ἂν ὑμῖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀποσχέσθαι δοκεῖ πονηρίας; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἕνεκα χρημάτων με συκοφαντεῖ—· εἰ δ' ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἑαυτοῦ με τιμωρεῖται, ψεύδεται· διὰ γὰρ τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτοῦ οὔτε φίλω οὔτε ἐχθρῷ πρόποτε ἐχρησάμην αὐτῷ. ἦδη τοίνυν, ὦ βουλή, δηλὸς ἐστὶ φθονῶν, ὅτι τοιαύτη κεχρημένος συμφορᾶ τούτου βελτίων εἰμι πολίτης. καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν, ὦ βουλή, τὰ τοῦ σώματος δυστυχήματα τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἰασθαι, εἰκότως. εἰ γὰρ εἰ ἴσου τῆ συμφορᾶ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔξω καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον διάξω, τί τούτου διοίσω; – Likewise, in Lysias 26,21-22 four examples occur, of which two in a parenthetical clause: περὶ μὲν οὖν ἐμοῦ ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τῶν προγόνων οὐδὲν οὗτος εἰπεῖν ἔξει εἰς μισοδημίαν. οὔτε γὰρ ὡς

in which Elaborations marked by γάρ are used as structural elements in an expository context, see my analysis of Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b in section 20.

- (iii) Sometimes a longer stretch of discourse (e.g. the main body of a narrative) can be presented by means of γάρ as an explanation of the ‘abstract’ or summary which precedes it, e.g. the narratio of Lysias 1 (cf. section 14.2 above) is preceded by a propositio (Lysias 1,4-5) after which the narratio proper starts off with Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὃ Ἰθηναῖοι, ... (Lysias 1,6). Cf. section 13.3.3(3-ftn) for a note on the kinship between this pattern in narrative macro-structures and Elaboration relations.

(e) **οὖν - μὲν οὖν**

The particle οὖν (or the cluster μὲν οὖν) marks the fact that the segment over which it has scope is more important with respect to the overall structure than the preceding segment(s) (cf. Sicking 1993, 25-26). This primary value gives rise to a number of typical uses:

- (i) It often occurs at the beginning of the main body of a longer stretch of discourse after an introductory segment or at a major boundary in the overall structure of the discourse (this is also one of the prototypical uses of the cluster μὲν οὖν). For various examples, see my analysis of the overall structure of Lysias 1, section 14 above, for instance: Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ... in Lysias 1,9 indicates that the first part of the story is now about to start; in Lysias 1,28[b], right after the transitional paragraph which rounds off the excursus, the argumentatio starts out abruptly Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἰ ἀνάγνωθι τὸν νόμον; similarly, the beginning of the peroratio of Euphiletus’ speech (Lysias 1,47) is marked by the particle cluster μὲν οὖν: Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὃ ἄνδρες, Likewise, after rounding off a previous series of etymologies, Socrates makes the move towards a new series in Plato *Cra.* 416e with Τί οὖν ἔτι ἡμῖν λοιπὸν τῶν τοιούτων; (see section 20 above).
- (ii) It is also used when the main line of the discourse is taken up after a digression (in a way οὖν is then the converse of γάρ).

In Lysias 1,16 ἐὰν οὖν λάβῃς τὴν θεραπείαν τὴν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζουσαν καὶ διακονοῦσαν ὑμῖν ἅπαντα πεύσῃ (cf. section 17.2(2)), the particle οὖν indicates that, after a pre-sequence in which the old woman explained why she was approaching Euphiletus in the street (not out of meddlesomeness but because of the fact that they share a common enemy), a more relevant point (content-wise) is about to be made.

It often co-occurs with Resumptive Topics or Resumptive Settings, both after digressions and after presentative constructions. In Lysias 1,16 (see section 17.2), the resumptive particle οὖν in προσελθοῦσα οὖν μοι ἐγγὺς ἡ ἄνθρωπος τῆς οἰκίας τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιτηροῦσα explicitly links προσελθοῦσα back to προσέρχεται in the previous paragraph (see section 17.1), thereby de facto marking the rest of the previous paragraph as a digression with respect to the overall development of the plot.

(f) **ἀλλά**

At first sight, one might be inclined to view ἀλλά as a Contrast marker, but on closer examination it is clear that ἀλλά only occurs in some ‘asymmetrical’ types of Contrast in which the right branch seems to be rhematic (for the idiosyncratic features of these kinds of

ὀλιγαρχίας μετέσχον (ὑστερον γὰρ τῶν χρόνων τούτων ἀνὴρ εἶναι ἐδοκιμάσθη), οὔθ’ ὡς ὁ πατήρ (πρὸ γὰρ τῶν στάσεων πολὺ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄρχων ἐτελεύτησεν)· οὐδ’ ὡς οἱ πρόγονοι ὑπὸ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐγένοντο· στασιάζοντες γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διετέλεσαν.

contrast, see sections 13.3.1(1b) and 13.3.6(2b) above). More specifically, *ἀλλά* occurs in Contrast patterns in which the item in the left branch is replaced by the item in the right branch, as in the negative-positive type of contrasts (cf. the term ‘fonction éliminative-corrective’ in Ruijgh 1971, 135-140; see also Slings 1980 and Slings 1997b).

Thus, *ἀλλά* need not be seen as *in se* marking a Contrast at all, as is suggested by its etymology ‘something else’: “All in all, the value of *ἀλλά* does not appear to consist in calling attention to an adversative relation between contents of sentences, but in replacing one proposition or other notion by another one which is nearer to the heart of the speaker’s concerns” (Sicking 1993, 50).

This description applies to other uses of *ἀλλά*, which cannot be viewed as contrastive without artifice, as well: in answers, denying the presupposition of the question,⁴⁰⁵ ‘breaking off’ a line of argument so as to go on with ‘something else’⁴⁰⁶ (the ‘adhortative’ use of the particle can be subsumed under this heading, as well as its ‘chaining’ use when different alternative options are enumerated). In Lysias 10,22 both the ‘chaining’ use and the use in answers is exemplified several times.⁴⁰⁷

(g) *τοίνυν - μέντοι - μήν - οὐκοῦν*

Finally, I would like to simply refer to a few passages in which various particles seemed to have a significant relation with a discourse boundary, although my analyses do not allow for a more elaborate discussion of the function of these particles:

- (i) Three instances of *τοίνυν* coincide with the beginning of a segment which serves as a conclusion to previous segments: in Lysias 1,5 *ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμῖν ἅπαντα ἐπιδείξω ...* (see section 14.1(2) above) it marks the conclusion to the propositio; in Lysias 1,34 *Ἐμοῦ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ μὲν νόμοι οὐ μόνον ἀπεργωκότες εἰσὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεκελευκότες ταύτην τὴν δίκην λαμβάνειν* (see section 14.3(1) above) it marks the conclusion to the confirmatio; in Lysias 3,14 (see the beginning of section 16) *τοίνυν* marks the conclusion to the preceding testimonies: “*Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν οὗτος ἦν ὁ ἀδικήσας, ὦ βουλή, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, ὑπὸ τῶν παραγενομένων μεμαρτύρηται ὑμῖν.*”
- (ii) In Plato *Sph.* 216d *τοῦ μέντοι ξένου ἡμῖν | ἡδέως ἂν πυνθανοίμην, εἰ φίλον αὐτῷ, ...* (section 19.1(2b) above), the particle *μέντοι* occurs in a fronted colon that introduces a longer passage in which Socrates finally comes to the point, after a full printed page worth of introductory banter. The particle is attached to a fronted NP referring to what is going to be the main character throughout the *Sophista* and the *Politicus*.
- (iii) In Plato *Sph.* 217b *καθ’ ἕκαστον μὴν διορίσασθαι σαφῶς τί ποτ’ ἔστιν, οὐ σμικρὸν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον ἔργον* (section 19.2(3b)), the particle *μήν* occurs in the second member of a contrast node that is also marked by chiasmus.

⁴⁰⁵ In Plato *Sph.* 217a *Ἄλλ’ οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγὼμαι, φθόνος αὐτῷ διελθεῖν αὐτά·* (section 19.2(3a)), *ἀλλά* occurs at the beginning of a new speaker turn, in a fronted illocutionary marker that eliminates the presupposed suggestion that the Stranger might not wish to participate in the debate.

⁴⁰⁶ Lysias 1,28[a], the second paragraph of the excursus, which offers a conclusion to the narratio (see section 14.2(3) above), is marked by the particle *ἀλλά*, the presence of a vocative and an explicit addressing of the audience (*ἀλλ’, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἶμαι καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι ...*).

⁴⁰⁷ Lysias 10,22 *τίνας ὄντος ἐμοὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐγκλήματος; πότερον ὅτι δικαίως ἀκήκοα; ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτοὶ φήσατε. ἀλλ’ ὅτι βελτίων καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων ὁ φεύγων ἐμοῦ; ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἀξιώσειεν. ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἀποβεβληκῶς τὰ ὅπλα δικάζομαι κακῆγορίας τῷ σώσαντι; ἀλλ’ οὐχ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐν τῇ πόλει κατεσκέδασται. κτλ.*

- (iv) In Plato *Cra.* 417b the particle οὐκοῦν marks the beginning of a turn in which Socrates takes up the task of dealing with a series of words (and their opposites) suggested by Hermogenes in the previous turn. The particle thus probably has a very wide scope over the whole ensuing series of lemmata (see section 20.2(1a) above). This use of οὐκοῦν may be linked to the value of its component οὖν in that it marks the beginning of the substantive part of that series of etymologies after the merely structural introductory exchange that determined the topic.
- (h) Whereas the prototypical functions of the particles mentioned so far can often be more or less directly linked to P-tree patterns, the so-called **focus-particles** cannot be expected to have such a direct link. Still, in the literature (see esp. Denniston 1934/1950), a ‘connective force’ has often been attributed to most notably δῆ, and it is true that most particles recurrently occur in specific structural contexts. Thus, it has been observed that particles or particle clusters often have an idiosyncratic (formulaic) use in question-answer patterns (cf. the fact that manuals like Denniston 1934/1950 and Labéy 1950 often stipulate a specific heading for the use of certain particles in questions and answers). Likewise, a ‘logical’ use is distinguished for particles like ἄρα, δῆ, οὖν etc., which can be translated in terms of the P-tree model as their recurrent use in the context of argumentative patterns (studies like van Ophuijsen 1993 may be a good starting point for such an enterprise).
- (3) Obviously, these summary remarks do not exhaust the issues concerning the links between particle use and discourse structure as represented by P-tree structures. Although the particles (and markers in general) are not a main topic of the present study and the issues related to their use could not be investigated in depth, it seemed necessary to point out a few recurrent patterns here.

21.4 Focus

Focus has been a recurrent issue throughout the analyses in Part III (as well as elsewhere in this book). As has already been pointed out in section 0.3.4(1) above, focus is a very complex phenomenon, cutting across all levels of linguistic analysis, and it was impossible to systematically deal with all these aspects in this study. Here, I intend to show how my theoretical account of focus in terms of the P-tree device (see section 13.1.5 above) sheds light on a few focus-related phenomena, some of which were already introduced in section 10.3 above.

- (1) In section 13.1.5 I argued that focus may be viewed in terms of the ‘background-foreground’ relations between items on the local discourse scene: focalized items are locally (in the segment in which they occur) maximally relevant and maximally foregrounded, ‘maximal’ meaning that no other item is more relevant or more foregrounded in the segment at hand. The different ways in which items can be present/relevant are thus in part already specified by the constructs that constitute the P-tree model, in that the Pragmatic Relevance Principle (see section 13.1.3 above) posits that the very occurrence of an item is motivated by the pragmatic function of the colon in which it occurs, for instance:
- an item introduced as the Topic of a Topic-Comment node is focused in the segment of which it is the point to introduce this Topic, and remains ‘topically’ present on the

scene, throughout the segments dominated by the corresponding Comment branch (see (2) here below);

- items that occur in a subordinated segment are only locally relevant, within this segment;
- the relevance of items occurring in a narrative is iconic with respect to the relevance of these items in the narrated event, i.e. understanding narrated behavior implies the recognition of the same pragmatic patterns as understanding (e.g.) visually perceived behavior;
- a 'new' item is necessarily focal in the segment in which it occurs; its introduction is pragmatically motivated by the node that constitutes the point of the segment itself, whether a Contrast node, a Topic-Comment node, a sequence (Plot, Chain, List) node, a Setting-Event node or even a Marker-Content or subordination node.

(2) As a further illustration of the links between P-tree structure and cognitively defined 'new focus', I will briefly discuss the functions of the Topic-Comment pattern in this light.

Whenever a Topic-Comment node occurs, the constituent that represents the topicalized item (whether it is contrasted with other topical items, or introduced as 'new') is accordingly focalized. In cognitive terms, an important distinction can be made in terms of the degree of accessibility of the Topic at the moment it is introduced:

- given Topics are already accessible as such before they are introduced (are already present on the scene); the Topic-switch is between items that are already introduced;
- inferable Topics are not prominently present on the scene as such but their presence can be inferred from other items on the scene; their introduction comes as no surprise (e.g. the presence of a person implies the presence of parts of his body etc.);
- new Topics are not accessible before they are introduced.

In terms of the P-tree device, the point of the Topic-switches, as well as the coherence/continuity between the different segments that correspond to the different Topics, is determined by the nodes that dominate the different Topic-Comment nodes. The pragmatic functions that the introduction of these items can have are to a large extent independent of their cognitive status at the time of their introduction: a Topic-switch, whether the new Topic item is cognitively given or new, has to be accounted for in terms of its relevance with respect to the encompassing pragmatic structure, i.e. in terms of the nodes that dominate the Topic-Comment node in question.

The introduction of cognitively brand-new Topics is then -pragmatically speaking- not essentially different from the cases already mentioned, although making a so far inaccessible item appear on the scene takes a little more cognitive effort than changing the focus towards an item that is already accessible, and hence typically requires a somewhat more elaborate introduction. For instance, when a Plot sequence requires the introduction of a brand new agent, this agent is introduced by means of a presentative construction of some kind, instead of just positing it in a separate colon. Despite this difference in terms of cognitive effort, the pragmatically defined 'reason why' of the introduction of a new item is a matter of its relevance with respect to the overall structure of the discourse, and hence quite similar to the other kinds of Topic-switches.

The mechanisms discussed here above already allow us to deal with a number of problematic aspects, as we encountered them in the literature and in our analyses.

- (3) In section 10.3 above we noted a few problems with Dover's account of focus-related phenomena and announced that these problems could easily be solved within the approach advocated in this book.
- (a) The first two problems concerned two cases in which Dover attributed 'preferential' resp. 'prepositive' status to certain 'Concomitants', thus mitigating the scope of the P2-rule for Concomitants that was adopted in this study:
- (i) Dover notes that, especially in the case of demonstratives, P1 sometimes seems to be occupied by words that are -according to his implementation of the concepts- predictable as well as dispensable (and hence Concomitant). In order to accommodate this problematic phenomenon, Dover posits ad hoc that the 'preferential status' of demonstratives makes them take precedence over the first Nucleus.
- (ii) Similarly, Dover observes that a number of -what I have called- 'reporting verbs' seem to behave like -what he calls- prepositives: they seem to 'dispensable' (and hence Concomitant) but precede a Nucleus in ways that remind us of the behavior of certain /O/- introductives.

Both problems can be dealt with in such a way that the ad hoc exception to the rule that Nuclei take P1 is removed, by invoking the type of reasoning developed in paragraph (2) here above. According to the approach presented here, the NPs (in problem (i)) resp. verbs (in problem (ii)) are fronted and constitute separate cola, corresponding to a separate pragmatic function within the overall structure of the discourse.⁴⁰⁸ Thus, for instance, a fronted Topic may consist of 'given' or 'accessible' items, but these items are still indispensable in their local context, because they are maximally relevant to the colon in which they occur. Note that under this interpretation the fronted demonstrative resp. reporting verb is not Concomitant at all, but should be considered as fully focal, carrying the main point of a separate colon.⁴⁰⁹

- (b) The third problem was of a more general nature:
- (iii) Even if it can be shown that Concomitants always cling to a Nucleus that precedes it, it is not clear yet what determines the distribution of the Nuclei over the clause as well as the distribution of the various Concomitants over the Nuclei.

Problem (iii) largely disappears by virtue of the very fact that long strings containing more than a few Nuclei can be expected never to occur if the relevant segment for the position rule in question is the colon. Furthermore, the distribution of lexical contents can be shown to

⁴⁰⁸ This account is partially equivalent to Dik's claim that the cases in which Dover's account required the ad hoc postulation of a precedence of preferentials over Nuclei can be accounted for in terms of the notion Topic (Dik 1995, 263-264). Of course, the present implementation of the notion of topic is not formulated in terms of the clause as such, but requires that the fronted topic (i.e. the demonstrative) constitutes a separate colon. Note that, as opposed to Dik's account, the phenomena that she deals with in terms of 'clausal Focus' are not treated here as separate from (my version of) Dover's Nucleus-Concomitant distinction: Focus is here treated as a single phenomenon and all types of focus are determined at the level of the colon, qua lowest level of a P-tree.

⁴⁰⁹ To put it in a somewhat polemical way: Topics (in the present sense) are always focused in Ancient Greek, otherwise they would not be expressed at all (or -at least- not be Topics). Of course, as already pointed out in section 10.3, both types of Themes mentioned sub (a) (Topics resp. epistemic or illocutionary Markers) are prone to undergo intonational sandhi in actual performance, which may account for Dover's intuitions.

directly reflect the pragmatic structures that determine the pragmatic functions of the cola (see paragraph (1) here above). This shifts the problem to a level of analysis that seems to be more appropriate to deal with the distribution of contents than word order rules *stricto sensu*: the pragmatic structure of discourse (as represented by P-trees) directly accounts for the reasons why a certain item surfaces within a certain segment (cf. section 13.1.3 on the Pragmatic Relevance claim).

- (c) The main difference between Dover's approach and the present one boils down to a difference in the way the 'dispensability' and 'predictability' of items are determined: whereas other approaches (including Dover's) operate with a mostly undifferentiated and unstructured notion of 'context', the present approach starts from a highly structured ('articulated') continuum of local-global levels within a P-tree and its associated scene.⁴¹⁰ The different types of structural patterns that make up a P-tree determine the shifts in contents of the discourse scene at various levels along the global-local continuum. Thus, discourse coherence is not merely a matter of a certain general continuity in the contents that are relevant to its overall cognitive and material context, but can be assured in various ways, according to which part of the scene is kept constant and which part is subject to shifts, for instance:
- by keeping the background of the scene constant, and shifting the foreground, e.g. by introducing a setting and having various agents perform various successive actions within the same setting (e.g. in Lysias 3,15-17, where the setting 'near Lampon's house' is kept as the common background for the actions of the speaker who just arrives, and of the other agents in the story, who were already present);
 - by keeping a Topic constant and following its moves, which may involve various shifts in the background (e.g. in Lysias 1,23, where Euphiletus, once he has heard that Eratosthenes is in the house, leaves his bedroom, goes downstairs, goes into the streets, calls on neighbors, and then comes back).

Focus is viewed as a matter of background-foreground relations at the most local level of the P-tree, i.e. at the level of the colon. For a quite detailed analysis in which it is shown how the focality status of expressions referring to items that are all 'given' in a general sense (i.e. because they represent the main antagonists/protagonists in the trial of which that speech is a part) are determined by the rhetorical patterns at a very local level of the P-tree, I can refer to my analysis of Lysias 10,22 in section 18 (see especially section 18.2(3) above).

21.5 Final remarks

As announced at the start of section 21, a systematic treatment of the issues, each of which implies its own body of literature and its own theoretical, methodological and empirical aspects, was not possible within the scope this book. Still, it seemed worthwhile to present the above notes, either because they contain empirical material that may be interesting as such or because some of the more theoretical reflections may serve as a starting point for further research.

⁴¹⁰ Note that the notion of 'scene' is not a reformulation of the notion of context: a scene contains *all* items involved in the contents of a certain action segment (i.e. both the 'textual' elements and the 'contextual' ones).

22. Conclusions to Part III

The starting point of Part III was, of course, the Colon Hypothesis, according to which the colon is the elementary discourse unit, phonologically, cognitively, but especially also pragmatically (see section 0.2.5). The purpose of Part III within the overall context of this study was to offer an account of the pragmatic functions of the colon. Since the notion of pragmatic function was defined in terms of its contribution to the overall structure of the encompassing discourse, developing an account of the pragmatic functions of the colon equaled developing an account of discourse coherence.

In section 13, I introduced a ‘working model’ for the analysis of discourse coherence, which was then applied to a number of excerpts from the corpus in sections 14-21. As the General Conclusion to this book immediately follows the present Conclusion to Part III, the latter will be rather brief and will focus on technical issues rather than general ones:

- in section 22.1, I very briefly review the theoretical claims underlying the P-tree model;
- in section 22.2, I summarize the typology of coherence relations that was developed in sections 13.2 and 13.3;
- in section 22.3, I discuss the ‘Pragmatics First’ claim and its consequences for our account of the relation between linguistic form and pragmatic discourse structure;
- in my final remarks in section 22.4, I try to assess the results of the analyses of running text performed in section 14-20.

22.1 The P-tree working model: basic features

The approach to discourse coherence adopted in Part III took the shape of a ‘working model’⁴¹¹ built around a number of claims and analytical and conceptual devices that I will now briefly review.

In section 13.1 I developed the idea that the coherence of discourse (as well as of non-verbal action) can be described in terms of the coherence relations between segments. This idea yielded the notion of a hierarchical (‘articulated’) structure, which can be represented by a tree-structure, which I called a P(-ragmatic) tree. The bare geometry of a P-tree already represents a number of pertinent features of discourse structure:

- Discourse, *qua* behavior that ‘makes sense’, is articulated: if a segment is part of a particular discourse, its precise pragmatic relation with the adjacent segments must be expressible by means of a P-tree; the applicability of the model coincides with the line between **coherence** and **non-coherence**.
- The position of any particular action segment within a P-tree *is* its pragmatic function (its ‘**point**’); dominance relations in P-trees represent the sense (or ‘intentionality’) of behavior; adjacency relations represent linear time.

⁴¹¹ Methodologically speaking, the notion of ‘**working model**’ is intended to denote a primarily heuristic device, i.e. not the implementation of a hypothesis to be tested, but a problem-raising and hypothesis-raising analytical tool; ‘analytical’ here covers both conceptual analysis and the ‘empirical’ analysis of primary data.

- P-nodes, representing the pragmatic relations between adjacent discourse segments and the respective pragmatic functions of these segments, are reducible to a limited number of node types. The distinction between micro-level and macro-level and between intra-speaker and cross-speaker patterns is not fundamental.

The bare geometrical structure of a P-tree already allows for the application of the following principle of discourse structuration, which is grounded in human cognition and which accounts for a large number of features of actual discourse:

The Thematization Principle: The leftmost branch (the **Theme**) of a node typically consists of material that can readily be linked with the current context: (i) ‘given’ or presupposed material, assuring continuity; (ii) regulatory devices, shifting devices, presentative and staging devices, explicitly marking (relative) discontinuity. Conversely, the rightmost branch of a node (its **Rheme**), typically represents the main point of the entire node. The Theme serves as an ‘anchor’ or ‘frame’ for the Rheme.

The idea that P-trees represent a feature of cognition that is identical for both discourse and other modes of human action and cognition lead me to reformulate the notion of Iconicity and to apply it to discourse structure/coherence, as follows:

The Iconicity Principle: The order in which elements occur (as well as other aspects of discourse) is often regulated by principles of a not strictly linguistic nature, i.e. by non- or extra-linguistic features of the contents of the discourse.

I also argued that P-trees can account for the distribution of the contents of discourse (or the items involved in non-verbal action):

The Pragmatic Relevance Principle: an action inherently implies a ‘scene’ in which specific items are related to each other according to the role they have in this action; the presence of items on this scene is pragmatically motivated by their pragmatic relevance (i.e. their relevance with respect to the action segment at hand); *what* items occur, *when* they occur, *where* they occur with respect to the foreground of the scene at hand, and *how* they occur (i.e. in what specific role) are all closely related aspects of their pragmatic relevance; speaker and addressee as structural features of the discourse scene are subject to the Pragmatic Relevance Principle.

Taken together, these features yield an approach to discourse coherence that is both radically structural and radically pragmatic:

(i) *radically structural:*

In the present approach, a large number of fundamental aspects of discourse (including the distribution/relevance of contents, ‘intentionality’, and the given-new distinction) are inherently linked to structural patterns. This structural aspect directly opposes the present approach to, for instance, Relevance Theory (see my footnote to section 13.1.3(3) above) and functional approaches (see section 23.4(1) below).⁴¹²

⁴¹² It may also be useful to point out that the P-tree approach is inherently a single-level approach, as opposed to a number of multi-level approaches that are available in the literature. I will here focus on the approach introduced in **Kroon 1995**, as it has some influence on the literature on Ancient Greek (cf. for instance Wakker 1995). Partly inspired by the discourse analytical work in Schiffrin 1987, Kroon 1995 develops a multi-level model of discourse for the description of the functions of the Latin particles. According to this model, coherence relations apply on the following three levels: (i) the ‘**representational** level’ consists of syntactico-semantic relations between clauses, whether purely

(ii) *radically pragmatic:*

In the present approach, pragmatics is construed as *underlying* the phonological and syntactic aspects of discourse. The pragmatic structures described by the P-tree model are claimed to be not specifically linguistic and common to both verbal and non-verbal human action, and to be an irreducible aspect of all levels of discourse, rather than a post hoc surface phenomenon that can be applied to somehow pre-existing syntactic or semantic structure (see also 22.3 here below). This pragmatic aspect opposes the present approach to grammatical approaches (see section 23.4(1) below) and approaches based on semantics (e.g. Asher 1993). For a very similar approach, see e.g. Schegloff 2007, 1-2 and 7-9.

22.2 Towards a typology of coherence relations

In order to make the P-tree working model workable for the purposes of discourse analysis, we need a typology of coherence relations. The development of the particular typology proposed in section 13.3 started from (i) preliminary analyses of a corpus of spontaneous speech and (ii) a reflection on the typologies of coherence relations offered in the literature.

This led to the formulation of the following guiding principles:

- A typology of coherence relations should be based on a number of theoretically insightful parameters (see section 13.2 above) that allow for systematic and structured distinctions between the various patterns, expressing both their common and their distinctive features, as opposed to a flat-structured ‘mixed bag’ approach in which coherence relations are merely listed and characterized by ad hoc definitions.

structural relations (in terms of parataxis and hypotaxis), or ‘semantic-functional’ relations (in terms of categories such as ‘temporal’ and ‘causal’), or ‘situating’ relations (‘only’, ‘even’, ‘also’); (ii) the ‘**presentational**’ level’ consists of ‘rhetorical’ relations, in the vein of RST and of the ‘hierarchical structure’ of the Geneva school of Discourse Analysis (see e.g. Roulet & Auchlin & Moeschler 1985; Roulet 1991; Roulet 1997; discussed in Kroon 1995, 50-54); (iii) the ‘**interactional**’ level’ consists of relations between the acts performed by the different interlocutors. The P-tree model as introduced here above obviously completely lacks such a distinction between levels of discourse structure and inherently operates with a single hierarchical structure. One might be tempted to view the P-tree approach as an attempt to deal with only one of Kroon’s levels (the ‘presentational’ one). Still, it has to be pointed out that some features of the P-tree model are explicitly incompatible with a multi-level approach to coherence relations between segments. *First*, the present model prototypically deals with relations which are most closely akin to Kroon’s ‘rhetorical’ relations on the ‘presentational level’ - at least as far as their descriptive features are concerned, though not qua theoretical status - and posits these relations as *the* locus of coherence. *Second*, it explicitly does not deal with the ‘representational’ level as a separate level, and it has been argued that semantic relations in se do not account for coherence, in that the ‘point’ of expressing such a relation still requires a pragmatic analysis. *Third*, I have argued (see section 13.3.4; see also Scheppens 2004a) that interactional relations are only specific cases of the monologic pragmatic relations. These framework-internal considerations seem to make the present approach methodologically incompatible with the multi-level approach adopted in (i.a.) FG. One possible way in which the notion of ‘level’ (in the relevant sense, i.e. not as in ‘phonological, syntactic, and semantic levels of description’) could be integrated with the present approach is to consider such a distinction between levels as a feature of the ‘scene’ rather than of the coherence relations between actions as represented by a P-tree. In that case, the fact that segments can operate on several ‘levels’ at once *and* the fact that operations on a certain level of the scene do not need to coincide with any textual feature at all, would receive a proper place in the model.

- In the radically pragmatic vein of thought mentioned in section 22.1 here above, I argued that such a typology should be primarily based on structural and purely pragmatic parameters, rather than on the usual ad hoc mixture of semantic (e.g. Cause-Event), syntactic (main clause - subordinated clause) and pragmatic features.

These considerations lead up to the formulation of the provisional ‘working typology’ summarized in Table 22.2 here below.

Table 22.2: a provisional typology of coherence relations (overview)

node type	definitory features
Symmetrical nodes	similar contributions by the different branches
<i>Plot</i>	branches are -semantically- Events; temporal succession; idiosyncratic features of story-hood
<i>Contrast</i>	binary node; co-presence and oppositeness of the items in both branches
<i>List</i>	co-presence of items in the branches; items form a set
<i>Chain</i>	pragmatically similar branches but items do not form a set
Theme-Rheme nodes	main point = Rheme; Theme marks relative (dis)continuity
<i>Marker-Content</i>	no feature-inheritance from the marker upward (Marker = regulatory act)
<i>Topic-Comment</i>	Topic = central item in the Comment
<i>Setting-Event</i>	Setting = background for Event
Elaboration/Subordination nodes	main point = left-branch; no feature inheritance from right-branch upward
Macro-structural genre-specific nodes	determine the overall structure of a (stretch of) discourse according to the genre to which it belongs (incl. contextual features; incl. participants roles)

Furthermore, I have argued that the distinction between ‘intra-speaker’ and ‘cross-speaker’ coherence relations cuts across the above typology: most types of cross-speaker relations could be viewed as cases of one of the node types in the typology (section 12.6), for instance Question-Answer adjacency pairs are often cross-speaker versions of Topic-Comment nodes. Throughout sections 13.2 and 13.3, I have compared the various types of relations I introduced with elements of existing typologies dealing with similar phenomena. The present typology distinguishes itself from the alternatives in the following two ways: (i) it adheres more closely to the methodological considerations mentioned here above, and (ii) it includes a number of patterns that are not present in other typologies, because these typologies start from a clause- or proposition-based segmentation of the text and hence do not include the pragmatic functions of segments that typically do not coincide with a clause (e.g. Markers or Topics).⁴¹³

⁴¹³ Thus, the **RST typology** as a whole has proven to be incompatible with the present approach on several points, despite its numerous merits. First of all, RST typology involves semantic criteria (e.g. Cause, Condition, Circumstance, etc.), alongside pragmatic ones, which leads to a proliferation of distinct relations that can be argued to fulfill comparable pragmatic functions, and, conversely, to quite different pragmatic relations subsumed under the same semantic type (for the distinction between semantic, syntactic and pragmatic relations, see section 13.2(1) above). More specifically, these semantically defined relations do not constrain the order in which the segments occur (Mann & Thompson 1988, 255-256), whereas in the present approach left-to-right relations, representing time, are fundamental for the analysis. For instance, a cause-event pattern (in this order) is typically an instance of the general Setting-Event relation (“Because he stole her toys, she HIT him”) and has a function quite different from an event-cause relation involving a thematic event and a rhematic cause, which can be an instance of the Topic-Comment relation (“She hit him, because he stole her TOYS”).

This typology served as a starting point for my analyses throughout Part III and allowed us to account for a majority of the patterns encountered within our corpus. Still, a number of idiosyncratic relations - due to (i) purely cognitive non-pragmatic factors and/or (ii) the emergence of language-specific, genre-specific and/or rhetorical devices - had to be noted as well (see section 13.3.6). However, even in these cases the analysis proceeded from the usual parameters.

22.3 Pragmatic structure and linguistic form

In order to be a viable contribution to linguistics, our working model has to also account in a systematical way for those formal features of discourse that are a priori relevant to its coherence. Starting point of my approach to this issue is the following rather bold claim:

The ‘Pragmatics First’ claim: P-structure, as a ‘central’ level of cognition (i.e. common to all kinds of sensible behavior), *underlies* the other, more specific, levels of linguistic structure.

First of all, this claim predicts that there will be a homology between the underlying pragmatic structure and the surface structures of discourse, most importantly between (i) pragmatic segments and prosodic ones (as marked by e.g. pauses, intonation contours, sentence-final falling pitch) and (ii) pragmatic segments and syntactic ones (constituents, clauses, sentences). Generally speaking, this prediction bears itself out, in that most syntactic segments encountered in the analysis of the corpus do coincide with syntactic segments. However, the scope of prosodic features⁴¹⁴ and of syntactic features is in practice quite limited as compared to the highly articulated and potentially very wide scope of P-tree structures, which in a number of cases leads to anomalies with respect to the expected homology. For instance, Themes (Topics, Markers or Settings) that have a very wide scope (over several clauses) may be syntactically and prosodically integrated with only the first

As this example shows, the semantic definition of RST’s Nucleus-Satellite relations, is not tenable within the homogeneously pragmatic approach adopted here. Most importantly, as far as practical applications are concerned, RST was originally devised to analyze written discourse and generally takes relations between larger segments than the colon (propositions, paragraphs, etc.) as a basis for analysis; as a consequence, many relations essential to a colon-based analysis (e.g. ‘Topic-Comment’ and ‘Marker-Content’) are absent from this typology. Furthermore, some of the theoretical assumptions of RST are not compatible with the present approach: RST is formulated in terms of ‘Writer’s intentions’ and the perlocutionary effects of the discourse on the ‘Reader’, while in the P-tree model ‘intentionality’ is defined as a structural property of pragmatic structure itself. Again, this aspect of RST is not worked out thoroughly, as appears from the fact that in many cases the definition of the relations are circular and/or vacuous (for examples, see the definitions quoted in section 13.3.3). The RST typology thus proved to be unsuitable to deal with the features of discourse the present study is intended to deal with, both because of the methodological weaknesses (lack of generality, heterogeneity of the criteria, ...) pointed out here above, and because it does not seem to provide us with all the distinctions which are needed for our analyses (possibly due to the different type of corpus RST was primarily meant to deal with).

⁴¹⁴ As prosodic features are not directly accessible in the case of Ancient Greek texts anyway, the prosodic aspects received less attention in this book. Speculation about performance features remains possible, of course, and may even be interesting in certain cases: reading a text out loud (in different tempos) proved to be an interesting heuristic experiment in the course of my analytical practice, in that it can be a test for the plausibility of the analyses proposed.

clause or colon. In order to deal with this kind of anomalies, I introduced the notions of ‘intonational sandhi’ (already used in certain discourse analytical approaches) and ‘syntactic sandhi’ (which I believe is a novel contribution of my approach, in the present sense of the term).

A number of selected aspects of the relationship between P-tree structure and linguistic form (sentence closure, the grammatical shapes of the Topic-Comment pattern, particles, Focus, etc.) were briefly discussed in a more systematical manner in section 21.

22.4 Final remarks

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The analytical tools described here above were put to work by applying them to a number of excerpts (the ones already subjected to the segmentation procedures in section 11) throughout sections 14 to 20.

The P-tree device, including the theoretical claims (see sections 22.1 and 22.3 here above) and the typology of coherence relations (see section 22.2 here above) attached to it, was able to insightfully and straightforwardly account for most of the patterns encountered, but also showed a number of systematically problematic aspects, for instance:

- P-tree geometry proved to offer an insightful and practical representation of a number of aspects of discourse structure and discourse coherence (e.g. the scope of various Thematic elements, background and foreground in narrative structure, content-inheritance and focus-related aspects, the pragmatics of conversational patterns, etc.), except for Elaboration/Subordination patterns, which present a fundamental methodological problem affecting the readability of the graphs (already mentioned in section 13.3.3 above).
- Syntactic sandhi offered a convincing account of a number of cases in which *prima facie* anomalies occurred with respect to the pragmatics-syntax homology, but in some cases the various elements taken into account did not converge into a single analysis accounting for all the relevant phenomena.
- The provisional typology summarized in section 22.2 here above accounted well for a large number of highly frequent patterns, but also failed quite frequently to characterize idiosyncratic patterns and features.⁴¹⁵ See the Index of Coherence relations presented towards the end of this book for an overview of, and detailed cross-references to, the patterns encountered (including the problematic ones).
- Although the use of some markers (see section 21.3) could be straightforwardly linked to certain patterns described by our typology of relations, we observed that this link was in many case not one-to-one (obviously so in the case of e.g. *καί, γάρ* and *άλλά*).⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁵ Most notably, narrative patterns were much easier to analyze than argumentative patterns. Perhaps a more thorough reflection specifically on these patterns and the analysis of a larger corpus of argumentative genres would yield a better performance in this respect. In any case, genre has proven to be an important factor throughout the analyses. Thus, the cognitive and pragmatic factors which are captured by the P-tree model and the typology seem to account fairly well for the phenomena in the case of texts which mimic more or less ‘natural’ speech (including conversation), but it appears that the analytical tools will not work as well in the case of heavy ‘engineering’, as in the case of (some types of) poetry and highly rhetorical styles of prose.

⁴¹⁶ I believe that this observation, as well as the fact that a number of patterns proved to be hard to characterize by means of the criteria/parameters underlying the typology, suggests that more efforts

- My analysis of Platonic dialogue in sections 19 and 20 (using the conceptual tools introduced in section 13.3.4) yielded a quite plausible account in which the contributions of different speakers were analyzed as part of a single P-tree, organized in ways that closely remind us of spontaneous conversation. However, my analysis also suggests that the structural patterns of conversation are -pragmatically speaking- almost identical to the patterns that constitute monologic discourse.⁴¹⁷ In the same vein of thought, it was also observed that there was a strong correlation between the specific roles of the various participants and the pragmatic status of their contributions in terms of P-tree patterns. In the case of Platonic dialogue, this led to a number of interesting questions in terms of discourse genre (see also section 23.4(3) below).

In conclusion, the analyses presented in sections 14-20 allowed for a very close and very 'deep' reading of the excerpts, forcing us to account for a large number of aspects of the text in a very detailed fashion. As was the case with my analyses in section 11, I hope to have shown that this way of reading and interpreting Greek texts enhances our understanding of these texts and fits in with the traditional concerns of Classical scholarship.

As announced at the beginning of section 22, I limit myself here to the more technical aspects discussed here above and refer to the General Conclusion for a more general assessment of the contributions made in Part III within the context of the overall aims and concerns underlying this study.

need to be made to identify and theoretically define the various features that can serve as parameters for such a typology.

⁴¹⁷ This type of analysis could have far-reaching theoretical consequences, in that it suggests that the speaker is not to be viewed as the ultimate locus of discourse coherence and sense (see section 13.3.4 and Scheppers 2004a), which neatly ties in with (i) the notion that 'intentionality' is a structural feature of P-trees and (ii) the holistic conception of 'action-type' (incl. discourse genre) as including the roles of the various participants in the action. Pursuing this type of theoretical investigation any further obviously falls outside the scope of the present study.

General Conclusion

23. General Conclusion

As already indicated by its title, the main tenet of this book, across its three Parts, is the Colon Hypothesis, as introduced in paragraph (1) of the Preface and section 0.1.5 in the General Introduction. It seems appropriate to start the General Conclusion with a reformulation of this guiding hypothesis, informed by the investigations presented throughout this study:

The Colon Hypothesis:

- (i) the colon is the unit to which Greek word order rules (P2-rules, P1-rules) apply;
- (ii) the colon is the elementary discourse unit, in other words: discourse *essentially* comes in cola;
- (iii) the colon is primarily a cognitive unit, corresponding to a ‘chunk’ of information that is processed at once; this aspect has for a consequence that it will typically coincide with a prosodic and grammatical unit;⁴¹⁸
- (iv) qua elementary discourse unit, the colon is also a pragmatically elementary unit, i.e. a single ‘verbal action’, coinciding with a single pragmatic function (‘point’).

The various aspects contained within the Colon Hypothesis have determined both the agenda (i.e. the topics that have been addressed) and the approach (i.e. the methodological and theoretical stances that have been taken) underlying the research that is presented in this study.

This General Conclusion consists of a very summary overview of the overall contents of the book (emphasizing the links between the various subject matters that are dealt with, rather than spelling out the actual results), as well as of an assessment of the contributions that it may make to the various issues and research domains that it touches upon.⁴¹⁹ The first three sections follow the general outline of the book: 23.1 deals with word order (Part I), 23.2 with discourse segmentation (Part II), and 23.3 with discourse coherence (Part III). In the last section (23.4), I address a few quite general aspects and topics that cut across the subject matters of the different parts of the study.

23.1 Ancient Greek word order

The Colon Hypothesis is in the first place a claim about a very fundamental aspect of Ancient Greek word order and the research presented in this book actually emerged from an

⁴¹⁸ The notion of ‘colon’ thus corresponds to the notion of ‘Intonation Unit’ as it is defined in the work of (for instance) Wallace Chafe (see section 0.2 above). The notions ‘colon’ and ‘IU’ might be used interchangeably for most practical purposes, but in section 0.3.2(3) I made the following terminological suggestion: the notion of colon could be used for referring to the underlying pragmatic-cognitive unit, and the notion of IU could be reserved for the actual realization in performance.

⁴¹⁹ The reader of this General Conclusion is invited to also consult (i) the conclusions to Parts I, II and III (sections 8, 12 and 22 respectively) for more detailed summaries and cross-references, as well as (ii) the Indices for references to particular issues (s)he might be interested in.

interest in some long-standing issues surrounding Wackernagel's Law. In Part I, I have attempted to offer a contribution to these issues.

On the basis of relatively large-scaled and fairly detailed corpus-based research I have attempted to establish and/or corroborate a number of rules and tendencies governing Ancient Greek word order. For this purpose my most important tool has been a database in which the corpus (i.e. the whole Corpus Lysiicum and four Platonic dialogues (*Cratylus*, *Theaetetus*, *Sophista* and *Politicus*)) has been coded word for word according to a relatively fine-grained classification of the lexicon.⁴²⁰ From this fine-grained classification I derived a rougher classification, based on Dover's distinction between prepositives, postpositives, and mobiles, for the purpose of formulating and testing a number of basic word order rules. I introduced two major modifications as compared with Dover's classification: (a) instead of sentence or clause boundaries, colon boundaries were taken as the relevant boundaries for defining autonomy, mobility and appositivity; (b) the intrinsic bond between certain words and initial position in a segment was introduced as a primary criterion. This yielded the basic classification into /O/-introductives, /p/-prepositives, /q/-postpositives, /r/-postpositives and /M/-mobiles (as summarized in Table 1.1), used throughout this study, as well as the distinction of a class of preferentials within the class of mobiles (as discussed in section 5.1). A number of word order rules and tendencies based on this classification were examined. In order to be able to deal with the large corpus, I have taken a quantitative approach as a starting point. The function of these quantitative analyses has been mainly heuristic (rather than demonstrative): the quantitative procedures aimed at discovering word order patterns and exceptions to these patterns, which were then discussed in more qualitative ways (see section 1.2).

For the purposes of the overall aims of this study, the most important patterns investigated were (a) the P1-rules for introductives and the P1-tendencies for preferentials, (b) the P2-rules for the two main classes of postpositives (a reformulation of Wackernagel's Law), and (c) a number of patterns resulting from lexicalization (unit-formation and formulas). In sections 6 and 7.0 these rules and tendencies were briefly reviewed (with cross-references to the analyses). My analyses gave rise to a number of conclusions on the nature of Ancient Greek word order, as such (cf. sections 7.1 and 7.2). I argued that what is called "word order" is actually made up of three distinct phenomena:

(i) *morphosyntactic mechanisms forming word-like units:*

Articles, prepositions and postpositive particles, but also certain uses of, for instance, the negatives, *καί* and *οὐδέ*, entertain an affix-like relationship with the words they cling to. These mechanisms interact with (and probably have the same theoretical status

⁴²⁰ The coding system developed for this purpose inevitably showed a number of idiosyncratic features (see section 1.2 and the beginning of section 5). But a few simply *wrong* choices, perhaps equally inevitable, were made as well, for instance: no distinction was made between adverbial π -indefinites and $\tau\iota\varsigma$, nor between pronominal \acute{o} and \acute{o} as the article; within the class of 'relatives', which -especially in Ancient Greek- is not an easy class to categorize, a distinction between at least $\acute{o}\varsigma$ and the adverbial relatives (i.e. subordinating conjunctions) would have been useful. The main practical lesson learnt with respect to the construction of such a corpus database is that - given a sufficiently powerful and flexible software and coding system (which was the case here) - one should adopt as detailed a code as possible; classes can always be conflated automatically if this proves to be useful, but the converse operation is impossible without much expense.

as) the lexicalization processes that generate word-like units consisting of fully lexical words.⁴²¹

(ii) *prosodic mechanisms determining the internal structure of cola:*

Focused words or word-like units tend towards the initial position within the colon. The rule that ‘introductives’ tend toward first position can be understood in the same way: these introductives are typically markers of the type of focus involved in the colon they introduce.⁴²²

(iii) *pragmatic mechanisms determining the order of the cola within discourse:*

The mechanisms determining the order of cola cannot be properly called ‘word order rules’⁴²³ in that they are at least partly independent of, and in a certain sense *precede*, the actual lexico-syntactic wording of the segments involved.⁴²⁴

23.2 Discourse segmentation

The Colon Hypothesis posits that Ancient Greek discourse *essentially* comes in cola, i.e. that Ancient Greek texts should be systematically read with the colon as its elementary unit. However, the written format in which Ancient Greek texts have been transmitted and made available in modern editions does not represent this aspect directly. Therefore, the Colon Hypothesis turns segmentation into cola into a practical issue. In Part II, the main aim was:

- (i) to develop such a method of segmentation, i.e. to formulate a set of segmentation criteria and to establish ways of using them in a reasonable way;
- (ii) to test that method by applying it to a number of excerpts of running text taken from the corpus, taking into account as wide a range of aspects as possible.

As for (i), section 10 offered an overview of the various formal criteria that may serve as evidence for the presence of colon-boundaries, most importantly (a) a set of lexical cues, based on the word order rules investigated in Part I, and (b) a colon typology in formal grammatical terms, partly based on the application of the word order rules (as already developed by most notably Fraenkel) and partly based on what is known of the typology of Intonation Units in contemporary spoken language.

As for (ii), section 11 consisted of a practical application of the tools developed in section 10. I selected and analyzed six excerpts from the corpus (Lysias 1,23[b]; Lysias 3,15-17; Lysias 1,15-17; Lysias 10,22; Plato *Sph.* 216d-217e; Plato *Cra.* 416e-417b), covering as

⁴²¹ In the course of the analyses we have encountered various word-like units consisting of types that can easily be seen as lexicalizable, including for instance ‘low-content verb + argument’, ‘copula + predicate’, ‘subordinating conjunction or relative + *ǎv*’, etc.

⁴²² The ambiguity in the status of a number of introductives (either a separate colon or integrated into the next colon), as already covered by Fraenkel’s interpretation of Kurzkolon as an Auftakt, can be explained by the notion of intonational sandhi and parallels similar phenomena in contemporary spoken language, depending on performance factors such as tempo. Thus, a number of markers can be realized as either a separate IU or integrated in either the previous or following IU.

⁴²³ To the extent that the homology between discourse and non-verbal action (cf. section 13.1) is viable, these mechanisms cannot even be considered specifically linguistic.

⁴²⁴ This view of the nature of word order is in many ways quite different from prevailing paradigms and approaches to word order phenomena. None of the mechanisms mentioned involve grammar per se, at least not in the sense of SOV-VSO-SVO etc. patterns, or in the sense of the clausal pattern(s) of Dik 1995. See section 23.3.1 below, for further discussion.

many pertinent aspects as possible within the limitations imposed on this book. These analyses resulted in a duly segmented text and a detailed commentary on various aspects of the text itself (including word order issues, but also more general cognitive and focus-related phenomena).

The type of analysis proposed may offer a contribution to a discourse-analytical approach to Ancient Greek texts in the line of such authors as E.J. Bakker, S.R. Slings and G. Wakker. Although the direct contribution of this book is perhaps modest in this regard, it does at least suggest that a number of discourse-analytically pertinent aspects of intonation and focus can be reconstructed in a sufficiently reliable way to allow for a full-blown Chafeian approach to Ancient Greek discourse.

I also emphasized the fact that my approach is embedded in the most traditional concerns and methods that characterize Classical scholarship and I hope to have shown that the analyses as such contribute to our understanding of the excerpts analyzed.

23.3 Discourse coherence

The starting point for my account of discourse coherence, as presented in Part III, is the pragmatic aspect of the Colon Hypothesis, i.e. the idea that the colon is essentially not only a cognitive unit but also a pragmatic unit (the ‘elementary verbal action’). The notion that the pragmatic function of a discourse segment consists in its contribution to the overall effect of the discourse of which it is a part, naturally leads us to the topic of discourse structure and discourse coherence. In Part III of this study, I have tried to do the following:

- (i) to introduce a working model for the description of discourse coherence, to which I referred as the ‘P(ragmatic)-tree’ model, for the sake of ease of reference;⁴²⁵
- (ii) to show how this working model can be used for the purposes of a discourse-analytical approach to Ancient Greek texts.

In the context of this General Conclusion I will limit myself to a very summary account in general terms, and refer the reader to section 22 for a more detailed overview of the contents of Part III.

Practically speaking, the starting point for the development of the P-tree model was a very simple analytical practice that consists in (i) trying to draw trees as a representation of the coherence between discourse segments (from the colon upwards) and (ii) trying to characterize the nodes in these trees in terms of a number of structural and pragmatic features. A theoretical reflection on the results of these P-tree analyses lead me to formulate a number of fundamental claims, such as the idea that dominance relations in a P-tree represent intentionality, the Thematization Principle, the Iconicity Principle, the Pragmatic Relevance Principle, the ‘Pragmatics First’ claim and the claim that cross-speaker patterns are not fundamentally different from non-conversational patterns. These elements together embody a radically structural and radically pragmatic approach to discourse in general.

In sections 14 to 20, the P-tree device was applied to the same excerpts that were subjected to the segmentation method in Part II. These analyses illustrate how the model accounts for a

⁴²⁵ This working model was developed for, and first applied to, spontaneous speech and secondly also applied to Ancient Greek, which determined some of its specific features as compared to other models of discourse coherence. Samples of analyses of recorded speech were presented in Scheppers 2004t (cf. also Scheppers 2003) but could not find a proper place within the scope of this book.

number of features of running Ancient Greek discourse in structural and pragmatic terms, such as:

- thematization as a pervasive principle of discourse organization, covering the scope of markers, settings and topics, but also the distribution of given and new contents in symmetrical discourse patterns;
- sentence closure and the respective functions of participles and main finite verbs;
- a number of focus-related phenomena;
- the discourse functions of a number of particles;
- genre-specific (incl. conversational) discourse patterns.

The P-tree device has been presented as a working model, i.e. as a heuristic tool: descriptive and theoretical issues have been explored as they emerged from the practice of analysis itself; its problem-raising possibilities have been exploited for their own sake and should be considered as an integral part of its functions as a tool.⁴²⁶ Although many of the -admittedly speculative- claims made in Part III can *in se* be challenged on a priori grounds, it has been my intention to show that, taken together, they yield a consistent and workable, even if unorthodox, approach to the functionality of discourse.

23.4 Final remarks

At the end of this book, I would like to briefly assess the ways in which it may contribute to a number of issues and/or research domains:

- (1) First, I discuss the issue as to how the colon-based approach compares to clause- and sentence-based approaches to Ancient Greek word order and discourse.
- (2) Next, I formulate a few remarks on the ways in which the Colon Hypothesis may affect our perception of Greek discourse (incl. the 'oral' vs. 'literate' issue) and our practice of reading and translating Greek.
- (3) A third paragraph summarizes a number of findings concerning the notion of 'genre' and pragmatic variation in general, as this was a recurring topic throughout my analyses.
- (4) A fourth paragraph consists of a few concluding remarks on issues of editorial practice and Classical scholarship.

A fifth and last paragraph consists of a final assessment of the overall contents of this book and its potential contributions.

(1) *The Colon Hypothesis vs. clause- and sentence-based approaches to Ancient Greek word order and discourse*

The entire tradition in linguistics, from Dionysius Thrax to Chomsky, has had its main focus on morphological features at word level and the syntactic distribution of these features, with as its ultimate limit the sentence level. The ultimate criterion for distinguishing different morphosyntactic categories and the constructions to which they give rise has always been

⁴²⁶ The P-tree heuristic gave rise to a number of theoretically interesting problems, for instance: the problem of the features that discourse and other types of action have in common, and the problem of the relation between the pragmatics and the contents of discourse (or between cognition and action in general) were given a technical (and -I believe- novel) formulation.

semantics, conceived of in terms of the truth-value of the proposition. This view of the functions of language can still be felt even in those approaches which do take pragmatics and other discourse aspects into account: typically, pragmatics (and those phenomena most obviously related to it) is viewed as a matter of ‘packaging’, ‘putting into use’, ‘expressing’ pre-existing syntactic-semantic contents, which in their turn express pre-linguistic ‘ideas’.⁴²⁷ The present study, following some branches of Discourse Analysis and Conversation Analysis, has taken the opposite approach (cf. the ‘Pragmatics First’ claim). In order to illustrate the specificity of the present approach, I would like to compare it to the Functional Grammar approach introduced by S.C. Dik’s *The Theory of Functional Grammar* (Dik 1989; cf. section 0.3.3(3c) above) and applied to Ancient Greek by a number of Dutch scholars, but most importantly in Helma Dik’s *Word Order in Ancient Greek. A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (Dik 1995; cf. section 0.3.1(c) above). The reason why I chose this approach as my interlocutor for the purposes of this section, is that it is without a doubt the most influential contemporary approach to Greek word order, as well as the fact that it deals with a very similar set of issues and also claims to embody a pragmatic approach to these issues.

- (a) First of all, it should be pointed out that the approach presented in this book does not share some of the most basic theoretical and methodological assumptions of the FG framework in general:
- (i) In contrast with FG approaches, the present approach cannot be said to be (part of) a **‘Grammar’** in any usual sense of the word, in that it is not primarily concerned with the rules governing the distribution of specifically linguistic items. Traditional grammatical items (most notably the ‘clause’ and the relations and items which constitute its internal structure) are not the basic elements of analysis. Hence, since clause-hood itself is seen as derivative (cf. the ‘Pragmatics First’ claim, introduced in section 13.1.4 above), the P-tree model cannot be seen as an extension of a grammar ‘beyond the clause’, as is the case in FG (cf. e.g. Martin 2001).
 - (ii) It does not share the **‘Functional’** notion that ‘language is instrumental’ in any way.⁴²⁸ In the present study, language is not viewed as a ‘tool for communicating’ pre-linguistic content. On the contrary, I emphasize the parallelism between language and other modes of cognition/perception and between discourse and other (obviously non-communicative) types of action.⁴²⁹
- (b) On a more practical level, the main difference between the two approaches is obviously the fact that the Functional Grammar approach is clause-based and the present one colon-based. Dik summarily deals with the P2-rule in a separate section (Dik 1995, 31-38) in which the matter of segmentation into cola is briefly addressed (with reference to Fraenkel). After having stated the problem of the status of ‘cola’ (as defined by the P2-rule), lip service is

⁴²⁷ A good example of this general outlook is the distinction between ‘underlying clause structure’ and ‘expression rules’ in the architecture of the theory presented in Dik 1989 (see especially pp. 45-66).

⁴²⁸ The following quotation can be considered as programmatic for the ‘functionalism’ of FG: “In the functional paradigm [...], a language is in the first place conceptualized as an instrument of social interaction among human beings, used with the intention of establishing communicative relationships. Within this paradigm one attempts to reveal the instrumentality of language with respect to what people do and achieve with it in social interaction” (Dik 1989, 3).

⁴²⁹ Furthermore, I have explicitly argued against the notion of ‘(communicative) intention’ with respect to which language may be considered ‘a tool’ (see Scheppers 2004a).

being paid to the colon-based approach: “The resulting segments are postulated to be the equivalent of intonation units. As such they will constitute the basic units for the analysis of word order, taking precedence, in principle, over syntactically defined clauses, with which, however, they often coincide”. This claim is repeated in an even stronger form in the next alinea (already quoted in section 0.2.4(1b) above): “Segmentation on the basis of postpositive placement can be seen to coincide with syntactically definable clauses for most of the time”. In a footnote to the first quotation here above, we read that “More recent studies in spoken language (e.g. Chafe (1987)), however, have shown that intonation units are often shorter than commonly assumed”.⁴³⁰ In the present study I showed that -as observed by Dik- the colon/IU can indeed be taken as “the basic unit[s] for the analysis of word order”, that these units are indeed typically much shorter than a syntactic clause, and that the order in which these cola (which indeed take “precedence over syntactically defined clauses”) follow each other in running discourse need not be analyzed in terms of the structure of the clause.

- (c) Dik 1995 and related contributions (cf. section 0.3.1(c) above) also show a few similarities to the present one in that the two approaches can be called ‘pragmatic’ and both crucially involve the notions of ‘topic’ and ‘focus’. However, these notions are implemented differently in the present approach and serve other functions within the overall framework:
- in the present approach the notion of ‘focus’ is primarily defined ‘bottom-up’ in terms of the relative prominence of a word or constituent within its local context; in Dik’s account, Focus is a pre-established function in the structure of the clause;⁴³¹
 - the notion of ‘topic’ is defined in terms of ‘aboutness’ in the present study (see section 13.3.2(2) above) and applied mainly to the function of a separate colon which introduces a content item about which the following ‘comment’-segment is; in Dik 1995 the notion of ‘Topic’ is mainly applied to constituents filling a P1-slot in the structure of the clause and is defined in mainly cognitive terms.⁴³²
- (d) Still, many of the patterns described by Dik in terms of the basic clausal pattern Topic - Focus - Predicate - X and its many variations (cf. section 0.3.1(c) above)⁴³³ have exact equivalents in a colon-based approach to discourse structure, for instance:
- the fact that Topics (in Dik’s account) typically occur clause-initially corresponds to the fact that (in the present account) many discourse segments which are built around a topic item are realized as a clause;

⁴³⁰ For the purposes of Dik’s essentially clause-based approach, not much hinges on the matter of segmentation and the passages quoted above are remarkable, because they do not seem to fit in with the practice of that type of analysis (and -in my opinion- need not fit).

⁴³¹ Dik deals with the phenomena that are here subsumed under Focus in essentially two separate ways: (i) in terms of Dover’s Nucleus-Concomitant distinction, defined by predictability and dispensability, and (ii) in terms of the Focus-slot in the clausal pattern that makes up the core of her approach.

⁴³² Dik 1995, 24: “*Topic function* is assigned to an element that refers to an entity which the speaker takes to be part of or inferable from the shared pragmatic information of speaker and addressee and which the speaker regards as an appropriate foundation for constructing a message which is relevant to the subject matter of the discourse”. This notion of ‘Topic function’ is much broader than the present one and approaches what has been called ‘Theme’ in section 13.1.2(3).

⁴³³ The very diversity of clausal patterns that are necessary to account for running discourse in the FG approach might be viewed as an argument against the viability of the approach. Note that one would need something very much like the P-tree patterns in order to explain the distribution of these clausal patterns.

- many cases that Dik would analyze in terms of, for instance, a Topic - Setting - Focus - Predicate pattern, could perhaps be analyzed in P-tree terms in an -at least superficially- very similar way, as a pattern in which a Topic-Comment node dominates a Setting-Event node.

However, there are also a few divergences in the way both approaches interpret (and perhaps even *read*) Greek.⁴³⁴ This can be illustrated by the ways in which the difference between participles and finite verbs is viewed: because the finite verb has a very special status at the core of Dik's approach (they define its basic unit (i.e. the clause) and have a predetermined slot in the clausal structure), participles are necessarily viewed as somehow subordinated to the finite verb ('Setting'/'backgrounded'). However, if this view were adequate, the foreground of Greek narratives would be extremely meager as compared to the foreground of for instance English narratives, in which many of the events that are expressed by (aorist) participles in Greek are expressed by finite VPs or full finite clauses. In the present approach, sentence closure as indicated by the presence of a finite verb is viewed as a rather superficial result of online processing (cf. section 21.1 above).

Another example of a more or less fundamental difference in the perception of discourse structure concerns the status of Topics and Markers with a scope extending over several clauses. P-trees deal with this phenomenon directly, as a fundamental aspect of discourse structure, whereas in the clause-based approach the phenomenon has to be dealt with separately.

- (e) Summarizing, the main difference between the present approach and the Functional Grammar approach is that in the present approach discourse patterns (with the colon as a basic unit) are posited as primary, and the matter of which segments are realized as clauses is secondary. Thus, discourse coherence beyond the clause is directly accounted for by the same mechanisms that also account for the coherence between cola within the clause.

(2) *On reading and translating Greek (incl. the 'oral' vs. 'literate' issue)*

On numerous occasions throughout this study various ways in which Ancient Greek resembles spontaneous speech (as analyzed in contemporary Discourse analysis and Conversation Analysis) were highlighted:

- The formal features that are best described by invoking 'colon' / 'IU' (mostly word order phenomena, as described in Part I) are pervasive and cannot be understood as ad hoc phenomena. Also note the fact that the notion of IU/colon is apparently inescapable for describing these formal features, as evidenced by the fact that even scholars like Marshall (see e.g. section 0.14 above), for whom discourse segmentation is not a fundamental issue, have to resort to invoking 'colon-formation' on many occasions in order to account for exceptions to certain word order rules. The very pervasiveness of the phenomena to which it applies and the fact that they apparently cannot be reduced to other rules, principles or mechanisms, are evidence for the insight that the notion of colon/IU *must* be a fundamental feature of Ancient Greek discourse.
- The overall resemblance between colon-typology (resulting from analyses of word order patterns in Ancient Greek texts) and IU-typology (resulting from analyses of recorded spontaneous conversation in modern languages), including many details, both

⁴³⁴ Cf. section 23.4(2) here below on the ways in which the Colon Hypothesis may affect the very way we read Greek.

in grammatical and in pragmatic terms, corroborates the idea that these notions are not really different and that Ancient Greek discourse (even in its written transmitted form) is apparently structured in a way that reminds us of contemporary spoken language (see section 0.3.2).⁴³⁵

- This view is compatible with the general cultural background of the texts. What is known (and/or hypothesized) about the production and performance modes of Ancient literature suggests that orality and literacy were much less separate than they are in our more literate cultures: I think it is safe to say that both the concrete ‘writing’ procedures of Classical Greek literature and the ways in which this literature was consumed/performed involved actual speech.

The results presented in this book have no direct bearing on the specific issues concerning the orality-literacy of Classical Greek culture as such. Still, I would like to suggest that they do allow for more detailed as well as more systematic ways to conceive of the potentially oral discourse features than is usually the case in discussions about oral vs. literate aspects of the production and performance modes of Ancient Greek literature.

On a more practical level, the particular way of reading Greek demonstrated in this study departs from traditional ways of reading and translating Ancient Greek prose in several ways, all of which ultimately boil down to the difference between reading clause per clause or reading colon per colon. I would like to suggest that traditional ways of reading Classical literature (as transmitted in educational systems) have a number of pitfalls,⁴³⁶ most of which are related to a strong grammatical bias in the very perception of the nature of language and discourse.

Thus, the traditional focus on grammatical relations in reading, interpreting and translating exercises leads to underestimating the autonomy of individual words and constituents.⁴³⁷ In the course of my analyses, there have been several instances in which I have tried to point out that standard interpretations of certain discourse patterns were flawed because of this overestimation of the importance of the clause as a basic unit and the underestimation of the pragmatic and cognitive weight of individual constituents.

A comparison between speech in contemporary languages like English or French and Ancient Greek literature, shows that many segments that would be a separate clause in English, are in Greek a non-clausal constituent. A good case in point is the interpretation of participles as necessarily backgrounded or subordinate with respect to a finite verb, as mentioned in section (1d) here above: it is easy to show that Events conveyed by participles in Greek narratives often are part of the very backbone of the plot (cf. section 21.1 above).

⁴³⁵ Also note the pervasiveness of prosodic issues in general (clitization and appositivity, intonational sandhi, prosodic heaviness, focus, ...), throughout the analyses in this book. The fact that prosody plays such an important role in the analysis of prose may in se already be an indication as to its kinship to speech.

⁴³⁶ The (now endangered) ways of teaching Classics within traditional educational systems has/had, of course, a number of advantages as well, which, however, in my opinion have less to do with the actual contents of what is/was being transmitted than with the shamelessly elitist ways in which the transmission takes/took place.

⁴³⁷ Cf. Kurzová’s remarks on this topic, as quoted in section 10.4.4 in this book, and Dover’s remarks on ‘dispensability’, as discussed in section 10.3.

Similarly, I have argued that demonstratives and various markers are much more often focused and colon-autonomous than is commonly assumed.⁴³⁸

On the other hand, a clause-based reading of Ancient Greek also tends to obscure the fact that pragmatic structures often have a much wider scope than the single clause, for instance in the case of the scope of Topics and Markers (cf. my remark on this matter in paragraph (1d) here above).

The bias towards grammatical relations over pragmatic ones against which I am arguing here also shows through in the way standard translations represent Ancient Greek discourse. The habit of translating syntactic relations, with the syntactic sentence as its encompassing unit, often leads to very complicated texts with several levels of syntactic embedding. This type of text is rather hard to process even in a written format and it is hard to conceive how such texts could ever be functional as oral performances. However, the fact that syntactic cohesion in Ancient Greek is essentially generated by a rich morphology (which underlies the relative autonomy of individual words) is functionally equivalent to the abundant use of pronouns and other anaphoric devices in modern languages, rather than to abundant syntactic subordination.

I obviously do not want to suggest that the kind of experimental colon per colon translations I offered in section 11 should be considered a serious alternative to standard translation practices, but the analyses presented in this book (including the above remarks) may serve as a contribution to, or starting point for, further reflection on what aspects of the structure of Ancient Greek discourse should be conveyed by modern translations.

(3) *On pragmatic variation and genre*

Throughout Part III, 'genre' proved to be a pervasive aspect, both as a structural part of the conceptual framework that was developed, and as an important factor in the actual analysis of various aspects of the excerpts.

- (a) On the theoretical level, several ideas presented in section 13 may have a bearing on the notion of 'genre' as a discourse-analytical concept. Most importantly, 'discourse genre' can be viewed as the 'verbal' application of the more general holistic notion of 'action-type', pre-determining a number of structural features of discourse, including the macrostructural features of the P-tree, the different categories of content-items that are relevant within it, and the roles of the personae participating in it. As such, it also accounts for the seamless embedding of the 'textual' aspect of discourse in its 'non-textual' pragmatic context.
- (b) As for my application of this concept to the corpus, the analyses in sections 14-20 showed that many structural features of the texts could be accounted for in terms of more general genre-related characteristics. In some cases, it was pointed out that these characteristics were culture-specific.

In the case of Lysias, many structural features of the texts (including very local ones such as the recurrent contrast between me/we and him/them) had to be accounted for by referring to content-inheritance from the highest levels of the relevant P-tree, i.e. the encompassing practice of the trial within which the discourse was embedded. Furthermore, the rhetorical tradition of pleading in court clearly pre-determined the overall structure of the speeches, including structural patterns at a fairly local level. Finally, I also pointed out that some

⁴³⁸ See, for instance, my discussion of Dover's assessment of the 'dispensability' of such items in sections 10.3 and 21.4.

passages (even in Lysias) show idiosyncratic rhetorical patterns that seem artificial to us, involving multiply embedded contrasts, some of which were semantically and pragmatically vacuous; interestingly, these patterns did not show all the habitual pragmatic features that our typology ascribes to ‘natural’ contrasts.⁴³⁹

As for Plato, the genre-related issues are much more difficult to assess, in several ways. For instance, the production and performance/consumption modes of Platonic dialogue as a literary genre and the way it is embedded in encompassing cultural practices are much less self-evident than in the case of Lysias’ speeches. Furthermore, it remains to be seen to what degree the structural patterns we observe in these dialogues are representative of real-life contemporary practices respectively purely literary devices. Still, my analyses uncovered a few interesting aspects that might shed light on a few genre-related aspects of Plato’s work. Thus, I pointed out a number of commonalities between the patterns depicted in these texts and real-life conversational practices (e.g. the ritualized character of macrostructural pre-sequences), but also some less familiar aspects, such as their tendency to be strictly binary even if more participants are supposed to be present. The question arises as to whether and how this is related to real-life conversational genres.

I also noted that the contributions of the different participants in terms of their pragmatic functions often are direct reflections of the pre-determined roles that they play within that genre of conversation, not unlike what can be observed in real-life conversation (think, for instance, of the case of doctor-patient interactions). In the case of Platonic dialogue, the most important aspect in this respect may be the distinction between the ‘persona doctoris’ (Socrates resp. the Stranger) and the ‘persona discipuli’, which Platonic dialogue seems to share with various Ancient and modern didactic genres.

(4) *On editorial practice and Classical scholarship*

Throughout this book, I have emphasized the idea that the various endeavors undertaken were subservient to the general aims and practices of traditional Classical scholarship. As was suggested to me concerning a previous version of my work,⁴⁴⁰ it seemed appropriate to include a few remarks on accentuation, punctuation and editorial practice in general.⁴⁴¹ I will also add a summary assessment as to how the results of my research contribute to, or are embedded, in Classical scholarship as such.

(a) *Accentuation*

Issues of accentuation intervene with the subject matter of this book in a number of ways, most importantly: (i) in the definition of clisis and appositivity in morphological resp. phonological terms (see sections 1.1(2) and 7.1 above); (ii) on a more practical level, in that the difference between unfocused/postpositive and focused/Mobile allomorphs of the same lexeme often corresponds to a mostly conventional orthographic difference between enclitic and orthotonic.

As for (i), I would like to suggest that my speculations on the morphological status of articles, prepositions and postpositive particles in section 7.1 may have something to contribute to the debates on clisis as such. To the extent that I am right in positing that /p/-

⁴³⁹ I also pointed out repeatedly that it seems to be a culture-specific feature of Ancient Greek discourse to organize even natural-sounding narratives by means of contrasts where we would not normally perceive such contrasts.

⁴⁴⁰ Rijksbaron, personal communication 2004.

⁴⁴¹ Readers interested in these aspects may want to consult the relevant lemmata in the English index.

prepositives and /q/-postpositives show affix-like behavior in many of their uses, questions arise as to the validity of the conventional/traditional orthotonic spelling of these forms.

As for (ii), my exploration of the corpus by means of a database yielded a number of cases in which the habit of spelling indefinites and various pronouns as clitic lead to an underestimation of the frequency of focused instances.

(b) *Punctuation*

Editorial punctuation was of great importance for Part I of this book, in that it was the only formal aspect of the texts that could serve as a starting point for the investigation of discourse boundaries in the context of a large-scaled and partially quantitative approach to the corpus. Of course, it was clear from the outset that editorial punctuation is not supposed to offer a segmentation of the text at the level of the colon: punctuation is a self-contained traditional orthographic practice which fits quite well with our traditional reading habits and the traditions in the field of Classical scholarship. However, I would like to suggest that editorial punctuation could do a better job at helping us achieve a more ‘natural’ reading of the texts than is presently the case. For instance, my observations in paragraph (2) here above would suggest that a somewhat less extensive use of the full stop in favor of the colon (the punctuation mark, not the discourse unit) and a somewhat more extensive use of the comma (e.g. marking participial VPs on a par with subordinate clauses) would be worth considering.

(c) *Text editions and linguistic research*

Apart from the above considerations, both the macroscopic corpus-based approach to word order (Part I) and the microscopic close reading of a number of excerpts (Part II and Part III) gave rise to numerous occasions on which the main text presented by standard editions (TLG) was found to be blatantly wrong or at least unfounded.⁴⁴² This observation highlights the importance of the continuity between traditional scholarship and linguistic research on Classical languages.

(d) *Classical scholarship and discourse analysis*

In paragraph (3) of the Preface I already pointed out that traditional Classical scholarship and the more recent discourse-analytical approach in the ethno-tradition of, for instance, Wallace Chafe, have a number of features in common, most importantly the fact that they involve a very close reading of, and a holistic approach to, the corpus they deal with. Throughout my analyses, I have tried to emphasize the contributions of the approach taken in terms of how they affect our reading of the texts. Thus, I would like to think that the analyses presented in section 11 and in sections 14-20 are not only an illustration of the methodological and theoretical points I wanted to make, but also stand on their own as a (albeit specialized) commentary contributing to a better understanding of the texts analyzed.

(5) *Final assessment*

In this book, I hope to have shown the following (besides a number of technical points on a wide range of matters of detail):

- that the Colon Hypothesis is a fruitful basis for the investigation of Greek word order, having a wide range of consequences for the description and theory of word order and sometimes offering a novel approach to long-standing issues;

⁴⁴² Especially the Lysias edition by Albinus showed a surprising number of editorial interventions. See also section 1.2.1(3) above. See also the lemma ‘Textual criticism’ in the English index.

- that a colon-based approach to Ancient Greek discourse yields -generally speaking- satisfactory results and opens the door to cognitive approaches that highlight the ‘oral’ features of this type of discourse;
- that the analytical tools introduced (both the segmentation procedures and the practical approach to discourse coherence embodied in the P-tree device) can make a substantial contribution to the traditional concerns of Classical philology in that they uncover a number of aspects of the Ancient Greek texts which may be crucial to understanding them as the reflection of the discourse they are intended to convey.

The book has also obvious and inevitable limitations: the gap between the empirical results and the theoretical aspects of the research has not always been satisfactorily bridged in the present presentation, the existing (especially very recent) literature in the various relevant fields has not always been processed adequately and I have not been able to do justice to a number of approaches that might have enriched the materials presented here, some anomalies in the formal presentation of the book could have found better solutions than is presently the case, etc. Most of these flaws are due to specific aspects of the book’s genesis, as well as to the fact that it has a very wide scope (perhaps still too wide for a monograph, despite my efforts to focus more consistently on practical matters related to Ancient Greek and to eliminate as much as possible the purely theoretical aspects of my research), dealing with a large array of phenomena and aspects, and including both empirical and theoretical-methodological endeavors.

I have stated from the outset (see paragraph (6) of the Preface) and I would like to repeat here that the main *raison d’être* of this book is not so much that it aims to ‘prove’ specific hypotheses (except perhaps the Colon Hypothesis in its most general formulation), nor to demonstrate a particular approach to any of the subject-matters addressed (although it obviously does that as well), but rather that it contains a substantial amount of somehow interesting material (both at the level of the empirical data and at the level of methodological and theoretical reflection) that would otherwise have remained unpublished.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³ My recent research activity (since 2006) has been focusing on philosophical aspects that ensued from further reflection on the various theoretical aspects of the P-tree device (e.g. on the parallelism between discourse and non-verbal action and on the relation between the pragmatic structure of an action and the cognitive contents involved in it), hinted at in section 13 of this book. Before embarking on this new ‘research project’ (so to speak), I wanted to publish my material concerning Ancient Greek. This is what this book is.

Indices and Bibliography

Index of tables

As a lot of crucial information (especially in Part I) is contained within a fairly large number of tables and the next few indices will contain references to these tables, I present a list of all the tables in this book with a reference to the exact section in which they occur, for the sake of ease of reference.

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Table 0.1b: a typology for Fraenkel's colon-type E (Fraenkel 1965, 12-30)	0.1.3(2)
Table 0.1c: a typology for Fraenkel's colon-type F "Kurzkola" (Fraenkel 1965, 41-49)	0.1.3(3)
Table 0.1d: a provisional and partial revision of Fraenkel's colon typology	0.1.3(5)
Table 0.2a: Symbols Used in Transcriptions of Speech (see Chafe 1994, xiii)	0.2.1(1)
Table 0.2.4a: IUs and GUs (Croft 1995, 845)	0.2.4(2a)
Table 0.2.4b: IUs and GUs (own recorded speech corpus)	0.2.4(2a)
Table 0.2.4c: a typology of IUs (Cruttenden 1986/1997, 68-73)	0.2.4(4)
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Table 2.0b: autonomy (/p/ and /q/ invisible)	2.0(init)
Table 2.0c: autonomy (introductives)	2.0(2)
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Table 2.4b: /p q M/ vs. /p M q/	2.4.2(init)
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Table 4.1c: / p (p...) M q (q...)/	4.1(3a)
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Table 4.1e: P2-tendency of /q/-particles (summary)	4.1(5)
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Table 4.1g: /q/-particles in P2 following an /O/-introductives in P1: / O q/	4.1(6c)
Table 4.2a: P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives (hypothesis 1)	4.2(1)
Table 4.2b: P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives (hypothesis 2), /p/ and /q/ invisible	4.2(2)
Table 4.2c: P2-tendency of /r/-postpositives (hypothesis 2): clusters of /r/ reduced	4.2(3)
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Table 7.3g: words per lexical class in P-ult (% of segment-endings)	7.3(2)
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Table 8.1: lexical classes (review)	8.1
Table 22.2: a provisional typology of coherence relations (overview)	22.2

Index of coherence relations (ad Part III)

As a number of lemmata in the English Index would otherwise have been cluttered to the point of becoming very difficult to use, I offer a separate Index of examples of the coherence relations introduced in section 13, as they occurred throughout the analyses in Part III (sections 14 to 20). The keywords are sorted according to the typology used in section 13.3 (with a number of more or less ad hoc sub-types for ease of reference). Cross-speaker coherence relations (e.g. Adjacency pairs) have been subsumed under the other headings, in conformity with the theoretical stance taken on the matter (see section 13.3.4(2)). As for the macro-structural patterns discussed in 13.3.5, see section 14 for an example of a forensic speech and section 17(init), for a probable example of an embedded narrative structure.

(1) Symmetrical patterns

(1a) Contrasts

node-type (coherence relation)	section	node	notes
Contrast	16.2	L	
Contrast	16.2	Z	
Contrast	18.2	A	
Contrast	18.2	E	
Contrast	18.2	H	
Contrast	18.2	J	
Contrast	18.2	K	
Contrast	19.2	R	
Contrast	19.2	T	
Contrast (agent-switch in narrative)	16.2	D	
Contrast (agent-switch in narrative)	17.3	B	
Contrast (comparison)	19.2	P	
Contrast (correlative pattern)	18.2	N	
Contrast (correlative pattern)	19.2	G	
Contrast (correlative pattern)	20.2	P	
Contrast (empty)	17.3	K	
Contrast (negative-positive)	16.2	X	
Contrast (negative-positive)	17.2	Q	
Contrast (negative-positive)	18.2	F	
Contrast (rhetorical contrast / false contrast)	18.2	I	
Contrast (topic-switch in narrative)	15.2	J	

(1b) Lists and chains

node-type (coherence relation)	section	node	notes
Chain	16.2	K	coordinated Settings (?)
Chain	17.1	C	coordinated Settings
Chain	17.1	L	coordinated Settings
Chain	17.2	C	excerpts of reported speech
Chain	17.3	O	or perhaps Afterthought?
Chain	19.2	K	polyadic question
Chain	20.2	O	argument-chain
Chain	20.2	Ac	argument-chain, restatement
Chain (restatement)	17.3	G	cyclus
Chain (restatement)	19.2	Q	interlocutor -switch
Chain (restatement)	19.2	X	

Chain (Topic-chain)	20.2	G	
Chain (Topic-chain)	20.2	I	
List	16.2	O	
List	20.2	E	

(1c) Plots

node-type (coherence relation)	section	node	notes
Plot	15.2	A	
Plot	15.2	D	
Plot	15.2	G	
Plot	15.2	H	
Plot	16.2	A	
Plot	16.2	G	
Plot	16.2	H	
Plot	16.2	S	
Plot	17.2	M	
Plot	20.2	X	metaphorical plot in expository context
Plot	20.2	Ab	metaphorical plot in expository context

(2) Theme-Rheme patterns**(2a) Marker – Content**

node-type (coherence relation)	section	node	notes
Marker-Content	15.2	I	
Marker-Content	16.2	B	
Marker-Content	17.1	A	
Marker-Content	17.2	L	
Marker-Content	17.3	A	
Marker-Content	17.3	F	
Marker-Content	18.2	L	epistemic or merely structural?
Marker-Content	18.2	M	epistemic or merely structural?
Marker-Content	19.2	N	
Marker-Content	20.2	C	
Marker-Content	20.2	Q	
Marker-Content (epistemic)	17.3	L	
Marker-Content (epistemic)	17.3	M	
Marker-Content (illocutionary)	19.2	D	
Marker-Content (illocutionary)	19.2	L	
Marker-Content (illocutionary)	20.2	D	
Marker-Content (interactional)	17.2	D	
Marker-Content (interactional)	19.2	C	
Marker-Content (interactional)	19.2	E	
Marker-Content (pre-sequence)	17.2	F	
Marker-Content (cross-speaker)	19.2	I	
Marker-Content (cross-speaker)	19.2	J	
Marker-Content (cross-speaker)	19.2	S	
Marker-Content (cross-speaker)	20.2	B	
Marker-Content (cross-speaker)	20.2	Ae	
Marker-Content (reporting-reported)	15.2	E	
Marker-Content (reporting-reported)	16.2	V	
Marker-Content (reporting-reported)	17.1	M	
Marker-Content (reporting-reported)	19.2	W	

(2b) Topic – Comment

node-type (coherence relation)	section	node	notes
Topic-Comment	15.2	B	
Topic-Comment	15.2	C	
Topic-Comment	15.2	F	
Topic-Comment	15.2	K	
Topic-Comment	15.2	L	
Topic-Comment	16.2	E	
Topic-Comment	16.2	F	
Topic-Comment	16.2	M	
Topic-Comment	16.2	N	
Topic-Comment	16.2	Q	
Topic-Comment	16.2	R	
Topic-Comment	17.1	F	
Topic-Comment	17.2	J	
Topic-Comment	17.2	O	
Topic-Comment	17.3	C	
Topic-Comment	17.3	D	
Topic-Comment	18.2	B	
Topic-Comment	18.2	C	
Topic-Comment	20.2	H	
Topic-Comment	20.2	R	
Topic-Comment	20.2	S	
Topic-Comment	20.2	T	
Topic-Comment	20.2	U	
Topic-Comment (cross-speaker)	19.2	A	
Topic-Comment (cross-speaker)	20.2	A	super-topic - series of sub-topics
Topic-Comment (cross-speaker)	20.2	J	

(2c) Setting – Event

node-type (coherence relation)	section	node	notes
Setting-Event	16.2	C	
Setting-Event	16.2	T	
Setting-Event	16.2	U	
Setting-Event	17.1	B	
Setting-Event	17.1	I	
Setting-Event	17.2	A	
Setting-Event	17.2	H	
Setting-Event (argumentative)	18.2	D	
Setting-Event (argumentative)	18.2	G	
Setting-Event (argumentative)	20.2	W	

(3) Pragmatic subordination: Elaboration patterns

node-type (coherence relation)	section	node	notes
Elaboration	17.1	E	
Elaboration	17.1	H	
Elaboration	17.2	B	afterthought or description?
Elaboration	17.2	P	
Elaboration	17.3	H	
Elaboration	20.2	F	
Elaboration (afterthought)	17.1	G	
Elaboration (afterthought)	17.3	P	
Elaboration (afterthought)	18.2	O	postposed setting
Elaboration (afterthought)	18.2	P	postposed setting
Elaboration (afterthought)	19.2	H	
Elaboration (afterthought)	19.2	M	
Elaboration (Comment-Topic)	17.2	I	
Elaboration (Comment-Topic)	17.2	N	

Elaboration (Comment-Topic)	20.2	N	emphatic fronting
Elaboration (Comment-Topic)	20.2	Z	emphatic fronting
Elaboration (description)	16.2	J	
Elaboration (digression)	17.1	D	
Elaboration (digression)	17.2	E	
Elaboration (disambiguation / specification)	19.2	B	
Elaboration (disambiguation)	17.2	K	
Elaboration (explanation)	20.2	K	Elaboration-cascade
Elaboration (explanation)	20.2	M	Elaboration-cascade
Elaboration (explanation)	20.2	V	
Elaboration (explanation)	20.2	Y	
Elaboration (explanation)	20.2	Ad	descriptive afterthought

(4) Problematic and/or idiosyncratic cases

	section	node	notes
	16.2	I	Setting-Event (or Plot?)
	16.2	P	Plot (or Contrast?)
	16.2	W	Contrast (?)
	16.2	Y	Topic-Comment (?)
	17.1	J	Topic-Comment (?)
	17.1	K	Topic-Comment (?)
	17.2	G	Contrast (negative-positive) or Elaboration?
	17.3	E	Plot, Chain or Elaboration?
	17.3	I	Plot or Chain?
	17.3	J	Plot or Chain?
	17.3	N	Setting-Event or Topic-Comment?
	19.2	F	Topic-Comment or Marker-Content (interactional)?
	19.2	O	Setting-Event (argumentative) or Chain?
	19.2	U	reporting-reported, but contrastive reporting
	19.2	V	reported-reporting due to emphatic fronting / chiasmus
	20.2	L	Marker-Content?
	20.2	Aa	Setting-Event (argumentative)?

Index locorum

All passages from Greek authors quoted in the text are included (errors aside), whether they are analyzed in a more or less detailed way or only quoted as an example of a certain phenomenon, including references included in quotations. Asterisks (*) refer to sections in which the passage (or a phenomenon that occurs within it) is specifically commented upon to some degree of depth or width.

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<i>Supplices</i>	1054: 2.4(init)
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<i>Aves</i>	1679: 0.1.3(1)
<i>Lysistrata</i>	341: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c)
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<i>Ranae</i>	599-601: 10.1.3(1a-ftn)
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3	81,2: 10.3(3-ftn)
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6	98,3: 0.1.3(Table 0.1a)
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<i>Ilias</i>	1.198: 0.1.2(3-ftn)
<i>Odyssea</i>	2.379: 0.1.4(1)
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3	51: 0.1.3(Table 0.1a)
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	— 37: 14.4, 21.3(2a) — 39: 14.4 — 40: 14.4 — 41: 11.1(ftn), 14.4, 21.1(2c) — 42: 4.2(4b) — 43: 14.4, 21.3(2c) — 45: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1b) — 47-50: 14.4* — 47: 14.4, 21.3(2e) — 49: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1a)
2	1: 10.1.3(2c), 10.2.1(3), 10.2.4(4b) — 2: 2.4.3(2c) — 9: 2.2(1) — 16: 2.0(1) — 25: 0.1.1(2) — 40: 4.1(3a), 10.4.3 — 54: 2.4.2(init) — 55: 4.1(7a) — 77: 10.2.1(4) — 81: 2.2(2a)
3	5: 5.0(a) — 8: 10.2(init), 10.2.1(2b), 10.2.1(4) — 11-14: 16(init) — 12: 2.4.1(1a) — 14-15: 21.3(2c) — 14: 21.3(2g) — 15-16: 21.1(2b), 21.2(e) — 15-17: 11.2*, 13.1.4(3), 16*, 21.1(2c), 21.1(3), 21.3(2a) — 15: 0.1.2(1a), 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b), 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 1.2.1(2), 4.1(7a), 5.0(a), 7.1(3), 10.2.4(2), 21.1(2a-ftn), 21.1(3), 21.3(2a), 21.3(2c) — 16: 0.3.2(2b), 10.2.1(2a), 10.2.4(1b) — 17: 5.1(2), 10.1.3(init) — 18: 16.2(2-ftn) — 19: 3.3(b) — 21: 10.2.5(1) — 22: 10.1.1(e) — 25: 10.2.3(2) — 26: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c), 10.2.4(3d) — 30: 4.1(4) — 36: 21.2(g) — 37: 10.2.4(1a) — 40: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c) — 40: 10.2.4(3e) — 44: 2.0(2c), 10.2.4(3d), 10.2.5(2d) — 45: 10.2.4(2) — 47: 10.1.3(1a)
4	8: 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 2.4.2(2-init-ftn), 10.2.2, 10.2.4(init), 10.2.5(1-ftn) — 10: 4.2(4b), 5.1(1a), 10.1.3(2c) — 19: 6.1(2a)
5	4: 5.2.3(ftn)
6	7: 10.1.3(2a), 10.2.3(3) — 12: 5.1(1b), 10.2.4(init), 10.2.4(3a) — 13: 2.4.1(2b) — 34: 10.2.1(4-ftn) — 35: 1.1(3-Table 1.1-ftn) — 38: 10.2.4(3d) — 50: 5.2.2(2)
7	14: 5.0(a) — 23: 5.1(2), 10.1.3(1d) — 29: 5.1(2) — 33: 10.2.4(3d) — 37: 2.4.2(init)
8	2: 2.4.3(1c) — 3: 6.2(3a) — 4: 4.2(4a) — 7: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1b) — 9: 10.1.3(init), 10.1.3(1c) — 15: 4.2(9), 5.0(a), 5.1(1b), 10.2.4(3b), 10.2.4(6) — 16: 5.1(1a), 6.1(5c), 10.2.1(3) — 17: 6.2(3a) — 19: 4.2(9)
9	1: 2.4.3(2d) — 5: 10.1.3(1c) — 11: 10.1.3(2d) — 11: 10.2.1(2a) — 13: 10.1.1(a) — 19: 5.1(1a), 10.2.4(1a) — 20: 2.4.2(init) — 21: 0.1.2(1a), 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 10.2.1(2b), 10.4.2
10	1: 2.1(2b), 10.1.3(1d), 10.2.4(1b), 10.2.4(2) — 2: 6.3(3b), 21.3(2f-ftn) — 9: 6.2(1d) — 15: 4.2(4b) — 22: 5.1(1a), 10.2.2, 10.2.4(init), 10.2.4(1a), 10.4.4, 11.3.2(2a), 11.4*, 18*, 21.3(2c), 21.3(2c-ftn), 21.3(2f), 21.4(3c) — 26: 10.4.2
11	8: 6.1(2a)
12	1: 10.2.5(2a), 10.2.5(2d) — 2: 2.4.3(2a), 6.2(5a), 10.2.5(2d) — 4: 10.1.1(a) — 8-9: 10.2.4(1a) — 11: 2.4.3(1c) — 19: 2.4.1(1c) — 23: 10.1.2(b) — 23: 2.4.3(2d), 7.0.2(ftn) — 26: 2.0(2c), 2.4.1(2a) — 28: 10.1.2(a), 10.2.1(4) — 34: 4.2(4b), 5.0(a), 10.2.1(4), 10.2.5(2a) — 44: 10.1.1(a) — 47: 2.4.3(2a), 6.2(5b) — 64: 4.1(7b) — 82: 2.0(2c), 6.2(1d), 10.2.4(3d) — 88: 10.1.3(2d) — 92: 2.4.1(1b) — 100: 2.3(2b)
13	3: 10.2.4(4a) — 7: 4.1(7c), 10.2.5(2c) — 13: 2.4.3(2d) — 15: 2.0(2c) — 32: 6.2(5b) — 39: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c) — 43: 0.1.2(1b), 10.2.3(3), 10.2.4(1a), 21.2(a) — 46: 2.0(2d), 6.2(2a), 10.2.4(1b), 21.2(b) — 49: 2.3(2b-ftn), 10.2.5(2c) — 50: 2.0(2d), 5.0(b), 10.2.4(3e) — 57: 21.2(a) — 63: 2.4.1(1b-ftn) — 67: 10.1.1(c) — 71: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b) — 75: 3.1(1a) — 86: 3.3(a) — 90: 10.2.5(1)
14	1: 2.1(3), 4.2(4-Table 4.2d-ftn) — 4: 0.1.1(2) — 5: 4.2(4b) — 6: 10.2.4(4b) — 17: 10.2.5(2a) — 17: 5.1(2) — 23: 2.4.1(1c), 10.2.4(2) — 27: 10.2.1(2a), 10.2.1(2b) — 34: 2.4(init) — 41: 10.1.1(e)
15	3: 10.1.2(b) — 7: 5.1(2) — 10: 5.2.2(2)
16	2: 2.4.1(2b) — 6: 10.1.3(init) — 7: 5.0(a) — 10: 2.2(2b), 4.1(3a), 7.0.4(b-ftn), 10.1.3(1d), 10.2.1(2a), 10.2.1(2b), 10.2.2 — 16: 5.1(2) — 19: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b), 10.2.5(1)
17	6: 21.1(3-ftn) — 10: 10.2.4(3e), 10: 10.2.4(5), 10.4.1
18	4: 10.2.1(2b) — 14: 4.1(7c-ftn) — 17: 5.0(b) — 20: 2.0(2c), 2.1(2c), 6.3(3b), 10.1.3(1a), 10.2.1(1), 10.2.4(3b) — 24: 10.1.3(2c)
19	5: 4.2(4b) — 13: 4.1(7b), 4.1(7c), 10.2.5(2c) — 33: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1b) — 37: 4.2(4b) — 54: 2.0(2c), 4.2(4b) — 58: 10.2.4(4b) — 59: 2.2(1) — 60: 10.1.2(a)
20	7: 10.1.2(b) — 8: 4.2(4b) — 10: 5.1(2) — 14: 10.1.3(2a-ftn) — 16: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1b) — 30: 3.3(b) — 32: 5.2.1(2) — 36: 2.4(init), 5.1(2)
21	8: 10.1.3(1b) — 17: 10.1.3(2b), 10.2.4(3e), 10.2.4(3f)
22	5: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2c) — 10: 10.1.3(init) — 13: 5.1(2) — 17: 2.2(2b), 5.1(1d), 10.2.4(3b) — 18: 2.1(2a), 4.2(4b), 10.1.3(1b)
23	11: 4.2(4b), 6.2(2b) — 13: 0.1.1(2), 10.1.1(c)
24	2: 2.2(2b), 4.2(6), 6.1(2a), 7.0.4(b-ftn), 10.1.3(1a), 10.2.4(3e) — 2-3: 21.3(2d-ftn) — 3: 10.2.4(3b) — 6: 2.1(3), 5.2.1(2) — 10: 6.1(2a) — 11: 6.3(3b), 10.1.2(b) — 24: 10.1.2(b)
25	3: 2.4.3(2e) — 12: 3.3(a-ftn) — 13: 3.3(b) — 14: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c) — 23: 10.2.4(4a) — 25: 2.2(2a), 10.2.4(4b) — 27: 10.1.1(b)
26	4: 2.1(2b), 10.1.3(1d), 10.2.5(2a) — 7: 0.1.1(2), 0.1.2(1a), 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 4.2(4a), 5.0(a), 10.2.1(1), 10.2.4(init) — 19: 10.1.3(1a) — 21-22: 21.3(2d-ftn)

27	8: 10.1.3(imit) — 16: 10.1.3(2a), 10.2.4(2)
28	6: 5.1(1a), 10.2.4(3c) — 15: 5.1(2)
29	1: 10.2.1(4) — 3: 2.2(2b) — 10: 6.2(1a) — 12: 2.4.1(1c)
30	1: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c), 2.3(2a) — 4: 2.0(2c) — 6: 2.3(2b), 2.4.2(imit) — 8: 5.1(2) — 15: 2.4.2(2-init- <i>ftn</i>) — 16: 2.4.1(1b), 10.2.1(3) — 19: 10.1.1(c) — 20: 4.2(6), 6.1(3a), 10.1.2(c), 10.1.2(d) — 32: 5.1(2)
31	5: 5.2.1(2) — 6: 10.1.3(imit) — 10: 4.2(4b), 6.2(2a) — 19: 10.4.2 — 25: 4.1(7b) — 26: 7.1(5- <i>ftn</i>) 0 — 27: 6.3(3b) — 28: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1c)
32	18: 10.2.4(3e) — 19: 10.4.1 — 21: 4.1(4) — 26: 2.4.2(imit)
33	4: 10.1.1(a)
34	3: 0.1.2(1b), 10.2.3(3), 10.2.4(1a) — 6: 2.1(1d) — 9: 4.1(4), 10.2.4(3b) — 11: 5.1(2), 10.1.2(b)
Plato	
<i>Charmenides</i>	155d: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c) — 161e: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b)
<i>Cratylus</i>	383a-384e: 20(imit- <i>ftn</i>) — 383b: 10.1.3(1a), 2.0(1), 5.2.1(2) — 384a: 2.4.1(2b), 4.1(3b), 4.1(7b), 6.1(2b), 6.2(1d- <i>ftn</i>), 6.2(1d) 10.1.1(d), 10.1.2(c), 10.1.3(2d) — 384b: 10.2.1(4), 2.0(2c) — 384c: 4.1(3a) — 384d-e: 10.2.5(2c) — 385a-427c: 20(imit) — 385c: 5.2.1(2), 10.1.1(a) — 385d: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1a) — 385e: 10.1.2(c) — 386a: 3.1(1b), 4.1(4), 6.2(1a), 6.2(2e), 10.2.5(2d) — 386c: 2.4.1(1a), 10.1.2(b) — 386d: 2.0(2c), 4.1(7c- <i>ftn</i>), 10.1.1(e), 10.2.4(3d) — 387a: 4.1(3a) — 387b: 4.2(9) — 387b-c: 2.0(2c) — 387c: 5.2.1(2) — 387e: 10.1.1(e) — 388b: 10.2.4(4b) — 388b-c: 4.2(9), 5.2.1(2) — 388c: 10.1.1(c), 20(imit) — 388e: 0.1.1(2), 10.2.1(1) — 389b: 10.2.5(2c) — 389d: 2.0(2c) — 390a: 4.1(7b), 10.1.2(d) — 390b: 2.0(2b), 10.2.3(2) — 390c: 4.1(7b) — 391a: 5.1(1b), 10.2.4(3a) — 391b: 3.1(1a) — 391b-397c: 20(imit) — 391c: 2.1(3) — 391e: 6.1(3a) — 392a: 3.2(4) — 392b: 2.4.1(2a), 2.4.2(2b) — 392c: 10.1.2(a) — 392d: 5.2.2(2) — 392e: 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 10.2.4(2) — 393b: 5.2.1(2) — 393d: 2.1(1c) — 394c: 2.1(2a), 4.1(4), 10.1.3(1b) — 394d: 2.4.2(1) — 394e: 2.2(2b), 4.1(7c- <i>ftn</i>), 10.1.3(1c) — 395a: 4.2(9) — 395c: 4.2(4b) — 395e: 4.2(4b) — 396a: 2.0(2c), 10.1.3(1c) — 397a: 2.4.1(2c) — 397b: 10.1.3(2d), 20(imit) — 397b: 4.2(9) — 397c-421c: 20(imit) — 398a: 2.1(3), 2.2(2b), 3.2(4), 5.2.1(2), 10.1.3(1c), 10.2.2 — 398c: 10.1.2(a) — 398e: 2.0(2b), 10.2.5(2a), 10.2.5(2b) — 399c: 6.2(1d) — 399e: 3.3(b) — 400b: 4.1(7c), 10.1.3(imit), 10.1.3(1b), 10.2.4(imit), 10.2.4(1b), 10.2.4(3d), 10.2.5(2c) — 400c-408d: 20(imit) — 401a: 4.2(4a), 6.2(5a) — 401b: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2c), 6.2(1d) — 401d: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2e) — 402c: 10.4.2 — 402e: 5.0(b) — 403a: 2.4.3(2a), 6.2(5a), 10.2.5(2d) — 403b: 2.0(2d), 10.2.4(1b), 10.2.4(3e), 10.4.1 — 403e: 4.2(6), 6.1(2c) — 405a: 0.1.1(2) — 405b: 10.1.3(2c) — 405c: 6.2(1d- <i>ftn</i>), 6.2(1d) — 406a: 2.4.2(2b), 10.1.3(imit) — 406d: 0.1.2(1a), 2.0(2c), 10.2.4(3d), 10.2.5(2c) — 407c: 5.2.3(<i>ftn</i>) — 407d: 2.0(2c), 2.4.3(1-init- <i>ftn</i>) — 407e: 4.2(4b) — 408a: 2.0(1), 2.4.2(2a), 5.2.1(2), 6.2(1d) — 408c: 5.2.2(2) — 408d: 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 10.2.4(2), 13.3.1(2) — 408d-410e: 20(imit) — 409d: 10.1.3(1b- <i>ftn</i>), 10.2.4(4b) — 409e: 3.2(4), 10.4.2 — 410b: 2.1(2a), 2.4.3(1a), 4.2(4b), 6.2(1d), 10.1.3(1b), 10.2.4(imit) — 410e: 2.0(2c) — 411a: 6.2(1d) — 411a-421c: 20(imit) — 412a: 20.1(1) — 412b: 20.2(2c- <i>ftn</i>) — 412c: 2.4.1(2a), 20.1(1- <i>ftn</i>), 20.2(2c- <i>ftn</i>) — 413b: 2.4.1(1a), 4.2(6), 6.1(3b), 6.1(5-init) — 413c: 2.4.2(2-init- <i>ftn</i>) — 413d: 5.0(a), 5.2.2(imit) — 413e: 2.1(2c- <i>ftn</i>), 10.4.2 — 413e-414a: 20.2(2c- <i>ftn</i>) — 414a: 10.4.2 — 415a: 2.0(2c), 2.4.3(1a), 20.2(2c- <i>ftn</i>) — 415d: 3.1(1a) — 416a: 10.2.5(2c) — 416ab: 10.1.2(d) — 416e: 21.3(2e) — 416e-417b: 7.1(3), 11.6*, 20*, 21.2(a), 21.3(2a), 21.3(2d) — 417: 10.2.4(1a) — 417a: 21.1(3), 21.3(2b) — 417b: 10.2.3(2), 10.2.4(4a), 21.3(2g) — 417d: 10.2.3(1) — 417e: 2.4.2(2a) — 418a: 10.2.4(4b) — 419d: 2.4.3(2e), 4.1(7c), 10.1.3(2c), 10.2.5(2c- <i>ftn</i>) — 420a-b: 4.1(7c), 7.0.4(c- <i>ftn</i>), 10.2.3(1), 10.2.4(3b), 10.2.5(2c) — 420d: 6.2(5a) — 421c: 4.2(4b), 4.2(4b), 13.3.4(3c- <i>ftn</i>) — 421d: 10.2.4(4a) — 421d-427d: 20(imit) — 422a: 3.1(1a) — 422b: 3.2(2) — 423c: 6.3(3a) — 423d: 5.2.2(2) — 424a: 2.4.1(1a- <i>ftn</i>), 10.1.3(2c) — 424c: 2.4.2(2b) — 426b: 5.0(a) — 427d: 4.2(4b) — 427d-428b: 20(imit- <i>ftn</i>) — 428b: 2.0(2c) — 428b-440e: 20(imit) — 428c: 3.3(b) — 428e-429a: 10.2.3(2) — 429c: 2.2(2b), 10.1.3(1c) — 429d: 5.0(b), 5.1(1b), 5.2.2(imit), 10.2.4(3a) — 430a: 2.4.1(1a), 4.2(4b), 6.3(3b) — 430b: 4.2(4a), 5.0(a), 5.0(b), 10.1.3(2d) — 431a: 5.2.1(2) — 431d: 10.1.3(1d), 10.2.3(1) — 432b: 2.4.3(2d), 4.2(4a) — 433b: 4.2(4a), 6.2(5a) — 433c: 2.4(imit) — 434b: 5.1(1b), 5.1(1d), 10.2.4(3b) — 435b: 1.2.3, 2.0(imit- <i>ftn</i>), 2.0(2d), 2.4.3(2d), 10.1.2(b), 10.2.4(3d) — 435c: 6.2(1d) — 435d: 2.4.3(2a), 6.2(5a), 10.2.5(2d) — 435e: 6.2(2a) — 436a: 6.1(2b), 6.1(3a) — 436c: 0.1.1(2) — 437b: 10.2.3(2), 10.4.3 — 437c: 3.1(1a), 6.1(2a), 6.3(3b) — 437d: 2.0(2c), 10.2.5(2c) — 438c: 2.0(2b), 6.3(3b), 10.2.4(3f), 10.2.5(2a- <i>ftn</i>) — 439c: 2.0(1) — 440c: 5.0(a) — 440d: 3.2(4), 4.2(4a) — 440e: 2.4.3(2f), 2.4.3(2f- <i>ftn</i>), 10.1.2(b)
<i>Euthydemus</i>	280e: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c) — 304c: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c)

<i>Gorgias</i>	452d: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b) — 454b: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b)
<i>Laches</i>	194b: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c) — 199e: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c) — 201c: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b)
<i>Phaedo</i>	93e: 0.1.3(4)
<i>Phaedrus</i>	81c: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b)
<i>Politicus</i>	257a: 5.1(1b) — 257a-258: 19(imit) — 257c : 2.0(2b), 10.2.5(2a-ftn) — 257c-d: 19(imit) — 257d: 2.4.1(1a), 2.4.2(imit) — 257d-258a: 19(imit) — 258a: 5.1(1a) — 258b: 6.2(1d) — 258d: 2.3(2b), 10.2.5(2a) — 259c: 2.0(2c) — 259d: 3.3(b) — 260a: 10.2.3(3) — 260b: 2.4.3(2b), 6.3(3b) — 260c: 6.2(5a), 10.1.3(2d), 21.2(b) — 261d: 2.4(imit), 3.3(a), 6.2(5c) — 262a: 4.2(9) — 262b: 2.0(2b), 10.2.4(3f), 10.2.5(2a-ftn) — 262c: 3.2(4), 10.1.1(b) — 262d: 3.1(1a) — 263a: 10.4.3 — 263c-d: 21.1(3-ftn) — 263e: 5.2.2(2) — 264a: 10.1.1(c) — 264b: 6.2(2b) — 264d-e: 3.2(2) — 264e: 10.1.3(1b) — 265a: 2.0(1), 2.4.2(imit), 4.1(3a), 5.1(1a), 10.1.1(c), 10.1.3(2c), 10.2.2, 10.2.4(3d), 10.2.4(4a), 10.2.4(5), 10.2.5(2c) — 265b: 2.4.2(imit) — 265e: 2.3(2b), 10.2.5(2a) — 266a: 2.4.2(1) — 267c: 2.0(2c) — 268a: 6.2(1d) — 268d: 2.3(2b), 10.2.5(2a) — 269a: 3.2(4) — 269d: 2.4.2(imit), 3.2(4) — 270b: 3.2(4) — 270d: 4.1(7b) — 272b: 4.2(4a) — 273b: 2.4.2(imit) — 275d: 2.4.3(1a) — 275e: 2.4.3(1a) — 276c: 2.4.2(imit), 4.1(7c) — 276d: 6.3(3b) — 277a: 5.2.2(2) — 277d: 0.1.2(1b), 2.3(1), 10.2.5(2a), — 278a: 2.4.2(imit) — 278c: 3.1(1c) — 279a: 4.2(6), 6.1(2a) — 279c-d: 4.1(7a) — 280a: 2.0(2b), 10.2.5(2a), 10.2.5(2b) — 280b: 2.4.2(imit) — 281d: 4.2(4b) — 281e: 2.4.1(1b) — 282c: 2.4.2(imit), 2.4.3(2c) — 282e: 2.4.2(2b), 10.2.4(3a) — 283b: 3.1(1a), 4.1(4) — 283c: 6.2(1d) — 283d: 2.1(3) — 283e: 4.2(4a) — 284(5), 10.1.2(d) — 284e: 2.1(2a), 10.1.3(1b) — 285d: 2.0(2c), 4.1(7c), 4.2(9), 10.2.4(3f), 21.2(e) — 285e: 3.3(b) — 286b: 2.0(2c), 10.1.3(1c-ftn) — 287c-d: 0.1.1(2), 10.1.3(1d) — 287d: 10.1.3(2a), 10.1.3(2a) — 288c: 4.2(4a) — 289b: 4.2(4b) — 289c: 4.2(4b) — 289d: 21.2(b) — 290c: 3.3(a), 6.2(5c) — 291d: 3.3(a), 6.2(5c), 10.2.4(1a), 10.2.4(4b) — 292c: 4.1(3b), 6.1(2a), 10.1.3(1c), 10.2.4(1b), 10.2.5(1) — 292e: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2d) — 293c: 3.3(a), 5.1(1b), 6.2(2b) — 294a: 3.1(1c), 4.2(4b), 5.0(a), 5.2.2(imit), 10.1.3(1a) — 294c: 3.1(1a) — 294e: 0.1.1(2), 3.2(2) — 295d: 4.2(4b) — 296b: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2b) — 296d: 2.0(2c) — 296d-e: 10.2.5(2c-ftn) — 297c: 1.1(3-Table 1.1-ftn) — 297e: 0.1.1(2) — 298e: 2.4.2(imit) — 299a: 3.3(b) — 299c: 4.1(7c) — 299e: 6.2(2a) — 300b: 6.1(5b) — 300d: 3.1(1c) — 301b: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2b) — 302a: 5.0(b) — 302b: 3.2(4) — 302e: 21.2(a) — 303b: 2.1(1b), 10.1.3(1c) — 303e: 3.2(4) — 304c: 4.1(7c), 6.1(4), 10.1.3(1c) — 305e: 2.4.2(2b), 6.2(1d-ftn), 10.2.5(2b) — 306a: 4.1(7c), 10.1.1(a) — 306b: 3.2(4) — 306d: 3.3(a-ftn) — 307a: 4.1(3a) — 307b: 3.2(2-ftn) — 307c: 2.4.2(imit) — 307e: 2.4.2(imit) — 308c: 4.2(4b) — 308e: 2.4.3(2c) — 309a: 2.4.2(imit), 5.0(a) — 309c: 10.4.2 — 309d-e: 10.1.3(1b), 10.2.2 — 310a: 6.1(3a) — 310b: 3.3(a), 10.1.3(1b), 10.1.3(1c) — 310c: 4.2(4b) — 310d: 2.0(2b), 2.4.2(2b) — 311b: 2.4.2(2a)
<i>Protagoras</i>	322d: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b) — 323a: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b) — 341b: 0.1.3(3-Table 0.1c)
<i>Respublica</i>	3.409a-e: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b) — 6.497c: 3.2(2) — 10.600b: 0.1.3(2-Table 0.1b)
<i>Sophista</i>	216a: 2.0(2c), 5.1(1a), 10.2.4(2), 19(imit) — 216b: 6.2(5a) — 216c: 6.1(4), 10.1.3(1c), 10.2.5(2a), 10.4.2 — 216d: 6.2(1d), 21.3(2g) — 216d-217b: 11.5*, 13.3.4(1b), 19* — 217a: 21.3(2b), 21.3(2f-ftn) — 217b: 10.4.3, 21.3(2c), 21.3(2g) — 217c: 4.2(4b) — 217d: 4.2(9), 10.2.1(2b), 10.2.3(2) — 218c: 10.1.3(1d), 10.2.3(2), 13.3.3(2-ftn) — 218d: 2.4.1(2c) — 219a: 6.2(1d), 10.1.3(1b), 10.2.1(3) — 219a-b: 10.2.3(1), 10.2.3(2) — 219b: 6.2(1d), 10.4.2 — 219c: 2.4.2(2a), 10.1.1(a) — 219d: 6.1(5b), 10.2.4(1b), 21.2(b) — 219e: 2.2(2a), 2.4.2(imit), 10.1.3(1a) — 220a: 2.0(1), 4.2(6), 6.1(3a) 10.1.2(c), 10.2.4(1b) — 220b: 0.1.2(1a), 5.2.2(imit), 10.1.3(1b), 10.2.4(1a), 10.2.4(1b), 21.2(b) — 220c: 2.0(1), 10.2.4(1b) — 220d: 3.3(a), 6.2(2a) — 221b: 10.1.1(a) — 221d: 2.0(2c), 3.1(1a), 3.2(4), 4.1(7c), 6.1(5b), 10.2.4(3f) — 223a: 2.4.2(2b), 2.4.3(2a), 4.2(6), 6.1(3a), 6.2(5a), 6.3(3b), 10.1.2(c), 10.2.5(2d) — 223b: 0.1.2(1b), 10.2.5(2a), 10.4.2 — 223e: 2.4.3(1a) — 224b: 0.1.1(2), 2.1(3), 2.4.2(2-init-ftn), 10.2.4(1b), 10.2.4(6) — 224c: 6.1(5a-ftn), 6.2(2a) — 224d: 4.2(4b), 10.2.3(3-ftn) — 224e: 4.1(7c) — 225a: 6.1(5b), 10.2.4(1b), 10.2.5(2a) — 225e: 3.1(1a) — 226a: 5.1(1b) — 226d: 2.4.2(2b), 6.1(5b) — 226e: 10.1.3(1b) — 227d: 10.1.2(b) — 228c: 6.1(5a) — 228d: 2.4.2(2-init-ftn) — 229a: 3.3(a), 4.1(7c), 6.2(5c) — 229b: 6.2(5a) — 229c: 4.1(7c) — 229d: 2.4.3(1c), 4.2(9) — 229e: 2.4.3(2d) — 230-231: 10.1.3(3) — 230a: 2.0(1), 3.1(1a), 3.3(a), 6.2(5c) — 230b: 2.4.2(1), 6.1(5a) — 230c: 10.1.3(1b) — 231d-e: 6.1(3c) — 232a: 2.4.1(2c) — 232c: 2.4.1(2b) — 232e: 10.2.5(2a) — 233a: 3.1(1a), 6.2(1b), 6.2(3a) — 233b: 3.3(b), 6.1(5a) — 233c: 5.1(1a), 6.1(2a), 10.1.1(c), 10.1.2(b), 10.1.3(2c), 10.2.2 — 233d: 10.2.4(4b) — 233d-e: 13.3.5(2b-ftn) — 234a: 4.2(6), 6.1(3a) — 234d-e: 6.1(5a) — 234e: 10.2.4(2) — 235a: 3.3(b), 10.4.2 — 236c: 6.2(1d) — 236d: 4.2(4a), 4.2(4b) — 236e: 2.4.3(1b), 10.2.5(2a) — 237b: 2.4.2(imit) — 237b-c: 10.1.3(1b) — 237d: 2.4.1(1b), 3.3(b) — 237e: 10.1.2(b) — 238a: 2.4.3(1a), 4.2(4a), 6.1(5a) — 238d: 4.2(6), 6.1(2c) — 239a: 10.1.3(1a), 10.1.3(1c), 10.1.3(2c), 10.1.3(1d), 10.1.3(2b) — 239b: 2.4.2(2a), 6.2(2a) — 239d: 10.2.4(4b) — 240b: 4.1(4) — 240c: 10.1.2(d) — 241c: 4.2(4b) — 241d: 4.1(7c-

	ftn), 4.2(4b) — 242b: 4.2(6), 6.1(2a), 10.2.5(2a) — 242d: 3.3(b) — 243c-d: 21.2(d) — 243d: 3.1(1a) — 243e: 2.0(2c) — 244a: 2.4.1(2b) — 244b: 2.0(2c), 2.3(2a), 10.1.3(1b) — 244d: 6.1(5a), 6.1(5b) — 244e: 2.2(1) — 245a: 10.1.1(a), 10.2.1(3), 10.2.4(1a) — 245c: 6.1(2b) — 245d: 3.1(1c) — 245d-e: 2.4.3(2b-ftn), 10.4.2 — 246c: 3.2(4) — 247a: 2.4.3(2f) — 247c: 2.4.1(1a) — 247d: 5.0(b) — 248b: 3.2(4) — 248c: 4.1(4) — 248d: 2.4.3(2e), 6.1(5a) — 249-250: 10.2.1(2b) — 249a: 5.1(2), 10.1.1(e) — 249b: 6.1(5a) — 249c: 2.4.1(2a) — 250a: 2.62(1d), 10.1.3(1b) — 250c: 10.1.1(d) — 251d: 7.2(2b-ftn), 10.1.3(1a) — 251e: 6.1(5a), 6.2(2a) — 251e: 6.1(5a), 10.2.4(4b-ftn) — 252c: 2.4.3(1a) — 253a: 2.4.3(1a) — 253b: 10.1.3(1b) — 253c: 2.0(2c), 10.2.3(2) — 253d: 10.2.4(1a), 21.2(e) — 253e: 2.1(2b), 4.2(9), 5.1(1a), 10.1.3(1d) — 254a: 0.1.1(2), 4.1(7b) — 254b: 2.4.1(1a), 3.2(4), 10.1.2(b) — 254c: 3.3(b) — 254e: 3.1(1a) — 255a: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2d), 7.0.4(c-ftn) — 255c: 6.2(1d), 10.2.4(1a) — 255e: 4.1(4) — 256b: 4.2(4b) — 256c: 3.2(4), 5.2.1(2) — 257b-c: 10.1.3(1d), 10.1.3(2c), 10.2.4(5) — 257c: 6.2(1d), 10.1.2(b) — 257d: 1.1(3-Table 1.1-ftn), 5.1(1a) — 257e: 10.1.3(1b), 10.2.4(3f) — 258a: 2.0(2c), 4.1(4), 4.1(7c), 5.1(1b), 6.1(5-init), 10.2.1(3), 10.2.4(3a) — 258e: 2.4.3(2d) — 259b: 2.4.2(2a), 6.1(5a) — 259d: 2.0(2c) — 260a: 6.2(3b) — 260b: 6.3(3b), 10.1.2(a), 10.2.1(2b) — 260c: 10.2.1(2a) — 261a: 5.1(1b), 10.2.4(3a) — 261b: 2.2(2b), 4.2(6), 6.1(2b), 10.1.3(1c) — 261c: 2.4.2(1), 2.4.3(1a-ftn), 10.2.4(3b), 10.2.4(3b), 10.2.4(3d), 10.2.4(4b-ftn) — 261d: 3.2(4) — 261e: 3.3(b), 5.2.2(3a), 21.2(f) — 262a: 0.1.1(2), 0.1.1(2), 0.1.2(1a), 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 10.2.4(1a), 10.2.5(1), 21.2(a) — 262d: 10.1.1(e) — 262e: 2.3(2a), 21.2(d) — 263a: 2.4.3(1c), 4.1(3b), 6.1(2a), 10.1.1(d) — 263b: 5.0(a) — 263d: 2.3(2b-ftn) — 263e: 2.4.2(1a) — 265a: 10.2.3(3) — 265b: 4.2(9), 5.2.1(2) — 266c: 4.1(4) — 266d: 2.4.3(2d) — 266d-e: 6.1(2d), 10.2.4(4b) — 267a: 6.1(5b) — 267d: 4.2(4b) — 267d-e: 10.2.2, 10.2.5(1) — 267e: 2.2(3-ftn), 4.1(7c) — 268b: 2.4.2(2-init-ftn) — 268c: 3.3(b)
<i>Symposium</i>	185d: 0.1.4(1) — 190c: 0.1.4(1)
<i>Theaetetus</i>	142a-143c: 19(init) — 142c: 2.1(2a), 10.1.3(1b) — 143a: 4.1(4) — 143c: 0.3.2(2a-ftn), 2.0(2c) — 143d: 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 10.2.1(1), 10.2.4(3b) — 143e: 6.2(1d) — 144a: 5.0(a), 6.1(2d) — 144d: 0.1.1(2) — 144d-e: 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 4.2(9), 10.2.1(3), 10.2.4(4b) — 145a: 2.0(2b) — 145b: 2.4.1(2b), 4.1(7c), 6.3(3b), 10.1.1(a), 10.1.2(a), 10.1.2(b) — 145e: 4.1(3b), 6.1(2a), 10.2.4(1a) — 146a: 3.2(4) — 146b: 2.0(2c) — 146c: 4.2(4b) — 147a: 5.1(1b) — 147b-c: 2.3(2a), 3.1(1a) — 147d: 2.4.3(1a), 5.0(a), 5.2.2(1a), 6.2(3a), 19(init) — 148c: 3.3(a), 6.2(2e) — 148e: 10.1.3(1a) — 149a: 2.0(1), 2.0(2c), 10.2.4(3d) — 149e: 2.0(2b) — 150b: 4.1(7a) — 151a: 2.0(2d), 10.2.4(1b) — 151b: 10.1.2(b) — 151b-c: 2.4.1(2b) — 151c: 2.4.1(2b) — 151d: 4.2(4a) — 152c: 2.0(2c) — 152d: 2.4.2(2b) — 153a: 2.4.2(2b) — 153d: 4.2(6), 6.1(2a) — 154b: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1c) — 154c: 2.0(2d), 10.2.4(3e) — 154d: 2.0(2c), 2.1(2b), 10.1.3(1d), 10.2.3(3), 10.2.5(2b), 10.2.3(2) — 154e: 5.1(1a), 10.1.3(2c) — 155a: 6.1(5a) — 155c: 0.1.2(1a), 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 2.0(2c), 10.2.1(2b), 10.2.4(3d) — 156b: 6.1(5-init) — 156c: 4.1(7c), 6.1(5a) — 156e: 2.4.2(2a) — 158c: 5.1(1d), 10.1.3(2a) — 158e: 3.3(a-ftn), 5.2.2(2), 10.2.4(4b) — 159a: 10.2.1(3) — 159b: 10.1.1(e) — 159c: 0.1.3(5-Table 0.1d), 10.2.1(1) — 160a: 4.2(5-ftn), 10.1.3(2b) — 160b: 2.3(2a), 4.2(4b) — 160d: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1b) — 160e: 2.0(2c) — 161a: 2.0(2c), 10.2.5(2a) — 161c: 2.4.3(2c) — 161e: 2.4.2(2b) — 162a: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1c) — 162b: 2.4.2(2b), 6.2(3a), 6.3(3a) — 163a: 2.4.3(1a) — 163e: 2.0(1), 2.0(2d), 2.3(2a), 3.1(1a), 10.2.4(1b), 13.3.3(2-ftn), 21.2(b) — 164a: 10.2.3(3) — 164b: 2.4.3(2d) — 164c: 6.2(3a) — 164e: 6.2(2d) — 165a: 2.3(2b), 2.4.2(1a), 4.1(3a) — 165b: 2.0(2b) — 165e: 3.2(4) — 166b: 2.2(1), 5.0(b), 5.2.2(1a), 6.1(5a) — 166c: 2.0(2c), 3.3(a), 6.2(2d) — 166d: 2.4.2(2a) — 167a: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2d) — 167c: 2.4.2(2b) — 167d: 21.1(3-ftn) — 167e: 4.2(4b) — 168e: 6.3(3b) — 169d: 5.0(b), 5.1(1a), 10.1.3(2d), 10.2.4(3b) — 170a: 0.1.2(1b), 2.0(2c), 10.2.3(3), 10.2.4(3d) — 170c: 2.4.3(1a) — 170d: 2.4.1(2b) — 170e: 4.1(3b), 6.1(2c), 10.1.1(d) — 171b: 2.4.2(1a) — 171c: 2.0(2c), 2.1(3), 4.2(4b) — 171d: 2.1(3), 6.1(5-init) — 171e: 2.4.1(2b) — 172a: 2.3(1), 6.1(5b), 10.2.5(2a) — 173b: 5.1(2) — 174b: 2.0(2c) — 174e: 3.1(1b), 6.2(2b) — 175b-c: 7.0.4(a-ftn) — 175d: 10.1.3(2a-ftn) — 176-177: 10.2.1(4-ftn) — 176c: 6.1(5a) — 177a: 6.1(5b) — 178a: 5.0(b), 10.1.3(2c) — 178d: 3.1(1b), 6.2(1c) — 178e: 6.3(3b) — 179c: 6.1(5a) — 179e: 2.0(2c) — 180b: 2.0(2c) — 181a: 5.2.2(2) — 181b: 3.1(1c), 10.1.3(2b) — 181c: 4.2(4b), 6.1(5b) — 182a: 4.2(4b) — 182b: 2.4.1(1a-ftn) — 183a: 2.0(1), 6.1(5a), 10.2.1(3), 10.2.3(1), 10.2.4(4a) — 183b: 2.0(2c), 10.2.4(3d) — 183d: 4.2(4a), 6.2(5a), 10.1.3(1a), 10.1.3(1d), 10.2.1(1), 10.2.4(2) — 183e: 6.1(5c) — 184a: 6.3(3b), 10.2.3(3), 10.4.2 — 184c: 10.2.5(2c) — 184d: 4.2(4a), 5.1(2), 6.2(5a) — 185a: 3.1(1b), 6.1(5a), 6.2(2b) — 185d: 2.0(2c) — 186a: 0.1.1(2) — 186c: 2.0(2d), 2.3(2a), 4.2(4b), 10.2.4(1b) — 186d: 3.2(4) — 186e: 10.2.4(4a), 10.2.4(5), 10.2.5(2c), 21.2(b) — 187a: 3.1(1b), 4.2(4b), 6.2(2d) — 187c: 10.4.3 — 187c-d: 3.3(b) — 188a: 2.0(2c) — 188d: 2.4.1(2c) — 188e: 2.4.2(2b), 2.4.3(2b) — 189a: 2.4.3(1b), 2.4.3(2b), 7.0.4(c-ftn) — 189b: 3.1(1b), 3.2(4),

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Greek index

It proved to be impossible to make the selection criteria for this Greek index transparent and consistent and the end result is a bit of a hodge-podge (which is not unusual for Greek indices). It includes single words, but also lexicalized formulas and word-like units, either as a separate entry inserted alphabetically, or under the heading of the part of the unit that was considered topically most important. In any case, it should be used as a complement to the English index (the reader is advised to also look up the English keywords to which a word he is interested in pertains). Asterisks (*) indicate that the passage referred to contains information that is particularly relevant to (i) the word / expression in the lemma or (ii) the subject matter of this book.

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English index

This index contains references to passages in which key concepts and terms are discussed. It is hand-made and selective; efforts have been made towards a more insightful, surveyable and reasoned index than is the case with the Greek index (which mainly serves as a complement to the English index). For examples and discussion of the various coherence relations that are used in the analyses in Part III (Topic-Comment, Marker-Content, Contrast, Plot, etc.), see the separate Index of Coherence Relations above. Asterisks (*) refer to passages that specifically deal with the concept, including either an in-depth discussion, or a definition, or a potentially controversial claim.

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Schegloff, E.A.	13.1.1(1- <i>ftn</i>), 13.2(10- <i>ftn</i>), 13.3.4(1).
Schiffrin, D.	13.3.2(2- <i>ftn</i>), 21.3(1), 22.1(<i>ftn</i>).
Sicking, C.M.J.	21.1(2c)*, 21.3(2b), 21.3(2d), 21.3(2e), 21.3(2f).
Sidner, C.L.	See Grosz, B. J.
Slings, S.R.	0.3.2(2a), 10.2.4(1- <i>ftn</i>), 10.4.3(b)*, 21.2(c), 21.3(2f) — See also Rijksbaron, A. & al.
Sperber, D.	See Relevance Theory in the English index.
Stephens, L. D.	See Devine, A.M.
Stork, P.	21.1(2c)* — See also Rijksbaron, A. & al.
Taylor, A.	0.1.2(3), 0.3.1(b), 5.2.3, 7.1(3).
Thompson, S.A.	See Mann, W.C.
Todd, S.C.	16.1(3), 18(<i>init</i>), 18.2(<i>ftn</i>).
Wakker, G.	See also Rijksbaron, A. & al.
Wills, J.	1.2.3, 3.2(2- <i>ftn</i>), 3.3(b).
Wilson, D.	See Sperber, D.
Wittgenstein, L.	13.1.3(<i>init-<i>ftn</i></i>).
Wray, A.	6.0*, 13.3.6(2c).
Xing, Z.	See Myhill, J.
Yule, G.	See Brown, G.

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