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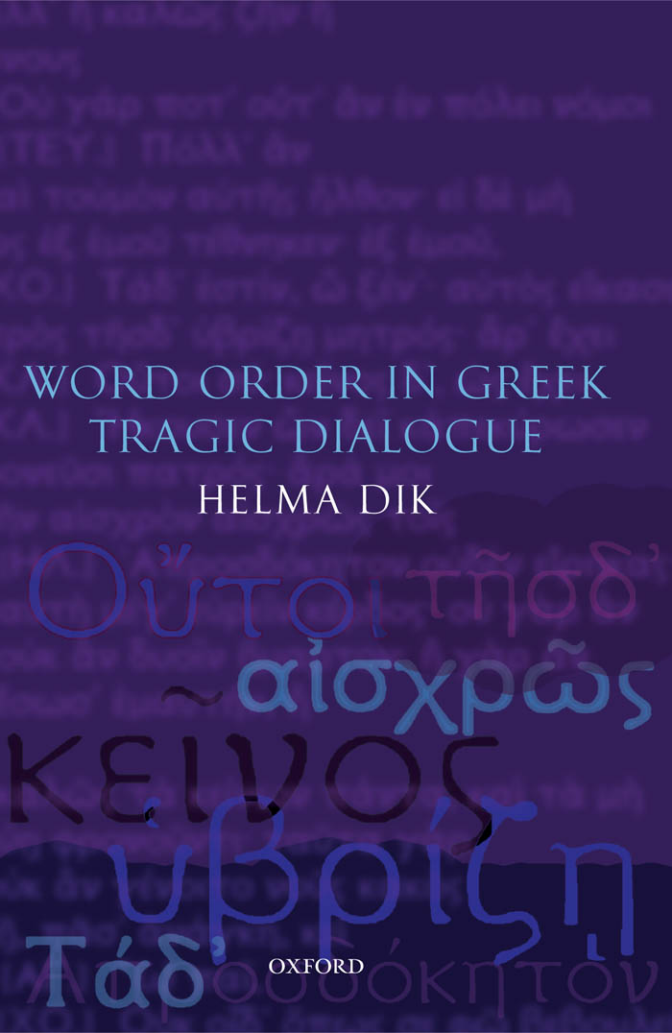
HELMA DIK



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Preface

This book began its life as a short follow-up to my earlier work on word order in Herodotus. Naively, I reckoned that I would test my conclusions about Greek word order in a different corpus, and that I could do this in a year at the Center for Hellenic Studies. In reality, this project has taken me a good number of years which I have spent in several different places. I am grateful to acknowledge here the friendship and expertise offered by many along the way, as well as the more formal assistance from institutions.

The story starts in Amsterdam, and what follows is still very much an Amsterdam book. I am grateful to old friends, who have done more than merely tolerate this foreign transplant who flies in once in a while and then pretends she is not a tourist. Harm Pinkster was a supportive friend and unbelievably prompt reader throughout, resigned to digging out his Sophocles text whenever new mail in an unreadable Greek font arrived from Chicago. The conference on the language of Sophocles organized in September 2003 by Irene de Jong and Albert Rijksbaron was a wonderful occasion that brought together outside speakers, but also two long-standing strengths of the UvA Classics department: Greek tragedy and Greek linguistics.

A side effect of emigration is the illusion that in one's absence, nothing really changes. The conference was a lively affair, and only reinforced the idea that Amsterdam was still the same Amsterdam. Sadly, things have actually changed in the last few years, and quite drastically. I want to record my gratitude here to Machtelt Bolkestein, Siem Slings, and Cees Ruijgh, three inspiring linguists and teachers who are greatly missed.

After a brief sojourn in Hamburg, my American adventure began in September 1996. The Center for Hellenic Studies proved to be everything that former fellows claim for it, and our cohort was of course the most brilliant, creative, and outgoing group of junior fellows ever. Movie nights and trips to the gym (allowing for a stop on the way back for pistachios and ice cream) made this especially evident. Debby Boedeker and Kurt Raaflaub, the joint directors of the

Center, did their utmost to advise us in our professional pursuits but also to make everybody feel at home at 3100 Whitehaven Street. For the European fellows, their inventive approach to everything from pumpkin carving to Monticello made this a very special 'American Civ. 101'.

Thanks not least, I am sure, to this year at the Center, I landed in Chicago in 1997. I am grateful to my colleagues at the time for taking a chance on this untested person, and I am grateful to our students for being crazy enough to want to learn Greek, and for continuing to teach me how to teach better. Their initial shock at my self-identification as a 'linguist', which most of them took to be a different profession rather than an area of research within Classics, has subsided—I think! Successive chairs from Bob Kaster to Shadi Bartsch and Humanities deans Phil Gossett and Janel Mueller provided the right environment for junior faculty to thrive. In the last two years, it was especially Elizabeth Asmis and Shadi Bartsch who could be counted on for encouragement. Liz commented on large portions of the manuscript, and if the text before you is now somewhat readable, this is in no small part thanks to her.

The School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Study awarded a membership for the academic year 2000/01 which provided for a year in Princeton. This was punctuated by visits to the Classics departments of Princeton and Yale, and the Columbia Classical Civilization Seminar, all of which provided needed oxygen as a supplement to the rarefied circumstances of the Institute and offered varying degrees of scepticism and enthusiasm about my account of word order in Sophocles, which have helped me to articulate my arguments more clearly. Oxygen was provided on Institute grounds by fellow members, including Michèle Lowrie and Monroe Price, and in New York by David Sider, who urged the undeniable fact that the city was only a train ride away.

Back in Chicago, the book still needed to be finished. It now is, thanks to the efforts of some people whom I have not mentioned as yet because they are not as easily placed in this narrative of changing places. Some were there almost from the beginning, even if at quite a distance. Fellow linguists Phil Baldi, Stephen Colvin, Eleanor Dickey, and Andrew Garrett, both by their friendship and by their initiatives for conferences and workshops, provide needed reassurance from

time to time that there is such a field as synchronic classical linguistics in the United States.

More importantly, if this book sometimes sounds informed about tragic texts, it is due to David Sansone, who, much as he might deny it, is a Greek linguist in his own right, but unlike me actually knows tragedy. He patiently waited for the sequel to *WOAG* to materialize, and without his encouragement it might never have done so. David tried valiantly to explain Euripides to me, a Sophocles person, made valuable suggestions of all kinds along the way, and saved me from numerous errors and infelicities.

The final stages of this project came with further readers, which resulted in helpful feedback from, among others, Eleanor Dickey, Donald Mastronarde, and Ruth Scodel. Two students helped out as well. At a crucial time, John Paulas saved me a lot of work by helping to compile the bibliography. Alison Lanski removed all 'design', checked the references, prepared an index of passages, changed abbreviations, removed oddities—and then sometimes, in fact more times than we both care to remember, cheerfully put them back in. Additional good cheer provided by the ARTFL crew and the 2004 Summer Classics students made it a liveable final few months.

The text used throughout is that of the Oxford Classical Texts series, and translations follow those of the Loeb Classical Library unless indicated otherwise. Permission to reproduce is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

All remaining errors are mine.

H. D.

Chicago, August 2004

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Abbreviations and Symbols

ABBREVIATIONS

Adm.	Admetus
Adr.	Adrastus
Ae.	Aegisthus
Aesch.	Aeschylus
Ag.	Agamemnon
Aj.	Ajax
Alc.	*Alcestis*
Am.	Amphitryon
An.	*Anabasis*
An.	Antigone
Andr.	*Andromache*
Ant.	*Antigone*
Ap.	*Apologia*
Ar.	Aristophanes
Arist.	Aristotle
At.	Atossa
Ath.	Athena
Ath. Pol.	*Respublica Atheniensium*
Bacch.	*Bacchae*
Ca.	Cassandra
Cho.	*Choephori*
Cho.	Chorus
Choerob.	Choeroboscus
Chr.	Chrysothemis
Chrm.	*Charmides*
Cly.	Clytemnestra

Cr.	Creon
Cri.	*Crito*
Cyc.	*Cyclops*
Dei.	Deianeira
Dem.	Demosthenes
Demetr.	Demetrius
Di.	Dionysus
Eccl.	*Ecclesiazusae*
El.	Electra
Eloc.	*De Elocutione*
Eq.	*Equites*
Et.	Eteocles
Eu.	Euadne
Eum.	*Eumenides*
Eur.	Euripides
Euth.	Euthyphro
Euthyphr.	*Euthyphro*
Grg.	*Gorgias*
Hae.	Haemon
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hec.	Hecuba
Hel.	Helen
Her.	Heracles
Heracl.	*Heraclidae*
HF	*Hercules furens*
Hipp.	*Hippolytus*
Hom.	Homer
IA	*Iphigenia Aulidensis*
in Heph.	*Scholia in Hephaestionem*
Io.	Iocaste
Iph.	Iphigenia
Iph.	Iphis [in Eur. *Supp.*]
Is.	Ismene

IT	*Iphigenia Taurica*
Leg.	*Leges*
Lys.	Lysias
Lys.	*Lysistrata*
Med.	Medea
Meg.	Megara
Men.	Menelaus
Mer.	Merchant
Mess.	Messenger
Ne.	Neoptolemus
Nub.	*Nubes*
OC	*Oedipus Coloneus*
Od.	Odysseus
Od.	*Odyssey*
Oe.	Oedipus
Or.	Orestes
OT	*Oedipus Tyrannus*
Pae.	Paedagogus
Pe.	Pentheus
Pers.	*Persae*
Ph.	Philoctetes
Phd.	*Phaedo*
Phil.	*Philoctetes*
Phoen.	*Phoenissae*
Pl.	Plato
Poet.	*Poetica*
Pol.	Polyneices
Pos.	Poseidon
Prt.	*Protagoras*
PV	*Prometheus Vinctus*
Ran.	*Ranae*
Rhes.	*Rhesus*

Sept.	*Septem contra Thebas*
Si.	Silenus
So.	Socrates
Soph.	*Sophista*
Soph.	Sophocles
Supp.	*Supplices*
Symp.	*Symposium*
Tec.	Tecmessa
Tei.	Teiresias
Teu.	Teucer
The.	Theseus
Theoc.	Theocritus
Thesmo.	*Thesmophoriazusae*
Thuc.	Thucydides
Trach.	*Trachiniae*
Tro.	*Troades*
Xen.	Xenophon

SYMBOLS

*	unattested
?	of dubious grammaticality
|	in prose: colon boundary; in verse: line break
enj.	enjambment
fr.	fragment
lyr.	lyric
p.c.	personal communication
(t)	signals textual problem relevant to the discussion
troch.	trochaic *or* trochaic tetrameter

1

Introduction

Greek tragedy is a genre firmly rooted in time and place. The heyday of the genre was the late fifth century BCE, and its focal point was Athens. Ever since, audiences and readers have been enthralled by what these few decades of great writing produced. Recent decades of scholarship, besides continuing the fundamental work of editing and annotating, have sought to understand these works more fully as products of their time and culture on the one hand, and as performance scripts for the stage on the other.

The book lying before you does not fall naturally into any of these established categories of scholarship on tragedy. It does not edit or annotate, it does not focus on fifth-century culture or politics, nor does it particularly address issues of performance. What I will study here is an important component of the language of tragic dialogue which has received surprisingly little attention, namely its word order.

Tragic dialogue was stylized in many respects. Its lexicon differed from that of everyday spoken Attic, and so did its syntax. It was predominantly composed in iambic trimeters, so that in effect the actors on stage were speaking poetry, not prose, to each other (and to themselves in their monologues). Going by these formal characteristics, there is much to be said for studying the language of tragic dialogue as poetry first and foremost; that is, to study the formal features of passages and individual lines, such as the metrical constraints and variables of the trimeter line, the use of specifically poetic words, and so on.

But while it is undeniable that the Athenians did not hear Antigone or Creon, or even the Guard, speak their own language in all details of form, at the same time, they were listening to arguments and laments and questions and answers (the universal *functions* served by language),

and they followed the action of the play from beginning to end. And so do we when reading tragedy. We interpret the characters' words, anticipate their reactions, and form opinions on their moral character or rhetorical prowess. It is this aspect of tragic language, its communicative force, that will be central to my approach. I will be asking how Athenians, and we, should understand these lines, and how we can judge their communicative effect. How can a poet effectively characterize Antigone and Creon, or how does he expect us to follow Oedipus' interrogation of the shepherd, unless he draws on some common core of Greek grammar that is shared by the spoken language and by written prose? And so, rather than concentrating on all the formal attributes that separate tragic language from 'normal' language, I will analyse tragic language as language, or better: communication,[1] first of all. It seems obvious, after all, that we can only truly determine what exactly is poetic about tragic dialogue by trying to analyse it as prose (or 'language') first.

The specific question I will address here is that of word order in tragic dialogue. For this subject especially, the 'poetry' approach has been predominant, while the fact that these lines were spoken on stage, meant to be understood in 'real time', so to speak, by the audience, will be my starting point here.

In fact, the position of words in the trimeter line of classical Greek drama has not seen the thoroughgoing investigation that the canonical status of these works might lead one to expect. While exceptions to certain rules of syntax are noted, commentators by and large eschew the larger question of where a Greek author will place the words that are especially salient or otherwise vital to the information structure.[2] This is unfortunate, since many questions of interpretation rely crucially on a correct evaluation of what specific point a character is making at

[1] I take (verbal) communication in the broadest possible sense here: lying, misinforming, manipulating, expressing emotion, etc., all make use of (among other things) linguistic means and can be interpreted by (among other methods) linguistic methods. Compare Leech and Svartvik's 1994 *A Communicative Grammar of English*, aimed at fairly advanced students of English as a second language. In a section on 'Mood, emotion, and attitude', they state (1994: 152): '[W]e looked at the English language as a means of giving and receiving information. But language is more than this: it is communication *between people*. It often expresses the emotions and attitudes of the speaker, and the speaker often uses it to influence the attitudes and behaviour of the hearer.' It is a common misconception that emotional utterances somehow do not involve grammar.

[2] In this respect, the following non-committal text in a recent commentary (Mastronarde 2002: 95) is typical: 'Although Greek word-order is highly flexible even in prose and the everyday spoken language, poetry is characterized by even more varied order . . .'

a particular juncture in the play. Imagine, if you will, attending a play where the actors speak their lines in a complete monotone: general incomprehension or serious misunderstandings are bound to ensue. What English expresses by means of intonation, and to a much lesser extent by word order, is what we risk losing sight of when we ignore the workings of Greek spoken verse.

The fact that dramatic dialogue is metrical has prompted scholars to approach questions of word order and 'emphasis' in terms of metrical structure (for the standard view see e.g. Campbell 1879: 76–9). If a word is considered emphatic, this is taken to be a consequence of its position in the trimeter line, rather than of its position in the clause (which may or may not coincide with the line). This raises the question of how the language of Greek drama relates to the spoken language of the time, about which we can make certain assumptions on the basis of Greek prose. Are the rules of word order rendered invalid when one stops 'speaking prose'? It seems unlikely that this would be the case.[3]

Past generations of scholarship have seen few dissenting voices, the most important of them being Headlam, who insisted that the clause and not the line should be the unit of analysis, and who correctly observed that emphatic words precede non-emphatic words in the Greek sentence.[4] Since then, developments in pragmatics and discourse analysis have brought a more sophisticated theoretical apparatus, in which 'emphasis' has made way for a set of more precise notions (Focus, contrastive Topic), and with these we are better equipped to account for Greek word order, instead of relying on what in Headlam's case was often 'just' superior *Sprachgefühl*.

[3] Work on discourse analysis—including that of living languages—often uses dramatic texts. See for two examples Pinter in Burton (1980) or Molière in Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1990). My approach takes as its working hypothesis that word order is part of the 'common core' of the language, that part of the grammar that is shared by all registers of the language (cf. Leech and Svartvik 1994: 34), so that tragedy, despite its high-style characteristics in diction especially, is therefore not excluded as a source of data on word order.

[4] 'It is a strange fact that the order of words in a Greek sentence has never been clearly appreciated. Each clause or section of a clause normally contains one part which is stressed more highly than the rest; and with regard to the position of stress Greek is exactly the opposite of English. In English normally, as in the sentence I am writing, the unemphatic words come first; they are uttered in a monotone and lead up to emphasis on the end; in Greek the emphatic are placed first and the unemphatic follow after. This principle I have found the surest of all keys to understanding Greek.' (Headlam in Thomson 1938: ii.17).

1.1 TOWARD A PRAGMATICS OF TRAGIC DIALOGUE

What is Pragmatics?

'Pragmatics is not at present a coherent field of study' (Crystal 1997: 120).[5] If we nevertheless try to define it, for instance as the study of all those aspects of language that reflect its use in social interaction, it will be clear that any one work can only address a tiny aspect of this larger subject even when one confines one's data to one genre in one language. Looked at from a different perspective, there are many aspects of Greek grammar that are considered 'flexible' in the standard grammars. On closer inspection, this typically means that if one studies only isolated sentences, different forms seem equally 'grammatical': they are syntactically well-formed, and their semantics make sense. Yet the language has a set of alternative expressions. Why? It turns out that many of these differences, often discarded as 'stylistic' in the past, can be described either by reference to the external context (e.g. forms of address[6] or politeness phenomena,[7] for which the relationship between the speaker and addressee is important) or by the surrounding text (to greater or smaller extent: aspect choice, definiteness, deictic reference, discourse particles).[8]

Greek word order has traditionally been described as free, or flexible, meaning that, besides a number of rules that can be described in syntactic terms, established categories of (especially) syntax cannot adequately account for the variation found in texts. In Dik (1995),

[5] Two introductions to pragmatics, in order of user-friendliness, are Yule (1999) and Levinson (1983). More specifically relevant to the subject matter of this book is work on discourse analysis, which can be considered a subfield of pragmatics: 'In discourse analysis, as in pragmatics, we are concerned with what people using language are doing, and accounting for the linguistic features in the discourse as the means employed in what they are doing. (Brown and Yule 1983: 26).

[6] See Dickey (1996) on Greek forms of address. As I said in my review of this book (Dik 1997*b*), scholars working on individual texts ignore her findings at their peril. Comparison of Dickey on friendship terms in Plato with Halliwell (1995) is instructive.

[7] Perhaps the pragmatically inspired article with the widest impact in Greek studies is Michael Lloyd's (1999) article on the so-called tragic aorist, which he re-examines in the light of performativity and politeness.

[8] This 'definition' of pragmatics as 'everything that syntax and semantics do not care about or cannot deal with' is similar to Yule's 'pragmatics wastebasket' (Yule 1999: 6).

I described the function of referents and events in the larger discourse, and the point being made in an individual clause in the development of this larger discourse, that is, the *pragmatic* status of these entities, as central to accounting for the position of words in Greek clauses.

This was not an unprecedented claim. Other languages had long been described along similar lines, and other scholars had pointed to 'logical' determinants in Greek word order (Dover 1960), or, in an earlier era, to how Greek sentences form a 'natural progression' following human thought (e.g. Weil 1879).

Since 1995, several shorter studies have appeared (Davidson 1997–8; Edwards 2001; Matić 2003). Davidson and Matić are primarily directed at a linguistic audience and are more quantitative in approach, but appear to confirm my earlier conclusions, which were based on qualitative analysis of smaller samples. Edwards is more daring than I in applying a similar mode of analysis to Homeric epic and Aeschylean lyric, but I am in great sympathy with his insistence that we pay attention to the listener. His is an immensely readable introduction, which urges that we take word order seriously, and which forcefully argues against the terribly common misunderstanding that to translate faithfully is to translate word for word (Edwards 2001: 12–13).

1.2 THE CORPUS: TRAGIC DIALOGUE

In this study I propose an account of word order in tragic dialogue, specifically the iambic trimeter in Sophocles. The other two major tragedians, Aeschylus and Euripides, will feature less prominently, mainly as material for comparison (in chapter 6 I will say more about differences in techniques of composition that make Sophocles particularly suitable for my purposes here). By tragic 'dialogue' I will simply mean the spoken passages more generally, regardless of how many people on stage are talking to each other in a particular scene.

Since context is crucial in assessing the information structure of utterances, I will not include the tragic fragments in this study. I also exclude choral passages and lyrical monologues, although these may occasionally be included for comparison. The reason for excluding lyric

is, first of all, that a corpus that is homogeneous in text type is always to be preferred, but also, once we leave dialogue, it becomes much harder to ascertain with any certainty the thrust of a particular line, witness the amount of interpretation and reinterpretation that these choral odes continue to inspire to this day. Thirdly, we do not know enough about performance practice to decide whether some of the same basic assumptions hold for choral passages as for dialogue. We do know that we miss some crucial information: the musical setting and the choreography that was part and parcel of the choral odes. Further, the choral passages tend not to propel a play's plot forward. Rather, they provide a more elaborate backdrop, create an atmosphere, and so on. All of this makes it much harder to argue for lines in a choral ode making a single 'point'. All of this is not to say that pragmatic analysis of lyric poetry is impossible, but merely that it is much harder to prove or disprove arguments one way or the other.

Comedy may seem to present a more suitable corpus when one is looking for language that is as close as possible to spoken classical Attic. But while it is no doubt true that comedy resembled spoken Attic more, the genre comes with its own set of complications. The comic poet pursues two goals: furtherance of the plot, and the instant gratification of puns and double entendres in every other line. We cannot be confident that we are 'getting' all of Aristophanes' jokes; in fact we probably do not. The comic's tendency to have his text play with his audience's expectations at every turn makes comedy a tricky kind of text to work with—too tricky, especially, if one is looking for lines to inform us about what 'normal' dialogue would have looked like.[9] So Aristophanes, too, will only make an occasional appearance in these pages.[10]

Instead, Plato's dialogues will be my 'control sample', so to speak. In the absence of any real spoken language of the classical period, Plato's dialogues are an excellent source for comparison if we want to

[9] Werner (1969) offers a short piece on Aristophanes as 'master of word order', but it suffers from the premise that words at the end of the line are always emphatic. It would be interesting to see a study on the interaction of Aristophanic word order and *para prosdokian* effects.

[10] I should point out that an important requirement for successful communication (and consequently, for successful interpretation of communication) is that speakers abide by Grice's 'co-operative principle' (Grice 1975). Speakers in tragedy can very well be antagonistic but will still abide by this principle; comedy, on the other hand, flouts it as a matter of course.

determine what is specific to the tragic trimeter.[11] As Slings (1993, 1997, 2002) and others have argued, we should read both these types of texts (tragic and Platonic dialogue) as 'quasi-spoken': a stylized form that evokes actual spoken discourse with the audience (and *invokes* its rules) despite the obvious touches of high art in diction and subject matter.

In my discussion of passages I will typically maintain the theatrical illusion and refer to 'what Antigone says' or 'how Creon reacts'—naive, perhaps, but at least true to ideals of *mimesis*. I will assume throughout that the tragic poets wanted their audience to listen to stage dialogue *as* dialogue, invoking the audience's communicative competence as speakers and listeners.

It may be countered that such an analysis will be fatally flawed because it fails to consider the communication which simultaneously goes on at a higher level: that between author and audience. Admittedly, the playwright has to incorporate into his characters' lines material which must be conveyed to the audience but is already known to the characters. A straightforward example is formed by the elaborate addresses that often open a play. Orestes' *paedagogus* does not 'need' to address Orestes as fully as he does in the opening of Sophocles' *Electra*, for instance. In principle, this might lead to rather artificial dialogue, but the tragic corpus presents many inventive ways to supply necessary information without breaking the illusion, or by breaking it for only a short time. Again in the *Electra*, the prologue informs us of the time and place of the action as part of a dialogue between Orestes and the *paedagogus* upon their arrival in Mycenae. This upholding of the dramatic illusion by Sophocles stands in sharp contrast to many Euripidean prologues in which the audience is addressed directly, as for instance by Dionysus in the opening of the *Bacchae*.

Conversely, in situations in which characters on stage lack important information that the audience does possess, and where words may mean one thing to a character on stage but something else to the audience, I would argue that a character's lines must still constitute a felicitous (pragmatically appropriate) utterance to the character and to his onstage interlocutors, even if the audience will construe the utterance differently. More specifically, the prominence of a word in a character's

[11] Occasionally examples will also be taken from rhetoric (Lysias, Demosthenes) and historical narrative (Herodotus, Thucydides).

lines should follow naturally from the *character's* assessment of its importance. For instance, it would be out of character for Iocaste in her account of Laius' death to give the location of the accident any prominence in her account.

1.3 THE QUESTION AT HAND

What does one do when accounting for word order? As already mentioned, Greek has been described as a language with 'free' word order. In fact all this means is that the system of rules that governs Greek word order shows variation of a kind that would not be allowed in a language like English, in which syntax is the dominant factor in determining word order. But the fact that Greek does not have strict rules for the placement of subject, object, and verb does not mean that there are no rules at all. Here I will investigate whether the principles ruling word order in Greek, as described by Headlam, Thomson, Dover, and others, which are pragmatic or communicative rather than syntactic in nature, remain valid in tragic dialogue. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework for this study, based on Functional Grammar, which offers more precise definitions for the intuitive categories found in earlier scholarship.

This approach will offer an alternative to descriptions that have ignored clause structure in favour of metrical structure. Scholars who have favoured a metrical approach appear to have assumed that Greek word order only has 'optional' rules which can easily be overridden by metrical considerations, and have proceeded to explore the metrical characteristics of the trimeter quite fully and admirably, achievements which I will not even attempt to emulate, since I do not think there is much left to be learnt here.

The studies of metrical structure have not yielded a systematic account of word order in tragic dialogue, however, and the fact that the rules of Greek word order are not always transparent to us is not sufficient reason to assume that they are somehow irrelevant for the production of meaningful utterances in metre. It seems high time to redress the balance somewhat, and accordingly, I will start from the other side, by applying to tragic dialogue what we know about word order in prose.

I will therefore be approaching spoken verse as spoken language first and foremost, and as verse/poetry second. As a consequence, I will not focus on such traditionally 'certified' word-order phenomena as hyperbaton, prolepsis, and postponed interrogatives. My aim is not so much to shed light on an old anthology of sentences; rather, I want to find out how we can describe the trimeter line in such a way that it becomes easier to appreciate its communicative structure. What I will present here is therefore basically divided into the following parts. The core chapters of this book, up to and including chapter 5, are devoted to my main aim of discussing word order in tragic dialogue as if it were prose; in the concluding chapters 6 and 7 I use this newly laid foundation to reconsider the contributions of metre.

1.4 A FIRST ILLUSTRATION

The following example can serve as a brief illustration of the approach taken here. When at *OT* 122–3 we hear or read Creon's lines,

(1.1) Cr. **λῃστὰς** ἔφασκε συντυχόντας οὐ **μιᾷ**
ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν **πλήθει** χερῶν.
(Soph. *OT* 122–3)

He said that *robbers* encountered them and killed him;
he died not through *one* man's strength, but by the hands of *many*.

we may well come to the conclusion—in fact we should—that λῃστάς (robbers) and μιᾷ (one) are highly salient words here, reinforced in the next line by σὺν πλήθει χερῶν (with many hands).

Nothing controversial so far. But are we also entitled to associate the salience of these two words, λῃστάς and μιᾷ, with their position at the extremes of the trimeter line? I have argued elsewhere that there is little evidence to support such an association (Dik 1998; chapter 6 will revisit this argument). On the other hand, there are other good reasons to consider λῃστάς and μιᾷ *formally* marked as salient. In chapter 3, I will argue that a description of Greek word order as following a basic pattern of Topic—Focus—Verb—Remainder (see chapter 2, and for a fuller discussion, Dik 1995) can be applied to tragic dialogue as well. Applying such an analysis here, I would say that λῃστάς is in the preverbal Focus

position (this constituent presents the most salient piece of information in the clause; and is even placed to precede the governing verb ἔφασκε, an example of the 'certified phenomenon' known as prolepsis). As to μιᾷ, it precedes its noun, with the entire noun phrase preceding the infinitive κτανεῖν. I will argue in chapter 4 that, as I proposed for prose in Dik (1997*a*), this position of μιᾷ in relation to its noun constitutes the marked position for modifiers in noun phrases.

It is only after looking at μιᾷ from the point of view of prose word order, I believe, that we can fruitfully once again consider the line and point out that its separation by the line boundary from the noun reinforces the effect of the modifier-noun ordering. Moreover, it can be shown that in cases where a modifier like μιᾷ appears at line end without such a runover into the next line, it will not be as salient. In other words, it is not so much the position in the line as the position in the clause in *combination* with that in the line that marks words as salient.

As to λῃστάς and the beginning of the line, it will be obvious that we cannot find out much about the contribution of line-initial position to the salience of a word, as long as the word we are looking at is also clause-initial, since both the metrical and 'prose' approaches predict that such initial words are salient. Rather, we should seek out those cases where line and clause beginnings do not coincide. This will help us better to estimate the contributions of line and clause.

Fortunately, there are many such instances, especially in Sophocles, and in chapter 6 I will show how Sophocles manages to reconcile the grammatical and metrical dimensions of word placement to optimum effect. While line and clause do reinforce each other often, things are not always as straightforward as in our example from the *OT*, and Sophocles introduces some interesting complications that are rarer in the other tragedians.

1.5 FROM METRE TO GRAMMAR AND BACK: A SYNOPSIS

Before we return to metre, I will present the case for grammar in chapters 3 to 5.

Chapter 2 will be devoted to an explanation of the theoretical framework to be used, and to a further definition of what does and does not

fall under the scope of word order as studied in the rest of this book. The two main domains to be studied here are the clause (as in Dik 1995) and the noun phrase (as in Dik 1997*a*). For both of these, Greek allows variation in word order; for instance, at the level of the clause, subjects can precede or follow verbs, and at the level of the noun phrase, adjectives and other kinds of modifiers can precede or follow nouns.

There are, however, some much stricter rules of word order, and they concern the placement of postpositive elements. Because these can never occur in clause-initial position, and are virtually restricted to clause-second position, they constitute important markers for clausal boundaries, and it will be important to consider postpositives especially when they appear in what seem to be later positions in a clause. As Dover pointed out a long time ago, the distinction between postpositive and so-called Mobile elements is not always clear, however. I have argued elsewhere (Dik 2003) that some instances of the 'emphatic' personal pronoun in both Platonic and tragic dialogue are in fact far from emphatic, but should rather be analysed as postpositive. At various points in the discussion I will deal with additional instances of postpositive treatment of Mobiles, such as the use of forms of *ἀνήρ* 'the man' as an anaphoric expression.

While the placement of postpositives allows us more clearly to see the articulation of sentences into clauses,[12] the order of constituents within clauses and the order of words within constituents can be explained with the help of pragmatic analysis. For clauses, I have proposed a basic ordering pattern in terms of the pragmatic functions of constituents. In short, pragmatically marked elements (constituents with Topic or Focus status) will precede the verb, and elements that are unmarked will follow the verb. In the noun phrase, I have argued elsewhere that pragmatics plays a role as well: modifiers will precede the noun only if they are the most salient element in the noun phrase.

In introducing the pragmatic functions I will be using in my analysis, chapter 2 discusses the important difference between a given-new distinction on the one hand, and the concepts of Topic and Focus on the other. Describing Greek word order solely on the basis of given-new distinctions may seem a more objective form of

[12] By clauses, I mean the main and subordinate clauses of traditional grammar: any clauses with finite verbs.

analysis, but it falls short in accounting for the evidence. The role of constituents in the presentation and structuring of utterances is of crucial importance.

The next three chapters form the core of the book. Chapter 3 is an investigation of constituent order in the clause on the basis of the pragmatic framework set out in chapter 2, similar to the chapters devoted to individual verbs in Dik (1995) on Herodotus. In comparing many occurrences of a group of semantically similar verbs, that is, in examining a large number of sentences referring to similar events, it becomes easier to compare the relative importance of, say, subject constituents, in their context, and link this to where these constituents are found in the clause. In keeping with one of the major preoccupations of the genre, I study verbs of dying in Sophocles, Aeschylus, and Euripides in order to assess word order in the clause. Chapter 4 turns to the noun phrase and analyses the position of modifiers, along the lines of Dik 1997*a* on Herodotus. Here I consider two semantically very different adjectives, μέγας and πατρῷος, and the possessives ἐμός and σός. In chapter 5 I discuss an aspect of the Platonic and tragic corpus that can be associated with the 'quasi-spoken' style of both and which is also an all-time favourite of students of pragmatics: questions and answers.

In chapter 6, finally, I return to a consideration of the trimeter and its effects. In Dik 1998, I argued that some positions in the line appear less salient than others. The unavoidable consequence is that other positions will be more salient. What position(s) are these, and more importantly, how does the tragic author reconcile the two dimensions of metre and grammar? To investigate this I will turn to instances where line and clause do not coincide: enjambment, in which sentences run on beyond line end; and what has been called *eidos Sophokleion*, in which sentences start late in a line. I will show how Sophocles' trimeter can resolve a problem that is integral to Greek word order, namely the positioning of marked constituents after the very beginning of the sentence.

Consider again the clause pattern, Topic—Focus—Verb—Remainder. The Focus, the single most important element of a clause, will often be preceded by other elements, not only by an (optional) Topic but also by conjunctions. All this 'clutter' can cause the Focus element to end up in a position far from the beginning of the clause, the most prominent place.

In poetry, the line boundary adds an extra opportunity for marking constituents as salient, and an author has two opportunities to dole out the privilege of initial position: he can place one constituent in clause-initial position, and another in line-initial position, thereby giving each its own moment of prominence. This can be as straightforward as putting a conjunction at the end of a line, leaving the line-initial position for the first content word, as in:

(1.2) Mess. ἄναξ, βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπώμοτον.
ψεύδει γὰρ ἡ 'πίνοια τὴν γνώμην· **ἐπεὶ**
σχολῇ ποθ' ἥξειν δεῦρ' ἂν ἐξηύχουν ἐγώ…
(Soph. *Ant.* 388–90)

King, there is nothing that mortals can swear is impossible!
For second thoughts show one's judgement to be wrong; *for*
scarcely would I have thought I would come here again…

The focal σχολῇ is here marked as salient in a number of ways: not only is it line-initial (1), followed by a postpositive (2), the first (and of necessity, preverbal) constituent in a dependent clause, (3) which precedes its governing verb (4), but also the conjunction ἐπεί is positioned so as practically to flaunt a departure from the neat symmetry between line and clause. It starts a new clause just as the line is ending. The effect is much like that of a musical upbeat: the momentary suspense created by ἐπεί reinforces the downbeat (5), when with σχολῇ we return to the symmetry of line and clause.

I will return to more complex instances of the interplay of line and clause in chapter 6. Chapter 7 discusses four sample passages in the form of a line-by-line word-order commentary. Among these is *Electra* 516–27, offered as a pendant to Schein's (1979: 46–50) *explication de métrique* of these same lines.

By the last chapter, I hope to have presented readers with sufficient evidence to re-examine the way they read trimeters, and appreciate both dimensions of the tragic trimeter and their interplay: granted, words in a line of verse form metrical patterns, but we should pay as much attention to the communicative effect of their position as to their metrical shapes.

2

Accounting for Word Order Variation in Greek

> Come voi sapete, io ho sempre avuto un morbido interesse nella posizione delle parole.
>
> (Fraenkel 1977: 46)[1]

2.1 THE PROBLEM

One can hardly do better for a short introduction to the problem of Greek word order than Dover's 1960 book. How is it, he asks in his introduction, that we quite readily decide, given the three words *ἄν*, *ἔγραψεν*, and *πάντα*, that of six (mathematically) possible orderings,

(2.1) (a) *ἂν ἔγραψεν πάντα*
(b) *ἂν πάντα ἔγραψεν*
(c) *ἔγραψε πάντ' ἄν*
(d) *πάντ' ἔγραψεν ἄν*
(e) *ἔγραψεν ἂν πάντα*
(f) *πάντ' ἂν ἔγραψεν*

we can readily reject the first three (a–c), find a fourth awkward (d), and finally decide in favour of just the one 'normal' order (f),

[1] *Due Seminari Romani*, ad *Phil.* 116. Speakers of Italian will no doubt be amused by the exact wording of this sentiment but the Italian editors chose to preserve Fraenkel's wording here as elsewhere (p. xiii: 'Abbiamo . . . conservato alcuni suoi caratteristici solecismi').

πάντ' ἂν ἔγραψεν? Furthermore, how is it that when given the choice between *Πρωταγόρας ἥκει* and *ἥκει Πρωταγόρας* we cannot even begin to decide?

The answer that any Hellenist will give you is that the type of words involved in πάντ' ἂν ἔγραψεν (and therefore, the type of *rules* involved) is very different from that in *Πρωταγόρας ἥκει* versus *ἥκει Πρωταγόρας*, which orderings, after all, can both be found in the opening section of Plato's *Protagoras*:

(2.2a) 'ἔστι δὲ τί, καὶ τοῦ ἕνεκα τηνικάδε ἀφίκου;' '**Πρωταγόρας**,' ἔφη, '**ἥκει**' (Pl. *Prt.* 310b6–8)

'What is it, and what business brings you here at such an hour?' 'Protagoras has come', he said.

(2.2b) ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον καὶ δεδειπνηκότες ἦμεν καὶ ἐμέλλομεν ἀναπαύεσθαι, τότε μοι ἀδελφὸς λέγει ὅτι **ἥκει Πρωταγόρας**. (*Prt.* 310c5–7)

On my return, when we had finished dinner and were about to retire, my brother told me, only then, that Protagoras had come.

So while we have a strong preference in the case of (2.1), both orderings of subject and verb in (2.2) are equally 'grammatical'.[2] The same can be said of the ordering of modifier and noun: the minimal pair *τίνα στολήν—στολὴν τίνα* from the *Bacchae* shows that here, too, there is room for variation:[3]

(2.3) Di. ἐγὼ στελῶ σε δωμάτων ἔσω μολών.
Pe. **τίνα στολήν;** ἦ θῆλυν; ἀλλ' αἰδώς μ' ἔχει.
Di. οὐκέτι θεατὴς μαινάδων πρόθυμος εἶ;

[2] In Dover's terms *πάντα* is a preferential Mobile, which is more likely to be placed in initial position than the semantically less interesting verb. The particle *ἄν* is postpositive: it prefers clause-second position. The 'we' used in remarks on the grammaticality of the versions in (2.1) is, as Dover mentions, not only a reference to twentieth-century conventional wisdom, but also backed up by the authority of Demetr. *Eloc.* 256. This discussion should not lead to the conclusion that *ἄν* can never follow the verb; but the verb should be more salient than *ἔγραψεν* (for an example see (2.15) below).

[3] For further discussion of this pair of examples see ch. 5, example (5.E2).

Pe. **στολὴν** δὲ **τίνα** φῂς ἀμφὶ χρῶτ' ἐμὸν βαλεῖν;
(Eur. *Bacch.* 827–30)

Di. I will go inside and dress you.
Pe. With what kind of clothes? A woman's? I feel shame.
Di. Are you no longer an eager viewer of maenads?
Pe. How did you say you would dress me?

Can we go beyond the statement that both orders are grammatical, though, and explain why Plato chose one and then the other order of subject and verb in (2.2), and why in (2.3) Euripides would prepose the modifier in one line and prepose the noun two lines later? Or should we throw up our hands and decide that Greek word order is free?

These three instances will suffice for a first impression of the various aspects of word order that we need to address, and some distinctions we need to make in order to discern the forest for the trees. First of all, as (2.1 a–f) make clear, we need to distinguish between different types of words. Secondly, we need to approach the problem of word order on two levels: that of constituents within the clause, as in (2.2), and that of words within constituents, as in example (2.3).[4]

This chapter introduces the basic concepts that form the theoretical framework for my description of word order in Greek. I will here try to make explicit the assumptions which subsequent chapters will take as their starting point. Many of the points made will be familiar from elsewhere in the literature, and I will be revisiting the main points of my own work on Herodotus.[5] A synopsis follows:

I will start (in § 2.2) with what is probably the most familiar terrain, namely the important distinction in Greek between on the

[4] Throughout, I will be ignoring questions regarding the ordering of clauses within complex sentences, a higher level than that addressed here. I will only consider the ordering of non-Mobile elements in so far as their placement can help us understand the structure of clauses and the position of Mobile elements within them (see further below, esp. § 2.2).

[5] Essentially this chapter presents a condensed version of chapters 2–4 of Dik (1995), to which I accordingly refer for a fuller presentation of the basic concepts involved. For linguists, I recommend Matić (2003) for a recent critique. I would agree with Matić that the preverbal Focus position I posit mostly concerns 'narrow' Focus (but not exclusively—positing this would miss a generalization which captures some of the more intriguing instances that I discuss, e.g. the preposing of Masistius in the catalogue of troops (Dik 1995: 112–16)), but do not follow him on other points. Most importantly, where Matić sees much 'free variation' in ordering despite his more intricate model, I believe that there is a qualitative difference between preverbal and postverbal placement, of both new and presupposed information, and little free variation.

one hand *Mobile* words, defined as those words which can form a sentence on their own and can in principle be placed anywhere, and pre- and postpositives on the other hand.

Postpositives help us define *clauses*,[6] the closest textual equivalent to intonation units. The clause as a unit of analysis for word order, as opposed to the entire sentence, is the next subject for this chapter (§ 2.3). Within clauses, we distinguish different *constituents* (§ 2.4), which in turn are made up of single words, for whose ordering within constituents we must also seek to account.

After defining these two domains of analysis (the clause and the constituent), I will turn to the explanatory framework that I will be using here (§ 2.5). Pragmatics, the study of information structure, has much to offer to help our understanding of Greek word order. Specifically, the notions of Topic (the constituent that a clause is about) and Focus (the most salient piece of information in a clause) will be central to my description of word order in the clause. I believe that the fundamental characteristic of Greek word order is to place pragmatically marked constituents early in the clause. § 2.6 introduces the basic clause pattern that is meant to capture this generalization.

As for the internal order of constituents (§ 2.7), these can sometimes be ordered much like clausal constituents, in that a Topic and a Focus can be identified within one noun phrase. More often, however, contrastive or otherwise salient words, whether they are a modifier or the 'head' of a noun phrase, will be found to precede other, less salient words, *within* the constituent, while the constituent as a whole will fill only one slot in the clause pattern.

2.2 MOBILE AND NOT-SO-MOBILE WORDS

A look at Dover's first example ((2.1) above) will suffice to remind us of the distinction between *Mobile* words like πάντα and ἔγραψεν on the one hand, and postpositives like ἄν on the other. Mobile words are those that can be placed anywhere in a clause, including first or last. Postpositives, which cannot be placed at the beginning of a clause,

[6] That is, they can refine our 'first-pass' syntactic demarcations. Syntax remains the primary criterion. See further below.

include unemphatic personal pronouns and particles; prepositives, which cannot occur at the end of a clause, include the definite article and prepositions (for a fuller listing see Dover 1960: 12–14).

The rules that govern the placement of pre- and postpositives are predominantly syntactic and are relatively well established.[7] For the purposes of this study, I will regard clauses (c) and (e) in (2.1) as equivalent and in contrast with (d) and (f), since the order of the Mobile constituents is constant. This reduces the six original permutations to the problem of ordering the two constituents *πάντα* and *ἔγραψεν*, a much easier proposition (as a result of the intrinsic difference in salience between the two) than the question of how to phrase Protagoras' arrival. In most contexts, after all, what we are likely to want to say is: 'He would have written *everything*' rather than 'He would have *written* everything'.

Postpositives will be of considerable ancillary interest here, however, for their strong tendency to occur in second position in the clause (as in *πάντ' ἂν ἔγραψεν*). It is this tendency that explains why we would discard the orderings (c) and (d) in example (2.1) above as problematic.

I should note in passing that 'second position in the clause' is not as straightforward as it sounds. A postpositive can, but need not, interrupt an article-noun unit, for instance:

(2.4) *ὁ δὲ Κῦρος*
(2.5) *ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γάρ...*

This is not particularly problematic. We can postulate that prepositives (the definite article, prepositions) may, but need not, form one 'phrase' with the noun, and that prepositives can follow the first Mobile, or the first entire noun phrase, rather than the first word of the clause. These variations we will still consider to be instantiations of second position. Postpositives may also occur still later in the clause, however. In the rest of this section, I will explore the evidence from postpositives for the segmentation of sentences into smaller units.

As Fraenkel showed in his writings on *Kolon und Satz*, when postpositives occur later than second position, we should usually

[7] Stinton (1977*a*) and (1977*b*) are important applications of Fraenkel's methodology to tragedy. More work needs to be done for classical Greek along the lines of Ruijgh (1990*a*), which studies the ordering of clustered postpositives in Homeric Greek.

read the sentence with some kind of clause or colon boundary (indicated here with |). Compare the position of μιν in (2.6) with its late position in (2.7):

(2.6) καί **μιν** ἐκείνη ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα κατακρύπτει (Hdt. 1.12.1)
And she gave him a dagger and hid him . . .

(2.7) ὡς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ | ἐπορᾷ **μιν** ἐξιόντα. (Hdt.1.10.2)

When she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room. The woman [. . . she] saw him as he passed out.

The late position of μιν in (2.7), as opposed to its clause-second or 'Wackernagel' position in (2.6), does not change anything about the way in which we read this unemphatic pronoun itself, but its position strongly suggests that we should not describe γυνή as part of the same colon as ἐπορᾷ, and that ἐπορᾷ should be described as opening a new clause. The brunt of the explanatory work that remains, given such an analysis of (2.7), is to account for the choice of presenting καὶ ἡ γυνή as a separate 'colon', while the two resulting units have become too short to have much word order left to explain (καὶ ἡ γυνή does not admit alternative orderings, after all, and neither does the second colon).[8]

Here, however, there is something new to add. In the last few years, work especially by J. N. Adams for Latin has shown that we should

[8] Such 'cola' as καὶ ἡ γυνή have been described as Themes in Functional Grammar (see S. C. Dik 1989 for an introduction). Theme constituents are extra-clausal, but orient the listener to the subject matter of the clause that follows. In a description of information flow along the lines of Chafe, we would add that at this point the wife is reintroduced in one intonation unit, while the verb is put in a second intonation unit. Normally, one would only devote a separate intonation unit to an introduction of a new participant, or a reintroduction of a participant who has not been mentioned for some time. Why does ἡ γυνή get such treatment here so soon after she was last mentioned? Perhaps an extra effect of this reintroduction, which at first sight only draws attention to the change of subject, is to heighten the suspense before ἐπορᾷ. This would be along the lines of Slings's approach to such 'chunking devices' (here: colon formation) in literary texts: a strategy that in everyday speech helps to distribute complex information (cp. Slings 1997: 179) is here used (along with the historic present ἐπορᾷ) to mark a narrative climax.

not 'over-colonize' our sentences, so to speak.[9] I here reproduce a few of Dover's examples which will illustrate the problem (again, | marks the colon boundary under discussion, located on the basis of where the underlined postpositives occur).

(2.8) *καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους | ἀσθενὴς* ***ἄν μου*** *ὁ λόγος εἴη, . . .* (Thuc. 6.9.3)

Against tempers, indeed, like yours my words would be unavailing, . . .

In this case, we can still happily assume that the *πρός*-phrase is a colon (on the somewhat dubious grounds that in English, the translation of this phrase makes an acceptable intonation unit?), and that a new colon starts with *ἀσθενής*. I think we are stretching it, however, in the case of the following examples:

(2.9) *ταῦτα μὲν δὴ | ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα* ***σφι*** *γενέσθαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι.* (Hdt. 1.2.1)

So far, then, the account between them stood balanced. But after this (they say) it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong.

(2.10) *ὅμως δὲ | ὁ* ***μὲν*** *λόγος* ***μοι*** *περὶ τούτων, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν οὐ πρὸς τὰ τούτων ἔργα ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰρηκότας.* (Lys. 2.2)

However, while my speech is about these men, my contest is not with their deeds, but with the speakers who have preceded me in praising them.

(2.11) *Οὐκοῦν | ἓν* ***ἂν*** *εἴη ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ σοφία;* (Pl. *Prt.* 333b4–5)

Then temperance and wisdom must be one thing?[10]

Dover (1960: 17–18) proposes that

[9] Adams (1994*a*) and (1994*b*). He shows that postpositives are particularly frequent following focused elements, such as the adjective *magnus*.

[10] It is true that it is rare for *οὐκοῦν* to be immediately followed by *ἄν* or other postpositives, but there are examples, such as *Phd.* 70b10, *Soph.* 238b4, *Leg.* 743b1.

One effect of breaking up a clause into word-groups is to distribute *q* [postpositives]; and one consequence of this distribution is that *q* are often to be found in close proximity to the words with which, as we should say, they 'go'.

But he goes on to say (18–19)

I doubt, however, whether the distribution of *q* over the constituent word groups of a clause is motivated to any significant degree by the desire to bring together words which 'belong together'... the many clauses in which distribution has the effect which seems 'natural' to speakers of modern English are matched by an equally large number in which it has the opposite effect, e.g. [examples (2.12) and (2.13) below]

(2.12) δοκοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοῦτό **μοι** οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλεύεσθαι ὅτι... ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.10)

The Athenians seem to me to be wrong in this respect also, that...

To make Dover's comment somewhat more explicit: the postpositive μοι in (2.12) must be construed with the first word in the sentence, δοκοῦσι, rather than with anything nearer it. Similarly, γάρ in (2.13) is no less a sentential particle than it would have been if it had come earlier in the clause:

(2.13) Di. νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα δυσκρίτως γ' ἔχω·
ὁ μὲν σοφῶς **γὰρ** εἶπεν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος σαφῶς. (Ar. *Ran.* 1433–4)

By Zeus the Saviour, still I can't decide.
One spoke sagely, the other clearly.

What in fact is going on with these examples, I would argue, is that these postpositives all highlight a word later on in the sentence: λόγος, καὶ τοῦτο, σοφῶς. Much has been written in recent years on this kind of behaviour of postpositives in Latin and Greek by Adams and Janse,[11] and we need to keep in mind that in Greek as in Latin, it was probably prosodic peaks more generally, rather than only first words of clauses, that attracted postpositives.[12] Postpositives, then,

[11] See n. 9 above, and Janse (1997) and (2000) with further references.
[12] Details in Devine and Stephens (1994).

are not definitive evidence for the segmentation of sentences and clauses into smaller units but can alert us to such segmentation, and this is why, even though their position *per se* will not be the object of study here, they will figure frequently in the discussion.

2.3 DEFINING THE DOMAIN 1: THE CLAUSE

Syntactic analysis, combined with the placement of postpositives, will allow us to divide sentences into clauses. The following two lines from *Electra* contain three clauses, one main clause and two conditional clauses:

(2.14) El. εἰ **γὰρ** κτενοῦμεν ἄλλον ἀντ᾽ ἄλλου, σύ **τοι**
πρώτη θάνοις **ἄν**, εἰ δίκης **γε** τυγχάνοις.
(Soph. *El.* 582–3)

For if we are to take a life for a life, you should die first,
if you were to get what you deserve.

The postpositives in these lines occur in peninitial position (γάρ, τοι); following a first Mobile (γε);[13] and finally, following the verb θάνοις (in fact creating an order similar to our despised (2.1d)!). There is little reason to assume a colon boundary before θάνοις here, since the position of ἄν following the verb is usual enough. In this instance, therefore, the syntactic analysis into clauses need not be adjusted on the basis of the postpositives.

It is important to make clear at the outset that my discussion of such lines as *El.* 582–3 will in fact be a discussion of the internal structure of these three separate clauses:[14]

(2.14') εἰ **γὰρ** κτενοῦμεν ἄλλον ἀντ᾽ ἄλλου,
σύ **τοι** πρώτη θάνοις **ἄν**,
εἰ δίκης **γε** τυγχάνοις.

[13] γε is typically (less so in tragic dialogue than in prose) closely associated with the word over which it has scope (here δίκης), and is not confined to clause-second position.

[14] The position of conditional clauses in relation to the main clause is discussed in Wakker (1994: 50–90).

One reason for referring to preceding or following clauses, besides the obvious need to establish the context of an utterance in order to analyse its pragmatic structure, would be if the ordering of one is somehow directly related to the other, which is possible in cases of chiasmus, as in (2.15), spoken by Creon:[15]

(2.15) Cr. ἐμοῦ δὲ ζῶντος οὐκ ἄρξει γυνή. (*Ant.* 525)
But while I live a woman shall not rule!

But again, even in such a case, I would only describe the position of γυνή in relation to οὐκ ἄρξει, not to ἐμοῦ or ζῶντος. This is a limitation inherent to the present approach.

There are cases, however, in which it becomes virtually impossible to restrict the analysis to a single clause because of the 'overlap' between main and dependent clauses, as in:

(2.16) Cr. **λῃστὰς** ἔφασκε συντυχόντας οὐ **μιᾷ**
ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν **πλήθει** χερῶν. (*OT* 122–3)

He said that *robbers* encountered them and killed him; he died not through *one* man's strength, but by the hands of *many*.

Despite the syntactic affiliation of λῃστάς with the infinitive κτανεῖν, it is placed to precede the finite verb ἔφασκε that governs the infinitival clause. The practical result is a 'distribution' of the most salient information presented here, λῃστάς and οὐ μιᾷ ῥώμῃ, over the ἔφασκε and κτανεῖν 'clauses', so that both present one item of salient information.[16]

[15] While it is obvious that these clauses are formally chiastic, that is, we discern an ABB'A' pattern, it is unusual in that B' is not a clear antonym of B, or otherwise easily derived from it (see my discussion in Dik 1995: 51; for a fuller discussion of chiasmus and parallelism see Slings 1997: 185–92). We must understand that for Creon, his life is coterminous with his rule over the polis, so that in effect 'not rule' *is* the opposite of 'live'.

[16] See especially Slings (1997: 200 f.) for a discussion of prolepsis and its analysis in terms of pragmatic functions and 'chunking' of information. It will be remarked that what I have called 'two pieces' of salient information are in fact identical for the purposes of the plot (and they are followed by the ἀλλά phrase, which reiterates the plurality of the attackers once more). I do not think that makes either of them less salient here, however.

2.4 DEFINING THE DOMAIN 2: THE CONSTITUENT

Constituent is not a familiar category for many classicists, but many designations that are at once more and less specific are familiar enough: subject, object, adverbial phrase, etc. These syntactic roles can be filled by word *groups* (*μιᾷ ῥώμῃ*, *σὺν πλήθει χερῶν*) as well as by single words (*λῃστάς*). Collectively, these word groups or single words that, as a unit, fulfil a particular syntactic function, are referred to as *constituents*. Most constituents consisting of more than one word can be analysed as consisting of a 'head' (*ῥώμῃ*, *πλήθει*) and one or more modifiers (*μιᾷ*, *χερῶν*).[17] Linguists nowadays agree that when one studies word order in the clause, one is actually studying *constituent* order: the ordering of the various words and word groups that form the basic building blocks of a clause. This distinction between words and constituents is important. I will assume here that the most adequate description of Greek word order starts by ordering constituents as opposed to single words.[18] In the case of (2.16) above, this means that, while the position of *οὐ μιᾷ ῥώμῃ* is accounted for in relation to the infinitive *κτανεῖν*, *μιᾷ* is analysed exclusively in relation to the other words that make up that constituent, specifically, the head noun *ῥώμῃ* (exceptions will be discussed below).

While constituents do introduce an additional layer of analysis, this in fact makes matters simpler. The foremost complication which it involves is that discontinuous constituents (for instance, constituents featuring hyperbaton) must be treated differently from continuous ones, but in a sense this does justice to the fact that most of us will accept hyperbaton as a marked ordering of words.[19] I will not go into this phenomenon at length here (it has been extensively treated in Devine and Stephens; for tragedy, see Baechle (2007)[20]), but the

[17] This is too simplistic, but sufficient for the present purpose. I note for the benefit of syntacticians that in Functional Grammar, as opposed to some other models, prepositions are not considered syntactic heads.

[18] Dover (1960) in fact analyses sentences as strings of single words.

[19] *pace* Dover, who rightly warns us against naively taking word order in our own language as the benchmark for 'natural' order (Dover 1960: 6).

[20] Baechle (2007) pays much attention to the distinction between tractable and intractable word shapes. I will be taking the position here that word shape is not necessarily a given in the process of composing a line that has priority over ordering. Conversely, Baechle considers much variation stylistic that I would consider pragmatic. All in all, I hope that these approaches will complement rather than contradict one another.

following two points need mentioning: first, both in cases of prolepsis (see (2.16) above) and of hyperbaton, I will assume that the element that occurs 'early' (i.e. the word subject to prolepsis, and the first element of a phrase in hyperbaton) should always be considered marked.[21]

Secondly, I should point out that I will only consider intervening Mobiles as bringing about hyperbaton proper, and discontinuity more generally. In other words, while the cluster of postpositives in (2.17) does not cause the constituent *ἀνήρ . . . ἄλλος* to be formally discontinuous,[22] the participle *κατθανόντος* does make the otherwise similar *πόσις . . . ἄλλος* discontinuous in (2.18).[23]

(2.17) *ἀνὴρ μέν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι·* (Hdt. 3.119.6)

Another husband I may get,[24] if heaven so will, and other children, if I lose these;

(2.18) An. *πόσις μὲν ἄν μοι κατθανόντος ἄλλος ἦν,*
καὶ παῖς ἀπ' ἄλλου φωτός, εἰ τοῦδ' ἤμπλακον, . . .
(Soph. *Ant.* 909–10)

If my husband had died, I could have had another,
and a child by another man, if I had lost the first, . . .

[21] In the case of hyperbaton, both the early and the later element can in fact become marked, especially in the case of what Devine and Stephens (2000: 97 f.) call Topic Y2 hyperbaton. See further ch. 4.

[22] While formally, we do need to draw the boundary somewhere, it will nevertheless be clear that even in (2.17) the presence of the postpositives makes it easier for someone speaking this clause to treat *ἀνήρ* and *ἄλλος* as separate constituents. The only way I can think of to paraphrase this in English is 'a *husband* I can get *again*'. See next note on the pragmatic analysis of this clause.

[23] Since *κατθανόντος* must be analysed as a clause by itself, (2.18) is not best analysed as an instance of hyperbaton, I believe. Rather, *πόσις* is a Theme constituent, *κατθανόντος* forms a Setting, and *ἄλλος* is the Focus of the clause proper. A paraphrase to bring this out would be 'As for a husband, if he should die, I could have another one'. In (2.17) we can either analyse *ἀνήρ* as contrastive Topic, or as part of the Focus of the clause with *ἄλλος*; and while there are no formal indications, we cannot *exclude* the possibility that here, too, *ἀνήρ* is the Theme: 'As for a husband . . .' For more on Settings and Themes, see § 2.6.

[24] The *μέν μοι ἄν* ordering here is strange (Sophocles has the expected *μὲν ἄν μοι* with the personal pronoun following the modal particle). I have not found further examples of this in Herodotus. Examples I found in Plato (*Rep.* 349b, 434a) involve *δοκεῖ* plus infinitive, so they are not quite equivalent to this clause.

It has been argued (Slings 1997: 173) that like the absolute participle *κατθανόντος*, all circumstantial participles and their heads such as *λῃστὰς . . .* ***συντυχόντας*** in (2.16) should be treated as two separate constituents.[25] Here I will not do so, however. I believe that the formal syntactic expression as a modifier is of more influence on the placement of these participles than their semantic function; that is, they behave more like adjectives than adverbs.[26] I will therefore treat the placement of such (conjunct) participles as a question of ordering on the level of the constituent, not ordering at the level of the clause. This will apply to both attributive and predicative participles, such as *στρατηγήσαντος* and *παρόντι* in the opening of *Electra*:

(2.19) Pae. *Ὦ τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ*
Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι
παρόντι λεύσσειν, ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεί. (Soph. *El.* 1–3)

Son of Agamemnon who once led the army before Troy,
now you can gaze with your own eyes
on what you have always longed to see!

2.5 THE EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK

In dialogue as in other uses of language, speakers will try to convey to listeners, and listeners will try to reconstruct, any number of referents (e.g. characters in a story), events (e.g. a plot), evaluations, etc. All but the simplest stories need to organize a complex network of many different relationships into a linear progression of words; conversations would be cumbersome affairs if speakers and listeners did not establish shared frames of reference. How does a speaker help the listener establish the links between all the bits and pieces, and keep

[25] Slings actually does not argue explicitly for an analysis of these participles as separate constituents, but he does argue that they should be considered *Setting* constituents, proposing to analyse a clause like *ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἰδών . . .* as Topic followed by Setting. I think that constituents which actually function as Settings come earlier in the clause, and precede Topic constituents. See below, § 2.5.

[26] Participles will then be placed with their head noun as a rule, following the principle of domain integrity (set out in S. C. Dik 1997*a*: 402). This is in essence the same generalization as that formulated by Dover, above, speaking of words that 'go' together.

the story 'straight'? For that matter, how can improvising speakers keep their *own* stories straight? A crucial part of the answer is how speakers help listeners fit every bit of new information into a growing network of shared information. This is typically accomplished with a mixture of given and new information, of the expected and unexpected, in every sentence, and as the story—or the argument—continues, there is a constant re-evaluation of what is given, new, and expected or unexpected for the listener. Also, speakers and listeners are aware of certain shared frames of expectation both about referents and about events: people, for instance, are embedded in networks called families and others which are more culturally specific (the polis, the university department), in which particular scenarios take place: birth, death, *dokimasia*, tenure. Events create expectations as well: leaving implies going somewhere, which implies getting somewhere; offers meet with acceptance or refusal. In linguistics, such frames have been explored by Tannen; in Homeric studies, we are familiar with 'typical scenes'.

In this book I will argue for pragmatic explanations of word order in tragic dialogue. More specifically, the area of pragmatics that will be relevant here is the study of the communicative structure of sentences: how does Greek word order, in particular, help in managing the 'information flow' in communication? While theoretical schools differ in their terminology, some important principles, which I think can be fruitfully applied to Greek, emerge from the literature (I recommend Chafe 1994 for an introduction to the basic issues):

(i) Speakers typically use a starting point for an intonation unit;
(ii) New or salient information is typically restricted to one item per intonation unit.

I should note first of all that these two principles are cognitive rather than more narrowly linguistic or grammatical. The claim, however, is that they will be reflected, in one way or another, in the grammar of all languages: speakers and listeners need reliable means of identifying starting points and salient information, but these means are not necessarily identical in all languages. The restriction of new or salient information to one item per intonation unit is most clearly borne out by research on spontaneous conversation, but

Chafe, among others, has shown that it is much more generally applicable.[27]

In Greek, word order is an important mechanism in conveying information structure. By making use of what essentially is not much more than Chafe's concepts of 'starting point' and 'salient piece of information', we can account for word-order variation in Greek, and not only in prose, as I have proposed elsewhere, but also in tragic dialogue, which is what I will argue here.

2.5.1 Not a Matter of Given versus New; not a Matter of Numbers

At this point I need to digress briefly on earlier approaches to Greek word order. It is especially important to realize the difference between principles (i) and (ii) above and an approach that assumes that ordering can be explained solely on the basis of classifying information as 'given' or 'new', or on the basis of Dover's distinction between 'Nuclei' (N) and 'Concomitants' (C), which he defined as follows (1960: 40):

> An element is N if it is indispensable to the sense of the utterance and cannot be predicted from the preceding elements, and C in so far as it is deficient in either of those qualities.

First of all, we find an important point in common. Whether we are identifying something as the starting point for a clause or as the most salient piece of information in it, identifying it as Nucleus or Concomitant, or identifying it as given or new, clearly all these distinctions rest on interpretation of utterances *in their context*. Taking Dover's terminology, the utterance 'dogs bite' (cf. Dover 1960: 40 f.), depending on the context, can be analysed as two NN, CN, or NC:

(a) Come here, Johnny!		NN
(b) What do dogs do?	Dogs bite!	CN
(c) What animals bite?		NC

[27] See Chafe (1994) on the primacy of spoken language for grammar, and for various applications to different types of spoken and written text in English. While our corpus is clearly not a record of spontaneous conversation, it is certainly a conscious imitation of it. We will indeed meet exceptions to this constraint, but these very exceptions form perhaps the best proof. For an example of the distribution of new information over more than one unit, see my discussion of (2.16) above.

Needless to say, this English sentence looks exactly the same on paper, regardless of the pragmatic analysis (it would not, of course, *sound* the same), but the claim would be that in Greek, those Ns and Cs make a difference for word order. More specifically, Dover described the preferred order in Greek as NC, Concomitants always following Nuclei, the unpredictable, indispensable information. This description left two major problems: the ordering of multiple Ns and multiple Cs within one sentence, and the uncomfortable fact that elements that are indisputably C do in fact occur at the beginning of sentences. The following example can illustrate the latter point (cf. Dover 1960: 49):

(2.20) ***Κίσσιοι*** δὲ στρατευόμενοι
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατά περ Πέρσαι ἐσκευάδατο,
ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν πίλων μιτρηφόροι ἦσαν.
Κισσίων δὲ ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω. (Hdt. 7.62.2)

The Cissians in the army
were equipped like the Persians,
but they wore turbans and not caps.
Their commander was Anaphes son of Otanes.

Here, the two mentions of the Cissians are N and C, respectively, by Dover's rules. Yet both times, the Cissians appear at the beginning of the sentence. How can we make sense of this? This, I believe, is where we have to bring in Chafe's notion of starting point to account for the ordering. The Cissians are not just new or old information in these clauses, they are used as a starting point for these sentences: the Cissians are what these sentences are about and that is what decides their initial position in the sentence.

By the same token, 'new' information is not sufficient to describe the position of the various pieces of new information in (2.20). We have already discussed the position of the Cissians in the first clause: Herodotus uses them as a starting point for a clause, despite the fact that they present new information at their first occurrence here.[28]

[28] Similar to Chafe's example of unexpected ordering in a context of ritual thank yous (1994: 83). Halliday remains helpful: 'The constituent specified as new is that which the speaker marks out for interpretation as non-derivable information, either cumulative to or contrastive with what has preceded; the given is *offered* as recoverable anaphorically or situationally. These are options on the part of the speaker, not

We are in the middle of a catalogue of troops here, and the organizing principle of the list is the ethnicity of the contingents. With these as starting point, we get information about their dress, their weaponry, and their commander, before moving on to the next group. The Cissians' commander Anaphes, however, is not granted such preferential treatment: he is relegated to the end of a clause. I have argued elsewhere (1995: 111–16) that the position of Anaphes at his introduction may well have to do with the fact that we will not encounter him in the remainder of Herodotus's text; Herodotus does not present Anaphes as 'salient' information.

In sum, while I will certainly be using 'given', 'new', 'predictable', and similar terms in our discussion, such classification of information in a text is not sufficient. We need an extra dimension, that of the *function* that particular elements in a sentence fulfil in the overall organization of information.

Hand in hand with an approach that looks beyond mere 'given' and 'new' status comes, necessarily I believe, a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach (compare Bolkestein 1985). Any numbers or percentages in later chapters will appear early on in those chapters, serving as starting points for further discussion rather than as independent arguments for analysis. Quantity is important in other ways: with Denniston (1954: p. vi), I believe that 'the reader should be enabled to *bathe* in examples'. I have further aimed to facilitate interpretation independent of my argument by supplying the relevant context and a standard translation (not mine). Finally, I do not sum up a chapter with a score ('my description works *n* per cent of the time') because ultimately it is up to readers to decide where they agree and disagree with my analyses, and not all instances will weigh equally heavily in their decision. For those who wish to keep score, however, I have aimed for completeness in the data ('all forms of X in author Y or work Z'), especially for chapters 3, 4, and 5, and I have signalled in the text where my description runs into problems.

determined by the textual or situational environment; *what is new is in the last resort what the speaker chooses to present as new, and predictions from the discourse have only a high probability of being fulfilled*' (Halliday 1967: 211; my italics).

2.5.2. Terminology: Topic and Focus

For the element that Chafe calls the starting point, I will here use the term Topic, defined as follows: *Topic function* is assigned to an element which the speaker regards as an appropriate foundation for constructing a message which is relevant to the subject matter of the discourse.[29]

This is a definition that brings out the crucial role of choice on the speaker's part: it is the assessment of what is necessary and appropriate in grounding a message for the listener that is decisive. Needless to say, we cannot recover speaker or author intent. We can, however, analyse the structure of a passage as a whole and conclude that certain elements of (usually) given information can be fruitfully analysed as providing the grounding for the other information presented (a listener or reader can construe a clause as being *about* this constituent), while other given information is not crucial for the structure of the passage in quite the same way.

As indicated before, this approach assumes that there can be no more than one Topic (I will use Topic as shorthand in referring to an element fulfilling Topic function) in a clause.[30] I have discussed the extremely rare exceptions elsewhere.[31] Many clauses do not have an expressed Topic at all: when there is no change of Topic from one clause to the next, or when a Topic is otherwise unnecessary or irrelevant (in 'all-new' sentences, for

[29] This definition is based on Hannay (1991: 141), which, in full, says: '*Topic function* is assigned to a term 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.' The stipulation that the topic be given or inferable information is, as we saw above, not an absolute rule; I believe that the preference for given or inferable information is sufficiently captured by the wording 'appropriate foundation'. Hannay's definition is an attempt to address the perceived methodological problems of an earlier definition of Topic (S. C. Dik 1978: 130): 'A constituent with Topic function presents the element "about" which the predication predicates something in the given setting.'

[30] Some of the terminology and metaphors used in the literature (aboutness, point of orientation, anchor, hitching post) make this point more clearly than others (a foundation might well be taken to include a number of elements).

[31] Dik (1995: 27–8; 207 f.) discusses the rare instances of multiple constituents with Topic function. These can only occur, in my opinion, when the constituents stand in a hierarchical relationship (Topic and Sub-Topic), or (even more rarely) when a group of words together forms the Topic of a clause.

instance). If a Topic is expressed, it is most likely new (the first mention of the Cissians in (2.20) above, or contrastive (the second mention of the Cissians in (2.20),[32] see further below).

For the most salient piece of information in a clause, I will use the term Focus, defined as follows: *Focus function* is assigned to an element expressing the information that the speaker considers the most urgent part of the message s/he wants to convey to the listener.[33] To avoid any misunderstanding, I should add that 'information' here and elsewhere should be taken as broadly defined. Driving directions, emotions, and lies can all be communicated and they all fall under the umbrella of 'information' for the purposes of this discussion.

While the definition of Topic stipulates a maximum of one per clause, every clause *must* have (at least) one Focus element: the Focus is not merely any piece of new and/or salient information in a clause: it is the reason why that clause came to be formulated in the first place. It is rare to have more than one Focus constituent in a clause (this, of course, is the contention of principle (ii) above), and I will only be arguing for more in cases where it is precisely the combination of elements that makes the information salient. This last point will become especially relevant in chapter 5, on questions.

2.5.3. Contrast, Topic, and Focus

As mentioned earlier, Topics can stay unexpressed much of the time. An important exception is formed by contrastive Topics. I have argued elsewhere (Dik 1995: 27) that contrast is compatible with both Topic and Focus. Contrastive *Topics* do not present the most salient information in the clause, but provide the necessary grounding for that information. The *Focus* constituents, on the other hand, do

[32] The text switches to the next ethnic group in the catalogue of troops after this sentence: ***Κισσίων δὲ*** *ἦρχε Ἀνάφης ὁ Ὀτάνεω.* ***Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ*** *κατά περ Πέρσαι ἐσεσάχατο,* . . . 'The *Cissians*' commander was Anaphes son of Otanes. The *Hyrcanians* were armed like the Persians.'

[33] This definition is meant to stress the speaker's assessment of the relative importance of different pieces of information. It is based on an earlier definition (S. C. Dik 1978: 130): 'A constituent with Focus function presents the relatively most important or salient information with respect to the pragmatic information of the Speaker and the Addressee.'

present what the speaker considers salient. In (2.21), Philoctetes complains about the unfairness of the scoundrel Odysseus' survival as opposed to the deaths of the morally upright Ajax and Antilochus:

(2.21) Ph. *φεῦ φεῦ· τί δῆτα δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὅθ' **οἵδε μὲν***
*τεθνᾶσ', **'Οδυσσεὺς δ'** ἔστιν αὖ κἀνταῦθ' ἵνα*
χρῆν ἀντὶ τούτων αὐτὸν αὐδᾶσθαι νεκρόν;
(Soph. *Phil.* 428–30)

Where must one look, when they [Ajax and Antilochus] are dead, and Odysseus is alive, even when
he ought to be pronounced dead instead of them?

The subject constituents are contrastive, but their primary role is organizational. The salient information for Philoctetes here consists in the fates of Ajax and Antilochus as opposed to that of Odysseus. I will discuss further instances of contrastive Topic and Focus in chapter 3.

2.5.4. Topic and Focus—Interpretation, Subjectivity, Circularity?

Topic and Focus are the two concepts at the centre of my analysis of Greek word order. It will have become clear that identifying them is crucially a matter of interpretation, and strongly dependent on context. And so a few words are in order on what is at stake here. My approach proposes to account for variation that so far has not been explained. I believe that, to describe Greek word order beyond gratuitous statements about its being 'free', what we should primarily pay attention to is information structure. As a result, in analysing these texts, I will continually, and I believe necessarily, make assumptions which may remind literary scholars especially of naive structuralism: I assume texts to be coherent, and all sentences to have a point. Most importantly, even in Sophocles, I claim that some words are necessarily more important than others. At first blush, it will strike some readers as problematic that an analysis in terms of Topic and Focus as proposed here singles out only a handful of words in a given passage of Sophocles (or Plato, or one of the other authors used in this book) and dismisses others as less important. But on reflection, is it really possible to come to a different conclusion? It

is not humanly possible, or ultimately meaningful, to claim that every word in every line is of equal importance: this would in effect leave us with the same end result as the claim that all words are equally unimportant. The ultimate aim of these pages is precisely the opposite: to provide the basis for a better than merely impressionistic judgement on what words are pragmatically marked (as Topic or Focus) in a given line of dialogue.[34]

With formally inclined linguists an approach such as this may well raise the spectre of circularity, since it relies heavily on interpretation and admits that the description offered cannot *predict* word order by some mathematical formula. Elsewhere in this book, my main strategy to counter this suspicion is a full discussion of a wide range of examples in their contexts, in order that the reader may judge whether this approach is productive. Here I would like to offer an analogy from English. Compare the following sentences, which I adapt from Hannay (1991: 150):

(a) My mother lives in a town near Amsterdam.
(b) My mother still plays tennis every week.
(c) She is 64.
(d) 64 she is.

The fact that (d) is a more natural sequel to (b) than it is to (a) shows that (d) is not a mere stylistic variant of (c) that can be used felicitously in just about any context. An analysis of English word order should not reject a posited meaning for (d) merely because at any time, the choice of (d) over (c) cannot be predicted. All the more so in the case of Greek word order, we should take word order variation seriously rather than treat it as statistical noise or as 'stylistic'.

2.5.5. Themes, Tails, Settings

Topic and Focus, and how to identify them in a line of Greek, are the two important concepts that much of the rest of this book will

[34] Needless to say, I do not mean to imply that word order is the only feature which is of importance in interpreting texts. Cumulation of vocabulary (regardless of marked or unmarked position), imagery, and many other factors play a role in a fully fledged interpretation. In this study I limit myself to word order, however. For a sensitive account of a multiplicity of other factors see e.g. Griffith on the *Antigone*.

concentrate on. But before concluding this section, I should introduce three more terms: Theme, Tail, and Setting.[35]

Theme and Tail describe constituents that fall outside the clause proper. Theme describes constituents that precede the clause proper, such as *πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους* 'against your character' in (2.8), discussed above:

(2.8) *καὶ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τρόπους τοὺς ὑμετέρους | ἀσθενὴς* ***ἂν μου*** *ὁ λόγος εἴη,...* (Thuc. 6.9.3)

Against tempers, indeed, like yours my words would be unavailing,...

As we saw earlier, the clause proper starts with *ἀσθενής*. Theme constituents form a separate intonation unit. Such separate units are especially suitable when the speaker introduces a new (Discourse) topic, as in (2.8); but the effect of such segmentation may also be that the first element of the clause proper (viz. *ἀσθενής*) receives additional prominence, an effect that may well be present in (2.8) and which we saw earlier in (2.7):

(2.7) *ὡς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ | ἐπορᾷ* ***μιν*** *ἐξιόντα.* (Hdt. 1.10.2)

When she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room. The woman | *saw* him as he passed out...

We may compare this to the musical effect of a ritardando at the end of a bar (i.e. the intonation unit), which creates a suspense that is then resolved with the following downbeat (i.e. the first word of the clause that follows: *ἀσθενής* and *ἐπορᾷ*, respectively). The deviation from the dominant rhythm in effect reinforces it on the downbeat.

Tail is the name for a similar phenomenon at the end of a clause, when a speaker adds an extra constituent to a complete clause, by way of afterthought, further specification, or correction. Tail constituents, like Theme constituents, will always be pragmatically marked: they are

[35] As with the terms Topic and Focus, I again use terminology from the theory of Functional Grammar, as set out in S. C. Dik (1978) and subsequent work.

allotted a separate intonation unit, after all. *Within* those intonation units, Theme and Tail constituents should by definition be analysed as Focus (the most salient part of the intonation unit),[36] but the clause itself will have its own Focus constituent within it.

In (2.22), we see a typical example of a Tail constituent. *Αἴγισθον* is co-referential with *τὸν αὐτόχειρα πατρῴου φόνου;* as Thomson (1938: ii. 369) noted, 'the speaker throws it in as an appendage to a sentence already complete'.

(2.22) El. *νῦν δ' ἡνίκ' οὐκέτ' ἔστιν, ἐς σὲ δὴ βλέπω,*
ὅπως ***τὸν αὐτόχειρα πατρῴου φόνου***
ξὺν τῇδ' ἀδελφῇ μὴ κατοκνήσεις κτανεῖν
Αἴγισθον· (Soph. *El.* 954–7)

But now that he is no more, I look to you,
not to be afraid to kill with me your sister
the author of our father's murder,
Aegisthus;

As I said above, Theme and Tail constituents are extraclausal by definition. While it is in the nature of studying Greek or any other dead language that prosodic contours cannot be directly identified, evidence of colon formation is a good proxy in the case of Theme constituents (viz. the postpositives occurring in later than clause-second position in (2.7) and (2.8)), as is syntax. An element that cannot be left out, without the resulting clause becoming ungrammatical, cannot be a Theme or Tail; conversely, elements that are co-referential with constituents in the main clause are good candidates for identification as Theme or Tail, as in (2.22).

Setting constituents are a different matter. I will use the term Setting for adverbial phrases at the opening of clauses. Such phrases are like Topics in that they provide an orientation for the clause that follows, but they tend to be part of the spatial or temporal (or causal) organization of the text rather than themselves a participant about whom the

[36] Describing Theme and/or Tail constituents as just another Focus misses the point, however. Their use is much more restricted than that. For a more general introduction, see S. C. Dik (1997*b*: 379–407—on Orientation and Theme specifically, 387–95; on Tail, 401–3).

speaker provides information. Even more often than Topic constituents, Settings will provide information that is not previously given, yet has to be considered as presupposed. If adverbial phrases do present salient information, they can be given Focus function. Compare the routine use of Setting constituents in (2.23a) with the temporal adverb as Focus in (2.23b):[37]

(2.23a) ***ἐντεῦθεν*** *ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα.* ***ἐνταῦθα*** *Κύρῳ βασίλεια ἦν . . .* (Xen. *An.* 1.2.7)

From there he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Celaenae, an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. *There* Cyrus had a palace . . .

(2.23b) *τί* ***τηνικάδε*** *ἀφῖξαι, ὦ Κρίτων;* (Pl. *Cri.* 43a1)
Why have you come *at this time*, Crito?

There is no reason to consider the Setting constituents in (2.23a) extraclausal. This changes when we think about other familiar adverbial phrases: genitive absolutes, for instance: since these are really clauses in their own right, they cannot simply be considered part of another clause. While the choice between an analysis as extra- or intraclausal will often seem arbitrary, I have decided to treat all Setting elements as intraclausal here, unless they contain a verbal component or are in some way set off from the main clause.

2.6 THE CLAUSE PATTERN

> There appears, then, to be an ordering pattern in Seneca that can be stated as follows: a noun expressing a referent that is more newsworthy than the event or state in which it participates appears before its verb, while a noun expressing a less newsworthy referent appears after its verb.
>
> (Chafe 1994: 157)

[37] This is a case of multiple Focus, I believe: the point of the question is not '*why* have you arrived', but '*why* have you arrived *at this hour*' (this early, that is). In other words, both the interrogative and *τηνικάδε* have Focus. In what follows, Crito explains how he got in early, not why he has come. See § 5.2 for further discussion of this type of question.

I have quoted Chafe here since his description of word order in the American-Indian language Seneca is so similar to my description of Greek clauses. In this section, I will discuss the positions I associate with the pragmatic functions introduced above: I assume that Greek clauses can be described by the following clause pattern, an abstract representation of the order of constituents in a Greek clause:

Setting—Topic—Focus—Verb—Remainder

This 'formula' needs to be read in the following way:

Any Setting constituent will open the clause.
If a Topic is present, it will follow a Setting, if present.
A Focus constituent will follow the Setting and/or Topic (if any) or open the clause.
If the verb is not the Topic or (more likely) the Focus of the clause, it follows the Focus constituent.
Any remaining constituents follow the verb.[38]

As noted before, this pattern does not concern itself with the position of constituents that are not Mobile (see above, § 2.2). If there is more than one Focus constituent, these will all be placed in the preverbal Focus position.

The most important prediction that can be derived from this clause pattern is that important information comes early in the clause. I am not the first to suggest this. In effect this is fundamentally an endorsement, with some refinements, of the position held by Headlam and later Thomson, namely that in Greek, the emphatic word stands at the beginning of the sentence. Ignoring Setting constituents for the moment, I divide 'emphatic' words into two categories, Topic[39] and Focus, thereby making room for two different 'emphatic' constituents at the beginning of the sentence, and I assume in addition that these will be ordered Topic—Focus. An important further addition is the importance of the position of the verb in this schema: unless it is itself the Topic (which happens very rarely),[40] the verb will be the dividing line between pragmatically

[38] I gratefully adopt 'Remainder' from Edwards (2001: 9), to replace the clumsier 'Remaining elements'.

[39] Such Topics will typically be new or (more frequently) contrastive.

[40] See Dik (1995: 207–35) and chapter 3 below, examples (3.19) and following.

marked information and the rest of the clause. The schema predicts that the preverbal position will always be occupied by a constituent that is pragmatically marked.

The priority for pragmatically marked constituents is in accordance with the general principle introduced by Givón (1983: 20) as 'Attend first to the most urgent task', the task typically being to communicate a salient piece of information (Focus). Sometimes, the point of orientation will be so firmly established that the bit of new information can virtually stand alone, in which case it comes first in the clause. Usually, though, it will be anchored to information provided earlier, serving as a point of orientation (Setting and/or Topic). Chapter 3 further explores the various permutations that are possible under this clause pattern.

2.7 THE INTERNAL ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS

In a paper on the position of attributive adjectives in Herodotus (Dik 1997*a*) I first explored this terrain. There I proposed that for purposes of word order it was unnecessary to distinguish different semantic types of adjectives, but that a more general rule held for all nouns and their attributive adjectives. I proposed that by default, adjectives follow their nouns, and this will also be the preferred order if the noun is the most salient element in the noun phrase; if, however, the modifier is contrastive, or otherwise the most salient element of a noun phrase, it will precede the noun.

In chapter 4 I present data on a number of frequent adjectives and consider two semantically very different adjectives, *μέγας* and *πατρῷος*, in greater depth, in order to see how this general description holds up in Sophocles. These two adjectives are commonly classified as quantifying and determining, respectively, and since it has been suggested in the literature (from Marouzeau's work on Latin (1922) onwards; Devine and Stephens (2000: 20–1) is a more recent defence of the position), that the semantic type of adjectives is a large factor in their placement in the noun phrase, they also serve to put that alternative account of adjective placement to the test.

The default ordering of head noun and adjective is important when new referents are introduced into the text. This rule predicts that when both noun and adjective present new[41] information, the noun will precede the adjective. This is understandable since the noun will virtually always be the best single descriptor of the referent. Matters get more complicated, however, when we consider different types of modifiers. In the case of possessive or partitive genitives or other nominal modifiers, it will often be the modifier which is the more readily accessible referent, as in 'the *Athenians*' defences' or 'the South Side of *Chicago*'.

In Greek, this results in a high frequency of preposed nominal modifiers, as for instance at Thuc. 1.20.2 *Ἀθηναίων γοῦν τὸ πλῆθος* 'the great majority of Athenians . . .'. This is a newly introduced referent, in which 'Athenians' is more accessible than the vague 'multitude'.[42] Another frequent construction in which such an adnominal genitive precedes is the so-called chorographic genitive, as in Thuc. 1.114.2 *τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα* 'to Eleusis in Attica', in which the more accessible whole of Attica precedes the less accessible specification Eleusis.

Unlike adjectival modifiers, then, such nominal modifiers will tend to precede the head noun, unless the head noun is somehow contrastive. In the case of possessives (*ἐμός*, *σός*, and the like) a similar tendency can be expected. This is most particularly the case when possessives act as modifiers of abstract nouns. Their status as intrinsically more accessible and salient (not particularly in the sense of new and exciting, but in the sense of likely to get a person's attention because of their reference to other persons) than the abstract noun (which typically refers to a property or action on the part of the possessor) often leads to a prominent position in the noun phrase. In the second part of chapter 4, I look at the possessives *ἐμός* and *σός*.

[41] Literally 'new', or 'unused' in the preceding context. For a fuller account of all the shades of given and new, see the now classic Prince (1981).

[42] In the presence of the definite article, this position can be formally contrasted with preposed contrastive genitives, such as 1.31.2 *τὰς Ἀθηναίων σπονδάς* 'the Athenian confederacy' in which the genitive presents given information.

2.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have aimed to provide sufficient background for the general classicist to follow the discussion in the coming chapters. I have condensed much of the discussion in the early chapters of Dik (1995) and simplified or ignored many of the questions that theoretical works on pragmatics should (and do) deal with more fully, in an effort to find a *via media* between weighty orthodoxy and dangerous oversimplification. I trust that any further complications will be easier to digest in the context of discussing 'real live' examples from Greek tragedy, which will be plentiful in coming chapters.

3

Tragic Ways of Dying: Word Order in the Clause

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will examine word order in the clause by means of a first case study. As set out in § 2.6, the basic pattern assumes that constituents with Topic and Focus function precede the verb, and that any remaining constituents follow the verb:

(Setting)—Topic—Focus—Verb—Remainder

—unless the verb itself has Topic or Focus function, in which case it will be in the position specified for Topic or Focus.

In what follows we will explore the workings of this general schema in a series of clauses that are semantically very similar. I have chosen clauses with the verbs *θνῄσκω* and *ὄλλυμαι* in Sophocles as an initial sample. The rationale for this method of selection is simple. All kinds of possible variables are ruled out by not starting to discuss a random set of lines from a play. The clauses in this sample share a core meaning, which makes it easier to compare them and their contexts. The contexts especially should make it possible to decide why some subjects precede and others follow the verb, why some verbs occur in initial position in the clause, and so on. In other words, it is precisely because these sentences share a common meaning, that it becomes easier to link the differences between the *sentences* to differences in the surrounding *context*. Finally, an additional, rather trivial, advantage of this particular set of verbs is that, because of the prominence of death and destruction in the plots of tragedy, the context of the lines at issue will typically be easy for the reader to reconstruct.

Note that in general, I will not discuss ordering phenomena in the lines surrounding this set of instances. I will merely be concerned here with constituent order within the clauses that contain the forms of *θνῄσκω* and *ὄλλυμαι*.[1] Also, for the purposes of the present discussion, I will ignore the placement of words in the trimeter line. We will return to the interaction between meter and word order in the clause in chapter 6, but for now we will pretend to be reading prose. To reinforce this, let me start with a pair of passages from Plato. In (3.P1) the subject, *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, precedes the verb *ἀποθνῄσκῃ;* in (3.P2), it follows *ἀποθάνῃ*:

(3.P1) *Ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καλῶς λέγεσθαι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πολλὴν ἀπιστίαν παρέχει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μή, ἐπειδὰν ἀπαλλαγῇ τοῦ σώματος, οὐδαμοῦ ἔτι ᾖ ἀλλ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διαφθείρηταί τε καὶ ἀπολλύηται ᾗ ἂν* ***ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀποθνῄσκῃ****, εὐθὺς ἀπαλλαττομένη τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἐκβαίνουσα ὥσπερ πνεῦμα ἢ καπνὸς διασκεδασθεῖσα οἴχηται διαπτομένη καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ᾖ.*

(Pl. *Phd.* 69e6–70a7)

Socrates, I agree to the other things you say, but in regard to the soul men are very prone to disbelief. They fear that when the soul leaves the body it no longer exists anywhere, and that on that day when *the man dies* it is destroyed and perishes, and when it leaves the body and departs from it, straightway it flies away and is no longer anywhere, scattering like a breath or smoke.

(3.P2) *Ἐννοεῖς οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπειδὰν* ***ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος****, τὸ μὲν ὁρατὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν ὁρατῷ κείμενον, ὃ δὴ νεκρὸν καλοῦμεν, ᾧ προσήκει διαλύεσθαι καὶ διαπίπτειν καὶ διαπνεῖσθαι, οὐκ εὐθὺς τούτων οὐδὲν πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιεικῶς συχνὸν ἐπιμένει χρόνον, . . . Ἡ δὲ ψυχή . . .* (*Phd.* 80c2–d5)

[1] In footnotes, I will cite parallel instances from Euripides; the Aeschylean instances, and a selection from Euripides, are discussed at the end of the chapter. Numbered examples in the text (3.1, etc.) are examples from Sophocles, which are the main interest in this chapter; (3.P1) etc. will be used for instances from Plato; (3.A1) etc. for Aeschylus; and (3.E1) etc. for Euripides.

> 'Observe,' he went on, 'that when *a man dies*, the visible part of him, the body, which lies in the visible world and which we call the corpse, which is naturally subject to dissolution and decomposition, does not undergo these processes at once, but remains for a considerable time, . . . But the soul . . .'

I believe we can account for this variation as follows. In (3.P1), 'a man' contrasts with 'his soul': his *soul* will perish when the *man* does. ὁ ἄνθρωπος is the most salient part of the clause, or in other words, it is the Focus of the clause. In (3.P2), on the other hand, the body-soul contrast comes into play only after the ἐπειδάν clause with τὸ μὲν ὁρατόν 'the visible part' being opposed to the soul, ἡ δὲ ψυχή, in 80d. In the second instance, then, ἀποθάνῃ is the more salient constituent, and ὁ ἄνθρωπος is a rather predictable, non-contrastive subject (which, however, cannot be omitted here: a listener would be at a loss for the reference of the verb). In terms of the clause pattern, the subject is in the position of 'Remainder'. Clauses such as this one show that while Verb—Subject order is not frequent, there is little reason to attribute special emphasis to such clause-final subjects. We can instead explain the rarity by the tendency not to express subjects at all when they constitute given, non-contrastive information.

3.2 THE CLAUSE PATTERN IN SOPHOCLES

These two clauses from Plato's *Phaedo* are quite typical of what we will find in Sophocles, as well. While the clause pattern allows for a Topic, Focus, verb, and more, it is only rarely that clauses in fact have as many constituents as would be necessary to instantiate the clause pattern in its entirety.[2] As we turn from Plato to Sophocles, we will start with some examples that come close, however. The θάνοις clause in (3.1) exhibits the full Topic-Focus-verb pattern:

[2] Finite forms of ἀποθνήσκω and synonyms are generally rare, and many of them take the form ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνωμεν *vel sim.*, with the verb the only Mobile that is present. Some instances of Focus constituents with τελευτάω are *Phd.* 58c9 **ἔρημος** ἐτελεύτα, 58e4 ὡς **ἀδεῶς καὶ γενναίως** ἐτελεύτα, 59e6–7 λύουσι γάρ, ἔφη, οἱ ἕνδεκα Σωκράτη καὶ παραγγέλλουσιν ὅπως ἂν **τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ** τελευτᾷ.

(3.1) [Agamemnon did not sacrifice Iphigenia for Menelaus' sake, but even if he had, was that reason for him to die at your hands? By what law? Beware that in laying down that law for mortals, you don't cause yourself to come to grief]

El. *εἰ γὰρ κτενοῦμεν ἄλλον ἀντ' ἄλλου, σύ τοι*
πρώτη *θάνοις ἄν, εἰ δίκης γε τυγχάνοις.* (Soph. *El.* 582–3)

For if we are to take a life for a life, you should die first, if you were to get what you deserve.

In adopting her mother's logic here, Electra points out that if revenge is a proper motive for killing, Clytemnestra herself is next in line. From a general 'mortals' and 'we', the subject *σύ* is singled out as the Topic. *πρώτη* is Focus of the clause: 'You would die *first*'.[3]

(3.2) similarly has a Topic-Focus-verb pattern in the *τέθνηκεν* clause. There are two parallel clauses in which the subjects are (contrastive) Topics. Antigone makes the contrast between Ismene and herself the more poignant by not following up with the exact parallel '(you're alive, and) I'm dead', but instead adding *πάλαι* (in Focus position), stressing that there is nothing that can be done about this any longer:

(3.2) An. *θάρσει· σὺ μὲν ζῇς, ἡ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ πάλαι*
τέθνηκεν, ὥστε τοῖς θανοῦσιν ὠφελεῖν. (*Ant.* 559–60)

Be comforted! You are alive, but my life has long been dead, so as to help the dead.

I will discuss the internal order of constituents such as *ἡ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχή* in chapter 4. Suffice it to say at this point that the possessive is in clear contrast with *σὺ μέν* and therefore precedes the noun. The adverb *πάλαι* provides an example of an adverbial element which will often

[3] Surrounding clauses: Focus on *κτενοῦμεν* in the conditional clause, as often on the verb: If we *really are going to* engage in revenge killing, . . . In the second conditional clause, Focus on *δίκης*, which is more salient than the bland *τυγχάνοις*. Metre: line-initial position for Focus constituent *πρώτη* (see further below, chapter 6). Examples from Euripides with Focus on predicate nominative: *Alc.* 56 *γραῦς*, *Hec.* 420 *δούλη*, 548 *ἑκοῦσα*, 550 *ἐλευθέρα*, *HF* 192 *αὐτός*, *Hipp.* 687–8 *εὐκλεεῖς*, *Tro.* 97 *αὐτός*, 380 *χῆραι* (text uncertain; possibly this is the subject).

be used as Setting ('A long time ago,…' vel sim.); here, *πάλαι* does not present presupposed information that serves to orient the listener, but it is part of Antigone's assertion.[4]

A comparable example of Topic-Focus structure can be found in (3.3), but here there are three parallel clauses, in which the dative constituents figure as contrastive Topics:[5]

(3.3) Tec. *ἐμοὶ πικρὸς τέθνηκεν ἦ κείνοις γλυκύς,*
αὐτῷ δὲ τερπνός· ὧν γὰρ ἠράσθη τυχεῖν
ἐκτήσαθ' αὐτῷ, θάνατον ὅνπερ ἤθελεν. (*Aj.* 966–8)

For me his death is bitter as it is sweet to them,
but to him it brought pleasure; for he got for himself
what he longed for, the death he wished for.

In each of these three clauses ((1) *ἐμοὶ πικρὸς τέθνηκεν*, (2) *ἦ κείνοις γλυκύς*, (3) *αὐτῷ δὲ τερπνός*), *τέθνηκεν* has to be understood as the verb. Tecmessa is reflecting on how she and others feel about Ajax's death, which for herself is bitter, for his enemies sweet, and for Ajax himself a pleasure. The predicate adjectives have contrastive Focus in these clauses.[6]

[4] Metre: enjambment of *τέθνηκεν*, which is necessary to complete the sense of the previous line (on enjambment, see below, chapter 6). A similar case with Focus on the temporal phrase is *Ant.* 460–2: *θανουμένη γὰρ ἐξῄδη, τί δ' οὔ; | κεἰ μὴ σὺ προὐκήρυξας. εἰ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου | **πρόσθεν** θανοῦμαι, κέρδος αὔτ' ἐγὼ λέγω.* 'I knew I would die, of course I knew, even if you had made no proclamation. But if I die *before my time* (Focus), I account that gain.' In this case, 'dying' has been established by the context. This in contrast to Theseus' promise to Oedipus in *OC* 1040–1, where the sense remains the same if we leave out *πρόσθεν* and translate 'unless I *die*': *ἢν μὴ θάνω 'γὼ πρόσθεν, οὐχὶ παύσομαι | πρὶν ἄν σε τῶν σῶν κύριον στήσω τέκνων.* 'If I do not die first, I shall not rest till I have placed your children in your hands!' See also *OT* 855–6, where Iocaste tells Oedipus that Laius was supposed to die at the hands of her son: *καίτοι νιν οὐ κεῖνός γ' ὁ δύστηνός ποτε | κατέκταν', ἀλλ' **αὐτὸς πάροιθεν** ὤλετο.* 'Yet that poor child never killed him, but he *himself* perished *before* (him)', with Focus on both of the underlined constituents (on clauses with more than one Focus constituent, see also below, (3.22) and following).

[5] See ch. 2. The *Topic* constituents do not present the most salient information in the clause, but provide the necessary grounding for that information. The *Focus* constituents, on the other hand, do present what the speaker considers salient. Here Tecmessa highlights the different reactions to Ajax's death.

[6] While this example follows a general principle that humans are likely candidates for Topic function, Eur. Andr. 575–6 offers an intriguing variation: *ῥῦσαί με πρὸς θεῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, θανούμεθα | αἰσχρῶς μὲν ὑμῖν, δυστυχῶς δ' ἐμοί, γέρον.* Following the linebreak, the adverbs are presented as Topic, and the dative pronouns as Focus.

(3.1) to (3.3) were all clauses with the complete pattern of Topic, Focus, and Verb. It is relatively rare, however, to see all three elements present as separate constituents.[7] First of all, it is often the verb that has Focus function, so that one may only see a Topic constituent followed by the Focus/verb. Secondly, not all sentences need an explicit Topic. In Greek, the syntactical subject can be left implicit when it is given from the context and uncontrastive, and the same is true for the Topic. In fact, there is a strong correlation between the syntactical function of subject and the pragmatic function of Topic. The clearest instances of Topic function are thus to be found in parallel clauses marked by *μέν* and *δέ*, as above in (3.2) and in (3.4) below, an example from *Philoctetes*, which I repeat here from chapter 2 (§2.5.3):

(3.4) Ph. *οἴμοι, δύ' αὖ τώδ' ἄνδρ' ἔλεξας, οἷν ἐγὼ*
ἥκιστ' ἂν ἠθέλησ' ὀλωλότοιν κλύειν.
*φεῦ φεῦ· τί δῆτα δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὅθ' **οἵδε μὲν***
*τεθνᾶσ', **'Οδυσσεὺς δ'** ἔστιν αὖ κἀνταῦθ' ἵνα*
χρῆν ἀντὶ τούτων αὐτὸν αὐδᾶσθαι νεκρόν;
(*Phil.* 426–30)

Alas, again you have spoken of two men
whom I should least have wished to learn were dead!
Ah, ah! Where must one look, when they are
dead, and Odysseus is alive, even when[8]
he ought to be pronounced dead instead of them?

[7] Examples from Euripides: Med. 714–15 *οὕτως ἔρως σοι πρὸς θεῶν τελεσφόρος | γένοιτο παίδων καὐτὸς ὄλβιος θάνοις*. Here *αὐτός* is a contrastive Topic, *ὄλβιος* is Focus: 'and may you yourself die happy'; *Phoen.* 1313 (for the text, see Mastronarde ad loc.) *ἐμός τε γὰρ παῖς γῆς ὅλωλ' ὑπερθανών* 'my son is dead, perished for his country', where *γῆς*, preverbal, is to be construed with *ὑπερθανών*, but is in Focus position in relation to the main verb (similar Focus elements in *Tro.* 387 *ὑπὲρ πάτρας ἔθνησκον*, *Or.* 1232 *οἳ σέθεν θνήσκουσ' ὕπερ*); *Rhes.* 761 (to die a glorious death is one thing . . .) *ἡμεῖς δ' ἀβούλως κἀκλεῶς ὀλώλαμεν*.

[8] With Lloyd-Jones I assume that the clause ends with *αὖ*, rather than translating with Jebb 'while Odysseus survives *in this case also*'. The expression *κἀνταῦθα* like *καὶ ταῦτα* plays its familiar role of adding an additional circumstance that (here, as often) contributes to the speaker's outrage.

The verbs τεθνᾶσ[ι] and ἔστιν have (contrastive) Focus function, so that we see the two (contrastive) Topic constituents opening the clause, followed by the verbs.[9]

Since more often than not, such explicit Topic constituents are not used, a clause can start with a Focus constituent, which is then immediately followed by the verb. This is the case in (3.5), from *Ajax*:

(3.5) Tec. [τί δῆτα τοῦδ' ἐπεγγελῷεν ἄν κάτα;]
θεοῖς τέθνηκεν οὗτος, οὐ κείνοισιν, οὔ. (*Aj.* 969–70)

How can they exult over him?
It is the gods that killed him, not they, no!

It is clear both from the context and from the addition οὐ κείνοισιν that the Focus of this clause is θεοῖς, and this is well brought out by Lloyd-Jones' translation. The subject, οὗτος, follows the verb. It falls in my category of 'Remainder', that is, of those constituents that do not have Topic or Focus function. Placing it earlier in the clause would presumably have had an unwanted contrastive effect.[10] We will see more examples of such subjects following the verb below, but first here are three examples from *Electra* in which there is again no Topic, but only a Focus constituent followed by the verb. In (3.6) Clytemnestra is speaking:

(3.6) Cly. ἐγὼ δ' ὕβριν μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, κακῶς δέ σε
λέγω κακῶς κλύουσα πρὸς σέθεν θαμά.
πατὴρ γάρ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο, σοὶ πρόσχημ' ἀεί,

[9] A typical use of contrastive Topic for subjects is for Topic 'shift', that is, change of subject, as in Ant. 750–1: (Creon) ταύτην ποτ' οὐκ ἐσθ' ὡς ἔτι ζῶσαν γαμεῖς (Haemon) **ἥδ'** οὖν θανεῖται καὶ θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινα. When Creon tells Haemon 'You shall never marry this woman while she is alive!', Haemon answers, 'then *she* (Topic) will die (Focus)'. Oedipus asks Creon to take care of his daughters (at *OT* 1504–5), because the parents cannot: νὼ γάρ, ὦ 'φυτεύσαμεν, ὀλώλαμεν δύ' ὄντε 'Since we two (contrastive Topic) who were their parents have perished (Focus).'

Examples from Euripides in which the subject is the Topic, followed by a verb with Focus: *Alc.* 284, *Andr.* 413, *El.* 11–12, 1112, *Hec.* 231, *Hel.* 280, 714 (t), *IT* 368, 615, 1002, *Tro.* 641–2. This pattern preceded by a Setting constituent (underlined): *Or.* 58–9 ὧν **ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ** | παῖδες τεθνᾶσιν, 939–40 **νῦν** μὲν γὰρ ἡ προδοῦσα λέκτρ' ἐμοῦ πατρὸς | τέθνηκεν (t). Contrastive Topics with different syntactic functions: *El.* 1091–2 κοὔτ' ἀντιφεύγει παιδὸς ἀντὶ σοῦ πόσις | οὔτ' **ἀντ' ἐμοῦ** τέθνηκε, *Hel.* 286 **τοῖς πράγμασιν** τέθνηκα, τοῖς δ' ἔργοισιν οὔ.

[10] That there is an explicit subject, however, seems to me to speak in favour of retaining line 969 (which is bracketed by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson), since Ajax is the subject of the previous sentence.

ὡς **ἐξ ἐμοῦ** τέθνηκεν. ἐξ ἐμοῦ· καλῶς
ἔξοιδα· τῶνδ' ἄρνησις οὐκ ἔνεστί μοι. (*El.* 523–7)

I do no violence, but I abuse you
because you often abuse me.
Your father, and nothing else, is always your pretext,
because I killed him. I know it well;
I cannot deny it.

Clytemnestra's patience at an end, she tells Electra that she has had enough of the endless complaints to the effect that her father was killed *ἐξ ἐμοῦ* 'by *me*'. The Agent phrase is the Focus of this clause, and in this case it is not only the context, but also the fact that the phrase is repeated, that makes it clear that this must be intended: the problem is not so much *that* Electra's father is dead, but that her *mother* killed him.[11]

The next two examples come from the end of the play. Orestes is speaking to Aegisthus:

(3.7) Ae. τί δ' ἐς δόμους ἄγεις με; πῶς, τόδ' εἰ καλὸν
τοὔργον, σκότου δεῖ, κοὐ πρόχειρος εἶ κτανεῖν;
Or. μὴ τάσσε· χώρει δ' ἔνθαπερ κατέκτανες
πατέρα τὸν ἀμόν, ὡς ἂν **ἐν ταὐτῷ** θάνῃς. (*El.* 1493–6)

[11] Besides (3.5) and (3.6), the following have Agent phrases with Focus: *OT* 1454 (bring me to Cithaeron, the grave my parents chose for me,) ἵν' ἐξ ἐκείνων, οἵ μ' ἀπωλλύτην, θάνω. Not quite an ordinary Agent, but close: πρὸς τῆς τύχης 'at the hands of Fate' with Focus in *OT* 948–9: καὶ νῦν ὅδε | πρὸς τῆς τύχης ὄλωλεν οὐδὲ τοῦδ' ὕπο. 'He has died a natural death, not at his hands.' Similarly *Aj.* 842 (deleted by most editors) πρὸς τῶν φιλίστων ἐκγόνων ὀλοίατο 'may they perish … through their most beloved offspring', 1033 πρὸς τοῦδ' ὄλωλε 'perishing by this weapon'. Examples from Euripides: (ὄλλυμαι) *Alc.* 718 πρὸς ἡμῶν, *Andr.* 1126 ποίας ὄλλυμαι πρὸς αἰτίας, *Hel.* 930–1 τέχναις θεῶν, *Ion* 254 τῶν κρατούντων ἀδικίαις, 1256 τῷ νόμῳ, *IA* 941 δι' ἐμ[έ]; the following preverbal constituents are less clearly Focus: *Or.* 361 πρὸς δάμαρτος (t) and *Tro.* 8–9 πρὸς Ἀργείου δορός. Compare also *Ion* 1220–1: Ὦ γαῖα σεμνή, τῆς Ἐρεχθέως ὕπο, | ξένης γυναικός, φαρμάκοισι θνῄσκομεν. 'The daughter of Erechtheus, a foreign woman, has tried to poison me.' While the context here appears to require analysing the Agent phrase as Focus ('*Creusa* is to blame for this!'), the status of φαρμάκοισι is less clear. In *Med.* 1364, what appears to be the Focus follows the verb. Medea's ὡς ὤλεσθε πατρῴᾳ νόσῳ 'you have perished by your father's fault' comes in response to Jason's μητρὸς ὡς κακῆς ἐκύρσατε 'what an evil mother you got.' Here we might argue that ὤλεσθε is the topic, and that Medea is in fact saying: your death is due to your *father*. See below for further instances of verbs with Topic function.

Ae. Why do you force me into the house? If this act is honourable,
why must it be in darkness, and why are you not ready to kill me?
Or. Give me no orders! Go to where you killed my father, so that you may die in the same place!

Orestes has very specific plans for the murder of Aegisthus, not least that his act of vengeance shall take place in the very spot (ἔνθαπερ) where Aegisthus killed his father. The mere fact that Aegisthus is going to die is not at issue for Orestes here (Aegisthus himself realizes this), but the location is: ἐν ταὐτῷ has Focus.[12]

(3.8), a similar instance, follows only a few lines later:

(3.8) Or. πόλλ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἡ δ' ὁδὸς βραδύνεται.
ἀλλ' ἕρφ'. Ae. ὑφηγοῦ. Or. σοὶ βαδιστέον πάρος.
Ae. ἦ μὴ φύγω σε; Or. μὴ μὲν οὖν **καθ' ἡδονὴν**
θάνῃς· φυλάξαι δεῖ με τοῦτό σοι πικρόν. (*El.* 1501–4)

Or. You utter long replies, and the going is delayed!
Go! Ae. Lead the way! Or. You must go first!
Ae. In case I should escape? Or. No, in case you should die where you please; I have to see that this tastes bitter for you.

[12] Similarly *Trach.* 802 μηδ' αὐτοῦ θάνω (let me not die *here*). Other adverbials: *Ant.* 58–9 σκόπει | **ὅσῳ κάκιστ'** ὀλούμεθ[α], *El.* 291 κακῶς ὄλοιο, *Phil.* 1035 κακῶς ὄλοισθ[ε]. Similarly ἀραῖος in *OT* 644–5: μή νυν ὀναίμην, ἀλλ' ἀραῖος, εἴ σέ τι | δέδρακ', ὀλοίμην . . . Examples from Euripides: *Andr.* 903 πανταχῇ, *Hel.* 162, 1215, *Med.* 788 κακῶς, *Hel.* 1241 πόντῳ, *HF* 550 πρὸς βίαν, *Heracl.* 559 ἐλευθέρως (t), *Hipp.* 1045 οὕτω, 1299 ὑπ' εὐκλείας, *Or.* 1040 αὐτόχειρι, *Tro.* 904 οὐ δικαίως. In *Tro.* 630–1, the genitive of comparison has Focus: ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐμοῦ | ζώσης γ' ὄλωλεν εὐτυχεστέρῳ πότμῳ. 'But her death is a happier lot than mine, who am alive.' Participle phrases may open these sentences, as in *HF* 1382–4 ἀλλὰ γυμνωθεὶς ὅπλων, | ξὺν οἷς τὰ κάλλιστ' ἐξέπραξ' ἐν Ἑλλάδι, | ἐχθροῖς ἐμαυτὸν ὑποβαλὼν **αἰσχρῶς** θάνω; *Ion* 1120–1 πεπυσμέναι γάρ, εἰ θανεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεών, | **ἥδιον** ἂν θάνοιμεν, and *Or.* 781 θανὼν γοῦν ὧδε **κάλλιον** θανῇ. In the following instances from Euripides, the verb is followed by predictable, unemphatic subject constituents: *Ion* 1019 τούτῳ θανεῖται παῖς, *Or.* 1027–8 ἅλις ὑπ' Ἀργείας χερὸς | τέθνηχ' ὁ τλήμων, *Rhes.* 800–1 τρόπῳ δ' ὅτῳ | τεθνᾶσιν οἱ θανόντες. The following adverbials are probably better interpreted as Settings: *Ion* 565 ἴσως, *IT* 1420–1 συγγόνου μέτα | θανῇ . . . Adverbials do also follow the verb (which has Focus, here often: 'I'm done for'): Soph. *El.* 674 ὄλωλα τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, *El.* 1482 ὄλωλα δὴ δείλαιος, *Phil.* 962 θάνοις κακῶς, *Phil.* 1030 τέθνηχ' ὑμῖν πάλαι.

Aegisthus asks why Orestes does not lead the way. Is it so that Aegisthus will not escape? But this possibility is dismissed by Orestes. No, it is in order that Aegisthus may not die as it pleases him. Again, Aegisthus' dying is a foregone conclusion. At issue is the way in which Orestes will make him die.[13]

I turn to the next group of cases. Quite frequently the verb has Focus function and there is no Topic constituent. Sometimes this leads to a one-word clause, as in the following example from *Antigone*:

(3.9) [Messenger: Fortune makes straight and fortune brings down . . . Creon was once enviable; now all is lost . . .]
Cho. *τί δ' αὖ τόδ' ἄχθος βασιλέων ἥκεις φέρων;*
Mess. *τεθνᾶσιν· οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἴτιοι θανεῖν.* (*Ant.* 1172–3)

Cho. But what is this new burden for the princes that you come bringing?
Mess. They are dead! And those who are alive are guilty of their deaths!

The messenger does not deem it necessary to specify anything beyond the bare Focus in his first clause. Greek allows him not only to dispense with explicit syntactical subjects, but also to leave out a Topic. Examples such as this one can be multiplied, but they are obviously not very informative in a study of word order.[14] What is important to point out is that such clause-initial verbs with Focus may be followed by constituents I classify as 'Remainder'. Subjects in this position are predictable from the context, as in (3.10), in which Athena is interrogating Ajax:

(3.10) Ath. *ἦ καὶ πρὸς Ἀτρείδαισιν ᾔχμασας χέρα;*
Aj. *ὥστ' οὔποτ' Αἴανθ' οἵδ' ἀτιμάσουσ' ἔτι.*
Ath. *τεθνᾶσιν ἄνδρες, ὡς τὸ σὸν ξυνῆκ' ἐγώ.* (*Aj.* 97–9)

[13] For further discussion of this line, and the effect of the line-initial position of the verb, see ch. 6.

[14] For the sake of completeness, I list the instances from our corpus with just one Mobile: Sophocles (*θνήσκω*) *Aj.* 513, 1344; *Ant.* 522; *El.* 437, 924; *OC* 1441; *OT* 118; *Phil.* 334, 497, 1444; *Trach.* 3, 708; (*ὄλλυμαι*) *Aj.* 791, 896; *El.* 927, *OT* 822, 1166, *Phil.* 76, 961, 1019, 1285; *Trach.* 383, 1144 (bis). Euripides: (*θνήσκω*) *Alc.* 247, 363, 725 (2); *Andr.* 48, 254, 845, *El.* 770; *Hel.* 138 (bis), 824, 833, 1176; *HF* 47; *Heracl.* 320a, 1020; *IA* 1007 (bis); *Ion* 952, 1301; *IT* 102, 321 (1), 378, 549, 625; *Med.* 354, 386; *Or.* 446, 1033, 1301, 1557; *Rhes.* 841, 870; *Supp.* 529; *Tro.* 510, 904 (1); (*ὄλλυμαι*) *Alc.* 140; *Andr.* 453; *Cyc.* 665; *Hec.* 312, 513, 520, 668, 784; *Hel.* 1194, 1199; *HF* 1268; *Heracl.* 52, 442; *Hipp.* 329, 664, 1325, 1408, 1447, 1457; *IA* 1353 (troch.); *IT* 532, 535; *Med.* 704, 1329; *Phoen.* 1689; *Tro.* 630 (bis), 772, 1181.

Ath. Did you arm your hand against the sons of Atreus too?
Aj. So that never again shall they refuse honour to Ajax.
Ath. The men are dead, if I understand your words.

What Athena does in line 99, in a rather matter-of-fact way, is interpret successfully Ajax's statement of the line before: 'these men will not *dishonour* Ajax any more because they are *dead*.' The subject ἄνδρες (practically 'they') is predictable and uncontrastive and can therefore follow the verb.[15]

This verb-subject pattern, with Focus on the verb, is especially common with τέθνηκε in questions to messengers, when we have already heard clear indications that a character has died, as in the following exchange between Iocaste and the messenger:[16]

(3.11) Io. τί δ'; οὐχ ὁ πρέσβυς Πόλυβος ἐγκρατὴς ἔτι;
Mess. οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεί νιν θάνατος ἐν τάφοις ἔχει.
Io. πῶς εἶπας; ἦ τέθνηκεν Οἰδίπου πατήρ; (*OT* 941–3)

Io. How so? Is not the aged Polybus still in power?
Mess. No, for death holds him in the tomb.
Io. What have you said? Is Oedipus' father dead?

The messenger's circumlocution in line 942 can hardly be misunderstood but Iocaste makes doubly sure with her question. The subject

[15] Similarly uncontrastive subjects can be found in *Aj.* 496: ᾗ γὰρ θάνῃς σύ 'for on the day when you perish,…', *OC* 582: Theseus asks when Oedipus' reward will be his, and Oedipus tells him that will be when he dies (Focus) and Theseus buries (Focus on ταφεύς) him: ὅταν θάνω 'γὼ καὶ σύ μου ταφεὺς γένῃ. With ὄλλυμαι: *Aj.* 979 ὄλωλεν ἀνήρ, *OC* 1583 ὄλωλε γὰρ δύστηνος; I believe that *Ant.* 546 belongs in this category as well. The verb here has Focus and is the first Mobile in the sentence; the subject pronoun and the adverb κοινά are less salient and follow: μή μοι θάνῃς σὺ κοινά (I follow Griffith against Lloyd-Jones in reading μοι rather than 'μοί'). Examples from Euripides: (ὄλλυμαι) *Alc.* 633, *Hec.* 767, *Hel.* 1216, *Hipp.* 788, 801, *IT* 60 (t), 1074, *Med.* 1035–6, (θνήσκω) *Alc.* 527, 541, *El.* 769, *Hec.* 431, *Hel.* 279, *HF* 539, *Heracl.* 712, *Hipp.* 305, 958, *IT* 58, 548, *Phoen.* 1076, 1193 (t).

[16] These questions, then, are yes-no questions (is he or isn't he), which most often result in Focus on the verb. As it happens, the Sophoclean instances in this chapter do not feature X questions (question word questions) in main clauses (see below, (3.27), and *Ant.* 58–9 for indirect questions). Examples from Euripides, with the question word opening the clause, followed by the verb: *Bacch.* 1290 ποῦ δ' ὤλετ[ο]; *Hec.* 695 (lyr.) τίνι μόρῳ θνήσκεις, …; *Hel.* 841 πῶς οὖν θανούμεθ[α] …; *Med.* 1134 πῶς ὤλοντο;

constituent, *Οἰδίπου πατήρ*, follows the verb.[17] It is uncontrastive and predictable. Examples of this kind abound, and I present a few more. (3.12) has Philoctetes reacting to Neoptolemus' news from Troy:[18]

(3.12) Ne. *ὦ παῖ Ποίαντος, ἐξερῶ, μόλις δ' ἐρῶ,*
ἄγωγ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελωβήθην μολών.
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔσχε μοῖρ' Ἀχιλλέα θανεῖν—
Ph. *οἴμοι· φράσῃς μοι μὴ πέρα, πρὶν ἂν μάθω*
πρῶτον τόδ'· ἦ τέθνηχ' ὁ Πηλέως γόνος; (*Phil.* 329–33)

Ne. Son of Poeas, I will tell you, and much as it costs me to tell, the outrage I suffered at their hands when I went there. For when fate had caused Achilles to die . . .
Ph. Alas! Tell me no more, before I learn this first: is the son of Peleus dead?

Neoptolemus has only managed one temporal clause to start his narrative of deception, when Philoctetes interrupts him (no doubt we are to understand that Neoptolemus means for him to do just that). 'You mean to say Achilles is dead?' Again, the verb is the most salient constituent, and the predictable subject follows.

(3.13) is an exchange between nurse and chorus in *Trachiniae*:

(3.13) [Nurse: Heracles's gift proved to be the start of no small evils.
Chorus: How so?]
Nurse: *βέβηκε Δηάνειρα τὴν πανυστάτην*
ὁδῶν ἁπασῶν ἐξ ἀκινήτου ποδός.
Cho. *οὐ δή ποθ' ὡς θανοῦσα;* Nurse: *πάντ' ἀκήκοας.*
Cho. *τέθνηκεν ἦ τάλαινα;* Nurse: *δεύτερον κλύεις.*
(*Trach.* 874–7)

Nurse: Without movement of her foot Deianeira has gone on the last of all journeys.
Cho. Surely not in death? Nurse: You have heard it all.

[17] The text of 943 is uncertain (MSS have *τέθνηκε Πόλυβος*); but this uncertainty does not affect the analysis.

[18] From Sophocles we can add El. 1426 (lyric trimeters): *τέθνηκεν ἦ τάλαινα;* With *ὄλωλε*: *OC* 1583. From Euripides, we can add *Hipp.* 788, 801.

Cho. Is the poor lady dead? Nurse: You are hearing it a second time.

In line 877 we see the pattern which will by now be familiar. The verb with Focus ('is she dead?') comes first in the clause, followed by the predictable subject. Consider, however, the nurse's words in line 874, the first line quoted here: *βέβηκε Δηάνειρα κτλ*. Does the same analysis hold for this line? Clearly it does not. The chorus has heard a cry from within the house and sees that the nurse is upset, but surely that does not make her news in 874 predictable in any way? In fact, we are here dealing with a different pattern. Line 874 is an example of an 'all-new' sentence, also called 'thetic' (as opposed to categorical), the main characteristic of which is that the information cannot be neatly divided into old and new, or Topic and Focus. Rather, *everything* is new information. In many languages, and Greek is one of them, these sentences are characterized by verbs in initial position.[19] There are a number of examples of this with the verb *θνήσκω*, but two instances from *Electra* will serve as illustration here. The first comes from Orestes' instructions to his old slave:

(3.14) Or. *ἄγγελλε δ' ὅρκον προστιθεὶς ὁθούνεκα*
τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης ἐξ ἀναγκαίας τύχης,
ἄθλοισι Πυθικοῖσιν ἐκ τροχηλάτων
δίφρων κυλισθείς· ὧδ' ὁ μῦθος ἑστάτω. (*El.* 47–50)

Tell them, speaking on oath, that
Orestes is dead by an accident
having fallen from his moving chariot in the
Pythian Games;
Let that be your tale!

And sure enough, this exact formula[20] comes back when the message is delivered:

[19] Note that the correlation works one way only: all-new sentences are always verb-initial, but not all verb-initial sentences are all-new.

[20] It may be countered that Orestes' name is of such a shape (⏑ – –, bacchius) that the word can only go in this position in the trimeter (in all cases except the vocative), and that this is a sufficient explanation of the word order found. However, the verb *τέθνηκ(ε)* is amenable to different positions in the trimeter line, and so I consider the order of verb and subject a legitimate point of enquiry. For what it's worth, Orestes precedes the main verb in *El.* 602: *τλήμων Ὀρέστης δυστυχῆ τρίβει βίον*.

(3.15) Cly. *τὸ ποῖον, ὦ ξέν'; εἰπέ· παρὰ φίλου γὰρ ὢν*
ἀνδρός, σάφ' οἶδα, προσφιλεῖς λέξεις λόγους.
Pae. *τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης· ἐν βραχεῖ ξυνθεὶς λέγω.* (*El.* 671–3)

Cly. What is that, stranger? Tell me, for you come, I know, from a friend, and the words you utter will be friendly words.
Pae. Orestes is dead! There you have it in a word!

If we ignore the circumlocution, Iocaste's death in *OT* is announced in the same way, with the verb in clause-initial position, and the subject immediately following:

(3.16) Mess. *ὁ μὲν τάχιστος τῶν λόγων εἰπεῖν τε καὶ*
μαθεῖν, τέθνηκε θεῖον Ἰοκάστης κάρα. (*OT* 1234–5)

The news I must first speak and you must first learn is that the august Iocaste is dead.

We do not find this 'all-new' formula in all cases where a death is announced, but I think the exceptions can be explained.[21] (3.17), for instance, is another exchange between chorus and messenger (on line 1173 see above, (3.9)):

(3.17) Mess. *τεθνᾶσιν· οἱ δὲ ζῶντες αἴτιοι θανεῖν.*
Cho. *καὶ τίς φονεύει; τίς δ' ὁ κείμενος; λέγε.*
Mess. *Αἵμων ὄλωλεν· αὐτόχειρ δ' αἱμάσσεται.* (*Ant.* 1173–5)

Mess. They are dead! And those who are alive are guilty of their deaths . . .
Cho. And who is the murderer? and who lies low? Tell me!
Mess. Haemon is dead; and his own hand has shed his blood.

[21] With the exception of Eur. *Bacch.* 1030: *Πενθεὺς ὄλωλε, παῖς Ἐχίονος πατρός*, and *Hel.* 1196 *Μενέλαος . . . τέθνηκέ μοι*. In these cases, there is only a more generic indication that bad news is about to be delivered. *Alc.* 518 and 821 are of the same type as (3.17), in which it is clear that a death has occurred, and the question is merely, who. *γυνή* is Focus in both cases. *Med.* 1125 is verb-initial: *ὄλωλεν ἡ τύραννος ἀρτίως κόρη*. Other all-new sentences from Euripides, where, incidentally, it is frequently the dying who speak these lines: (verb-subject) *HF* 492 (bis), *IT* 56, *Phoen.* 1349, *Tro.* 622; (verb-initial but no explicit subject) *IT* 704, *Or.* 1296.

In line 1174 the chorus, puzzled by the messenger's laconic announcement, asks *who* killed *whom*, and in the reply Haemon has Focus.[22] In an exaggerated paraphrase, 'It's Haemon who is dead'.[23] I would propose a similar reading for the next example, concerning the death of Eurydice:

(3.18) [Messenger: Lord, you carry sorrows in your arms, but soon you will enter the house and see yet more]
Cr. τί δ' ἔστιν αὖ κάκιον ἐκ κακῶν ἔτι;
Mess. γυνὴ τέθνηκε, τοῦδε παμμήτωρ νεκροῦ,
δύστηνος, ἄρτι νεοτόμοισι πλήγμασιν.
(*Ant.* 1278–83)

Cr. What is there that is yet more evil, coming after evils?
Mess. Your wife is dead, own mother of this dead man, unhappy one, through wounds newly inflicted.

Creon hears from the messenger that there is more bad news in store for him at home. In his response he does not ask in so many words who has died, but with Eurydice being the latest in quite a series of deaths, it is understandable that the messenger answers in a way that suggests 'it's your wife this time' rather than 'your wife has died', with the verb no longer qualifying as the most salient part of his message.

There remains one more type of verb-initial sentence which is quite rare and, unlike the all-new sentences, can be analysed as

[22] The messenger answers both questions, starting with the second one. In both his clauses the 'answering' constituents (Focus) take initial position.

[23] Focus on the subject also in *Phil.* 435, where Philoctetes is piecing together who has died at Troy, and who is still alive: (What about Patroclus?) χοὗτος τεθνηκὼς ἦν 'he too was dead' (while I have generally excluded participial phrases from the corpus, I make an exception for *Phil.* 435, since the periphrasis amounts to a main clause predicate). See also *Phil.* 414 ἀλλ' ἦ χοὗτος οἴχεται θανών; 'is he also dead and gone?' Other instances (ὄλλυμαι) *Ant.* 517 οὐ γάρ τι δοῦλος, ἀλλ' ἀδελφὸς ὤλετο 'it was not a slave, but my brother who had died', *Ant.* 763 οὔθ' ἥδ' ὀλεῖται '*she* shall not die'. Examples from Euripides: *Alc.* 518, 821 (see above, note 21), *HF* 537 (Kovacs: 'it was my children who were being killed'), *Heracl.* 545, *Med.* 1309 (not Jason but his children), *Tro.* 730, *IT* 985. Given the state of the text, it is impossible to decide whether *Tro.* 380 χῆραι belongs here as well. The text of *Rhes.* 847 τίς τέθνηκε †συμμάχων† is also uncertain.

an instantiation of the basic clause pattern. In this case, the verb functions as Topic, and is followed by a Focus constituent.[24] Here is an extended example from *Electra*:

(3.19) El. *νῦν δ' ἐκλέλοιπε ταῦτ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ*
θανόντι σὺν σοί· πάντα γὰρ συναρπάσας
θύελλ' ὅπως βέβηκας. **οἴχεται** *πατήρ·*
τέθνηκ' *ἐγὼ σοί·* **φροῦδος** *αὐτὸς εἶ θανών·*
γελῶσι *δ' ἐχθροί·* **μαίνεται** *δ' ὑφ' ἡδονῆς*
μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ, ἧς ἐμοὶ σὺ πολλάκις
φήμας λάθρᾳ προύπεμπες ὡς φανούμενος
τιμωρὸς αὐτός. (*El.* 1149–56)

And now this has vanished in one day,
with your death; like a whirlwind,
you have gone, carrying off everything! My father is gone;
you have killed me; you yourself are dead and gone.
Our enemies are laughing; and our evil mother
is mad with delight, she whom you often said,
in secret messages, that you yourself
would come and punish.

The constituents in bold (four verbs and one predicative adjective) are each the predicate of their clause, so syntactically speaking, they are the thing *said of* the subject. But in this case syntax and pragmatics do not map as easily on to each other. Pragmatically, the analysis is the converse of the syntax: the predicates are the psychological subject, or Topic of the clauses, and it is the subjects that have become the psychological predicate, or Focus of the clauses. What Electra does is to explain how Orestes has swept away everything: there is no hope for revenge for her father, Electra has ceased to have a meaningful existence, Orestes is gone himself. These three predicates can be seen as instantiations of the 'sweeping away' (*συναρπάσας*) that Orestes has done, and as such they are accessible for use as Topics, with the subjects in each case the Focus of the clause. From

[24] For more discussion of verbs as Topics see Dik (1995), ch. 7, 'Predicates can be Topics'. See also Browne (1996). This particular passage is discussed in Slings (1997: 185).

this disappearance 'theme' Electra switches to its corollary: the other side is now happy, even 'mad with delight'.[25]

A similar series can be observed in *OC* 610–11:

(3.20) Oe. *ὦ φίλτατ' Αἰγέως παῖ, μόνοις οὐ γίγνεται*
θεοῖσι γῆρας οὐδὲ κατθανεῖν ποτε,
τὰ δ' ἄλλα συγχεῖ πάνθ' ὁ παγκρατὴς χρόνος.
φθίνει *μὲν ἰσχὺς γῆς,* ***φθίνει*** *δὲ σώματος,*
θνήσκει *δὲ πίστις,* ***βλαστάνει*** *δ' ἀπιστία,...*
(*OC* 607–11)

Dearest son of Aegeus [Theseus], for the gods alone
there is no old age and no death ever,
but all other things are submerged by all-powerful time!
The strength of the country perishes, so does the
strength of the body,
loyalty dies and disloyalty comes into being,...

[25] Instances in Sophocles with *ὄλλυμαι*: *OC* 1613 *οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτῳ τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πατήρ.* | ***ὄλωλε*** *γὰρ δὴ πάντα τἀμά*, 'On this day your father is no more! For gone is everything...'; *Phil.* 1035 *κακῶς ὄλοισθ'·* ***ὀλεῖσθε*** *δ' ἠδικηκότες* | *τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε* 'May you perish miserably! And you will perish for the wrong you did this man.' In Euripides, I find a clear example in *Tro.* 677: *καὶ νῦν* ***ὄλωλας*** *μὲν σύ, ναυσθλοῦμαι δ' ἐγώ*. In *Tro.* 935 *ἃ δ' ηὐτύχησεν Ἑλλάς,* ***ὠλόμην*** *ἐγώ* 'But Hellas's good fortune was my ruin', *ὠλόμην* can be interpreted as contrastive Topic. The peculiar order of *Med.* 83 ***ὄλοιτο*** *μὲν μή* 'curse him I will not', suggests that the thought '*ὄλοιτο*' is entertained before being rejected. Kovacs (Loeb) translates aptly: 'A curse on him!—but no'. With *θνῄσκω*, *Alc.* 725 (1) ***θανῇ*** *γε μέντοι δυσκλεής* 'and your death will be infamous', *Andr.* 381 *ἢν* ***θάνῃς*** *σύ* 'if it is you who dies' (not (as in the Loeb translation) 'if you die': Menelaus is pointing out that either Andromache or her son must die), *El.* 687 ***τέθνηκα*** *κἀγώ* '(if you die,) it is the death of me, too', *Hec.* 773 ***θνήσκει*** *δὲ πρὸς τοῦ* 'By whom was he killed?' asks for more details about the death of Hecuba's son Polydorus; in *IT* 321 (2) *θανούμεθ', ἀλλ' ὅπως* ***θανούμεθα*** | *κάλλισ-[τα]*, the second instance of *θανούμεθα* is the Topic of its clause: 'We are going to die, see to it that our death (Topic) be most glorious (Focus)'; similarly the adverb *παγκάκως* is the Focus in *Med.* 1135: *πῶς ὤλοντο; δὶς τόσον γὰρ ἄν* | *τέρψειας ἡμᾶς,* ***εἰ τεθνᾶσι*** *παγκάκως*. 'How did they die? You will give me twice the pleasure if they died in agony'; *Tro.* 906 *μὴ* ***θάνῃ*** *τοῦδ' ἐνδεής* 'let her not die without this' (Hecuba entreating Menelaus, taking for granted that he will kill Helen, as he has said in line 905)? 1168–9 (Hec. to the dead Astyanax) *εἰ μὲν γὰρ* ***ἔθανες*** *πρὸ πόλεως ἥβης τυχὼν* | *γάμων τε καὶ τῆς ἰσοθέου τυ-ραννίδος,* | *μακάριος ἦσθ' ἄν*. '(Your death is unlucky,) for if it had been in defence of the city, at the proper age, married and as a divine king, you would have been blessed'. It is not the fact of Astyanax's death that Hecuba calls unlucky, but its timing. Another instance that possibly belongs in this group is *Tro.* 375. Cassandra is arguing that the Trojans are more fortunate than the Greeks in many ways. One of these is that the Trojans at least died in defence of their fatherland, whereas the Greeks died for no comparable reason: *ἐπεὶ δ'*

Again, the first three verbs that function as Topics (in bold), can be seen as part of time's destruction of everything (*συγχεῖ πάντα*). Then in *βλαστάνει* there is a switch to the growth of evil as a result. Interestingly, Sophocles chooses parallelism rather than chiasmus.[26]

The next example does not involve such a long series, and has a chiastic arrangement.[27] (3.21) is part of the messenger's description of Iocaste's suicide in *OT*:

(3.21) Mess. *πύλας δ', ὅπως εἰσῆλθ', ἐπιρράξασ' ἔσω*
καλεῖ τὸν ἤδη Λάιον πάλαι νεκρόν,
μνήμην παλαιῶν σπερμάτων ἔχουσ', ὑφ' ὧν
θάνοι *μὲν αὐτός,* ***τὴν δὲ τίκτουσαν*** *λίποι*
τοῖς οἷσιν αὐτοῦ δύστεκνον παιδουργίαν. (*OT* 1244–8)

And when she entered she slammed shut both
panels of the door,
calling on Laius, now long a corpse,
remembering their love-making long ago, which
had brought him to death, leaving her to bring forth
a progeny accursed by one that was his own.

The Focus of the *θάνοι* clause,[28] *αὐτός*, provides the starting point for the next one. From Laius himself to his wife is a small step, and so Iocaste can serve as the Topic in the next clause.

ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ἤλυθον Σκαμανδρίους, | ***ἔθνῃσκον*** *οὐ γῆς ὅρι' ἀποστερούμενοι* | *οὐδ' ὑψί-πυργον πατρίδ[α]* 'When they came to the banks of the Scamander, they perished not because they were deprived of land or of their city'. Alternatively, we can read the verb as Focus and the participial phrases as attendant circumstances following the verb as less salient: 'When they arrived, they *died*, . . .'

[26] In Eur. *Alc.* 720, a sarcastic comment from Pheres to Admetus, *μνήστενε πολλάς, ὡς θάνωσι πλείονες* 'Woo many wives, so that more may die', I am not sure whether we should analyse *θάνωσι* as Topic (dying is never far away from one's thoughts in this play, after all) and *πλείονες* as Focus, or that the two constituents both have Focus (line 720 does not form a proper response to 719 'If only you might come to need my help one day!', so that the context provides little help). Both analyses seem possible; similarly, in reading the line in English, we may choose to stress 'more' and downplay, as presupposed, 'die' (this would be the equivalent of a Topic-Focus interpretation of the Greek), or stress both. I tend toward the former.

[27] On chiasmus and parallelism see further Slings (1997), Dik (1995: 51, 216).

[28] Within the 'subdivided' relative clause, that is. The particle *μέν* allows us to assume a boundary that coincides with the line, effectively giving *θάνοι* clause-initial position. See Ruijgh (1990*a*), Dik (1995: ch. 3).

Table 3.1 Instantiations of the basic clause pattern

Topic	Focus	Verb	Remainder	ex. no.	similar examples
σύ τοι	πρώτη	θάνοις ἄν	—	(3.1)	(3.2), (3.3)
οἵδε μὲν	τεθνᾶσ',	—	—	(3.4)	—
—	θεοῖς	τέθνηκεν	οὗτος	(3.5)	—
—	ἐξ ἐμοῦ	τέθνηκεν	—	(3.6)	(3.7), (3.8), (3.17), (3.18)
—	τεθνᾶσιν		—	(3.9)	—
—	τεθνᾶσιν		ἄνδρες[a]	(3.10)	(3.11), (3.12), (3.13)
τέθνηκ'	ἐγώ —		—	(3.19)	(3.20), (3.21)

[a] Other constituents classified as 'Remainder' were already mentioned above, n. 12: *El.* 674 ὄλωλα τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, *El.* 1482 ὄλωλα δὴ δείλαιος, *Phil.* 962 θάνοις κακῶς, *Phil.* 1030 τέθνηχ' ὑμῖν πάλαι. In all of these, the verb presents the most salient information. Examples of verb-initial clauses from Euripides include many curses ('May X die' (ὄλοιτο) *Hipp.* 407–9, 693 (with additional Focus on subjects), 1028, *IA* 658, *Rhes.* 875) and oaths ('May I die' (θάνοιμι) *Alc.* 1096, *El.* 281, 663), in which the verbs will typically have Focus. Other instances of the pattern in Euripides: *Supp.* 944 (verb ὄλοιντ' . . . ἄν provides the answer to πῶς in line 943), (θνῄσκω) *Alc.* 178 (actually, πάρος practically functions like ὕπερ), 666, 690, *Andr.* 334 (t), *Hel.* 781, *IA* 519, 1419, *IT* 489, *Rhes.* 683 (troch.), *Tro.* 391, 740–1, 879, 1223; (participial phrases following clause-initial verb:) *Heracl.* 547 οὐκ ἂν θάνοιμι τῇ τύχῃ λαχοῦσ' ἐγώ. 'I *shall not* die by the chance drawing of *lots*' (but I am willing to volunteer). τῇ τύχῃ is preposed in the participial phrase; similarly *Ion* 951 τέθνηκεν, ὦ γεραιέ, θηρσὶν ἐκτεθείς, *Ion* 1112 ὡς θάνῃ πετρουμένη (but cf. *Bacch.* 356–7 ὡς ἂν λευσίμου δίκης τυχὼν | θάνῃ, in which practically the same information is presented in a different order); *Ion* 1207 θνῄσκει δ' ἀπασπαίρουσα, φοινικοσκελεῖς | χηλὰς παρεῖσα; 1259 (troch.) κἂν θάνῃς γὰρ ἐνθάδ' οὖσα.

By way of conclusion to this section, I recapitulate the instances discussed so far in tabular form. Table 3.1 sums up the various possible instantiations of the basic clause pattern (the 'all-new' sentences discussed in (3.14)–(3.16) form a separate category).

3.3 COMPLICATIONS: FOCUS

The previous section provided an overview of the most frequent permutations of the basic clause pattern. I hope to have shown that the variety in word order that we find in these passages can be meaningfully described with the proposed clause pattern. In the following pages, I will discuss a number of passages that present problems of various kinds. I will start with some instances of multiple Focus.[29]

[29] Examples from Euripides include questions: in *Alc.* 534 Heracles asks, given that Admetus has denied a blood-relationship to the deceased, πῶς οὖν ἐν οἴκοις σοῖσιν ὤλεσεν βίον; 'How did she come to die in your house [of all places]?' Both the

The following passage from *Antigone* juxtaposes *πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας* and *μίαν καθ' ἡμέραν*, and both of these precede the verb:

(3.22) Cr. *ὅτ' οὖν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν*
καθ' ἡμέραν ὤλοντο παίσαντές τε καὶ
πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι,
ἐγὼ κράτη δὴ πάντα καὶ θρόνους ἔχω
γένους κατ' ἀγχιστεῖα τῶν ὀλωλότων. (*Ant.* 170–4)

So now that they have perished by
twofold ruin on a single day, striking and
being struck by the polluting violence of one another,
I hold the throne by reason of
my kinship with the dead.

In explaining the twist of fate that has landed him on the throne, Creon points to the remarkable fact of the *two* deaths occurring on *one* day. I take it that these two constituents together have Focus, following the Topic *ἐκεῖνοι*. Elsewhere in the play as well, these numerals tend to be highlighted, as in Ismene's words earlier in the play:

(3.23) Is. *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων*
οὔθ' ἡδὺς οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸς ἵκετ' ἐξ ὅτου
δυοῖν *ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν δύο,*
μιᾷ *θανόντοιν ἡμέρᾳ* ***διπλῇ*** *χερί·* (*Ant.* 11–14)

To me, Antigone, no word about our friends
has come, either agreeable or painful, since
we two were robbed of two brothers,
who perished on one day, each at the other's hands.

In this passage, the underlined numerals all precede the noun they modify; *δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν* is in the preverbal Focus position, and *μιᾷ* is placed in hyperbaton.

question word and *ἐν οἴκοις σοῖσιν* have Focus here. Similarly, in *Hel.* 1212, the story of Menelaus' shipwreck raises the question *πῶς ὅδ' οὐκ ὤλωλε κοινωνῶν πλάτης;* 'How did *this* man survive? He shared the same ship', and in *IT* 998, Iphigenia asks, [when I'm found out,] *πῶς οὐ θανοῦμαι;* 'how will I *not* be put to death?' *Tro.* 1055–6 highlights the terrible death that awaits Helen with a polyptoton in Focus position: *ἐλθοῦσα δ' Ἄργος ὥσπερ ἀξία κακῶς | κακὴ θανεῖται* 'When she reaches Argos, the wretch will die a wretched death, as she deserved.'

In the following passage from *OT*, Iocaste explains how oracles cannot be trusted, since Laius was supposed to die at the hands of her son, which has apparently failed to come true:

(3.24) Io. *καίτοι νιν οὐ κεῖνός γ' ὁ δύστηνός ποτε*
*κατέκταν', ἀλλ' **αὐτὸς πάροιθεν** ὤλετο.* (*OT* 855–6)

Yet that poor child never killed him,
but he *himself* perished *before* him.

Both of the underlined constituents represent the counter-presuppositional information that, taken together, explains why Laius' son cannot be responsible for his father's death: he died himself rather than killing anyone, and did so earlier than Laius.

I also propose a multiple Focus analysis for the following passage from *Antigone*. Creon is saying that Antigone should die before Haemon's eyes:

(3.25) Cr. *ἆληθες; ἀλλ' οὐ τόνδ' Ὄλυμπον, ἴσθ' ὅτι,*
χαίρων ἔτι ψόγοισι δεννάσεις ἐμέ.
ἄγετε τὸ μῖσος ὡς κατ' ὄμματ' αὐτίκα
παρόντι θνῄσκῃ πλησία τῷ νυμφίῳ. (*Ant.* 758–61)

Do you say that? Why, by that Olympus which we see, be sure of it,
you shall not continue to abuse me with your reproaches with impunity!
Bring the hateful creature, so that she may die
at once close at hand, in the sight of her bridegroom!

Creon had already condemned Antigone; but in his rage at Haemon here, he wants his son to suffer even more by making him watch Antigone's death right before his eyes. The *ὡς* clause has no fewer than three constituents preceding the verb *θνῄσκῃ*, all of which express the immediacy with which this death sentence has to be carried out: both immediacy in time (*αὐτίκα*) and immediacy in space with regard to Haemon (*κατ' ὄμματ[α]*, *παρόντι*).[30] I take it that these constituents

[30] In all fairness, *πλησία* 'close by' expresses this as well, of course, although I think that the earlier expressions are stronger. *τῷ νυμφίῳ*, on the other hand, is predictable and merely completes the sense. For another instance of Focus on *παρόντι*, compare Soph. *El.* 2–3 *νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι | παρόντι λεύσσειν* 'now you can see those things while present', i.e. with your own eyes (cited above, § 2.4, as (2.19)).

all have Focus. Indirectly, Lloyd-Jones's translation of the lines shows how awkward such multiple Focus constituents are: In translation, we feel the need to add commas, which serve to distribute the salient information over more than one intonation unit.

The following example from *Electra* I find less amenable to straightforward analysis:

(3.26) El. *αὕτη γὰρ ἡ λόγοισι γενναία γυνὴ*
φωνοῦσα τοιάδ' ἐξονειδίζει κακά,
'ὦ δύσθεον μίσημα, σοὶ μόνῃ πατὴρ
τέθνηκεν; ἄλλος δ' οὔτις ἐν πένθει βροτῶν;
κακῶς ὄλοιο, μηδέ σ' ἐκ γόων ποτὲ
τῶν νῦν ἀπαλλάξειαν οἱ κάτω θεοί.'

(*El.* 287–92)

Yes, this woman [Clytemnestra], who is said to be
so noble,
gives tongue and utters insults such as these:
'Accursed, hateful creature, are you the only one
that has lost a father? Does no other mortal mourn a loss?
May you perish miserably, and may the gods below never
release you from your lamentations!'

I assume that we here have one of the rare instances where not one but two constituents have Focus,[31] both *σοὶ μόνῃ* and *πατήρ*: are *you* the *only* one who's lost a *father*? To some extent, this reading is supported by the following line, in that *σοὶ μόνῃ* contrasts neatly with *ἄλλος δ' οὔτις*, but the context does not force an interpretation of *πατήρ* as Focus. The closer the relative, the more likely one is to stay in mourning for a longer period; even so, Clytemnestra (as represented by Electra) would seem to argue, enough is enough, and Electra should give up her obsession with her father.[32]

[31] For what I have called 'complex' Focus, see Dik (1995) ch. 3. For another example see Aesch. *Ag.* 1318.

[32] For the prominence of *πατήρ* in the exchanges between Electra and her mother (is *πατὴρ τέθνηκεν* Electra's favourite way of starting a conversation with her mother?) see lines 525 (Electra's topic of choice reported by mother) and 558 (mother's words reported by Electra).

The following passage from the messenger speech in *OC* presents a similar problem. Again, a subject constituent (κεῖνος) is in preverbal position, but is it really a Focus constituent?

(3.27) Mess. [When we left, after a short time we turned and saw that the one man was nowhere there any longer but that the king himself to shade his eyes held his hand before his face, as if some terrifying sight had appeared that was unbearable to see]
ἔπειτα μέντοι βαιὸν οὐδὲ σὺν λόγῳ
ὁρῶμεν αὐτὸν γῆν τε προσκυνοῦνθ' ἅμα
καὶ τὸν θεῶν Ὄλυμπον ἐν ταὐτῷ χρόνῳ.
μόρῳ δ' ὁποίῳ **κεῖνος** ὤλετ' οὐδ' ἂν εἷς
θνητῶν φράσειε πλὴν τὸ Θησέως κάρα.
οὐ γάρ τις αὐτὸν οὔτε πυρφόρος θεοῦ
κεραυνὸς ἐξέπραξεν οὔτε... (*OC* 1653–9)

But then after a moment, with no word spoken,
we saw him salute the earth and the sky,
home of the gods, at the same moment.
But by what death *that man* perished
none among mortals could tell but Theseus.
For no fiery thunderbolt of the god
made away with him, nor...

The beginning of the ὤλετο clause is easy enough to make sense of. μόρῳ 'death' introduces the Topic of the question, ὁποίῳ the Focus: 'As to his death, how exactly he died,...' We will see more such instances in chapter 5, which will be devoted to questions. But what are we to make of κεῖνος?[33] Obviously, there cannot be a question as to *who* died. It is necessary, however, to indicate a shift of subject from Theseus to Oedipus in this clause, and both the subject of the next clause 'no one' and the next mention of Theseus are obvious Focus constituents. The strong

[33] I am here concerned with the *position* of the subject. The *choice* of pronoun is a natural one for someone removed from the scene. (ἐ)κεῖνος tends to be a highly marked pronoun in general. Very few instances occur postverbally (and in these cases still arguably Focus, as in Creon's εἰ φιλητέον, φίλει | κείνους (*Ant.* 524–5, see further below, § 6.2), and when used in the genitive, such possessive modifiers tend to precede their noun.

reference appears to be shifting our attention from Theseus, the central participant in the preceding clauses, to Oedipus, who in subsequent clauses is again referred to by weaker anaphora: *αὐτόν* in 1658 and *ἀνήρ* in 1663.[34]

3.4 THE LIMITS OF THE CLAUSE: THEMES, TAILS, AND SETTINGS

The participial phrase *παρόντι* in (3.25) seems to be integrated in the *θνήσκῃ* clause as much as the other constituents that describe the circumstances under which Antigone is to die. In this section, I will discuss a number of participial phrases and other problems that concern the boundaries of the clause.

The present corpus has at least one more instance where I would argue that a participle has Focus in the clause containing the finite verb, rather than functioning as a clause on its own.[35] The example is a complicated passage from *Ajax*, with Ajax speaking with Athena:

[34] So there appears to be an argument, in part syntactical (Focus on *κεῖνος* in parallel with the subject of the next phrase), in part from the point of view of participant reference (the need for distinction between Theseus and Oedipus) for *κεῖνος* as pragmatically marked. On the other hand, we will see more instances of subject pronouns (broadly defined) that are of questionable Focus status, which all have in common that they follow, like postpositives, the Focus of a clause (compare *δύστηνος* below, n. 37).

[35] See also *Ant.* 195, Creon's decree about the burial of Eteocles, who died *in defence of the city* (as opposed to his brother, who also died, but on the opposite side): *Ἐτεοκλέα μέν, ὃς πόλεως ὑπερμαχῶν | ὄλωλε τῆσδε, πάντ' ἀριστεύσας δόρι, | τάφῳ τε κρύψαι καὶ τὰ πάντ' ἐφαγνίσαι… Alc.* 180–1 is an example from Euripides: *προδοῦναι γάρ σ' ὀκνοῦσα καὶ πόσιν | θνήσκω* 'It is because I shrank from abandoning you and my husband that I now die.' I argued above (n. 25) that in *Tro.* 1168–9 *εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔθανες πρὸ πόλεως ἦβης τυχὼν κτλ.* the participial phrase, with *πρὸ πόλεως*, has Focus following the verb *ἔθανες* which functions as Topic, and that *Tro.* 375 may be similarly analysed, with the main verb as Topic and the participial phrase as Focus. Other kinds of constituents which would usually function as Setting are occasionally also used as Topic or Focus, such as *ἐκεῖ μέν* and *ἐν δὲ δώμασιν* which function as contrastive Topics in Eur. *El.* 8–9: *κἀκεῖ μὲν εὐτύχησεν· ἐν δὲ δώμασι | θνήσκει γυναικὸς πρὸς Κλυταιμήστρας δόλῳ …* 'In Troy his fortunes were good, but at home he was treacherously slain by his wife Clytemnestra…' *Alc.* 534 is an example of Focus on a locative phrase (see above, n. 29), and see (3.2) for an example of a temporal adverb with Focus. In *IT* 373–4 it is less clear whether we

(3.28) Aj. ἥδιστος, ὦ δέσποινα, δεσμώτης ἔσω
θακεῖ· θανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὔ τί πω θέλω.
Ath. πρὶν ἄν τί δράσῃς ἢ τί κερδάνῃς πλέον;
Aj. πρὶν ἄν δεθεὶς πρὸς κίον᾽ ἑρκείου στέγης—
Ath. τί δῆτα τὸν δύστηνον ἐργάσῃ κακόν;
Aj. μάστιγι πρῶτον νῶτα φοινιχθεὶς θάνῃ. (*Aj.* 105–10)

Aj. Mistress, he sits inside, the most welcome of prisoners!
For I do not want him to die yet.
Ath. Before you have done what or have got what advantage?
Aj. Before, bound to the pillar of the hut I live in . . .
Ath. You will have done what mischief to the wretched man?
Aj. He has perished, after first having his back made
bloody by my whip.

Ajax does answer Athena's *πρὶν τί* question, but his actual answer is to be found in the participles embedded in his *πρίν* clause, rather than the verb *θάνῃ* itself. As Jebb remarks, 'we should have had *πρὶν ἄν . . . φοινιχθῇ*. But the emphasis on *μάστιγι πρῶτον νῶτα φοινιχθεὶς* serves to excuse the presence of *θάνῃ*,—added for the sake of greater clearness, after the long interval.' In my analysis, the preverbal position of the participial clause (i.e. preverbal with regard to *θάνῃ*) makes it the Focus of the clause, rather than the more usual function of scene setter (as the *δεθεὶς* clause does).

We can compare (3.P3) from Plato's *Phaedo*. Here too, the participial phrase, *φάρμακον πιών* has Focus, 'the only thing I've heard for certain [about how he died] is that he died *by drinking poison*', rather than functioning as a Setting, 'the only thing I've heard for certain [about how he died] is that, after he took poison, he died':

(3.P3) [Nobody has been to Athens, and nobody has been here . . .]
ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν σαφές τι ἀγγεῖλαι οἷός τ᾽ ἦν περὶ τούτων, πλήν
γε δὴ ὅτι **φάρμακον πιὼν** ἀποθάνοι· (Plato *Phd.* 57a–b)

should interpret *νῦν* as Setting or Focus: *ἀδελφὸν οὔτ᾽ ἀνειλόμην χεροῖν, | ὃς νῦν ὄλωλεν* 'I did not take my little brother up in my arms, (and *now* he is dead).' Similarly open to interpretation is the status of the *ἐκ*-phrase (Setting or Focus?) in *Andr.* 1003–6: *οὐδέ νιν μετάστασις | γνώμης ὀνήσει θεῷ διδόντα νῦν δίκας, | ἀλλ᾽ **ἔκ τ᾽ ἐκείνου διαβολαῖς τε ταῖς ἐμαῖς** | κακῶς ὀλεῖται·* 'His change of heart shall do him no good as the god punishes him. Thanks to Apollo and my accusations he will die a painful death.'

> . . . who could tell us anything definite about this matter, except that he drank poison and died.

More regularly, however, the participial clauses function on their own. Typically a series of actions is represented by a number of participial clauses, culminating in a clause with a finite verb, as in (3.29) below, again from *Ajax*:

(3.29) Aj. *οὐκ ἔστι τοὔργον τλητόν. ἀλλὰ δῆτ' ἰὼν*
πρὸς ἔρυμα Τρώων, ξυμπεσὼν μόνος μόνοις
καὶ δρῶν τι χρηστόν, εἶτα λοίσθιον θάνω; (*Aj.* 466–8)

> The thing is not to be endured! But am I to go
> to the Trojan wall, challenge them all single-handed,
> achieve some feat, and at last perish?

In this case the main clause starts with *εἶτα*, which recapitulates the participial phrases. The adverb is a formal indication that the participles are not an integral part of the finite clause. Together with *λοίσθιον*, *εἶτα* functions as the Setting for the clause; *θάνω* has Focus.[36]

In (3.30) I assume that the participial phrase forms a separate clause as well:

(3.30) Tec. *καὶ μὴν φόβοισί γ' αὐτὸν ἐξελυσάμην.*
Aj. *ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς κακοῖσιν; ἦ τί μοι λέγεις;*
Tec. *μὴ σοί γέ που δύστηνος ἀντήσας θάνοι.* (*Aj.* 531–3)

> Tec. Why, I was afraid and sent him [Eurysaces] away.
> Aj. Because of these troubles, do you mean?
> Tec. I was afraid the poor boy might encounter you and die.

Tecmessa had removed her son by Ajax, Eurysaces. When Ajax asks *ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς κακοῖσιν* '*these* troubles', meaning his own temporary

[36] Another formal sign that the participial clause functions independently from the finite clause is present in Soph. *OC* 1305–7. The participial clause *τὸν ἑπτάλογχον . . . ἀγείρας* functions as background for the subdivided purpose clause, in which *ἤ* introduces the alternatives: *ὅπως τὸν ἑπτάλογχον ἐς Θήβας στόλον | ξὺν τοῖσδ' ἀγείρας ἢ θάνοιμι πανδίκως | ἢ τοὺς τάδ' ἐκπράξαντας ἐκβάλοιμι γῆς*. '[I gathered allies], so that with their aid I could muster the expedition against Thebes with seven spears and either *die* (Focus) in a just cause or *expel* (Focus) from the land those who had done this (Topic)': I take it that the substantivized participle *τοὺς . . . ἐκπράξαντας* is integrated into the *ἐκβάλοιμι* clause.

madness, Tecmessa responds in the affirmative: σοί is in initial position 'yes *you*'. She had feared Ajax would make Eurysaces another victim. In this case, while there is no formal indication that we should analyse the participial phrase as separate, the verb θάνοι is not topical, as are its counterparts θάνῃ in (3.28) and ἀποθάνοι in the parallel from the *Phaedo*. That last factor is the primary reason why I think an 'integrated' analysis (paraphrase: 'lest he die *by meeting you*') is less appropriate than an analysis as two separate clauses: 'lest he meet *you* (Focus of participle clause) and *die* (the Focus in the one-word finite clause)'.[37]

Besides participial clauses there are other extra-clausal constituents that can sometimes be formally identified as such, as in (3.31) from *Philoctetes*:

(3.31) Ph. οἴμοι τάλας. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ Τυδέως γόνος,
οὐδ' οὐμπολητὸς Σισύφου Λαερτίῳ,
οὐ μὴ θάνωσι· τούσδε γὰρ μὴ ζῆν ἔδει. (*Phil.* 416–18)

Alas for me! But the son of Tydeus, and he who was
palmed off on Laertius by Sisyphus,
they will never die! For they ought not to be alive!

The clause proper starts with οὐ μή.[38] In the context, with Philoctetes' indignation that a worthy man like Ajax has died, we can expect his next inquiry to be along the lines of 'but what about Diomedes and Odysseus, these scoundrels are still alive, I suppose?'. Instead, we get a statement of absolute certainty: 'they will not die'. The effect of having these subjects in a separate intonation unit from the verb is to allow both subjects to be the main point of information in their unit, before they become the subject of οὐ μὴ θάνωσι, the Focus of the clause proper. A similar example from Euripides, in that the subject phrase functions as a Theme, preceding the rest of the sentence, is (3.E1)

[37] δύστηνος forms an interesting problem. I believe that it functions here as a postpositive.

[38] οὐ μή regularly opens clauses, as in Pl. *Ap.* 29d4 ἔωσπερ ἂν ἐμπνέω καὶ οἷός τε ὦ, οὐ μὴ παύσωμαι φιλοσοφῶν. It can be preceded by contrastive Topics as in *Grg.* 494d2–4 Τοιγάρτοι, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, Πῶλον μὲν καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ ἐξέπληξα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐποίησα, σὺ δὲ οὐ μὴ ἐκπλαγῇς οὐδὲ μὴ αἰσχυνθῇς· Soph. *OT* 328 is similar: πάντες γὰρ οὐ φρονεῖτ'· **ἐγὼ δ'** οὐ μή ποτε | τἄμ', ὡς ἂν εἴπω μὴ τὰ σ', ἐκφήνω κακά 'Yes, for all of you are ignorant; I shall never…'

from *Troades*. Cassandra is presenting her argument that Troy is more fortunate than the Greeks (365 *πόλιν δὲ δείξω τήνδε μακαριωτέραν* . . .) and after discussing the Greeks (368 f.), she switches to the Trojans in 386:

(3.E1) Ca. *Τρῶες δὲ πρῶτον μέν, τὸ κάλλιστον κλέος,*
ὑπὲρ πάτρας ἔθνῃσκον·
(Eur. *Tro.* 386–7)

As for the Trojans, in the first place—their greatest glory—
they died for their country.

The Theme *Τρῶες* is followed by a typical Setting constituent, signalling the structure of Cassandra's argument, *πρῶτον μέν* 'first'. Following the apposition *τὸ κάλλιστον κλέος*, which justifies why this first point ought indeed to come first, the clause proper consists of a Focus constituent *ὑπὲρ πάτρας* (this is what sets the Trojans apart from the Greeks, who died without such good reasons, line 375) and the verb.

I conclude this section with an example of a Tail constituent, i.e. an element following the clause proper, in a new intonation unit, as in (3.32), where the clause proper ends with *θνῄσκουσι γάρ* 'they died':

(3.32) [Were there no eye witnesses to Laius' murder?]
Cr. *θνῄσκουσι γάρ, πλὴν εἷς τις, ὃς φόβῳ φυγὼν*
ὧν εἶδε πλὴν ἓν οὐδὲν εἶχ' εἰδὼς φράσαι.
(*OT* 118–19)

No, they were all killed, except one, who ran away in terror
and could tell nothing of what he saw for certain, except one thing.

'Except one', *πλὴν εἷς τις* forms a new unit after the main clause, which had given the short answer to Oedipus' question: no.[39]

[39] Another instance of a one-Mobile clause, followed by extra-clausal 'Tail' constituents is Soph. *Phil.* 334 [Is Peleus' son dead?] *τέθνηκεν, ἀνδρὸς οὐδενός, θεοῦ δ' ὕπο,* | *τοξευτός, ὡς λέγουσιν, ἐκ Φοίβου δαμείς.* 'He is dead, (and he died) at the hand of no man, but of a god, shot dead, they say, by Phoebus.' The different pieces of information are delivered in short bursts. Again, as in (3.32) the verb opening the sentence answers the question. What follows expands on the short version of the answer, *τέθνηκεν* 'yes, he is'.

This concludes my discussion of the set of Sophoclean instances. Throughout, I have adduced parallels from Sophocles and Euripides in footnotes. In the following sections I will discuss all Aeschylean instances, which are in fact quite few in number, and some problematic passages from Euripides.

3.5 AESCHYLUS

Of the many instances in the corpus, there are only fourteen finite forms of *θνήσκω* and *ὄλλυμαι* in non-lyric passages in Aeschylus, which I will treat in order:

(3.A1) Ca. *καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ*
ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας.
βωμοῦ πατρῴου δ' ἀντ' ἐπίξηνον μένει,
θερμῷ κοπείσης φοινίῳ προσφάγματι.
οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν.
ἥξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος, (*Ag.* 1275–80)

And now the prophet, having undone me, his prophetess,
hath brought me to this deadly pass.
In place of my father's altar a block awaits me,
butchered by the stroke of a hot bloody sacrifice.
Yet, unavenged of Heaven, shall we not die;
for there shall come in turn another, our avenger…

Cassandra announces her own death (*θανασίμους τύχας*, *ἐπίξηνον* …) in lines 1276–8. In 1279, however, she moves on and announces that Agamemnon's and her death (on the plural see Fraenkel ad loc.) will not go unavenged. *ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν* is the Focus of the clause, and the following *γάρ* clause takes up this very point of the revenge to come.

(3.A2) Ca. *οὗτοι δυσοίζω θάμνον ὡς ὄρνις φόβῳ*
ἀλλ' ὡς θανούσῃ μαρτυρῆτέ μοι τόδε,
ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θάνῃ,

ἀνήρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ.
ἐπιξενοῦμαι ταῦτα δ' ὡς θανουμένη. (*Ag.* 1316–20)

Not with vain terror do I shrink, as a bird that
misdoubteth bush.
After I am dead, do ye bear witness for me of this—
when for me, a woman, another woman shall be slain,
and for an ill-wedded man another man shall fall.
I claim this boon from you now that my hour
is come.

Fraenkel summarizes:[40] 'I raise this grim cry of woe not from fear, but in order that after my death you may bear witness of this (this injury done me), at the time when the guilty receive their punishment for my death and Agamemnon's.' The θάνῃ clause and the line following I would analyse as having Focus on both the nominatives and the prepositional phrases (a woman for a woman, a man for a man).[41] As a general rule, more than one Focus in a clause is unlikely, *unless* the point of the clause is precisely the connection between these elements, of which these lines are a good example.

The contrasting terms γυνή and ἀνήρ are fronted, after which, in 1318, the prepositional phrase starts with γυναικός for the perfect polyptoton (see Fraenkel ad loc. for further examples); in the following line, ἀνδρός is put at a distance from ἀνήρ but the fronting of its modifier δυσδάμαρτος (a *hapax*) gives that word additional prominence, while we observe at the same time that the arrangement of the ἀντί phrases is chiastic. It is hard if not impossible to determine which factors are more important than others in lines such as these, whose ordering seems overdetermined.

(3.A3) El. οἴκτιρε θῆλυν ἄρσενός θ' ὁμοῦ γόον.
καὶ μὴ 'ξαλείψῃς σπέρμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε·
οὕτω γὰρ οὐ τέθνηκας οὐδέ περ θανών. (*Cho.* 502–4)

Have compassion for the joint lament of woman and man,
and do not blot out this seed of Pelops' line;
for then, in spite of death, thou art not dead.

[40] Following Fraenkel and Denniston-Page, I adopt Orelli's μαρτυρῆτε in line 1317.
[41] Cf. above, on (3.22) and following, for examples of multiple Focus constituents.

The appeal to Agamemnon to come to his children's aid is supported by the topos that man lives on through his descendants: 'If you help us (*οὕτω* is the favourable response to *οἴκτιρε* and *μὴ 'ξαλείψῃς*), you are not truly dead (Focus), despite your death (Tail).'

(3.A4) Slave *τὸν ζῶντα καίνειν τοὺς τεθνηκότας λέγω.*
Cly. *οἰ 'γώ. ξυνῆκα τοὔπος ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.*
δόλοις ὀλούμεθ', ὥσπερ οὖν ἐκτείναμεν. (*Cho.* 886–8)

Slave The dead are killing the living, I say.
Cly. Oh me! I catch the meaning of the riddle.
By guile we are to perish, even as we slew.

Clytemnestra construes the servant's words accurately, and concludes that she and Aegisthus will die by *δόλοις*, treachery (Focus), just as they killed.

(3.A5) Cly. *δοίη τις ἀνδροκμῆτα πέλεκυν ὡς τάχος·*
εἰδῶμεν εἰ νικῶμεν, ἢ νικώμεθα·
ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ τοῦδ' ἀφικόμην κακοῦ.
Or. *σὲ καὶ ματεύω· τῷδε δ' ἀρκούντως ἔχει.*
Cly. *οἰ 'γώ. τέθνηκας, φίλτατ' Αἰγίσθου βία.*
(*Cho.* 889–93)

Cly. Someone give me a battle-axe, and quick!
Let us know if we are victors or vanquished;
for even to this have I come in this evil business.
Or. Thou art the very one I seek. He yonder—he has had enough.
Cly. Oh me! Dead, valiant Aegisthus, my beloved!

Clytemnestra sees the dead Aegisthus, and if she were still in any doubt, this should be over with Orestes' words *ἀρκούντως ἔχει. τέθνηκας* is a one-word clause consisting of the Focus only, as in (3.9) above.

(3.A6) Or. *τοιοῦτον ἂν κτήσαιτο φηλήτης ἀνήρ,*
ξένων ἀπαιόλημα καὶργυροστερῆ
βίον νομίζων, τῷδέ τ' ἂν δολώματι
πολλοὺς ἀναιρῶν πολλὰ θερμαίνοι φρένα.
τοιάδ' ἐμοὶ ξύνοικος ἐν δόμοισι μὴ
γένοιτ'· ὀλοίμην πρόσθεν ἐκ θεῶν ἄπαις. (*Cho.* 1001–6)

This were the sort of thing a highwayman might get,
who tricks strangers and plies a
robber's trade; and with this cunning snare
he might slay many a man and gladden his heart thereby.
May such a woman not dwell with me in my house!
Ere that God grant I perish childless!

Optatives such as *ὀλοίμην* commonly occur clause-initially (with Focus) or in one-word utterances.[42] Garvie is right to comment here that while for Orestes this is a rhetorical wish, 'the audience may sense a deeper meaning. Orestes will shortly be pursued by the Erinyes intent on his destruction, and the emphatic *ὀλοίμην* provides an effective transition to the Chorus's change of sentiment in the following lines.'

(3.A7) Mess. *ὡς ἐν μιᾷ πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολὺς*
ὄλβος, τὸ Πέρσῶν δ' ἄνθος οἴχεται πεσόν.
ὤμοι, κακὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀγγέλλειν κακά·
ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πᾶν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος,
Πέρσαι· στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς ὄλωλε βαρβάρων.
(*Pers.* 251–5)

How at a single stroke has all your plenteous weal been
shattered, and the flower of the Persians fallen and
perished!
Woe's me—it is an evil office to be the first to herald ill.
And yet, ye Persians, I needs must unfold the whole
disaster—
the whole barbarian host is lost.

Of the two modifiers of *στρατός*, the salient *πᾶς* (Focus) precedes the verb. The predictable *βαρβάρων* follows. I believe we should interpret *στρατός* as Topic, reading the syntactic subject as made up out of two different 'pragmatic' constituents: in one unitary constituent, we would expect *πᾶς* to take its usual marked position in the noun phrase and precede the noun *στρατός*, with or without hyperbaton, as is the case in line 254 with *πᾶν . . . πάθος*.

[42] For examples see above, table 3.1 n. a.

(3.A8) At. *τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν*
τῶν ἀρχελείων, ὅστ᾽ ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίᾳ
ταχθεὶς ἄνανδρον τάξιν ἠρήμου θανών; (*Pers.* 296–8)

Who is there that is *not* dead? Whom have we to bewail
of our leaders, who, appointed to wield the truncheon
of command,
by death left desolate his post without its chief?

'Who has not died?' The news of the Persian disaster is known in general terms, but now Atossa demands specifics of the messenger. The question word (Focus) comes first in this question.

(3.A9) Mess. *Περσῶν ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν,*
ψυχήν τ᾽ ἄριστοι κεὐγένειαν ἐκπρεπεῖς,
αὐτῷ τ᾽ ἄνακτι πίστιν ἐν πρώτοις ἀεί,
τεθνᾶσιν αἰσχρῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ.
(*Pers.* 441–4)

What Persians were in their life's prime,
bravest in spirit, pre-eminent for noble birth,
and ever among the foremost in loyalty unto the
King himself—
these have fallen ignobly by a most inglorious doom.

All the best men (as described in the three lines preceding the main clause) are dead. That they did so *αἰσχρῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ μόρῳ* is sad but of secondary importance. The verb has Focus.

(3.A10) Mess. *κἀντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιίδος πέδον*
καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλεις ὑπεσπανισμένους
βορᾶς ἐδέξαντ᾽· ἔνθα δὴ πλεῖστοι ᾽θάνον
δίψῃ τε λιμῷ τ᾽· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν τάδε.
(*Pers.* 488–91)

Thence the soil of the Achaean land
and the cities of the Thessalians received us, sore
in want of food.
There it was that full many perished
of thirst and hunger—for we were oppressed by both.

The notion of starvation had been introduced in 483–4, and is brought up again with *ὑπεσπανισμένους* in 489. The Setting *ἔνθα* is

followed by the Focus *πλεῖστοι*. The clause is syntactically complete at the end of line 490, and this allows *δίψῃ κτλ.* some prominence at the beginning of the next line.

(3.A11) Et. *εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν,*
αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίοις κομπάσμασιν·
ἦ τἂν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ᾽ ὀλοίατο. (*Sept.* 550–2)

Oh! would they might but get from Heaven the things
whereof they dream, themselves with all their unhallowed boastings;
full surely then in utter ruin and in utter misery would they be destroyed.

Focus is on the damning modifiers (*πανώλεις παγκάκως τ*[*ε*]) that precede the verb. While adverbials do also follow the verb, it is probably fair to say that superlatives and these *παν-* compounds stand a better chance of being treated as Focus than a simple *κακῶς*.[43]

(3.A12) [Nothing is more evil than evil partnership, and its harvest is death]
Et. *ἦ γὰρ ξυνεισβὰς πλοῖον εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ*
ναύταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργίᾳ τινὶ
ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,
ἢ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὢν
ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν,
ταὐτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκως ἀγρεύματος,
πλαγεὶς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ ᾽δάμη. (*Sept.* 602–8)

It may be that the godly man, embarked together with sailors hotly bent on some piece of villainy,
perishes along with the heaven-detested crew;
or, in the other case, though just himself, if that he consorts with
fellow-citizens who hate all strangers and remember not the gods,
he falls, beyond his due, into the selfsame snare
and is tamed when smitten by Heaven's impartial lash.

[43] For examples from Sophocles and Euripides, see above n. 12.

> [just so the seer, son of Oecles, a virtuous man in league with impious ones, Zeus willing, will be dragged down along with them]

The equation set out in this lengthy extract is quite straightforward: a good person, plus bad company, equals death. The individual instances build up from three lines, to four, to six in the case of the seer.[44] As for the *ὄλωλεν* clause, the verb (with Focus) opens the clause proper, following the lengthy participial phrase. While the following words *ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει* are strictly speaking a restatement of *ναύταισι κτλ.*, that is, referentially equivalent to *σὺν αὐτοῖς* or the like, the fronted adjective *θεοπτύστῳ* brings out the important contrast between the pious man and his company. The second case, that of the righteous man with evil fellow citizens, has the same structure, up to line 607, where the participial phrase *ταὐτοῦ κυρήσας* 'suffering the same fate' recalls *ὄλωλεν* of line 604, but in this case the doom is elaborated on in the next line and a half.

(3.A13)

Cho.	*τί δ' ἔστι πρᾶγμα νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;*	
Mess.	*πόλις σέσωσται· βασιλέες δ' ὁμόσποροι—*	
Cho.	*τίνες; τί δ' εἶπας; παραφρονῶ φόβῳ λόγου.*	805
Mess.	*φρονοῦσα νῦν ἄκουσον· Οἰδίπου τόκοι—*	
Cho.	*οἳ 'γὼ τάλαινα, μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν.*	
Mess.	*οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κατεσποδημένοι—*	
Cho.	*ἐκεῖθι κεῖσθον; βαρέα δ' οὖν ὅμως φράσον.*	
Mess.	*ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων.*	

(*Sept.* 803–10)

Cho.	What fresh event is there further to afflict the city?
Mess.	The city, it is safe! But our princes, of the self-same seed—
Cho.	Who? What is't thou meanest? My wits are distraught from dread of what thou hast to tell.
Mess.	Keep now thy wits and listen. The sons of Oedipus—

[44] *οὕτως δ' ὁ μάντις, υἱὸν Οἰκλέους λέγω, | σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνήρ, | μέγας προφήτης, ἀνοσίοισι συμμιγεὶς | θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν βίᾳ φρενῶν, | τείνουσι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν, | Διὸς θέλοντος ξυγκαθελκυσθήσεται.* This last clause stretches over six lines, but it is construed along the same pattern as the preceding ones, viz. subject, bad company, doom.

Cho. Ah, unhappy that I am! I am a prophetess of ill.
Mess. In truth, past all questioning, smitten to the dust—
Cho. Do they lie yonder? Dread though thy tidings be, yet speak out plainly.
Mess. Dead are the men, by hands that slew their own.

In line 810 the messenger can finally complete the sentence he started in 804, and started anew in 806. *ἄνδρες* is Topic, *τεθνᾶσιν* Focus (see (3.10) above, however, for a very similar example using verb-subject order instead).

(3.A14) Herald *Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ χθονὸς*
θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς·
στυγῶν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἵλετ' ἐν πόλει
ἱερῶν πατρῴων δ' ὅσιος ὢν μομφῆς ἄτερ
τέθνηκεν οὗπερ τοῖς νέοις θνῄσκειν καλόν.
οὕτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἐπέσταλται λέγειν·
(*Sept.* 1013–18)

Eteocles, who lieth here, seeing that he hath shown loyalty to his country,
it is decreed to bury with kindly interment in its soil;
for that, hating the foe, he courted death in the city,
and pure of offence towards the shrines of his fathers he has fallen,
free of reproach, where it is an honour for the young to fall.
Thus, touching him, it hath been enjoined upon me to proclaim.

Following the participial phrase, *μομφῆς ἄτερ* (Focus of the main clause) precedes the verb.

3.6 EURIPIDES

In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss those few passages from Euripides which could not be accommodated in mere footnotes. Where analysis was relatively straightforward, I have included

the Euripidean instances of *θνῄσκω* and *ὄλλυμαι* in the footnotes, but a few remain that merit separate discussion, in part simply because there are no obvious parallels in Sophocles.[45] The first is an interesting case of chiasmus (or parallelism?) from *Medea*:

(3.E2) Med. *καὶ δὴ 'πὶ κρατὶ στέφανος, ἐν πέπλοισι δὲ*
νύμφη τύραννος ὄλλυται, σάφ' οἶδ' ἐγώ.
(*Med.* 1065–6)

Already the crown is on her head and
the royal bride is perishing in the robe, I know it well.

After *ἐν πέπλοισι* we may well expect merely a subject constituent. This would result in a straightforward structure of two locative phrases each followed by a subject (parallelism of syntax), if it were not for the added twist that, whereas in the first clause, the wreath is subject and the head a locative phrase, in the second clause it is the robes (the element conceptually parallel to the wreath) which is expressed as a locative phrase, and the subject is the bride (chiasmus in meaning). But the sentence, which might have ended with *νύμφη τύραννος*, in fact concludes with *ὄλλυται*. This forces us to reanalyse the pragmatic structure and understand not the subject, but the finite verb as the Focus of the second clause. The second clause becomes not '(the crown is on the head, and) the robe (Topic) is worn by the bride (Focus)', but 'in her robes (Setting), the bride (Topic) is perishing (Focus)'.

Another example of a chiastic structure that is rather more complicated than a simple ABBA pattern is (3.E3) from the prologue of *Troades*:

(3.E3) Pos. [Here is Hecuba, weeping for many reasons . . .]
ἦ παῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ μνῆμ' Ἀχιλλείου τάφου

[45] The most striking deviation from normal usage in this corpus is probably *Hel.* 74–7, with the accusative *ἀπόλαυσιν* construed with *ἔθανες ἄν*. But this is a syntactic oddity, not a problem of word order. *θεοί σ', ὅσον μίμημ' ἔχεις | Ἑλένης, ἀποπτύσειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ 'ν ξένῃ | γαίᾳ πόδ' εἶχον, τῷδ' ἂν εὐστόχῳ πτερῷ | **ἀπόλαυσιν εἰκοῦς** ἔθανες ἂν Διὸς κόρης*. 'The gods' hatred be yours for being Helen's double! If I were not standing on foreign soil, this unerring arrow would have killed you for looking like Zeus's daughter.' In other words, this arrow (Topic) would have been your reward (Focus).

λάθρᾳ τέθνηκε τλημόνως Πολυξένη·
φροῦδος δὲ Πρίαμος καὶ τέκν᾽· ἣν δὲ παρθένον
μεθῆκ᾽ Ἀπόλλων δρομάδα Κασσάνδραν ἄναξ . . .
(*Tro.* 39–42)

Unbeknownst to her, her daughter Polyxena
had been piteously killed at the tomb of Achilles;
Priam and her sons are dead; and her daughter Cassandra,
whom lord Apollo left an untamed virgin . . .

While the skeleton for a chiastic arrangement is clearly present (παῖς μὲν τέθνηκε, φροῦδος δὲ Πρίαμος), and the ABBA structure is continued with another 'A' in ἣν, the further modifications muddy the picture. λάθρᾳ is obvious enough as a candidate for Focus, but the locative phrase seems to have gained undue prominence—except for the fact that it will immediately identify Polyxena for the audience, of course.

Another preverbal locative that seems unnecessarily prominent occurs twice in *Helen*:

(3.E4) Hel. ψυχαὶ δὲ πολλαὶ δι᾽ ἔμ᾽ ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίοις
ῥοαῖσιν ἔθανον· (*Hel.* 52–3)

Many lives were lost by Scamander's stream because of me.

(3.E5) Hel. Ὦ ταλαίπωροι Φρύγες
πάντες τ᾽ Ἀχαιοί, δι᾽ ἔμ᾽ ἐπὶ Σκαμανδρίοις
ἀκταῖσιν Ἥρας μηχαναῖς ἐθνῄσκετε,
δοκοῦντες Ἑλένην οὐκ ἔχοντ᾽ ἔχειν Πάριν.
(*Hel.* 608–11)

You poor Phrygians
and all you Greeks, day after day you perished for my sake
on the banks of the Scamander by Hera's contrivance,
thinking that Paris had Helen, which he never did!

I consider these instances the most problematic preverbal constituents in my Euripidean sample. They share an obvious characteristic

in that it is proper names, and lengthy ones at that, that precede the verb. It has been shown that proper names generally are prone to highlighting in prosody (Devine and Stephens 1994: 479), and perhaps these instances are a reflection of this phenomenon as well. In (3.E4) and (3.E5), however, perhaps we need to read the locative more closely with *δι᾽ ἔμ[ϵ]* than is usually done, and realize that for the Helen of this play, 'me at Troy' is a pernicious fiction.

When it comes to problematic postverbal constituents, we are confronted with the opposite case: constituents that would seem to require a prominent position appearing after the verb. Theoretically, given a Topic-Focus-Verb clause pattern, this should only happen when the verb functions as the Topic of a sentence (compare above, (3.19) through (3.21)), or when a constituent is not part of the clause proper but a so-called Tail (above, (3.32)). When neither of these explanations applies, the question remains whether another constituent has been highlighted for some reason.

In the case of (3.E6) from *Alcestis*, I wonder whether indeed we can interpret the verb as Topic here,[46] especially given Admetus' previous line, 'I will never bury anyone dearer to me':

(3.E6) Adm. *οὐ γάρ τιν᾽ ἄλλον φίλτερον θάψω νεκρὸν*
τοῦδ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀμείνον᾽ εἰς ἔμ᾽· ἀξία δέ μοι
τιμῆς, ἐπεὶ τέθνηκεν ἀντ᾽ ἐμοῦ μόνη.
(*Alc.* 432–4)

For I shall never bury one I love more
or who has been kinder to me. She deserves my
honour since she died for me as would no one else.

In effect, Admetus is saying that he will never be more indebted to a dead person (*ἄλλον . . . νεκρόν*). Given this peculiar context, we can argue that *τέθνηκεν* is really the Topic of the *ἐπεί* clause, with *ἀντ᾽ ἐμοῦ μόνη* as Focus constituents: 'Her death is the only one that happened in my stead'.[47]

[46] See n. 25 above for further examples of verbs with Topic function in the Euripidean sample.

[47] *μόνος*, *πρῶτος* typically are combined with other Focus constituents, as *μόνη* is here.

The remaining problems follow a distinct pattern: in three cases, a preverbal πῶς or ὅπως is followed by postverbal constituents (underlined) that seem good candidates for Focus function as well:

(3.E7) Cly. λέγ', εἴ τι χρῄζεις, κἀντίθες παρρησίᾳ,
ὅπως τέθνηκε σὸς πατὴρ **οὐκ ἐνδίκως**. (*El.* 1049–50)

If you so desire, speak and tell me in perfect liberty
how it was unjust that your father was killed.

(3.E8) Hel. θανεῖν κράτιστον· πῶς θάνοιμ' ἂν **οὐ καλῶς;**
(*Hel.* 298)

Death is best. How can it not be right to die?

(3.E9) Hel. [After Paris died, I tried to leave Troy for the Greek camp]
πῶς οὖν ἔτ' ἂν θνῄσκοιμ' ἂν **ἐνδίκως**, πόσι . . . ;
(*Tro.* 961)

How then should I be justly put to death, dear
husband . . . ?[48]

Despite the similarity in these questions, the pragmatic status of the verb is not at all constant. In the case of (3.E7), the verb and its subject can be considered completely presupposed: the only thing Clytemnestra and Electra disagree about is the legitimacy of Agamemnon's killing, not whether it happened or not. As in the case of (3.E6), then, at a stretch, we might interpret the verb in (3.E7) as Topic (in this case, in combination with the subject). Such an analysis is completely out of the question in (3.E9), where Helen is arguing that she does not deserve to die. Here we are perhaps more entitled to ask how salient ἐνδίκως really is compared to the verb and, accordingly, we can settle on a status of 'Remainder' for the adverb. In the case of (3.E8), however, neither a reading of the adverb as 'Remainder' or a reading of the verb as Topic seems to apply. Moreover, we have seen instances above[49] of πῶς followed by preverbal Focus constituents, of which I will repeat one in (3.E10), so that there appears to be no reason to assume that an additional Focus constitu-

[48] As seen by Murray, there must be a lacuna between this line and line 962, πρὸς σοῦ δικαίως κτλ.

[49] See n. 29 above.

ent following a question word should come at the end of the clause. All in all, I see no single satisfactory explanation for these last examples, particularly for (3.E8).[50]

(3.E10) [Heracles asks Admetus what woman the house is in mourning for]

Her. ὀθνεῖος ἢ σοὶ συγγενὴς γεγῶσά τις;
Adm. ὀθνεῖος, ἄλλως δ' ἦν ἀναγκαία δόμοις.
Her. πῶς οὖν ἐν οἴκοις σοῖσιν ὤλεσεν βίον;
Adm. πατρὸς θανόντος ἐνθάδ' ὠρφανεύετο. (*Alc.* 532–5)

Her. Was it someone related to you by blood or not?
Adm. Not by blood, but she was in other ways closely connected to the family.
Her. How did she come to die in your house?
Adm. After her father died, she spent her orphan years here.

The locative phrase ἐν οἴκοις σοῖσιν has Focus, in addition to the Focus on πῶς: how is it, that if the woman was no blood relation of Admetus's, she died *in his house?*

3.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have surveyed word order in clauses featuring θνῄσκω and ὄλλυμαι in tragic dialogue. In what is essentially a random sample for the purposes of word order and pragmatics, the large majority of cases discussed here appears to conform well to an account assuming that pragmatically marked constituents precede the verb. I would submit that the structure of the clauses studied in this sample shows important similarities with Greek prose, and strengthens the presumption that we should not discard our knowledge of the rules of Greek word order in prose when we start reading tragic dialogue. Nevertheless, problems remain, as will be clear from the discussion of the individual passages, especially those near the end of this chapter. Also, certain aspects (word order within noun

[50] I will return to word order in questions in ch. 5.

phrases, questions) have only been mentioned in passing, since these will be treated at length in the chapters to follow. Moreover, I have virtually ignored the metrical structure of the passages discussed; this too is an issue which I will return to later (chapter 6). However, a few remarks are in order on this last point. The question may be posed whether metrical form can give a satisfactory account of the problematic passages. No doubt, metrical form is a factor, and a factor that is bound to be still greater where proper names are involved: while an author can choose a near synonym of a common noun or a verb to fit the exigencies of both metre and pragmatic structure, this is much less likely with proper names.[51] However, it is clearly dubious from a methodological standpoint to subject exclusively those passages which have proved problematic for pragmatic analysis to metrical scrutiny. Instead, I will use the early chapters of this book to suggest a different way of reading trimeters, and return to a more systematic approach of the role of metre in chapter 6.

[51] See Baechle (2007) on this point.

4

Word Order in the Noun Phrase

> [W]e fail to see that the fundamental differences in order between Plato's language and ours are at least as great as that between Sitting Bull's and ours. One consequence of this failure is our tendency to regard as 'natural' such elements as are common to Greek and English order; we therefore seek explanations of the differences, but do not trouble to explain what is familiar; theses are written about *καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα* (*Il.* 1,23) but not about *φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα* (ibid. 13).
>
> (Dover 1960: 6)[1]

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I turn from the ordering of constituents in the clause to the internal ordering of constituents themselves. In particular, I will discuss the position of some frequent adjectives and other modifiers vis-à-vis their nouns. In section 4.2, I discuss the adjectives *μέγας* and *πατρῷος;* in 4.3, I discuss the possessives *ἐμός* and *σός*. Section 4.4 sums up this chapter and takes a brief look at numerals modifying nouns.

For noun phrases in Greek prose, I have argued (Dik 1997*a*) that the default order is for nouns to precede their (attributive) adjectives. Nouns will also precede adjectives when they are the more salient element in the context, so that, on this account, it is only when the adjective is the more salient element that it will precede the noun.

[1] Not much, if anything, has changed since. Hyperbaton is the subject of Devine and Stephens (2000), and Baechle (2007).

This account departs from traditional descriptions of adjective-noun ordering, which originate in Marouzeau's work on Latin word order (Marouzeau 1922). Much has been made of the statistical differences, in placement preceding or following nouns, between different types of adjectives. Determining adjectives ('stone', 'Greek', and the like), according to the rule first offered by Marouzeau for Latin and taken over for Greek by Bergson (1960), will follow their nouns, whereas qualifying ('good') and quantifying ('big') adjectives will precede their nouns.

Rather than deciding to consider semantics an independent factor for purposes of word order,[2] I take it that determining adjectives are simply less likely to constitute the most salient part of a noun phrase than are qualifying or quantifying adjectives. Pragmatic salience, then, trumps what one might consider the natural tendencies of adjectives, as illustrated by the examples from Herodotus below.

We can place adjectives denoting material, which belong to the larger group of determining adjectives, at the low end of an imaginary scale of 'intrinsic salience' in modifiers. This, however, does not result in a strict rule for either their salience in every context or their placement in a noun phrase. A determining adjective like 'stone' can be salient when contrasted with 'brick', as in the following example:

(4.1H) *ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἑωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι* ***ἐκ πλίνθων*** *ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἐστί· μή με κατονοσθῇς πρὸς* ***τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας*** *...* (Hdt. 2.136.3–4)

> Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone: 'Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone ...'

[2] As proposed by Devine and Stephens (2000: 21). In their words, I *would* indeed argue that adjective type is 'redundantly correlated' with salience. When adjective placement is driven by pragmatics, it should not come as a surprise that adjectives of different types show statistically significant differences in placement. For a similar point, compare the different statistics of the position of arguments with the semantically similar verbs *ἄρχω* and *βασιλεύω* (Dik 1995: ch. 5). These verbs are used in different contexts, which leads to great differences statistically, but there is no need to ascribe these differences to syntactic or semantic verb 'types'.

Here the adjective *λίθινος*, which is most often postposed in Herodotus, precedes the noun, which can be explained from the contrast established in the context between brick and stone.[3] In the present account, we do not need to pose separate rules for this adjective or for any other kind of adjective. Rather, the meaning of this word leads naturally to the statistics on its placement, but those same statistics and, more interestingly, the *individual instances* can still be accounted for pragmatically. The pragmatic approach also offers an explanation for why statistics can vary widely from author to author and even within texts.[4] In the case of *λίθινος* and adjectives like it, one can expect a treatise on geology to show a different set of statistics than a work of history. The pragmatic rules stay the same, but the demands of the text are different.[5]

At the other end of this imaginary scale of salience, one could place quantifying and qualifying adjectives, but also a different type of modifier, the possessive. While it can be argued that possessives are intrinsically contrastive, in some contexts such intrinsic contrast will be more to the point than in others. To take an example from Herodotus, when Gyges responds to Candaules' proposal to spy on his naked wife, we can be confident (*pace* Cairns 1996: 78) that he does not mean to give the possessive more emphasis than he does the noun:[6]

(4.2H) *Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με* ***δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν*** *θεήσασθαι γυμνήν;* (Hdt. 1.8.3)

[3] The most frequent attributive use ('stone statue', 'stone building', etc.) does not involve preposing (see e.g. Hdt. 2.69.2, 2.91.2 *λίθινοι*, 2.110.1, 2.111.4, 2.121.*α*1). But *λίθινος* is also preposed when 'a statue of X' is expressed as 'a stone X', as in Hdt. 7.225.2, *λίθινος λέων* 'a statue of a lion'.

[4] For a different view, see especially Devine and Stephens, who argue (2000: 21–2), on the basis of statistical differences between Herodotus and Thucydides, that the relatively high frequency of postposed adjectives in Herodotus must be a feature of the Ionic dialect. I would argue that while we lump these two authors together as one genre, it is naive to expect that any difference in their usage is necessarily related to dialect. In the particular case of postposed adjectives, I would point out that there is more description for the sake of description (as opposed to description in the service of argumentation) in Herodotus than Thucydides, and this calls for more postposed adjectives (on the difference between Herodotus and Thucydides in description see also Crane 1996: 3–5). One of the few passages in Thucydides in which adjectives are postposed with some frequency is precisely the description of the plague.

[5] For a similar treatment of a question of Latin word order, see Pinkster (1990*b*).

[6] The 'grammar of possession' in Greek makes clear, however, that the possessive is certainly not colourless here: a less emphatic alternative would be a definite noun

> 'Master,' said he, 'what a pestilent command is this that you lay upon me! that I should see her who is my mistress naked!'

The passage below shows the same noun preceding and then following the possessive. The noun ὄψις first precedes the possessive ἐμή (ὄψις introduces a list of items), and then follows it, when the latter presents a more salient contrast with *Αἰγυπτίους*:

(4.3H) *Μέχρι μὲν τούτου* **ὄψις τε ἐμὴ** *καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον· προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσί τι καὶ* **τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος**. (Hdt. 2.99.1)

> Thus far, all I have said is the outcome of my own sight and judgement and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to that which I have heard, adding thereto somewhat of what I myself have seen.[7]

The thrust of this account of modifier placement, then, is to suggest that we should read preposed modifiers as marked. A caveat is in order, however. In a range of contexts, a Greek author could choose whether to mark the modifier or the noun. For us as modern readers, this implies that it is often impossible to exclude alternative readings on the basis of the context: should one charge Oedipus with killing *his very own* father, or his *father*? Is Greek word order a *big* problem, or a big *problem*? But in Greek, as in these English examples, it is clear that there exists variation in linguistic form (whether in word order, or prosody, or both) and the fact that in some contexts, alternative expressions are possible, does not imply that these expressions are synonymous.

Following Simon Dik's motto that we should take languages seriously,[8] in the pages to follow I will consider the surrounding context of the noun phrases under consideration, and contrast instances of

phrase *τὴν δέσποιναν* (since Gyges' mistress is uniquely identifiable); the genitive of the enclitic first person pronoun is out, given the first person singular subject. Foregrounding the possessive idea is possible either by preposing *ἐμήν* or by using the reflexive: *τὴν ἐμεωυτοῦ δέσποιναν*.

[7] Godley's Loeb translation. Note that this translation introduces some intensifiers that are not present in the Greek: 'my own', 'myself'.

[8] See e.g. S. C. Dik (1997: 17–18). In resolutely functionalist manner, the passage continues (18): 'Whenever there is some overt difference between two constructions

the same or similar nouns in different contexts to investigate how this account holds up in Sophocles.

I will not be discussing hyperbaton in this chapter. Although much progress has been made in the syntactic description of hyperbaton (on which see below), a pragmatically sensitive study of hyperbaton in Greek prose remains a desideratum. Such a study would have to predate work on hyperbaton in Greek poetry. The grammar of the Greek noun phrase is an understudied area, which I am confident Hellenists will be exploring in years to come. One aspect that I trust will prove particularly fruitful for tragedy is the study of deixis. The frequency of proximal deictics, especially, is extremely high in tragedy as compared to other genres. This and many other matters fall outside the scope of this chapter.[9]

4.1.1 Alternative Accounts

Two important recent contributions need to be mentioned here. Much work on modifier placement in the tragic and comic trimeter has been done by Baechle (2007), who concentrates on the effects of intractable word shapes. He argues that hyperbaton can be ascribed to the poet's need to accommodate such word shapes in the line, so that on this view there is at best a marginal role for pragmatic factors. While mindful of the problem that metrical structure poses, I do not consider lexical selection (the source of particular word shapes, tractable or intractable) to have such primacy in composition that all other factors must be considered on the basis of the word shapes as we find them.[10] However, I have selected some particularly 'tractable' word shapes for the modifiers in this chapter, so as to avoid looking only at a collection of overdetermined ordering patterns.

X and Y, start out on the assumption that this difference has some kind of functionality in the linguistic system . . . Try to find out why X and Y are different, on the working assumption that such a difference would not be in the language unless it had some kind of task to perform.' X and Y in this chapter are preposed and postposed modifiers, of course.

[9] I am aware of work in progress on the Greek noun phrase generally by S. Bakker, on definiteness by A. Rijksbaron, and specifically on hyperbaton by S. R. Slings.

[10] Another problem with this approach is that many of the intractable verbs which intervene between modifier and noun are not the vox propria at all. See, for instance,

Devine and Stephens (2000) present a wide-ranging study of the syntactic characteristics of, and restraints on, hyperbaton in Greek prose and poetry.[11] One important conclusion that emerges from both of these accounts, however, is that discontinuous noun phrases in tragedy, as opposed to comedy and prose, are not as easily distinguished pragmatically from continuous noun phrases. Accordingly, I will take preposing and postposing of modifiers as my primary concern in this chapter, abstracting for the moment from the question of continuity. In doing this, I also aim to restore the balance of scholarly attention somewhat. As Dover (1960: 6) has pointed out (quoted at the opening of this chapter), scholars have consistently paid much attention to hyperbaton (Sperrung, Spaltung, discontinuity) and virtually ignored 'normal' ordering; in this chapter I will do the opposite.[12]

I will start (section 4.2) with adjectives. In section 4.3 I discuss the placement of the possessives *ἐμός* and *σός*. In 4.4, I conclude with a brief discussion of how the placement of numerals, too, can be interpreted along the lines suggested in this chapter.

4.2 ADJECTIVES

Some of the most frequent adjectives in Sophocles are listed in table 4.1 below, with the most frequently preposed adjectives first.[13]

the use of *ἐπεμβαίνω* in (4.45) below. This verb is attested in other authors, but it is hardly the regular expression for 'be at a certain place'. I do agree that the incidence of hyperbaton is a style marker whose use was carefully calibrated, as Baechle shows, but I would add that selection of where to use it was still made by pragmatic criteria.

[11] In Dik (2001) I give a somewhat longer account of this work. I am in basic agreement with Devine and Stephens's views on the main types of hyperbaton they discuss and many of their observations. I especially recommend Devine and Stephens (2000: 33–70) for a succinct introduction to the most frequent form of hyperbaton, the types of focus involved, etc.

[12] For a full bibliography on hyperbaton, a perennial favourite, see Baechle (2007) and Devine and Stephens (2000). Bolkestein (2001) addresses discontinuity in Latin.

[13] The total number of occurrences of all these adjectives is much larger, but all substantive, predicative, and adverbial uses were excluded, as well as occurrences outside the spoken parts. The 44 instances of attributive *κακός* were gleaned from over 300 total instances, whereas the 39 instances of *πατρῷος* and *πάτριος* derive from a total of only 54 instances in the seven tragedies.

Table 4.1 Placement of selected attributive adjectives in Sophocles

adjective	semantic type	no. preposed (%)	no. postposed (%)
νέος	determining	8 (100)	0 (0)
παλαιός	determining	16 (89)	2 (11)
πολύς	quantifying	50 (82)	11 (18)
ναυτικός	determining	4 (80)	1 (20)
(σ)μικρός	quantifying	15 (79)	4 (21)
δεινός	qualifying	22 (73)	8 (27)
πατρῷος/πάτριος	determining	26 (67)	13 (33)
μέγας[a]	quantifying	11 (65)	6 (35)
ἐσθλός	qualifying	4 (50)	4 (50)
σοφός	qualifying	3 (50)	3 (50)
κακός	qualifying	21 (48)	23 (52)
σαφής	qualifying	3 (37)	5 (63)
χρηστός	qualifying	1 (20)	4 (80)
καλός	qualifying	2 (18)	11 (82)

[a]Comparative *μείζων* has 10 preposed (77%), 3 postposed; superlative *μέγιστος* has 4 preposed (40%) and 6 postposed instances.

Metrically, these adjectives all produce wordshapes easily placed in the trimeter. Most are disyllabic, with short (e.g. *κακός*) or long (e.g. *δεινός*) penults. Semantically, the group includes determining (such as *νέος* or *ναυτικός*), qualifying (such as *ἐσθλός* or *καλός*) and quantifying (such as *πολύς* or *μέγας*) modifiers. As I indicated above, it has been argued (most recently, Devine and Stephens 2000: 20–2) that the different semantics of these adjectives result in different ordering preferences, viz. that in Attic Greek, determining adjectives are more likely to be postposed than qualifying and quantifying adjectives.

While numbers are small, it appears from the tables that neither metre nor semantics can shed very much light on the placement of these adjectives. The metrically similar *δεινός*, *ἐσθλός*, *(σ)μικρός*, and

Table 4.2 Placement of attributive adjectives by semantic type in Sophocles

semantic type	no. preposed (%)	no. postposed (%)
quantifying	76 (78)	21 (22)
determining	54 (77)	16 (23)
qualifying	56 (49)	58 (51)
all	186 (66)	95 (34)

χρηστός, on the one hand, do not show similar behaviour, nor, on the other hand, do κακός, καλός, and νέος. Simple correlations between word shape and placement of the modifier are impossible, even in the case of νέος, where all but two of these preposed modifiers appear at line end, as in (4.1):[14]

(4.1) Tec. οἴκτιρε δ', ὦναξ, παῖδα τὸν σόν, εἰ νέας
τροφῆς στερηθεὶς σοῦ διοίσεται μόνος ...
(Soph. *Aj.* 510–11)

And pity your son, my lord ... if he is robbed
of his early sustenance and must live bereft of you!

As far as the semantic distinctions between qualifying, quantifying, and determining adjectives are concerned, in this small sample we find adjectives with a strong preference for preposing in all three groups (see table 4.2 above). The determining adjectives, which have been claimed to prefer postposing, are in fact predominantly preposed, which is the behaviour predicted for quantifying and qualifying adjectives. Of these latter two, the quantifying adjectives do show a preference for preposing, but the qualifying adjectives, while varying widely (compare, for instance, δεινός and καλός), taken together, show an almost equal distribution between preposing and postposing.

As I said in the introduction, this is not the place for extensive discussion of the influence of semantic distinctions on word order.[15] The adjectives studied here make clear that while 'qualifying' and 'determining' capture an intuitive difference between adjectives, and one that is reflected in their use, it is probably better to think of the phenomenon as scalar than as a black-and-white distinction. The adjective μέγας is a case in point. I have classified it in table 4.1 above as 'quantifying' rather than 'qualifying' or 'determining' but, arguably, it is determining in expressions such as βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας 'the Great King' and the same is true of μείζων in Αἴας ὁ

[14] The exceptions to placement at line end are *OT* 1 **νέα** τροφή | and *Aj.* 735–6 νέας | βουλὰς **νέοισιν** ἐγκαταζεύξας τρόποις.

[15] As will become apparent below, I believe that what statistical significance can be shown by syntactic or semantic approaches tends to point to underlying pragmatic factors. Compare Dover (1960: 31): '... all patterns of order which are describable in syntactical terms are secondary phenomena.' On adjectives specifically, see Dik (1997*a*).

μείζων 'the greater Ajax' (*Phil.* 411). On the other hand, μέγας is better classified as qualifying in μέγας Ζεύς 'great Zeus' (*Trach.* 399).[16] Such examples can be multiplied. Looking back to νέας τροφῆς in (4.1) above, for instance, how can we decide that the adjective here is a neutral reference to early childhood (determining or quantifying?), or a pathetic reference to helplessness (qualifying?)?[17]

In what follows, I will discuss what indications there are that preposing can indeed be considered the marked order for the adjective, specifically in the case of 'quantifying' μέγας (section 4.2.1), and go on to consider the instances of pre- and postposing of the adjective πατρῷος, which is considered a 'determining' adjective (4.2.2).

4.2.1 Marked Greatness or Unremarkable Size? The Case of *μέγας*

Noun phrases composed of a head noun plus an adjective do not lend themselves to pragmatic analysis as easily as clauses do. Take for instance English 'big problem'. In many contexts, it is equally felicitous to emphasize the adjective as it is to emphasize the noun. This does not necessarily mean that these alternatives are functionally equivalent, however. Likewise, there may be contexts in which it is equally felicitous to prepose or to postpose the adjective μέγας, but that does not mean that the alternatives constitute meaningless variations.

Roughly two thirds of the instances of μέγας are preposed, yet I will argue in this section that there is good reason to maintain the hypothesis that this is the marked position of the adjective. A first indication is its repetition in the affirmative response in (4.2) below:

(4.2) Io. καὶ μὴν μέγας γ' ὀφθαλμὸς οἱ πατρὸς τάφοι.
Oe. μέγας, ξυνίημ'· ἀλλὰ τῆς ζώσης φόβος.
(Soph. *OT* 987–8)

[16] Similarly, perhaps, μέγας | αἰθήρ in *Ant.* 420–1, but see below (n. 19). Incidentally, I do not mean to suggest that the examples given here represent noun-adjective combinations that are completely fixed in order. The Great King occurs in many different orderings in Xenophon, for instance.

[17] On the basis of my findings in the rest of this section, I lean to the more marked interpretation.

Io. Well, your father's funeral is a great source of light.
Oe. Yes, I understand; but I am afraid while she still lives.

Oedipus has to admit to Iocaste that Polybus's death comes as a relief to him, even if he has already shifted his attention to his mother. The repetition of the adjective leaves no doubt that we should read it as the most salient part of the noun phrase.

The adverbial *ὧδε* in (4.3), whether or not construed strictly with the noun phrase that follows, again suggests that we should read the adjective as marked (Jebb: 'Now wherefore hast thou come in this fierce wrath . . .'):

(4.3) Ph. *εὖ γ', ὦ τέκνον· τίνος γὰρ ὧδε τὸν μέγαν*
χόλον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν ἐλήλυθας; (*Phil.* 327–8)

Well said, my son! What is the cause of the great anger that leads you to accuse them?

For further examples of interrogatives, like *τίνος* here, followed by other Focus elements, see § 5.3.

The majority of the examples that I consider to support the hypothesis, however, are cases in which the salience of the adjective is apparent from the presence of contrastive words and/or more quantifying adjectives in the immediate context, as in examples (4.4)–(4.6):

(4.4) Ag. ***μέγας*** *δὲ πλευρὰ βοῦς ὑπὸ* ***σμικρᾶς*** *ὅμως*
μάστιγος ὀρθὸς εἰς ὁδὸν πορεύεται. (*Aj.* 1253–4)

A huge ox goes straight along the road, guided by a small goad.

The contrasting element need not be an attributive adjective itself. (4.5) is a case in point:[18]

(4.5) El. *κοὐδ' ἄν σε λυπήσασα δεξαίμην* ***βραχὺ***
αὐτὴ ***μέγ'*** *εὑρεῖν κέρδος·* (*El.* 1304–5)

[18] I would explain the late position of *βραχύ* from the greater importance of *λυπήσασα* here. Electra is saying primarily that she does not want to inflict *any* *λύπη* on Orestes; this in contrast to the *ἡδοναί* of the previous lines. *οὐδὲ βραχύ* 'not even a little' is secondary to this, but it does prepare for the contrast with *μέγα*.

And I would not accept great gain for myself
at the price of small pain to you;

In (4.6), *μέγαν* is accompanied by a second quantifier, *πάσῃ*. The two noun phrases reinforce, rather than contrast with each other:

(4.6) Aj. *ἦ που τάλαινα, τήνδ' ὅταν κλύῃ φάτιν,*
ἥσει ***μέγαν*** *κωκυτὸν ἐν* ***πάσῃ*** *πόλει.* (*Aj.* 850–1)

Poor woman, when she hears this news
she will utter loud wailing in all the city!

With some hesitation I add here an instance from the guard's description of the sudden storm in *Antigone*:

(4.7) Guard *καὶ τότ' ἐξαίφνης χθονὸς*
τυφὼς ἀγείρας σκηπτόν, οὐράνιον ἄχος,
πίμπλησι πεδίον, ***πᾶσαν*** *αἰκίζων φόβην*
ὕλης πεδιάδος, ἐν δ' ἐμεστώθη ***μέγας***
αἰθήρ· μύσαντες δ' εἴχομεν θείαν νόσον. (*Ant.* 417–21)

And then suddenly a whirlwind on the ground
raised up a storm, a trouble in the air,
and filled the plain, tormenting all the foliage
of the woods that covered the ground there; and the vast sky
was filled with it, and we shut our eyes and endured the god-sent affliction.

The storm's overwhelming presence is represented indirectly by what it overpowers: all the foliage, and the vast sky; more directly the 'filling' verbs *πίμπλησι* and *ἐν . . . ἐμεστώθη* express how the storm takes over the entire landscape.[19]

In (4.8), finally, the main motivation for the preposing of *μέγας* is probably the contrast, but in addition to the contrastive *σμικροῦ*, there is a second quantifier, *πολλήν*, in the same sentence, which is again preposed.

[19] It is not impossible that we should instead read *μέγας | αἰθήρ* as we read *μέγας Ζεύς*, viz. 'the Great Sky.' However, this does not seem to be a frequent collocation (once elsewhere in Sophocles, at *OC* 1471 (lyr.)), and there is also an instance of noun-adjective order at *Aj.* 1192–3 (lyr.).

(4.8) Men. *οὕτω δὲ καὶ σὲ καὶ τὸ σὸν λάβρον στόμα*
σμικροῦ *νέφους τάχ' ἄν τις ἐκπνεύσας* ***μέγας***
χειμὼν κατασβέσειε τὴν ***πολλὴν*** *βοήν.*
(*Aj.* 1147–9)

Just so shall a small cloud issue in a mighty tempest
that shall blow upon you and your loud mouth
and put a stop to all your shouting.

The seven preceding instances give more or less clear indications in the context that the adjectives should be interpreted as marked. The three remaining instances[20] are compatible with such an interpretation, but they do not have such markers in the immediate context as we saw in the examples above. In (4.9), Theseus reacts to Oedipus' statement that his (Oedipus') body will protect the Athenians from the Thebans:

(4.9) The. *μέγ' ἂν λέγοις δώρημα τῆς συνουσίας.* (*OC* 647)
The gift of your presence that you speak of is a great one.

Similarly, Oedipus announces that he will be a 'great saviour':

(4.10) Oe. *ἐὰν γὰρ ὑμεῖς, ὦ ξένοι, θέλητ' ἐμοὶ*
σὺν ταῖσδε ταῖς σεμναῖσι δημούχοις θεαῖς
ἀλκὴν ποεῖσθαι, τῇδε μὲν πόλει μέγαν
σωτῆρ' ἀρεῖσθε, τοῖς δ' ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς πόνους.
(*OC* 457–60)

For if you, strangers, are willing
with the aid of these awesome goddesses of your deme
to give me protection, you will acquire a great
preserver for this city, and cause trouble for my enemies!

The third and final example is from Ajax:

(4.11) Ag. *ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀκούειν μεγάλα πρὸς δούλων κακά;* (*Aj.* 1235)
Is it not a great scandal that we hear this from slaves?

This comes close to my introductory example of 'big problem'. Agamemnon can express his outrage at this scandal by focusing on the size of the evil, or the evil itself. This last example is not incompatible

[20] There is a total of eleven preposed instances. I mentioned *μέγας Ζεύς* above; this leaves ten others.

with the hypothesis, and given the indications for markedness in so many of the other instances of preposing, I conclude that we should most likely read this instance of a preposed adjective as marked as well.[21]

4.2.2 Paternal Proprieties: *πατρῷος*

In the introduction to this chapter I discussed an example of a determining adjective, *λίθινος*, which is rarely preposed, but which, given the right context, can become highly salient, and get preposed as a result. In this section, I will discuss another adjective normally classified as determining, *πατρῷος* 'belonging to one's father'. Surprisingly, in Sophocles, *πατρῷος* is preposed as often as *μέγας* is (see above, table 4.1). In some cases, we can again see that there is an explicit contrast which makes *πατρῷος* salient, as in the following example:[22]

(4.12) Mess. *Αἵμων ὄλωλεν· αὐτόχειρ δ' αἱμάσσεται.*
Cho. *πότερα πατρῴας ἢ πρὸς οἰκείας χερός;* (*Ant.* 1175–6)

Mess. Haemon is dead; and his own hand has shed his blood.
Cho. Was it by his father's hand or by his own?

Emotional appeal, however, if hard to prove, is likely a factor as well. In this respect it is suggestive that we see precisely in *Trachiniae*, with reference to Heracles, *πατρῴῳ Διί / Ζηνί* (*Trach.* 288, 753) rather than the expected postposed adjective.[23] We find similar ordering patterns

[21] This, of course, does also depend on the predominant absence of indicators of markedness in the set of postposed instances. The following are the postposed instances: *Aj.* 465, 1077, *El.* 320, 670, *Phil.* 59, *Trach.* 667. The one instance among these which has a contrasting adjective in the context is *Aj.* 1077: *ἀλλ' ἄνδρα χρή, κἂν σῶμα γεννήσῃ* ***μέγα***, | *δοκεῖν πεσεῖν ἂν κἂν ἀπὸ σμικροῦ κακοῦ*. Perhaps this adjective should be taken as predicative, not attributive.

[22] Even without the disjunction, *χερός* following *αὐτόχειρ* would not be salient. One could paraphrase: 'Did his *father* kill him, or he himself?' Similarly *Trach.* 236, *πατρῴας εἴτε βαρβάρου . . .*

[23] Jebb notes 'Zeus as the god of his fathers, the protector of his race, rather than with reference to the personal relationship,' but this is surely not all there is to it. Elsewhere, we find *πατρῷος* postposed with gods in three instances (not counting *Ant.* 839 (lyr.)): *πρὸς θεῶν/ὦ θεοὶ π.* in *OC* 756, *Phil.* 933, *El.* 411. At *Trach.* 1168, Heracles refers to Zeus' oracle at Dodona as *τῆς πατρῴας καὶ πολυγλώσσου δρυός*, and here an interpretation as 'oak of my fathers' *vel sim.* is clearly impossible.

in the orators where words like house, possessions, etc. are typically preceded rather than followed by *πατρῷος*, as in this example from Demosthenes:[24]

(4.1D) *ἐξέβαλες μὲν τὸν σαυτοῦ θεῖον Νικίαν ἐκ τῆς πατρῴας οἰκίας, . . .* (Dem. 45.70)

You ejected your own uncle Nicias from the house of his fathers, . . .

At this point we can briefly revisit the options open to the descriptive linguist when confronted with these data. Taking the numerical evidence from Demosthenes and Sophocles as our starting point, various conclusions are possible. Since in both authors *πατρῷος* is predominantly preposed, we can state that preposing is the default, unmarked ordering. We would then need to formulate a separate rule for postposed *πατρῷος* as an epithet of divinities. Such a description would indeed account for most occurrences in prose, but it would not begin to capture the variation we find in Sophocles, where we find both preposing with divinities and postposing with other nouns. Conversely, we can hypothesize, as we did in the case of *μέγας*, that preposing constitutes the marked option for the modifier, even though it is the most frequent use. The adjective will be postposed if it is unmarked. Another explanation for noun-adjective order on this account is that it is also the predicted ordering when it is the nouns that are the most salient part of the constituent. Compare the instances of *πατρῷος* with *γῆ* in examples (4.13)–(4.15), and its use with *φόνος* in (4.16) and (4.17):

(4.13) Or. *ἀλλ', ὦ πατρῷα γῆ θεοί τ' ἐγχώριοι . . .* (*El.* 67)
But do you, my native land, and you, gods of the place . . .

This invocation (*Phil.* 1040 is very similar) represents the majority use of *πατρῷος*, in that the adjective is preposed and there is no reason to suspect salience of a contrastive kind in the adjective. We can perhaps say, however, that the adjective here is more salient than

[24] The only postposed instances I found in the Demosthenic corpus are the expected *Ἀπόλλωνος πατρῴου* (Dem. 57.54, 67), and *ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χωρίου τοῦ πατρῴου* ([Dem.] 43.72). Nineteen are preposed with such nouns as *οἶκος*, *οὐσία*, and the like, where one wonders how informative the adjective actually is. The potential of this adjective for emotional appeal is clear from its frequent collocation with verbs like *ἀποστερέω*.

the semantically light γῆ, especially in view of the fact that Orestes has newly returned to his father's land, and has come to avenge his father. The invocation as a whole shows a chiastic arrangement, with the contrasting nouns juxtaposed, which is one option for nouns in a series. Creon's words about Polyneices in (4.14) combine the same nouns in a different ordering:

(4.14) Cr. τὸν δ' αὖ ξύναιμον τοῦδε, Πολυνείκην λέγω,
ὃς γῆν πατρῴαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
φυγὰς κατελθὼν ἠθέλησε μὲν πυρὶ
πρῆσαι κατ' ἄκρας...
(*Ant.* 198–201)

But his brother, I mean Polyneices,
who came back from exile meaning to burn to the ground
his native city and the gods of his race...

This example shows the less frequent ordering. The nouns γῆν and θεούς are preposed, which ordering can be seen as motivated—given the possibility of chiasmus as in (4.13), not *predicted*—by the coordination of these two entities into a pair. In such enumerations nouns will typically be the better single descriptors of new or unused entities than adjectives. We can give a similar interpretation in the case of (4.15):

(4.15) Dei. ...τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς τὸν βίον διώλεσεν,
καὶ γῆν πατρῴαν οὐχ ἑκοῦσα δύσμορος
ἔπερσε κἀδούλωσεν. (*Trach.* 465–7)

[I pitied her... because] her beauty had destroyed her life,
and by no fault of hers, poor creature, she had brought her native land
to ruin and to slavery.

Deianeira observes that Iole has ruined her (own) life and her land. Again, it is possible to see γῆν as the more salient element given that it follows as a second element that is ruined after βίον in the earlier clause.[25]

[25] Harm Pinkster (p.c.) points out another factor: the unmarked ordering is more likely when other elements have Focus (here: οὐχ ἑκοῦσα δύσμορος), while the noun phrase under discussion is the Topic of the clause. I discuss a final example of γῆ πατρῴα below (4.22).

In the following set of examples, *φόνος* 'murder' is the noun with which *πατρῷος* is combined. Oedipus (4.16) and Clytemnestra (4.17) postpose this adjective, while Electra (4.18) preposes it:

(4.16) Oe. *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ οὔτ' ἐν τοῖσδ' ἀκούσομαι κακὸς*
γάμοισιν οὔθ' οὓς αἰὲν ἐμφορεῖς σύ μοι
φόνους πατρῴους ἐξονειδίζων πικρῶς. (*OC* 988–90)

No, neither this marriage nor the killing of my father,
which you never cease to cast in my teeth with bitter reproaches,
shall prove me to be evil.

In Oedipus' words, the murder of his father is contrasted with the marriage with his mother. He has just defended himself against the latter charge, now he turns to the murder.

(4.17) Cly. *καί μ', ἐπεὶ τῆσδε χθονὸς*
ἐξῆλθεν, οὐκέτ' εἶδεν· ἐγκαλῶν δέ μοι
φόνους πατρῴους δείν' ἐπηπείλει τελεῖν· (*El.* 777–9)

After he left this land
he never saw me, but he reproached me
with his father's murder and he swore to do terrible things.

Clytemnestra repeats Orestes' charges. Again, as in (4.16), the noun is preposed.

(4.18) El. *νῦν δ' ἡνίκ' οὐκέτ' ἔστιν, ἐς σὲ δὴ βλέπω,*
ὅπως τὸν αὐτόχειρα πατρῴου φόνου
ξὺν τῇδ' ἀδελφῇ μὴ κατοκνήσεις κτανεῖν
Αἴγισθον· (*El.* 954–7)

But now that he is no more, I look to you,
not to be afraid to kill with me your sister
the author of our father's murder,
Aegisthus.

In (4.18), finally, it is Electra who remembers Agamemnon's murder, and she preposes the adjective.[26] It is attractive to conclude that the preposed adjective is the stronger version, which plays up the horror

[26] We can add that *φόνου* is less newsworthy here given the preceding *αὐτόχειρα*. Further discussion of this example follows in ch. 6, as (6.4).

of patricide, as against the attempts on the part of Clytemnestra and Oedipus to diminish their guilt.

Many of the postposed cases lend themselves to such readings, giving prominence to the head nouns, which contrast with, or otherwise react to, another noun in their vicinity, as in (4.19)–(4.21), or downplay the 'fatherliness', as in (4.22):

(4.19) El. *ἔπειτα ποίας ἡμέρας δοκεῖς μ' ἄγειν,*
ὅταν ***θρόνοις*** *Αἴγισθον ἐνθακοῦντ' ἴδω*
τοῖσιν πατρῴοις, εἰσίδω δ' ***ἐσθήματα***
φοροῦντ' ἐκείνῳ ταὐτά, καὶ παρεστίους
σπένδοντα λοιβὰς ἔνθ' ἐκεῖνον ὤλεσεν, (*El.* 266–70)

And then what kind of days do you think I pass
when I see Aegisthus sitting on my father's throne,
and when I see him wearing the same clothes
he wore, and pouring libations by the same hearth
at which he murdered him . . . ?

Electra enumerates the ways in which Aegisthus' presence in the house makes her life unbearable. The nouns *θρόνοις* and *ἐσθήματα* are preposed.[27] The various instances of hyperbaton in this passage are worth considering for a moment. The late position in the clause of *τοῖσιν πατρῴοις*, postponed to the beginning of the next line, makes it likely that we can regard it as Tail constituent, a unit of additional, clarifying information that follows the main clause. We might paraphrase with '. . . sitting on the *throne*, my *father's* throne.' The two following instances of hyperbaton are less far-reaching, with only the governing participles (*φοροῦντα*, *σπένδοντα*) intervening between the two parts of the noun phrases. Nonetheless, this distance allows for a pragmatically non-homogeneous noun phrase, which can be said to have an internal Topic-Focus articulation: while *ἐσθήματα* represents new[28] information, it functions at the same time as the grounding of the modifier phrase *ἐκείνῳ ταὐτά*.[29]

[27] This changes in the last element in the series, *παρεστίους . . . λοιβάς*. We can see, however, that the reference to the hearth that is made with the adjective is what gets picked up by the relative *ἔνθα*.

[28] 'New', in that the clothes are here mentioned for the first time, so more specifically, 'unused' rather than 'brand new'. Clothes, throne, and the like are accessible entities, in that they are attributes of a person of Aegisthus' stature.

[29] As to the third item, *λοιβάς*, this is not nearly as salient as the two earlier postverbal segments. A figura etymologica has been avoided (metrically impossible in this

(4.20) El. ἦ πάρεστι μὲν στένειν
πλούτου πατρῴου κτῆσιν ἐστερημένῃ,
πάρεστι δ' ἀλγεῖν ἐς τοσόνδε τοῦ χρόνου
ἄλεκτρα γηράσκουσαν ἀνυμέναιά τε. (*El.* 959–62)

You can lament
at being cheated of the possession of your father's wealth,
and you can grieve a growing older to this point in time
without a wedding and without a marriage.

Electra reminds Chrysothemis that she (C.) is poor and unmarried. The noun πλούτου, preceding πατρῴου here, and ἄλεκτρα, two lines later, together sum up her position best.

(4.21) Hae. πάτερ, σός εἰμι· καὶ σύ με **γνώμας** ἔχων
χρηστὰς ἀπορθοῖς, αἷς ἔγωγ' ἐφέψομαι.
ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀξιώσεται γάμος
μείζων φέρεσθαι σοῦ καλῶς ἡγουμένου.
Cr. οὕτω γάρ, ὦ παῖ, χρὴ διὰ στέρνων ἔχειν,
γνώμης πατρῴας πάντ' ὄπισθεν ἑστάναι. (*Ant.* 635–40)

Hae. Father, I belong to you, and you keep me straight with your good judgments, which I shall follow.
Yes, in my eyes no marriage shall be more highly valued than your right guidance.
Cr. Yes, my son, that is how your mind should be, thinking that all things rank second to your father's judgement.

Before turning to γνώμης πατρῴας in 640, we need to consider Haemon's words that precede. Griffith ad loc. notes that Haemon's 'pledge of filial allegiance is immediate, but not unequivocal.... γνώμας ἔχων χρηστάς could be causal ("since you have...") or conditional ("if you have...").' I would add that the ordering of noun and modifier in Haemon's words further aids the ambiguity. We can interpret the preposed noun as the most salient part of the noun phrase, with an unimportant modifier following ('your γνῶμαι will be my guide'); but we can also see γνώμας as a mere Topic to a Focus

position: σπένδοντα **σπ**ονδάς), but the new information provided by this internal accusative rests in the modifier παρεστίους, not the noun.

χρηστάς ('your γνῶμαι will be my guide, in as far as they are *good*').[30] When we come to Creon's response, there is no indication that he has heard anything but a proper filial attitude in Haemon's words ('yes, that is exactly how…'). How, then, are we to read the noun phrase γνώμης πατρῴας? I believe that by repeating the noun in this prominent position (line-initial, and clause-initial in the ἑστάναι clause), Creon endorses Haemon's reference to his γνώμας here. In the lines to follow, he will further praise the virtue of filial obedience.

(4.22) Pol. ἃ δ' ἦλθον ἤδη σοι θέλω λέξαι, πάτερ·
γῆς ἐκ πατρῴας ἐξελήλαμαι φυγάς,… (*OC* 1291–2)

But now I wish to tell you why I came here, father!
I have been driven from my native land and into exile,…

In this final example of postposed πατρῴας there are again several factors to be considered. In (4.14) and (4.15) above, I proposed that it was the importance of the noun, which was part of a list of nouns, that could account for this ordering. That factor is not present in (4.22). On the other hand, we will see below (§ 4.3.3) that in very similar expressions, the possessive tends to follow the noun.[31] Finally, there is the extra complication, to which even the self-centered Polyneices may not be entirely oblivious, that his own father is currently not in his fatherland. This may make it even less attractive to prepose the adjective here.[32]

In the case of πατρῷος, then, it has appeared easier to account for the instances of postposing as a result of the salience of nouns than to account for most instances of preposed adjectives from special salience in the context, as was possible for μέγας. From the comparison with Demosthenes, in which the adjective is also frequently found

[30] In this chapter I have left such pragmatically non-uniform noun phrases out of consideration, since they typically involve ('Topic Y2') hyperbaton; see Devine and Stephens (2000: 97–103). A possible example from the corpus I consider here is *Aj.* 1077 σῶμα γεννήσῃ μέγα (see above, n. 21).

[31] e.g. γῆς ἐμῆς ἀπηλάθην (below, example (4.44)).

[32] I noted a similar contraindication to preposing with regard to φόνοι πατρῷοι in (4.16) and (4.17) above. An important difference when it comes to nouns like γῆ and οἰκία (as opposed to e.g. φόνος or γνώμη) is that there is typically no identifying or determining function to the adjective but only, for want of a better term, an intensifying one.

preposed, it emerged that this treatment of πατρῷος is not a phenomenon limited to tragic texts. Upon considering these two very different adjectives in turn, I conclude that interpreting preposed adjectives as pragmatically marked is a reading strategy which recommends itself for tragedy as well as for prose.

4.3 MINE AND THINE IN *OC*—WHEN MODIFIERS OUTRANK HEADS

This section presents the various ordering patterns in which the possessives ἐμός and σός are used in *OC*, supplemented with examples from the rest of the tragic corpus. For our present purposes, a clear advantage of these modifiers, besides their high frequency in the tragic corpus,[33] is their metrical shape: these short forms can be accommodated virtually anywhere in the line. The possible orderings are illustrated below: possessive-noun (a) and noun-possessive (b), with discontinuous variants (a') and (b'):

(4.23) (a) τὸ σὸν | ὄνομα (*OC* 305–6)
(a') τοὐμὸν φυλάξει σ' ὄνομα (*OC* 667)
(b) τὸ δ' ὄνομα τοὐμόν (Eur. *Hel.* 43)
(b') ὅταν περ τοὔνομ' αἴσθηται τὸ σόν. (*OC* 301)

In raw numbers, preposed possessives turn out to be more frequent in my corpus than postposed ones: in *OC*, preposing is roughly twice as frequent:

(a) 37 (47%)
(a') 18 (23%)
Preposed total: 55 (70%)
(b) 19 (24%)
(b') 5 (6%)
Postposed total: 24 (30 %)

[33] A frequency also remarked on by Baechle (2007). *Pace* Baechle, however, I would not conclude that possessives are colourless. While, admittedly, their presence or absence will often not change the semantics of an utterance, they are very much at home in the give and take of tragic dialogue, and add to the emotional charge of expressions.

The preponderance of preposed possessives is, if slightly more pronounced, still similar to that of adjectival modifiers, whose placement I summarized in table 4.1 above. If possessives indeed belong at the 'high end' of frequently preposed adjectives, this can be explained in various ways. First of all, these first- and second-person possessives are inherently contrastive; but more importantly, their reference to human participants, present on the stage, makes them inherently more salient than inanimate and/or abstract entities. While in the case of 'ordinary' modifiers and heads, heads tend to be more accessible than modifiers, in the case of human possessors, and especially pronominal possessives, this is quite different.

In some of the cases below, it seems as if the effect of an accessibility/empathy hierarchy which has humans near the top (and the first and second person at the very top), followed by inanimate and more abstract notions further down, is that what is syntactically the modifier is conceptually the head of an expression. So for instance when Antigone tells Oedipus that strangers are looking for 'your seat' or Creon invokes fear of 'my arrival', the particular nouns matter less than the possessives:

(4.24) An. *σίγα· πορεύονται γὰρ οἵδε δή τινες*
χρόνῳ παλαιοί, σῆς ἕδρας ἐπίσκοποι. (*OC* 111–12)

Be silent. For here come some men
advanced in age, to spy out your seat! [i.e., looking for you]

(4.25) Cr. *ὁρῶ τιν' ὑμᾶς ὀμμάτων εἰληφότας*
φόβον νεώρη τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπεισόδου·
ὃν *μήτ' ὀκνεῖτε μήτ' ἀφῆτ' ἔπος κακόν.* (*OC* 729–31)

I see in your eyes a fear
newly caused by my arrival!
But do not be alarmed by me, nor let fall a hostile word!

The centrality of the personal pronoun is further borne out by the relative *ὅν* in *OC* 731.[34] In such cases, the preposed modifiers are clearly not contrastive (there is no question of multiple 'seats' or

[34] As also noted by Jebb, but cf. Lloyd-Jones: 'do not be alarmed by me'. Similarly, the chorus that Antigone sees approaching in (4.24) is obviously looking for Oedipus, not his *ἕδρα* (cf. 117, *τίς ἄρ' ἦν; ποῦ ναίει;*).

arrivals between which we must distinguish); rather, one could think of them as the conceptual heads (though not syntactic heads) of the noun phrase.

Possibly, we should therefore expect a default ordering of possessive-noun rather than noun-possessive, or more generally, preposing of the modifier when the reference of the modifier is higher in the animacy/accessibility hierarchy than that of the noun. I will return to this below in the discussion of individual examples, but will start with the four examples with *ὄνομα* and a possessive given above. The first passage, (4.26), includes two instances. While these illustrate two different placements of the possessives, despite their identical position in the line, the context is not particularly conclusive as to the difference in pragmatic force of the two:

(4.26) Oe. *ἦ καὶ δοκεῖτε τοῦ τυφλοῦ τιν᾽ ἐντροπὴν*
ἢ φροντίδ᾽ ἕξειν, αὐτὸν ὥστ᾽ ἐλθεῖν πέλας; 300
Cho. *καὶ κάρθ᾽, ὅταν περ τοὔνομ᾽ αἴσθηται* ***τὸ σόν.***
Oe. *τίς δ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ ὁ κείνῳ τοῦτο τοὔπος ἀγγελῶν;*
Cho. *μακρὰ κέλευθος· πολλὰ δ᾽ ἐμπόρων ἔπη*
φιλεῖ πλανᾶσθαι, τῶν ἐκεῖνος ἀΐων,
θάρσει, παρέσται. πολὺ γάρ, ὦ γέρον, ***τὸ σὸν*** 305
ὄνομα διήκει πάντας, ὥστε κεἰ βραδὺς
εὕδει, κλυών σοῦ δεῦρ᾽ ἀφίξεται ταχύς. (*OC* 299–307)

Oe. Do you truly think that he will show any thought or regard for the blind man, so as to come near in person?
Cho. Indeed he will, when he hears your name!
Oe. And who shall bring that message to him?
Cho. The distance is great; but much talk of travellers circulates; and when he has heard
be assured, he will be here. For your name, aged man, has spread greatly to all, so that even if he sleeps and moves slowly, when he hears of you he will be quick to arrive.

While Oedipus questions Theseus's concern for him, the chorus assures him in 301 that when Theseus hears Oedipus's name, he will appear. While this cannot be proven from the context, the

ordering suggests a paraphrase along the lines of 'when he (merely) hears your *name*' rather than 'when he hears *your* name (of all names).' At 305, on the other hand, the preposed possessive, followed by the line break, should probably be given more weight: 'your name' is here equivalent with 'you' as it is in English 'your name is dirt.'

In the following two instances it is easier to argue from the context that the first element of the noun phrase, be it the noun or the possessive, is the more salient of the two:

(4.1E) Hel. *Φρυγῶν δ' ἐς ἀλκὴν προυτέθην ἐγὼ μὲν οὔ,*
τὸ δ' ὄνομα ***τοὐμόν,*** *ἄθλον Ἕλλησιν δορός.*
(Eur. *Hel.* 42–3)

And for the fight against the Trojans, I was put forward for the Greeks
as a prize of war (though it was not me but only my name).

This example from the *Helen*, illustrating the fourth ordering pattern with *ὄνομα*, is a clear instance of contrast on the noun rather than the modifier: Helen's name was all that was present of her at Troy. In this case, 'name' practically functions as an antithesis to the true Helen herself, similarly to the familiar *λόγος*/*ἔργον* distinction. Contrast Theseus's words in (4.27):

(4.27) The. *θαρσεῖν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε κἄνευ τῆς ἐμῆς*
γνώμης ἐπαινῶ, Φοῖβος εἰ προὔπεμψέ σε·
ὅμως δὲ κἀμοῦ μὴ παρόντος οἶδ' ὅτι
τοὐμὸν *φυλάξει σ' ὄνομα μὴ πάσχειν κακῶς.*
(*OC* 664–7)

So I would advise you to be confident, even apart from my decision, if it was Phoebus who sent you;
and none the less I know that even when I am absent my name will guard you from ill-treatment.

In this case, Theseus is claiming that his power will work even in his absence; there is no sense of contrast between person and name, rather, Theseus' name is an extension of him as a person. We will see more instances of this below, where the sense of the noun phrase depends more on the possessive than on the particular noun. Note that while we cannot possibly paraphrase (4.1E) with '?not I, but

I was held out as a prize for the Trojans', we *can* paraphrase (4.27) with 'even if I am not there, I will protect you' without the result becoming nonsensical.

4.3.1 Kinship Terms

After these examples of all four orderings with one and the same head noun, I should point out that most nouns in my sample are not like ὄνομα in taking both pre- and postposed possessives. Devine and Stephens (2000: 23–4) note that kinship terms, for instance, predominantly take postposed possessives,[35] as in (4.1L), not preposed ones, as in (4.2L):

(4.1L) ... ἐμοίχευεν Ἐρατοσθένης τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ἐκείνην τε διέφθειρε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ᾔσχυνε καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ὕβρισεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰσιών ... (Lys. 1.4)

Eratosthenes had an intrigue with my wife, and not only corrupted her, but inflicted disgrace upon my children and an outrage on myself by entering my house ...

(4.2L) ἔστι δ', ἔφη, Ἐρατοσθένης Ὀῆθεν ὁ ταῦτα πράττων, ὃς οὐ μόνον τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα διέφθαρκεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας πολλάς· (Lys. 1.16)

'It is,' she said, 'Eratosthenes of Oë who is doing this; he has debauched not only your wife, but many others besides ...'

In addition to noting the statistical tendencies, however, we can say that in (4.1L) there is a listing of wife, children, and house which takes precedence over the repeated possessive pronoun, while in (4.2L), the marked case, the possessive is clearly contrastive.[36]

[35] Exclusively ὁ ἐμός and nouns (2000: 24). In *OC*, I in fact find six postposed and eight preposed instances of ἐμός and σός. However, looking only at παῖς in all of Sophocles, I find eight postposed instances and only one preposed ((4.37) below). Sibling words (ἀδελφός, ὅμαιμος, ...), however, I found more commonly associated with preposed possessives.

[36] For two examples from Herodotus see (4.2H) in § 4.1 above. In prose, too, however, other factors play a role, such as the use of the marked form at thematic boundaries. An example of this is Lys. 12.4 Οὑμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος. This use of the preposed possessive is related to the strong forms of the personal pronoun at

Turning to Sophocles, I first discuss kinship terms with postposed possessives.

(4.28) Oe. *καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος εἰρηκὼς κυρεῖ;*
Is. *ὥς φασιν οἱ μολόντες εἰς Θήβης πέδον.*
Oe. *παίδων τις οὖν ἤκουσε τῶν* ***ἐμῶν*** *τάδε;*
Is. *ἄμφω γ' ὁμοίως, κἀξεπίστασθον καλῶς.* (*OC* 414–17)

Oe. And did Phoebus really say this regarding me?
Is. So say those who returned to the land of Thebes.
Oe. Then did either of my sons hear this?
Is. Yes, both alike, and they are well aware of it.

The possessive is not contrastive or otherwise salient here; in such contexts these kin terms will typically precede the possessives.[37] The same will happen if the noun itself is contrastive, as in (4.29):

(4.29) Oe. *ὡς οὔτ' ἂν ἀστῶν τῶνδ' ἂν ἐξείποιμί τῳ*
οὔτ' ἂν τέκνοισι τοῖς ἐμοῖς, στέργων ὅμως. (*OC* 1528–9)

For I would not reveal them to any of these citizens,
nor to my children, much though I love them.

The occurrence of multiple possessives in a clause often involves chiastic ordering, with the possessives juxtaposed, as in (4.30). Note that the first noun phrase is in the expected ordering given the context (compare *παῖς οὑμός* in 1173):

(4.30) Oe. *πῶς εἶπας, ὦ παῖ;* An. *παῖδα* ***σήν, ἐμὴν*** *δ' ὁρᾶν*
ὅμαιμον· αὐδῇ δ' αὐτίκ' ἔξεστιν μαθεῖν.
(*OC* 322–3)

Oe. What did you say, my child? An. That I see
your daughter and my sister; and now we can know
her by her voice.

thematic boundaries, such as *ἐγώ* starting paragraphs in Lys. 1.5, 1.6, 1.35, *ἐμοί* in 1.39, etc.

[37] Other instances in *OC* include 979 *ὁμαίμου σῆς*, 1173 *παῖς οὑμός*. See also *Aj.* 499, 510, 530; *OT* 854. In *Aj.* 510 *παῖδα τὸν σόν* is one in a series of family members, so that in this case it is the noun which is contrastive (note that the possessive is even left out with *μητέρα* in 507). See below ((4.35) and following) for possible counter-examples.

The preposed *ἐμήν* immediately follows its 'antonym' *σήν* to strong effect.[38] The polyptoton of *ἐμός* in (4.31) works similarly:

(4.31) Oe. *οὐκ ἔστι σοι ταῦτ', ἀλλά σοι τάδ' ἔστ', ἐκεῖ*
χώρας ἀλάστωρ οὑμὸς ἐνναίων ἀεί·
ἔστιν δὲ παισὶ ***τοῖς ἐμοῖσι τῆς ἐμῆς***
χθονὸς λαχεῖν τοσοῦτον, ἐνθανεῖν μόνον. (*OC* 787–90)

You [Creon] shall not have that, but you shall have this,
my vengeful spirit ever dwelling here;
and my sons can inherit this much only of my
country, enough to die in!

While *παισί* contrasts with 'you' (Creon), and shows the expected head-modifier order, how can we account for the preposed *τῆς ἐμῆς*? Clearly, it is not motivated by a logical contrast with anybody else's land. I would argue that the juxtaposition brings out the unexpected claim by Oedipus to power he had relinquished a long time ago. Neither Creon nor Eteocles or Polyneices would still consider Thebes to belong to Oedipus. The salience of *ἐμῆς*, then, is due to its counter-presuppositional nature. Oedipus is practically reclaiming Thebes as his to dole out to his children or anyone else.

In (4.30) above we saw a first instance of a kinship term preceded by the possessive (*ἐμὴν . . . ὅμαιμον*). In *OC*, there are eight such instances in total. In addition to the chiastic instances already mentioned, others have clear indications in the context that the modifiers are contrastive, as in (4.32):[39]

(4.32) The. *πότερα τὰ τῶν σῶν ἐκγόνων ἢ τοῦ λέγεις;* (*OC* 588)
Do your words concern your sons, or whom?

In the case of (4.33) and (4.34) the nouns appear less relevant than the idea of 'mine' versus 'thine' in general, and they follow at the end of the clause:

(4.33) Cr. *ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄνανδρον τήνδε τὴν πόλιν λέγω,*
ὦ τέκνον Αἰγέως, οὔτ' ἄβουλον, ὡς σὺ φής,

[38] Similarly 1275: *ὦ σπέρματ'* ***ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ'***, ***ἐμαὶ*** *δ' ὁμαίμονες*.

[39] Editors differ on the exact words following *ἐκγόνων*, but all possibilities (*ἢ 'μοῦ*—the reading of the MSS—*κἀμοῦ*, *ἢ τοῦ*) seem to imply a contrastive reading of *σῶν*.

τοὔργον τόδ' ἐξέπραξα, γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι
οὐδείς ποτ' αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐμῶν ἂν ἐμπέσοι
ζήλος ξυναίμων, ὥστ' ἐμοῦ τρέφειν βίᾳ. (*OC* 939–43)

I do not say your city has no men,
son of Aegeus, nor was my action rash, as you say,
but I knew that no desire for my relations
would ever fall upon your people
that they would keep them here against my will.

Creon stresses that he respects Athens, but that surely Athens will not claim what is rightly his.[40] The focal elements of the noun phrase, οὐδείς and τῶν ἐμῶν, come first, and are separated by postpositives.[41]

(4.34) The. ἢν μὴ θάνω 'γὼ πρόσθεν, οὐχὶ παύσομαι
πρὶν ἄν σε τῶν σῶν κύριον στήσω τέκνων. (*OC* 1040–1)

If I do not die first, I shall not rest
till I have placed your children in your hands!

It is impossible to represent this in a smooth translation, but I would read this primarily as a general promise by Theseus to restore to Oedipus what is his (τῶν σῶν κύριον στήσω). Another factor that plays a role in the ordering is again the juxtaposition of the pronouns (σε τῶν σῶν).

The remaining examples of preposed possessives in this category are more problematic. They do not present a clear contrast in context, nor do they feature the kinds of juxtaposition discussed above. In both cases, the referent is Polyneices' brother Eteocles:

(4.35) Pol. ... ἱκετεύομεν ξύμπαντες ἐξαιτούμενοι
μῆνιν βαρεῖαν εἰκαθεῖν ὁρμωμένῳ
τῷδ' ἀνδρὶ τοὐμοῦ πρὸς κασιγνήτου τίσιν,
ὅς μ' ἐξέωσε κἀπεσύλησεν πάτρας.
(*OC* 1327–30)

[40] It is also possible to read the possessive contrastively ('nobody wants anything to do with the likes of *my* family'), but I think the special features of Creon's family (πατροκτόνον, ἄναγνον) are presented as a separate argument.

[41] In ch. 6 we will see more instances of conjunctions at line end.

we all now beseech you in supplication . . .
to renounce your grievous anger in favour of myself,
as I set out
to take vengeance on my brother,
who drove me out and robbed me of my country.

In fact, we have if not a literal then a virtual juxtaposition of first person pronouns here (*τῷδ' ἀνδρὶ τοὐμοῦ*). To suggest a marked reading '*my* brother' for line 1329 may seem awkward, but if Polyneices casts himself as the victim of Eteocles' actions, this problem evaporates. In (4.36), Oedipus reproaches Polyneices:

(4.36) Oe. *ὅς γ', ὦ κάκιστε, σκῆπτρα καὶ θρόνους ἔχων,*
ἃ νῦν ὁ σὸς ξύναιμος ἐν Θήβαις ἔχει,
τὸν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πατέρα τόνδ' ἀπήλασας . . .
(*OC* 1354–6)

You are the one, villain, who when you held the sceptre
and the throne
that are now held by your brother in Thebes,
drove away your own father here . . .

Again, the preposed possessive is not in logical contrast, but we might speculate that an unmarked variant would be out of place here as being simply too casual. This bit of speculation brings me to a more general observation with which it is actually in line. Most cases I found of further modifiers with these possessives were preposed rather than postposed, as in (4.37), my final example of a kinship term with a possessive:

(4.37) Is. *ἃ δ' ἀμφὶ τοῖν σοῖν* ***δυσμόροιν*** *παίδοιν κακὰ*
νῦν ἐστι, ταῦτα σημανοῦσ' ἐλήλυθα. (*OC* 365–6)

[I will not tell you about what happened to me on my
journey]
but I have come to tell you of the evils that
now afflict your two unhappy sons.

Arguably, Ismene can be described as a *δύσμορος παῖς* of Oedipus herself, so that it is the masculine dual *σοῖν* which logically identifies the referents Eteocles and Polyneices here more than any other word, and this might account for its early position. But the presence of *δύσμορος*, clearly not a neutral descriptive adjective, must be an

important factor here. The other adjectives that I found in combination with the preposed possessive are similarly emotive.[42]

4.3.2 Bodies and Body Parts

Surprisingly, the majority of possessives in this category precede their noun. This might be due to the fact that usually, these inalienable possessions do not need an indication of ownership,[43] so that when such indication is made, it is salient. This seems to be contradicted by the fact that other easily inferred referents, such as 'home' and 'country', do not show the same preference for preposed possessives (section 4.3.3 below). A more important factor that comes into play, it appears, is the use of body or body part to refer more generally to the person. The example that comes to mind is the formulaic 'head of X' to refer to X, as in the opening of *Antigone* (4.38):[44]

(4.38) An. *Ὦ κοινὸν αὐτάδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα* (*Ant.* 1)
My very own sister Ismene

But the tendency is more widespread than that, and preposed possessives that at first sight look surprising are better understood when we think of them rather as elaborated personal references.[45] So for instance Iocaste's report on the servant who wants to leave the palace:

[42] Preposed modifiers: (i) in apposition with the possessor: *OC* 344 *τἀμὰ δυστήνου κακά*; (ii) additional modifier: *OC* 370 *τὸν σὸν ἄθλιον δόμον*, 559 *ἡ σὴ δύσμορος παραστάτις*, 576 *τοὐμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας*, 621 *οὑμὸς εὔδων καὶ κεκρυμμένος νέκυς*, 794 *τὸ σὸν . . . ὑπόβλητον στόμα*, 1200 *τῶν σῶν ἀδέρκτων ὀμμάτων*, 1293 *τοῖς σοῖς πανάρχοις . . . θρόνοις*. Postposed modifiers: 757–8 *δόμους . . .* | *τοὺς σοὺς πατρῴους*, 1173 *παῖς οὑμός, ὦναξ, στυγνός . . .* The latter, the sole postposed adjective with comparable emotive force, more likely functions as its own unit: my son, lord, my hateful son, who . . .

[43] True even in metaphor, as at *OT* 22–4: *πόλις . . .* | *ἀνακουφίσαι κάρα* | *βυθῶν ἔτ' οὐχ οἷά τε φοινίου σάλου*.

[44] 'My X' = 'me': *OC* 1207 *μηδεὶς κρατείτω τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ποτε;* 1340 *εἰ σὺ τῆμῇ ξυμπαραστήσῃ φρενί*.

[45] Clear contrastive use of the preposed possessive, with the importance of the noun retained, is rarer. One instance is *Trach.* 1133, where Heracles reacts to Deianeira's suicide *πρὶν ὡς χρῆν σφ' ἐξ ἐμῆς θανεῖν χερός*; *Trach.* 603 is parallel to (4.39): *δώρημ' ἐκείνῳ τἀνδρὶ τῆς ἐμῆς χερός*, 'a gift for him from me'. At *OC* 963 Oedipus complains that Creon keeps raking up Oedipus' troubles, and again the contrast between second-person possessive and (here) the first person is more important than the particular noun: *ὅστις φόνους μοι καὶ γάμους καὶ συμφορὰς* | *τοῦ **σοῦ** διῆκας στόματος, ἃς **ἐγὼ** τάλας ἤνεγκον ἄκων*—'*You* had to go on about it, when it happened to *me*.'

(4.39) Io. οὐ δῆτ'· ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ κεῖθεν ἦλθε καὶ κράτη
σέ τ' εἶδ' ἔχοντα Λάιόν τ' ὀλωλότα,
ἐξικέτευσε τῆς **ἐμῆς** χειρὸς θιγὼν
ἀγρούς σφε πέμψαι κἀπὶ ποιμνίων νομάς,
ὡς πλεῖστον εἴη τοῦδ' ἄποπτος ἄστεως. (*OT* 758–62)

No; for after he returned and saw that you
were in power and Laius was dead,
he clasped my hand in supplication, begging me
to send him to the fields and to the pastures,
so that he could be as far as possible from the city.

The witness to Laius' murder has good reasons to ask Iocaste rather than Oedipus. We can read the possessive as contrasting with *σέ* and *Λάϊος*: 'he pleaded with *me*.'

A similar emphasis on person-in-general rather than hand-in-particular is present in (4.40), with Theseus speaking:

(4.40) The. τοῦτον δ' ἐγώ,
εἰ μὲν δι' ὀργῆς ἦκον, ἧς ὅδ' ἄξιος,
ἄτρωτον οὐ μεθῆκ' ἂν ἐξ ἐμῆς χερός· (*OC* 904–6)

As for this man,
if I were as angry with him as he deserves,
I would not have let him go unwounded by my hand . . .

While the clause as a whole is complete with *μεθῆκ' ἄν*, the last words give renewed emphasis to Theseus' sense of authority. The decision lies entirely with him, even when he decides not to use violence.[46]

Contrast (4.41). Here the inclusion of a possessive is most likely necessary because of the following parallel clause;[47] but the pronoun does not have the force it has in (4.40) above:[48]

(4.41) Mess. κἀπεὶ προσῆλθεν, εἶπεν '³Ω φίλον κάρα,
δός μοι χερὸς σῆς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις,
ὑμεῖς τε, παῖδες, τῷδε·' (*OC* 1631–3)

[46] Similar preposed possessives occur elsewhere in Theseus' speech, whether in comparing himself as self-made man with the loner Oedipus (564), or professing his self-confidence (655). See also *Aj.* 35 *σῇ κυβερνῶμαι χερί*, *Trach.* 1102 *τῶν ἐμῶν χερῶν*.

[47] In clauses with second-person verbs, as here, the second-person possessive can be left out as shown by *OC* 1130: *καί μοι χέρ', ὦναξ, δεξιάν ὄρεξον* . . .

[48] Similar postposed examples: *El.* 296–7, *Trach.* 1066, *OT* 821–2 (*χεροῖν* . . . |*δι' ὤνπερ*).

And when he [Theseus] had approached, he said,
'My dear friend,
pray give the ancient pledge of a handclasp to my children,
and do you, children, give the same to him.'

It is more problematic to decide how to read *χερσὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς* in (4.42), but I believe it is similar, despite the tendency to translate *ταῖς ἐμαῖς* with 'my own', as in Lloyd-Jones's translation:

(4.42) Oe. *μάλιστά γ'· εἶπε γάρ με Λοξίας ποτὲ*
χρῆναι μιγῆναι μητρὶ τἠμαυτοῦ, τό τε
πατρῷον αἷμα χερσὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ἑλεῖν. (*OT* 994–6)

Yes! Loxias once said that I
was fated to lie with my mother,
and to spill my father's blood with my own hands.

The exposition of Oedipus' fate is ordered chiastically: sleep with my mother, kill (*χερσί . . . ἑλεῖν*) my father (*πατρῷον αἷμα*). Since the suggestion of violence is most clearly present in the noun *χερσί* it makes sense that it comes as the first word of the second member of the clause (*sleep* with my *mother*, do *violence* to my *father*).

4.3.3 Home and Country

The words for home and fatherland, *δόμοι*,[49] *γῆ*, *πατρίς*,[50] share with body parts that their referents are easily inferred, and uniquely

[49] Possessives with 'home', *δόμοι*, are typically postposed: *OC* 643 *τί δῆτα χρῄζεις; ἢ δόμους στείχειν ἐμούς;* 757–8 *θελήσας ἄστυ καὶ δόμους μολεῖν | τοὺς σοὺς πατρῴους*, 1342 *ὥστ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσι σοῖς στήσω σ'ἄγων*. See also *Aj.* 568, *Trach.* 185. At *Aj.* 1015–16, a context that abounds with second-person pronouns, we nevertheless find the unmarked order but this has little probative value: *ὡς τὰ σὰ | κράτη θανόντος καὶ δόμους νέμοιμι σούς*. At *Ant.* 1078–9, where Teiresias warns Creon of impending doom on his house, we find the marked order: *φανεῖ γὰρ οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου τριβὴ | ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν σοῖς δόμοις κωκύματα*—which would seem appropriate for the antagonistic tone of the speech.

[50] *OC* 849–50 *ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ νικᾶν θέλεις | πατρίδα τε τὴν σὴν καὶ φίλους . . .* is the only example with *πατρίς*.

identifiable, from the identity of the possessor.[51] They can be thought of as inalienable possessions in a non-technical sense, in that an exile like Oedipus thinks of Thebes as 'his' country, even when he is no longer there. Again as with body parts, with such words, the possessive can be left out altogether, as in (4.43). When it does appear, it tends to follow the noun, as in (4.44), unless there is clear contrast, as in (4.45):

(4.43) Oe. φύλαξ δέ μοι
πιστὴ κατέστης, **γῆς** ὅτ' ἐξηλαυνόμην· (*OC* 355–6)

You were my
faithful guardian when I was driven from the land.

(4.44) Oe. οὕτως ἔχει μοι· γῆς ἐμῆς ἀπηλάθην
πρὸς τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ σπερμάτων· (*OC* 599–600)

This is how it is with me: I was driven from my country
by my own offspring.

(4.45) The. οὔκουν ἔγωγ' ἂν **σῆς** ἐπεμβαίνων χθονός,
οὐδ' εἰ τὰ πάντων εἶχον ἐνδικώτατα,
ἄνευ γε τοῦ κραίνοντος, ὅστις ἦν, χθονὸς
οὔθ' εἷλκον οὔτ' ἂν ἦγον... (*OC* 924–7)

I would never have entered your country,
even in the justest of all causes,
without the consent of the ruler of the land,
whoever he was, and dragged people off...

Quite possibly it is again the presence of another personal pronoun in (4.44) that makes the difference between use and non-use of the possessive here. But the main distinction that concerns me here is that between (4.44) and (4.45), and this seems easy enough to explain. The latter features a strong contrast between Theseus and Creon, as Theseus tells Creon how he would act if the roles were to be reversed. There is no such contrast in (4.44).

[51] Perhaps one can include in this category, if rather morbidly, graves. With a postposed possessive at *OC* 402: κείνοις ὁ τύμβος δυστυχῶν ὁ σὸς βαρύς, and preposed at 411: τῆς σῆς ὑπ' ὀργῆς, σοῖς ὅταν στῶσιν τάφοις (or, with Lloyd-Jones '*dubitanter*', σοῖς ὅτ' ἀντῶσιν τάφοις).

4.3.4 Abstracts

This last group is the most skewed in its distribution toward preposed possessives.[52] It is here that the problem that I mentioned at the opening of this section becomes most apparent. Some head nouns, one gets the impression, might as well have been expressed by means of prepositions instead, or have been left out entirely. Consider again (4.24) above, where *σῆς ἕδρας* had little to do with seating, and (4.46), where Ismene's answer is a near equivalent to *σοῦ ἕνεκα*:[53]

(4.46) Oe. *τέκνον, τί δ' ἦλθες;* Is. *σῆ, πάτερ, προμηθίᾳ.*
Oe. *πότερα πόθοισι;*
(*OC* 332–3)

Oe. Child, why have you come? Is. Out of concern for you, father!
Oe. Was it that you missed me?

While in this case the possessive takes on the role of second argument (Oedipus is the object of Ismene's care), the same ordering is found for the possessive expressing the first argument, as in (4.47); (4.48) is an example of the object argument expressed by the genitive of the personal pronoun. In the latter case, the *μέν*-*δέ* construction leads naturally to fronting of *προμηθίας*:[54]

(4.47) Or. *οὗ τὸ Φωκέων πέδον*
ὑπεξεπέμφθην σῇ προμηθίᾳ χεροῖν. (*El.* 1349–50)

The man by whose guidance I was conveyed through your foresight to the Phocian plain

(4.48) El. *ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπίστω γ' οἵ μ' ἀτιμίας ἄγεις.*
Chr. *ἀτιμίας μὲν οὔ, προμηθίας δὲ σοῦ.* (*El.* 1035–6)

[52] Findings in accordance with those of Devine and Stephens (2000: 25).

[53] Oedipus' question in 333 works better the less specifically we interpret *προμηθία*. Oedipus does not ask what the concern for *him* was, but why Ismene needs to see him.

[54] Note that the English translation of (4.48) suggests Focus function for the nouns (not A, but B), when the Greek presents them as contrastive Topics (with *οὔ* as Focus in the first clause).

El. Well, know to what point of dishonour you are bringing me!
Chr. Not of dishonour, but of care for you!

All in all, I have found six cases in *OC* of abstract nouns with postposed possessives, as against eighteen with preposed possessives. Given the sheer numbers it is appropriate to consider the exceptional cases, in which the possessive is postposed, first of all. In what follows, I will examine these exceptional cases in order to see whether the nouns are somehow more salient in these noun phrases, such as was the case in (4.48) above.

(4.49) Oe. *ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε*
σῶμ' οὐδὲ τἄργα τἄμ'· ἐπεὶ τά γ' ἔργα μου
πεπονθότ' ἴσθι μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα . . . (*OC* 265–7)

. . . simply from fear of my name? For it is not my person or my actions that you fear; why, my actions consisted in suffering rather than in doing . . .

(4.49) can stand as the archetypal example of noun-possessive ordering. Oedipus' *ἔργα* contrast with his *σῶμα*, so that the noun gets fronted.[55]

(4.50) Oe. *τέκνον, πέφηνας;* Is. *οὐκ ἄνευ μόχθου γ' ἐμοῦ.* (*OC* 328)

Oe. Child, have you appeared? Is. Not without trouble for me!

Again in this case, the fronting of the noun seems logical.[56] The modifier is omissible: 'not without trouble.' It is instructive to compare (4.51), where the possessive precedes the noun *πόνους*, and where it is this noun that seems the more omissible part of the noun phrase:

(4.51) Is. *ταῦτ' οὐκ ἀριθμός ἐστιν, ὦ πάτερ, λόγων,*
ἀλλ' ἔργα δεινά· τοὺς δὲ σοὺς ὅπῃ θεοὶ
πόνους κατοικτιοῦσιν οὐκ ἔχω μαθεῖν. (*OC* 382–4)

[55] See chapter 6 (6.70) for further discussion of this passage.
[56] I should note, first, that there is a variant *γε μοι;* second, that the genitive *ἐμοῦ* is ambiguous between possessive and personal pronoun.

> This is not a mere heap of words, father,
> but terrible actions; and when the gods will
> take pity on your sorrows I cannot discover.

Humans are of course the proper object of pity (and hence the typical object of pitying (*οἰκτίρω*) verbs).[57] Compare, similarly, the following pair of examples. In (4.52), the noun is fronted;[58] in (4.53), it is the possessive that comes first, where again we could easily construe the possessive as the notional head of the noun phrase (lament *Orestes* for his misfortune), which makes little sense in the former example:

(4.52) Oe. *ἀλλ' ἵλεῳ μὲν τὸν ἱκέτην δεξαίατο·*
ὡς οὐχ ἕδρας γε τῆσδ' ἂν ἐξέλθοιμ' ἔτι.
Cho. *τί δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο;* Oe. *ξυμφορᾶς ξύνθημ' ἐμῆς.* (*OC* 44–6)

> Oe. May they receive a suppliant graciously,
> for I shall never again leave this seat!
> Cho. But what does this mean? Oe. It is the token of my destiny!

(4.53) El. *οἴμοι τάλαινα· νῦν γὰρ οἰμῶξαι πάρα,*
Ὀρέστα, τὴν σὴν ξυμφοράν, ὅθ' ὧδ' ἔχων
πρὸς τῆσδ' ὑβρίζῃ μητρός. ἆρ' ἔχω καλῶς; (*El.* 788–90)

> Ah, miserable me! Now I can lament
> your disaster, Orestes, when in this plight
> you are insulted by this mother of yours! Am I not well off?

This concludes my survey of the placement of the possessive. Their behaviour proves more complicated to describe than that of adjectives, the modifiers par excellence, especially when it comes to their use with abstract nouns, as discussed in this last section. There is hardly a case where these possessives function as a logical restrictor

[57] Other 'non-human' objects with humans implied or explicitly present include *πάθος* (*Trach.* 855), *ἕδραν* (*OT* 14).

[58] A postposed possessive with *συμφορά* also at *OC* 1014–15, where a clear contrast is made between the man on the one hand and his misfortune on the other: *Ὅ ξεῖνος, ὦναξ, χρηστός· αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ | αὐτοῦ πανώλεις, ἄξιαι δ' ἀμυναθεῖν.*

(as in 'your place or mine?'); conversely, the head nouns often function to bring out one specific aspect of the 'modifier'. These noun phrases, then, show a syntactic structure that is often at odds with their semantics, in that an abstract property of a human participant is treated as the head of a noun phrase, and the human is degraded to mere modifier status. The status of the possessives as references to human participants, however, makes them intrinsically more salient than reference to mere abstract concepts and this is an important factor in their frequent preposing.[59]

4.4 CONCLUSION

A brief chapter such as this one cannot begin to do justice to the complexities of the Greek noun phrase. Nevertheless I hope to have shown that there is abundant reason to take a pragmatic approach to the variation we find in modifier-noun ordering, and to do this in tragedy as well as in prose. I want to conclude this chapter by showing the consequences for the approach taken here for dealing with yet another type of modifier, namely the numeral 'one'.

A recurring example in chapter 2 included the noun phrase *μιᾷ ῥώμῃ*:

(2.16) Cr. *λῃστὰς ἔφασκε συντυχόντας οὐ* ***μιᾷ*** *ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πλήθει χερῶν.* (*OT* 122–3)

He said that robbers encountered them and killed him; he died not through one man's strength, but by the hands of many.

As I argued in that chapter, there is good reason from the context to consider *μιᾷ* marked. This interpretation is in keeping with the conclusions from the rest of this chapter, but besides the logic of the passage, and the formal marking by the *οὐ… ἀλλά* 'not X but Y' construction, there is further evidence to support this: while the noun *ῥώμη* itself is not combined with *μία* elsewhere in Sophocles,

[59] Similar conclusions about higher frequency of preposing with abstract nouns, based on Lysias and Demosthenes, in Devine and Stephens (2000: 25).

the use of preposed and postposed *μία* with the noun *ἡμέρα* lends itself well to an analysis along the lines of this chapter. Compare (4.54) and (4.55) on the one hand with (4.56) and (4.57) on the other:[60]

(4.54) Is. *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων*
οὔθ' ἡδὺς οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸς ἵκετ', ἐξ ὅτου
δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν δύο
μιᾷ *θανόντοιν* ***ἡμέρᾳ*** *διπλῇ χερί·* (*Ant.* 11–14)

To me, Antigone, no word about our friends has come,
either agreeable or painful, since
we two were robbed of two brothers,
who perished on one day each at the other's hand.

(4.55) Is. *τρίτον δ' ἀδελφὼ δύο* ***μίαν*** *καθ'* ***ἡμέραν***
αὐτοκτονοῦντε τὼ ταλαιπώρω μόρον
κοινὸν κατειργάσαντ' ἐπαλλήλοιν χεροῖν. (*Ant.* 55–7)

Thirdly, our two brothers, on one day
killing each other, did themselves
both to death at one another's hands.

These two first examples, both spoken by Ismene in *Antigone*, strongly resemble the instances of preposed *μέγας* discussed in section 4.2.1 above, in that we here find the preposed numeral in the company of two or more numerals besides, which is similar to the presence of *μικρός* or other quantifiers with preposed *μέγας*. There is again good reason to conclude that this preposed modifier is pragmatically marked. As we look back once more at our *OT* passage above, besides the crucial plural *ληστάς* it contains, more relevantly for my argument here, another *lexical* numeric reference in the form of *πλήθει* 'a multitude'.

In (4.56) and (4.57), on the other hand, the numeral is postposed:

(4.56) Oe. *ἀλλ' ἐν χρόνῳ γνώσῃ τάδ' ἀσφαλῶς, ἐπεὶ*
χρόνος δίκαιον ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν μόνος,
κακὸν δὲ κἂν ἐν ***ἡμέρᾳ*** *γνοίης* ***μιᾷ.*** (*OT* 613–15)

But in course of time you will learn this with
certainty, since

[60] The remaining examples of *μία ἡμέρα* / *ἡμέρα μία* in Sophocles are *Ant.* 170 (preposed), *El.* 1149 (postposed).

time alone reveals the just man,
but the traitor you can learn to know in a single day.

(4.57) El. χαῖρ', ὦ πάτερ· πατέρα γὰρ εἰσορᾶν δοκῶ·
χαῖρ'· ἴσθι δ' ὡς μάλιστά σ' ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ
ἤχθηρα κἀφίλησ' ἐν **ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ**. (*El.* 1361–3)

Hail father—for I think I see a father—
hail, and know that I have hated you and loved you
in one day as I have no other mortal.

It is probably somewhat subjective to say that a paraphrase with 'in a day' as opposed to 'in *one* day' seems more felicitous in these latter two instances, that is, to interpret the postposed numeral as unmarked. More objectively, we can point to the absence of other numerals in both these cases; to the contrast between the nouns χρόνος (typically referring to longer periods, cf. Modern Greek χρόνος 'year') and ἡμέρα in (4.56); and to the presence of another element with Focus, μάλιστα σ' ἀνθρώπων 'you most of all people', in (4.57).[61]

In all, this brief consideration of a different type of modifier suggests that reading the ordering of modifier and noun as pragmatically motivated is fruitful in interpreting noun phrases with modifiers of various kinds. I do not wish to oversimplify matters, however. We have seen above that a variety of motivations can be detected behind a simple rule that derives straightforwardly from Givón's dictum (1983: 20) 'attend first to the most urgent task'.

How does my analysis address findings that point to semantic or metrical factors? To take semantics first, *pace* Devine and Stephens, the evidence from Sophocles does not appear to bear out assumptions about the influence of semantics as a variable operating independently from pragmatics (see Table 4.1 above).[62]

The metrical evidence is more intriguing. As is clear from table 4.1, there is no apparent correlation between word shape of modifiers and a tendency for pre- or postposing. However, as Baechle (2007) shows, when one looks at the shapes of the *verbs* in the clauses in which these

[61] For a similar observation see n. 25 above, on (4.15).

[62] Since I have virtually left out discussion of syntactic issues, notably hyperbaton, in this chapter, I cannot address those here.

noun phrases are used, it turns out that when the verb is of a metrically 'intractable' shape, hyperbaton is much more frequent than when the verb is of a metrically 'tractable' shape. Does it follow that a pragmatic argument fails here, since the variation in ordering is explained fully by metrical characteristics? I would say that these word shapes, while undeniably present, lead to a *cum hoc ergo propter hoc* argument. The challenges of composition doubtless included an effort to accommodate word shapes that are more or less compatible with the trimeter line, and an effort to keep frequency of hyperbaton and continuous noun phrases to stylistically appropriate levels.[63] All this, however, does not exclude equally careful monitoring of pragmatic appropriateness. Lexical selection is an area where a poet had a range of choices, with the exception of proper names, so that we cannot take intractable shapes as a simple given that is prior to any pragmatic analysis.

To consider the trimeter from the point of view of composition, then, is to be confronted with a bewildering array of variables. My claim in this chapter, and throughout this book, is essentially more modest than that, however. Following Slings, I would argue that we stand a better chance of success by approaching the problem from the point of view of the audience. Given what we find in Greek prose, we can impute a set of linguistic expectations to the audience, which includes the expectation that preposed modifiers should be interpreted as marked. This shift of perspective from production to processing, or composing to listening, also means that we do not need to strive toward a single uniform explanation of the final form of every single line, and can simply acknowledge that it is impossible to recover how much weight any single factor had in the process of composition. We would most probably conclude, for line after line, that the end product is radically overdetermined. Rather, I have tried here to apply 'prose expectations' to these tragic texts with, to my mind, fruitful results.

[63] Different as between lyric and dialogue, for instance, and different as between comic trimeters and tragic trimeters (Baechle 2007).

5

Enter Dialogue: Questions in Sophocles and Euripides

O suitably-attired-in-leather-boots
Head of a traveller, wherefore seeking whom
Whence by what way how purposed art thou come
To this well-nightingaled vicinity?
(Housman, Fragment of a Greek Tragedy)

5.1 INTRODUCTION: THE PRAGMATICS OF QUESTIONS

Questions, and question-and-answer pairs, are an obvious topic to address here for several reasons. First of all, there is the linguistic perspective: question-and-answer pairs have been seized on by linguists as transparent examples in explaining the basics of pragmatic functions, especially of Focus elements of different kinds. It is generally accepted that the question word, and the corresponding word group in the answer, are the Focus in their clauses, as in (5.1) from *Electra*:

(5.1) Ae. ***ποῦ*** *δῆτ' ἂν εἶεν οἱ ξένοι; δίδασκέ με.*
El. ***ἔνδον·*** (*El.* 1450–1)

Ae. Then where are the strangers? Tell me!
El. Inside . . .

Questions and answers, then, would seem to make for much more straightforward analysis than clauses in continuous narrative, in which

typically analysis of the larger context is necessary to arrive at a secure judgement of what constitutes the 'most salient' piece of information. This makes them a convenient testing ground for our description. What will be of most interest here is to look at the elements that appear early in questions. If question words have Focus, a Topic-Focus-verb pattern would hardly seem to leave room for further (Mobile) words between the question word and the verb.[1] Do Sophoclean questions generally bear this out, and what are we to make of any exceptions?

For Greek scholars, however, it is a small fraction of all questions in our texts that have claimed by far the most attention. These are the so-called postponed interrogatives, in which the interrogative comes later in the sentence. I will discuss (§ 5.4) how this pattern can be explained within the present account, without positing a separate ordering pattern for interrogative sentences. (5.2) is an example of such a 'postponed interrogative' from *Ajax*:

(5.2) Mess. ἀλλ' ἡμὶν Αἴας **ποῦ** 'στιν, ὡς φράσω τάδε;
τοῖς κυρίοις γὰρ πάντα χρὴ δηλοῦν λόγον.
Cho. **οὐκ ἔνδον, ἀλλὰ φροῦδος** ἀρτίως ...
(*Aj.* 733–5)

Mess. But tell me where Ajax is, so that I can make this known to him!
One must report every piece of news to those who are responsible.
Cho. He is not in, but departed lately...

It will clearly be of especial interest to see first of all what kinds of words or wordgroups precede the postponed interrogative. The Topic-Focus-verb pattern would lead us to expect Topics[2] to precede the question word. Secondly, exactly to what position is the question word 'postponed'? Again, the fact that question words are considered to have Focus function, combined with the clause pattern, would lead us to assume that question words come in second position after the Topic, preceding the verb.[3] As we will see in our discussion of the examples,

[1] Also, it would follow that we do not expect explicit Topic constituents in questions in which the interrogative (Focus) comes first in the clause, or in answers. I believe that both points are borne out by the evidence from tragedy.

[2] Or Setting constituents, of course. See below, e.g. (5.17).

[3] If that is not itself the Topic. See below, e.g. *IT* 617 θύσει δὲ τίς με in (5.E1).

this is true in the majority of cases; other examples need to be accounted for in a different way.

Finally, what is it that determines the choice for the postponed interrogative as opposed to the 'normal' pattern? Contributing factors will come up below; for the moment let me point out that there is no need to accord the postponed interrogative the status of literary figure. Thomson (1939*a*) already argued forcefully that the form of these questions must find its origin in spoken language: hence their use in Plato and drama alike, with a higher frequency especially in Euripides and Aristophanes. In literary texts, these questions can therefore be considered as markers of 'quasi-spoken' language, as termed by Slings.[4]

In what follows, I will first of all survey 'normal' questions based largely on the *Ajax* and *Electra*; in the following sections, I will turn to two sets of problematic questions. In section 5.3, I will consider questions in which the question word opens the clause but is not immediately followed by a verb, and in section 5.4 I will turn to an analysis of postponed interrogatives in the *Ajax, Electra, OT*, and *Antigone*. In 5.5, finally, I will turn to Euripides, and reconsider some of the material examined in Battezzato (2000).[5]

5.2 'NORMAL' QUESTIONS: YES-NO QUESTIONS AND WH- QUESTIONS

In the introduction, both examples of questions were 'question-word questions', also known (after English-language question words) as 'Wh- questions', in which the speaker seeks to have his interlocutor 'fill in the blank' in his knowledge. An equally frequent[6] type is that

[4] Slings (1992: 101 f.).

[5] I will here be concerned with Battezzato's sections 1.5–11 (Battezzato 2000: 145–58), in particular. Battezzato, unlike Thomson (1939*a*), discusses the position of the interrogative beyond the mere fact of its 'postponement' from initial position. Even if my analysis is not always in agreement with his (and my discussion of his work will naturally focus on the few points of disagreement), what I have to say about the Euripidean material in section 5.4 is indebted to his data collection.

[6] My counts are as follows: *Ajax*: 55 yes-no, 62 wh- questions (not counting postponed interrogatives, for which see below § 5.4); *Electra*: 66 yes-no, 72 wh- questions (again, not counting postponed interrogatives). Indirect questions are not included in these numbers, and I will not be discussing them in this chapter.

of the yes-no question, in which the speaker seeks to verify the truth of a proposition. Here are Orestes' first questions in *Electra*:

(5.3) Or. ἆρ' ἐστὶν ἡ δύστηνος Ἠλέκτρα; θέλεις
μείνωμεν αὐτοῦ κἀνακούσωμεν γόων;
Pae. ἥκιστα. (*El.* 80–2)

Or. Is it the unfortunate Electra? Would you like us to stay here and listen to her laments?
Pae. But no!

We would expect the Focus elements of the questions (*is* it, or not?, etc.) to come early and here they do. Orestes wonders whether the person he hears is Electra or not (Focus on ἐστίν), then asks if his companion wants to stay or not. In the subordinate clauses ([do you want to] *stay* here, and *listen* to her laments) the two verbs, Focus in their clauses, again come first.

The majority of both types of questions, viz. yes/no and wh- questions, will be of little interest for our purposes here: after all, like the question-answer pairs that we saw in (5.1) and (5.3) above, answers will typically consist only of a Focus constituent, and questions will usually contain no more than two Mobile constituents. Let me briefly survey these least complex of questions nevertheless.

In its simplest form, the yes/no question can consist of just a verb or other questioned term, and of course the wh- question can consist of just the questioned term. These clauses with just one Mobile constituent can be accompanied by connectors, question particles, postpositives, and extraclausals such as vocatives, but ordering is hardly an issue:[7]

Yes/no questions:

(5.4) Ath. ἦ **πέφευγέ** σε; (*Aj.* 102)

Did he escape you?

[7] Other examples of questions consisting of just one Mobile constituent: *Aj.* 48 ἦ καὶ παρέστη (more initial verbs in yes/no: *Aj.* 95, 118, 334, 386, 589, 593, 791, 1026, 1051, 1158, 1273, 1291, 1328, 1364); *El.* 80 (see (5.3) above: postposed subject), 354 οὐ ζῶ; 407 ἦ τῷ δυσμενεστάτῳ βροτῶν; wh- questions: *Aj.* 519 τίς πλοῦτος; *El.* 579 ποίῳ νόμῳ, 671 τὸ ποῖον, ὦ ξέν'; 1349 ποίῳ. Initial verbs with Focus followed by additional Mobiles: *Aj.* 95, 386.

(5.5) Teu. *ὦ φίλτατ' Αἴας, ὦ ξύναιμον ὄμμ' ἐμοί,*
*ἆρ' **ἠμπόληκας** ὥσπερ ἡ φάτις κρατεῖ;* (*Aj.* 977–8)

O dearest Ajax, O brother who gave me comfort,
have you in truth fared as the rumour said?

Wh- questions:

(5.6) Od. ***πῶς**, εἴπερ ὀφθαλμοῖς γε τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁρᾷ;* (*Aj.* 84)

How so, if he is seeing with the same eyes?

(5.7) Od. ***ποίαισι τόλμαις ταῖσδε** καὶ φρενῶν θράσει;* (*Aj.* 46)

How could he dare such a thing?[8] What gave him confidence?

The next simplest clause pattern involves only the question word preceding the verb. Again, the question word can be preceded by a connector and/or a setting constituent, and postpositives can accompany these or the question word:[9]

Question word preceding verb:

(5.8) Od. ***τί** δρᾷς, Ἀθάνα;* (*Aj.* 74)

What are you doing, Athena?

Focus constituent of yes/no question preceding verb:

(5.9) Chr. *τί δ' ἔστιν; οὐ **πρὸς ἡδονὴν** λέγω τάδε;* (*El.* 921)

What is it? Do my words not please you?

Questioned term consisting of two Mobiles:

(5.10) Tec. ***τί χρῆμα** δρᾷς,*
Αἴας; (*Aj.* 288–9)

What are you doing, Ajax?

[8] I will return to the frequent occurrence of deictic elements in questions below. The ordering of the noun phrase here (interrogative, noun, demonstrative) is also used in *OT* 2, *τίνας ποθ' ἕδρας τάσδε κτλ.* (discussed below, at (5.22)).

[9] Other examples (with the question word sometimes part of a larger constituent): *Aj.* 77, 107, 282, 341, 377, 393, 430, 463, 532, 540, 585, 747 (preverbal with pple.), 800, 809, 892 (modifier in genitive forms one constituent with subject), 905, 920 (bis), 984 *ποῦ μοι γῆς κυρεῖ*, 1012, 1024 (bis), 1236, 1290, 1325, 1356.

Plus connector and postpositive:

(5.11) Aj. ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς κακοῖσιν, ἦ **τί** μοι λέγεις; (*Aj.* 532)

Because of these troubles, do you mean?

(5.12) Od. ἦ καί, φίλη δέσποινα, **πρὸς καιρὸν** πονῶ; (*Aj.* 38)

Dear mistress, am I labouring to any purpose?

Plus postverbal object (predictable from context):

(5.13) Ath. ἦ καὶ **πρὸς Ἀτρείδαισιν** ᾔχμασας χέρα; (*Aj.* 97)

Did you arm your hand against the sons of Atreus as well?

(5.14) Od. καὶ **πῶς** ἐπέσχε χεῖρα μαιμῶσαν φόνου; (*Aj.* 50)

And how did he come to hold back his eager arm from murder?

Plus postpositives and postverbal subject (predictable and non-contrastive, see 1443):

(5.15) Ae. **ποῦ** δῆτ' ἂν εἶεν οἱ ξένοι; (*El.* 1450)

Then where are the strangers?

Questioned term consists of two words, with intervening postpositive:

(5.16) Ath. **ποῦ** σοι **τύχης** ἕστηκεν; (*Aj.* 102)

What is his situation?

Setting precedes question word ('postponed interrogative'):

(5.17) El. νῦν δὲ **ποῖ** με χρὴ μολεῖν; (*El.* 812)

But now where can I go?

(5.18) El. ἔπειτα **ποίας ἡμέρας** δοκεῖς μ' ἄγειν, (*El.* 266)

And then what kind of days do you think I pass, . . . ?

5.3 Q-X-V QUESTIONS

Disregarding Settings, connectors, and pre- and postpositives, when we assume a Topic-Focus-verb pattern and equally assume that question words always have Focus, it quickly emerges that one group of examples deserves special attention: those that have other constituents intervening between the Focus constituent and the verb. According to our stipulated sentence pattern, these elements could only be additional Focus elements. Are they? At first sight this seems unlikely. Most sentences, after all, have only one Focus constituent. However, sentences with multiple Focus constituents are not an impossibility.[10] Usually, the additional Focus elements will present a different *kind* of Focus than the question word, viz. selecting Focus. Compare the following English examples:[11]

Why would you go *there*?
(of all places, I wouldn't have expected you to make that particular choice)

Why *me?*
(can't this misfortune happen to somebody else?)

Greek prose offers ready parallels:

(5.P1) *Τί* **τηνικάδε** *ἀφῖξαι, ὦ Κρίτων;* (Pl. *Cri.* 43a1)

Why have you come *at this time*, Crito?

(5.P2) *Εἶτα πῶς* **οὐκ εὐθὺς** *ἐπήγειράς με, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ παρακάθησαι;* (*Cri.* 43b1–2)

Then why did you not wake me *at once,* instead of sitting by me in silence?

[10] Housman parodies one of the most obvious counterexamples, the question with multiple interrogatives. This construction is acceptable in Greek but not in English and many other languages. Whereas Greek can say (Eur. *El.* 779–80 (cf. also *Od.* 1.170)) *τίνες | πόθεν πορεύεσθ[ε]*, English has to use two separate questions: who are you, and where are you from?

[11] Within limits, such selecting Focus constituents can be multiplied: Why did you have to start arguing about *Halliburton* (of all things) with the *vice president* (of all people) at his *birthday* party (of all occasions) at the *White House* (of all places) in the presence of the *press* (of all circumstances)?

Probably the most frequent usage of multiple Focus in questions involves deictic/anaphoric elements as in (5.P1) and in the following:[12]

What did you have to do *that* for?
Why are you telling me this *now*?
What's *this* all about?

I will now turn to the examples in *Ajax* and *Electra* that exhibit this Q-X-V ordering. They too show a large incidence of deictic elements, in particular, preceding the verb, as in (5.19), the simplest form of the phenomenon:

(5.19) Tec. ἡμεῖς ἄρ' οὐ νοσοῦντος ἀτώμεσθα νῦν.
Cho. πῶς **τοῦτ'** ἔλεξας; οὐ κάτοιδ' ὅπως λέγεις. (*Aj.* 269–70)

Tec. Then now, when he is no longer sick, we are afflicted.
Cho. What do you mean by that? I do not understand what you are saying.

Tecmessa is explaining to the chorus why she thinks things have become worse rather than better now that Ajax's madness has subsided. The chorus does not understand and asks 'What makes you say *that?*'

The same selecting Focus (why *that* of all things, why *you* of all people) is possible with non-deictic elements, of course. In *Electra*, Aegisthus asks his murderer two such questions in a row:

(5.20) Ae. τί δ' **ἐς δόμους** ἄγεις με; πῶς, τόδ' εἰ καλὸν
τοὔργον, **σκότου** δεῖ, κοὐ πρόχειρος εἶ κτανεῖν; (*El.* 1493–4)

Why do you force me into the house? If this act is honourable,
why must it be in darkness, and why are you not ready to kill me?

Aegisthus does not understand why Orestes does not kill him on the spot. Why inside the house, of all places, and why in darkness, not

[12] As Rodie Risselada points out to me (p.c.), many of these questions are more rhetorical than actual: speakers use these questions to express their annoyance or other emotion at the state of affairs they observe (as in the 'Why me?' example).

broad daylight? These constituents have Focus in Aegisthus' questions, and come in preverbal position.[13]

Often, however, the situation gets more complicated than this. The first instances of the Q-X-V pattern in *Ajax* are two consecutive questions Odysseus asks Athena. Athena has just confirmed that Ajax is the perpetrator of the cattle slaughter. We again see deictics as in (5.21), in both lines 40 and 42, but in line 42 we see a combination of both a deictic (*τήνδε*) and an additional Mobile constituent (*ποίμναις*):

(5.21) Od. *καὶ πρὸς τί* ***δυσλόγιστον ὧδ'*** *ἦξεν χέρα*
Ath. *χόλῳ βαρυνθεὶς τῶν Ἀχιλλείων ὅπλων.*
Od. *τί δῆτα* ***ποίμναις τήνδ'*** *ἐπεμπίπτει βάσιν;* (*Aj.* 40–2)

Od. Then why did he lash out so foolishly?
Ath. He was stung by anger on account of the arms of Achilles.
Od. Why did he launch this onslaught on the flocks?

In line 40 Odysseus asks a question which can be answered at two levels: why did Ajax turn violent, and why did the violence take the illogical form it did (*δυσλόγιστον ὧδ*[*ε*] *χέρα*)? In the first instance, Athena answers the former question: it is Ajax's anger over Achilles' armour. Odysseus further specifies in line 42: why this attack on the *animals*, rather than on the individuals who had thwarted Ajax? Thus the prominence of preposed *ποίμναις* 'flocks' in line 42 is easy to account for: these were not the victims that one would have expected. The two other preposed constituents contain deictic elements (*ὧδε thus* ill-reasoned, *τήνδε this* attack) which we would imagine accompanied by gestures in performance, even if nothing concrete can be pointed to on the stage in this case, as in the opening lines of *OT*, where question word and deictic are part of the same constituent, and Oedipus reacts to the scene he finds outside his palace:

(5.22) Oe. *Ὦ τέκνα, Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τροφή,*
τίνας *ποθ'* ***ἕδρας τάσδε*** *μοι θοάζετε*
ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοι; (*OT* 1–3)

[13] See also *Ant.* 229–30 *κεἰ τάδ' εἴσεται Κρέων | ἄλλου παρ' ἀνδρός, πῶς* ***σὺ δῆτ'*** *οὐκ ἀλγυνῇ;*

> Children, latest to be reared from the stock of Cadmus,
> why do you sit like this before me,
> with boughs of supplication wreathed with chaplets?

It is difficult to gauge the strength of the deictic element in all of these cases. In (5.22), as in (5.7) above, we can analyse the deictic as a non-contrastive, postposed element in the noun phrase, and the same may be said of *ὧδε* in (5.21). *τήνδε* in (5.21), however, is placed in hyperbaton.[14]

(5.23) Ath. *ὦ οὗτος, Αἴας, δεύτερόν σε προσκαλῶ.*
τί βαιὸν οὕτως *ἐντρέπῃ τῆς συμμάχου;* (*Aj.* 89–90)

> You there, Ajax, I call you a second time!
> Why have you so little regard for your ally?

This is more straightforward. Athena has called out to Ajax before (71–3), without receiving a response, and now she rebukes him for it. The question word *τί* and *βαιὸν οὕτως* 'so little' both have Focus. The object of *ἐντρέπῃ* follows the verb. While, as Jebb points out, the formulation is ironic given Ajax's rejection of Athena's help on the battlefield (774), the referent is entirely predictable, which in effect makes *τῆς συμμάχου* equivalent to an unemphatic pronoun *μου*.

In (5.24), the extra preverbal element is not deictic, and unlike examples we saw above—(5.P2), (5.20)—this is not simply a case of selecting Focus either:[15]

(5.24) Aj. *ἥδιστος, ὦ δέσποινα, δεσμώτης ἔσω*
θακεῖ· θανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὗ τί πω θέλω.

[14] Complicating matters further is the fact that *ὧδε*, *τήνδε*, and *τάσδε* all three follow the caesura, which might be taken to indicate that these three words must be equally prominent. This is too simplistic; at the very least *τήνδε* derives some prominence from the hyperbaton. For enjambment of the deictic, cf. (5.48) below.

[15] I am here concerned with line 109. Line 107 is an unremarkable case of an interrogative preceded by two non-Mobile elements; I discuss these lines (esp. 110) in ch. 3 as well, at (3.28). As to line 109, Jebb argued that it should not be read as a continuation of the structure: 'In v. 107 she continued his sentence; here, feigning keener alarm, she interrupts it.—Nauck reads *ἐργάσῃ* (aor.), depending on *πρὶν ἄν*: which not only is weaker, but requires *δήσας* instead of *δεθείς* in 108.' The problem with Jebb's reading is that in removing the minor problem of the passive participle in 108, he introduces a major problem for the transition to line 110: while speakers may at any time slip from subordinate to main clause syntax without notice, we find an unmarked return to the *πρὶν ἄν* construction in 110.

Ath. *πρὶν ἂν τί δράσῃς ἢ τί κερδάνῃς πλέον;*
Aj. *πρὶν ἂν δεθεὶς πρὸς κίον' ἑρκείου στέγης*
Ath. *τί δῆτα* ***τὸν δύστηνον*** *ἐργάσῃ κακόν;*
Aj. *μάστιγι πρῶτον νῶτα φοινιχθεὶς θάνῃ.* (*Aj.* 105–10)

Aj. Mistress, he sits inside, the most welcome of prisoners!
I do not want him to die yet.
Ath. Before you do what or have got what advantage?
Aj. Before, bound to the pillar of the hut I live in . . .
Ath. You will have done mischief to the wretched man?
Aj. He has perished, after first having his back made bloody by my whip.

Clearly, *τὸν δύστηνον* does not serve to pick out Odysseus from a group of Ajax's possible victims. Rather, by this reference to Odysseus as *δύστηνον* Athena expresses her dismay at what is being done to him. Such reference is qualitatively different from using a more permanent characteristic like *σύμμαχος* in (5.23) above. The evaluative adjective is comparable to the deictic elements we have seen above in that the speaker, with this choice of referent rather than a more neutral term, is expressing her emotional reaction to Odysseus's plight.[16]

In a following instance, the salience of the preverbal elements is much more straightforward:

(5.25) Tec. *κἀγὼ 'πιπλήσσω καὶ λέγω, 'τί χρῆμα δρᾷς,*
Αἴας; τί ***τήνδ' ἄκλητος οὔθ' ὑπ' ἀγγέλων***
κληθεὶς *ἀφορμᾷς πεῖραν οὔτε του κλυὼν*
σάλπιγγος; ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πᾶς εὕδει στρατός.'
(*Aj.* 288–91)

And I objected, saying, 'What are you doing,
Ajax? Why are you starting on this expedition
unbidden, when you have not been summoned by messengers
nor heard any trumpet? Why, now all the army is asleep!

[16] See ch. 3, n. 37, for a different reading of *δύστηνος* in *Aj.* 533. As with deictic elements, it is difficult to say with certainty in individual cases whether this word has Focus or not. Here (*Aj.* 109), as well, we may prefer to see both *δῆτα* and *δύστηνον* as strengthening the main Focus, *τί*, rather than treating *δύστηνον* as a separate Focus element.

The deictic element is very similar to *τήνδε* in *Ajax* 42 (above, in (5.21)), 'what is this that you are doing here?', inquiring why Ajax is going out fully armed in the middle of the night. The lengthy third element (after *τί* and *τήνδε*), *ἄκλητος κτλ.*, makes explicit why his behaviour is so odd to Tecmessa: the only possible reason for such nightly outings is a call to arms, and this has not taken place.

In (5.26), similarly, a non-deictic element accompanies the question word. Ajax briefly considers the possibility of leaving Troy, where everybody hates him (458–60), and going home. But there, of course, his father awaits him:

(5.26) Aj. *πότερα πρὸς οἴκους, ναυλόχους λιπὼν ἕδρας*
μόνους τ' Ἀτρείδας, πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον περῶ;
καὶ ποῖον ὄμμα ***πατρὶ*** *δηλώσω φανεὶς*
Τελαμῶνι; πῶς με τλήσεταί ποτ' εἰσιδεῖν
γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστείων ἄτερ... (*Aj.* 460–4)

Shall I cross the Aegean, leaving behind
the station of the ships and the sons of Atreus and go home?
And what kind of face shall I show to my father Telamon
when I appear? However shall he bring himself to
look at me
when I appear empty-handed, without the prize
of victory...

Ajax envisages exchanging one evil for another: the hatred he encounters in Troy will be matched by his own shame when he comes home and confronts his father. His father is the last person he wants to know about the indignities he has suffered.

Later on in this same speech by Ajax, we find a similar example of a non-deictic preverbal element. As in (5.24), however, this is not a matter of selecting Focus:

(5.27) Aj. *αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ μακροῦ χρῄζειν βίου,*
κακοῖσιν ὅστις μηδὲν ἐξαλλάσσεται.
τί γὰρ ***παρ' ἦμαρ ἡμέρα*** *τέρπειν ἔχει*
προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα τοῦ γε κατθανεῖν; (*Aj.* 473–6)

When a man has no relief from troubles,
it is shameful for him to desire long life.
What pleasure comes from day following day,
bringing us near to and taking us back from death?

Ajax's stay on this earth has become unbearable for him. Day in, day out, his life is only suffering. The prominent position and verbal repetition of παρ' ἥμαρ ἡμέρα and, in the next line, προσθεῖσα κἀναθεῖσα both impress what torture the passage of time has become for Ajax.

In *Ajax* and *Electra*, the plays which I have surveyed for this section, it is rare but not impossible to find multiple Mobile constituents without a deictic element like (5.27). (5.28) is an example from *Electra* with two Mobile constituents following the interrogative:

(5.28) Or. εὔφημα φώνει· προὸς δίκης γὰρ οὐ στένεις.
El. πῶς **τὸν θανόντ' ἀδελφὸν οὐ δίκῃ** στένω; (*El.* 1211–12)

Or. Say nothing that is ill-omened! You have no reason to lament!
El. How can I have no reason to lament my dead brother?

A brother, of all people (selecting Focus), deserves lament. It is clearly unthinkable to Electra that she would not lament him, and she naturally takes issue with the stranger's command to cease and desist.

In surveying the instances in the corpus in which additional preverbal elements follow the interrogative, a minority in the corpus of question-word questions,[17] I have tried to show how we can interpret them as clauses with multiple Focus elements. They clearly flout Chafe's principle (1994: chapter 9) that restricts new or salient information to just

[17] The total number of examples of this pattern in *Ajax* is 16 (of a total of 62 questions which have the interrogative as their first Mobile). The remaining instances are the following: 537 τί δῆτ' ἂν **ὡς ἐκ τῶνδ'** ἂν ὠφελοῖμί σε; 'Given *this* situation, how can I help you?' 1049 τίνος χάριν **τοσόνδ'** ἀνήλωσας λόγον; 'For what purpose have you wasted so many words?', 1100–1 (bis) ποῦ **σὺ** στρατηγεῖς τοῦδε; ποῦ δὲ **σοὶ λεὼν** | ἔξεστ' ἀνάσσειν ὧν ὅδ' ἤγαγ' οἴκοθεν; 'In what way are *you* his commander? What right have *you* to command the *people* whom *he* brought from home?', 1280 τίς **ταῦτ'** ἀπεῖρξεν; 'Who put a stop to *this*?' 1367 τῷ γάρ με **μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἢ 'μαυτῷ** πονεῖν; 'For whom am I *more likely* to work *than for myself*?' Problematic is 787–8: τί μ' αὖ **τάλαιναν**, ἀρτίως πεπαυμένην | κακῶν ἀτρύτων, **ἐξ ἕδρας** ἀνίστατε; 'Why do you get me up from my resting place, when I had just got rest from my sorrows inexhaustible?' While τάλαινα falls in the same category as δύστηνος, a word that can be treated as Focus at any time, ἐξ ἕδρας is more problematic as a candidate for Focus assignment here. In *Electra*, I count 24 instances total (of a total of 72 questions which have the interrogative as their first Mobile): 328, 388, 409, 558–9, 591, 612, 769, 773, 883–4, 923, 926, 975, 1001, 1103, 1174, 1176, 1184, 1191, 1193, 1212 (see above, in (5.28)), 1346, 1358, 1493 (bis) (see above, in (5.20)).

one item per clause. On the other hand, many of the elements with Focus are present and given in the immediate context (most obviously, the deictic elements, but not just those), so that it is mostly the particular *combination* of known elements that leads to their collective salience, as in Electra's indignant question why she could be *wrong* to lament her *brother*. It can hardly be coincidental that while these questions need not be rhetorical questions in the strict sense (as in (5.27)), many even of the informational questions such as (5.24) share an expressive function in addition: speakers ask a question while at the same time making clear the dismay or surprise they experience at a situation.

5.4 POSTPONED INTERROGATIVES

Word order and sentence intonation work differently across languages. In most modern Western languages, syntax predominates as a determinant of order, i.e. placement rules can be formulated primarily in syntactical terms. Interrogatives form a clear exception for syntactical ordering rules in English (and many other languages). Whatever their syntactical function, interrogatives will normally come at the beginning of the clause: '*What* did you read?' can correspond to 'We read *the Antigone*', just as '*Where* did you go?' can correspond to 'We went to *New York*'. In English, the use of interrogatives anywhere later in the sentence (henceforth 'postponed' interrogatives) is very restricted, mostly to echo-questions (in disbelief to the avowed city hater: 'You went *where?*').

Since the rules in most Western languages are similar to those in English, sentences with postponed interrogatives are striking to modern readers. This is understandable, but I will argue here, following Thomson (1939*a*), that postponed interrogatives should not be considered stylistically marked in Greek, in the sense that a postponed interrogative is more 'artful' or literary than a 'straightforward' initial interrogative. It is most probably the case that postponed interrogatives were a feature of the spoken language, which would explain their relatively high frequency in Plato, Euripides, and Aristophanes as compared to Demosthenes, Aeschylus, and Sophocles. Quite to the

contrary, then, to what might be expected, the unfamiliar feature of the postponed interrogative can be seen as a sign of a style with affinity to spoken language, rather than of a high literary style.[18] I will here start with some examples from Plato and two passages from Euripides in order to bring out how these questions can function in their contexts, and suggest reasons why in these particular cases the interrogatives do not come in initial position in the sentence.

Pace Thomson (1939*a*: 147), I think that we need not conclude that 'the effect of postponing the interrogative is to reduce its force, and [that] this is accompanied in most cases by a corresponding increase in the force of the word which has supplanted it'; rather, we can be more precise as to the pragmatic function of the word or words that precede the interrogative, and assume that the force of the interrogative is the same in both postponed and 'normal' initial position. While Thomson, who argues for weakened emphasis, is right that the particle δή is typically absent from postponed interrogatives (1939*a*: 151), I take the occurrence of ποτε and other postpositives following these interrogatives as indicative of undiminished prominence.[19] The regular preverbal position of interrogatives is another sign that these question words still have Focus function. In sum, I take it that postponed interrogatives are a reflex of Givón's dictum (1983: 20) that language users 'attend first to the most urgent task'; that is, if a point of orientation needs to be established for an utterance, this will be established first. In the case of clause-initial interrogatives, the speaker deems it unnecessary to provide such grounding for his question and goes straight to the next most important element: the interrogative itself.

First of all, here are three examples from Plato:

(5.P3) [Socrates has just mentioned Euenus, and says he, Socrates, would never make claims like Euenus's. An imaginary response follows:]

[18] In this the postponed interrogative is similar to that other 'certified phenomenon', prolepsis, on which see Slings 1992 (the rather confused account in Budelmann (2000: 31 f.) does not advance the discussion).

[19] And see *Trach.* 403 σὺ δ' ἐς τί δή με τοῦτ' ἐρωτήσας ἔχεις; which must have escaped Thomson's notice.

> *ὑπολάβοι ἂν οὖν τις ὑμῶν ἴσως· ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, **τὸ σὸν** τί ἐστι πρᾶγμα; πόθεν αἱ διαβολαί σοι αὗται γεγόνασιν;* (*Apology* 20c4–6)
>
> Now perhaps someone might rejoin: 'But Socrates, what is the trouble about you? Whence have these prejudices against you arisen?

(5.P4) [Socrates has just told Meno what he means by *σχῆμα*. Meno reacts:]
τὸ δὲ χρῶμα τί *λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες;* (*Meno* 76a8)

And what do you say of colour, Socrates?

(5.P5) [Socrates tells Crito that he has no deathbed requests. His followers should conduct themselves *κατ' ἴχνη κατὰ τὰ νῦν τε εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ*. Crito replies:]
ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν προθυμησόμεθα, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖν· ***θάπτωμεν*** *δέ σε **τίνα τρόπον;*** (*Phaedo* 115c2–3)

'We will certainly try hard to do as you say,' he replied. 'But how shall we bury you?'

In all three instances, we can interpret the clause-initial constituents that precede the interrogatives as Topics of their clauses. Socrates' imaginary interlocutor in the *Apology* switches to Socrates' reputation (*τὸ σόν . . . πρᾶγμα*), after his disavowal *ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*. The second example similarly announces the change of Topic (from 'figure' to 'colour'), with the interrogative following. In the example from the *Phaedo*, Crito switches the topic of conversation to Socrates' burial. In this third example, the Topic is expressed by means of a verb, but the principle is the same: the Topic opens the clause, the interrogative follows in second position (disregarding the postpositives *δέ* and *σε*).

In conclusion to these three instances, we can say that unlike English, Greek prose regularly places question words in the position where other Focus elements also appear, i.e. following Topic constituents. The great majority of postponed interrogatives are of this type.[20]

[20] 'Exceptions' fall in the following groups: Some elements preceding interrogatives are more properly described as Settings than Topics (e.g. *Ant.* 7 *καὶ **νῦν** τί . . .*). Settings and Topics have in common that they provide a point of orientation. Secondly, as

Drama is no different from Plato in 'allowing' postponed interrogatives. I will here start with an extended passage from *IT*. Orestes has just volunteered to send Pylades home safely. Orestes himself will die, and here inquires as to the exact procedure:

(5.E1)

Iph.	ἐπεὶ δὲ βούλῃ ταῦτα, τόνδε πέμψομεν	
	δέλτον φέροντα, σὺ δὲ θανῇ· πολλὴ δέ τις	615
	προθυμία σε τοῦδ' ἔχουσα τυγχάνει.	
Or.	**θύσει δὲ τίς με** καὶ τὰ δεινὰ τλήσεται;	
Iph.	ἐγώ· θεᾶς γὰρ τῆνδε προστροπὴν ἔχω.	
Or.	ἄζηλον, ὦ νεᾶνι, κοὐκ εὐδαίμονα.	
Iph.	ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνάγκην κείμεθ', ἣν φυλακτέον.	620
Or.	αὐτὴ ξίφει θύουσα θῆλυς ἄρσενας;	
Iph.	οὔκ, ἀλλὰ χαίτην ἀμφὶ σὴν χερνίψομαι.	
Or.	**ὁ δὲ σφαγεὺς τίς**, εἰ τάδ' ἱστορεῖν με χρή;	
Iph.	ἔσω δόμων τῶνδ' εἰσὶν οἷς μέλει τάδε.	
Or.	**τάφος δὲ ποῖος δέξεταί μ'**, ὅταν θάνω;	

(Eur. *IT* 614–25)

Iph.	But since this is your wish, I will send this man
	with the tablet and you shall be killed. 615
	For some reason you are very eager for this.
Or.	Who will do the dread deed of sacrificing me?
Iph.	I will: this is service I render to the goddess.
Or.	An unenviable and unhappy one, lady.
Iph.	But I am under compulsion and must perform it. 620
Or.	Will you, a woman, yourself kill a man with the sword?
Iph.	No, I will pour the lustral water about your head.
Or.	Who will do the killing, if I may ask?
Iph.	There are people in this temple whose business that is.
Or.	What kind of burial will I get when I have been killed?

Orestes' questions concern first of all the person officiating over the sacrifice (617). After Iphigenia has replied that she will be that

Thomson (1939*a*: 149) already noted, 'postponement may also take place when the speaker interrupts his interlocutor, or himself, with a question designed to continue the interrupted construction' as in e.g. *El.* 1402, for which see (5.36). Thirdly, I discuss examples in which ἔστι takes initial position, as in Pl. *Euthphr.* 3e7, 4a9; Soph. *OT* 89. In Euripides, there are more instances of interrogatives appearing in later positions in the clause. See section 5.5 below on postponed interrogatives in Euripides.

person, but will not herself wield the sword, Orestes again wants to know who will be his killer (623). Iphigenia is evasive (we have people for that, 624) and with the final postponed interrogative of this passage Orestes asks what funeral he can expect. It is interesting to note that while Orestes' questions mostly follow a Topic-Focus pattern (with the exception of his reactions in 619 and 621), most of Iphigenia's responses front a Focus constituent (*ἐγώ*, *εἰς ἀνάγκην*, *οὔκ*) and are followed by a second, subsidiary move (variations on 'a girl's gotta do what a girl's gotta do' in 618 and 620). For both sides of this dialogue, the bare exchange of information needs less room than the format of stichomythia provides. In Orestes' case, lines are filled out with second cola that are repetitive (617, 619) or otherwise unremarkable, except for 621, which does heighten the pathos (and has a pedigree in Aeschylus *Ag.* 1231 *θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεύς*).

The next passage, taken from the *Bacchae*, I find a stronger example of stichomythia, despite the fact that there is more actual verbal repetition. I cite the passage specifically for the alternation between *τίνα στολήν* (828) and *στολὴν δὲ τίνα* (830).[21] The question of what Pentheus should wear is first brought up by Dionysus in 821. The verbal and nominal expressions 'outfit'/'dress' *στέλλω*, *στολή* are highlighted below:

(5.E2) Di. ***στεῖλαί*** *νυν ἀμφὶ χρωτὶ βυσσίνους πέπλους.*
Pe. *τί δὴ τόδ'; ἐς γυναῖκας ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τελῶ;*
Di. *μή σε κτάνωσιν, ἢν ἀνὴρ ὀφθῇς ἐκεῖ.*
Pe. *εὖ γ' εἶπας αὖ τόδ'· ὥς τις εἶ πάλαι σοφός.*
Di. *Διόνυσος ἡμᾶς ἐξεμούσωσεν τάδε.* 825
Pe. *πῶς οὖν γένοιτ' ἂν ἃ σύ με νουθετεῖς καλῶς;*
Di. *ἐγὼ* ***στελῶ*** *σε δωμάτων ἔσω μολών.*
Pe. *τίνα* ***στολήν;*** *ἦ θῆλυν; ἀλλ' αἰδώς μ' ἔχει.*
Di. *οὐκέτι θεατὴς μαινάδων πρόθυμος εἶ;*
Pe. ***στολὴν*** *δὲ τίνα φῂς ἀμφὶ χρῶτ' ἐμὸν βαλεῖν;* 830
Di. *κόμην μὲν ἐπὶ σῷ κρατὶ ταναὸν ἐκτενῶ.*
Pe. *τὸ δεύτερον δὲ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τί μοι;*
Di. *πέπλοι ποδήρεις· ἐπὶ κάρᾳ δ' ἔσται μίτρα.*
(*Ba.* 821–33)

[21] For earlier discussion of the interrogatives in this passage, cf. Rijksbaron (1991: 101–2), with references.

Di. Then *dress* yourself in a long linen robe.
Pe. Why that? Shall I become a woman instead of a man?
Di. So that they won't kill you if you show yourself as a man there.
Pe. Good advice again! You were quite the clever fellow all along!
Di. It is Dionysus who has given me this education.
Pe. How then can your advice be successfully put into effect?
Di I will go inside and *dress* you.
Pe. With what kind of *clothes?* A woman's? I feel shame.
Di. Are you no longer an eager viewer of maenads?
Pe. But how did you say you would *dress* me?
Di. First on your head I will cause your hair to grow long.
Pe. And what will be the second item of my costume?
Di. A dress flowing down to your ankles; and on your head a headdress.

The use of στελῶ 'I'll dress you' in 827 and the absence of a similar word in 829 goes a long way toward accounting for the difference in ordering between 828 and 830. Pentheus is continuing, not changing, the topic in 828. He does not like what he is hearing from Dionysus, and protests (ἀλλ'), in effect, that cross-dressing is too embarrassing. Dionysus accordingly concludes in 829 that Pentheus no longer wants to go, but just as soon Pentheus accepts that there is nothing for it but to take Dionysus' advice. Pentheus' acceptance is left implicit, however. All we see is that he changes the topic from his unwillingness back to the practical: he is now cooperating and asking Dionysus for specifics. Exaggerated paraphrases of the two questions might run:

(828) What is this dress you're talking about? A *woman's?*
(830) Getting back to the dress, what is it you want me to put on?

Incidentally, line 832 has another example of a postponed interrogative after a Topic ('the next feature of my costume'—Dodds). To retain the order of presentation in an English paraphrase, one practically needs two clauses: 'Now tell me about the next feature of my costume. What is it?'

With this introduction, I now turn to a discussion of postponed interrogatives in Sophocles. The following is meant to be an exhaustive discussion of all occurrences in *Ajax, Electra, OT,* and *Antigone*;

I discuss a handful of problematic instances from the remaining plays at the end of this section.[22]

(5.29) Ath. ὁρᾷς, Ὀδυσσεῦ, τὴν θεῶν ἰσχὺν ὅση;
τούτου τίς ἄν σοι τἀνδρὸς ἢ προνούστερος
ἢ δρᾶν ἀμείνων ηὑρέθη τὰ καίρια; (*Aj.* 118–20)

Do you see, Odysseus, how great is the power of the gods?[23]
What man was found to be more far-sighted than this one,
or better at doing what the occasion required?

While Athena means, of course, that Odysseus can gauge the gods' might from what has happened with Ajax, there is no mention of Ajax in Athena's first line here (118). With τούτου she switches from the general to the particular. The question word is followed by two postpositives, which gives it extra prominence.[24]

(5.30) Aj. ἄρχοντές εἰσιν, ὥσθ' ὑπεικτέον. τί μήν;
καὶ γὰρ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ καρτερώτατα
τιμαῖς ὑπείκει· τοῦτο μὲν νιφοστιβεῖς
χειμῶνες ἐκχωροῦσιν εὐκάρπῳ θέρει·
...
ἡμεῖς δὲ πῶς οὐ γνωσόμεσθα σωφρονεῖν; (*Aj.* 668–77)

They are the commanders so that we must bow to
them, who else?
Why, the most formidable and the most powerful of things
bow to office; winter's snowy storms
make way before summer with its fruits;
...
And how shall we not come to know how to be sensible?

[22] Like Thomson before me (Thomson 1939*a*: 147), I have not included instances of conjunctions (e.g. *Aj.* 107 πρὶν ἄν τί δράσῃς) or straightforward Setting constituents (e.g. *Aj.* 457 καὶ νῦν τί χρὴ δρᾶν) preceding the interrogative. I have made an exception, however, for any cases Thomson includes in his discussion (see below, at (5.35)). *El.* 1430–1 is in a choral passage, but—unless the state of the text deceives us—unremarkable: εἰσορᾶτε is Topic, following the chorus's λεύσσω in 1428.

[23] Line 118 exhibits a different strategy to present information in Topic-Focus order, viz. prolepsis: the Topic of the question (τὴν θεῶν ἰσχύν) is formally the object of the main clause, and the Focus element (ὅσῃ) is left as the only element of the subordinate clause. I here only discuss direct questions, not indirect ones, and so will only be concerned with 119–20, τούτου τίς κτλ.

[24] Two postpositives, not counting τἀνδρός, that is. Forms of ὁ ἀνήρ often behave as postpositives in tragedy. See e.g. *Ant.* 402.

Ajax argues that he will have to yield (*ὑπεικτέον*, 668) to the Atreidae, just as the most powerful forces of nature have to yield (669–70), and proceeds to give examples (670–6). In 677 he switches back to his own condition with the Topic *ἡμεῖς*.

(5.31) Mess. *λήγει δ' ἔρις δραμοῦσα τοῦ προσωτάτω*
ἀνδρῶν γερόντων ἐν ξυναλλαγῇ λόγου.
ἀλλ' ἡμὶν Αἴας ποῦ 'στιν, ὡς φράσω τάδε;
τοῖς κυρίοις γὰρ πάντα χρὴ δηλοῦν λόγον. (*Aj.* 731–4)

The wish to quarrel had run to the furthest point
before it was arrested by the seniors with conciliatory
words.
But tell me where Ajax is, so I can make this known
to him!
One must report every piece of news to those who
are responsible.

In (5.31), the messenger has just told the chorus—and us—his news, but of course he was really looking for Ajax. With a corrective *ἀλλά* he interrupts himself, and asks where he can find him. Ajax is Topic here. Postpositive *ἡμίν* is in 'Wackernagel' position.[25]

(5.32) Teu. *ποῖ γὰρ μολεῖν μοι δυνατόν, εἰς ποίους βροτούς,*
τοῖς σοῖς ἀρήξαντ' ἐν πόνοισι μηδαμοῦ;
ἦ πού <με> Τελαμών, σὸς πατὴρ ἐμός θ' ἅμα,
δέξαιτ' ἂν εὐπρόσωπος ἵλεώς τ' ἰδὼν
χωροῦντ' ἄνευ σοῦ. πῶς γὰρ οὔχ; ὅτῳ πάρα
μηδ' εὐτυχοῦντι μηδὲν ἥδιον γελᾶν.
οὗτος τί κρύψει; ποῖον οὐχ ἑρεῖ κακόν...
(*Aj.* 1006–12)

Where can I go, among what mortals,
I who was not there to help you in your troubles?
Smiling and kindly, I imagine, will be my welcome
from Telamon, your father and also mine,
when I come there without you! Of course, seeing

[25] But it would also have been hard to place elsewhere if *ἀλλά* is to be retained. With weaker *δέ* instead, we could have had **Αἴας δὲ ποῦ 'στιν ἡμίν, ὡς φράσω τάδε;*

that even when fortune is good it is not his way to
smile more graciously!
What will he keep back? What evil will he not
speak of me . . .

Teucer has no place to go now that Ajax has died. Even going back to Telamon, his father, is an option that holds little attraction. He establishes for us why this is so: even in the best of times, Telamon is difficult. With *οὗτος*, the Topic constituent in his question in 1012, he refers not just to Telamon, but our new understanding of him from Teucer's words in lines 1009–11.[26]

(5.33) Cho. *ἦ δὴ ἂν ἐγὼ θαρσοῦσα μᾶλλον ἐς λόγους*
τοὺς σοὺς ἱκοίμην, εἴπερ ὧδε ταῦτ' ἔχει.
El. *ὡς νῦν ἀπόντος ἱστόρει· τί σοι φίλον;*
Cho. *καὶ δή σ' ἐρωτῶ, τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φής,*
ἥξοντος, ἢ μέλλοντος; εἰδέναι θέλω. (*El.* 314–18)

Cho. To be sure I would converse with you
with more confidence, if indeed this is so.
El. Know that he is now away and ask your question;
what is your pleasure?
Cho. Well, I ask you, what do you say about your brother?
Will he come, or will he put off coming? I would
like to know.

The chorus says it hesitates to speak to Electra with Aegisthus around, and so we have to wait until the chorus has been told that the coast is clear (316) for the 'true' beginning of the conversation. In 317, then, the chorus first announces what it wants to talk about: Electra's brother. The question word, *τί*, which follows the Topic, is really a place holder for the participles in the next line, which spell out exactly what the chorus wants to know. In an exaggerated paraphrase we can use three English sentences in retaining the order of presentation: 'Tell us about your brother. What is the news? Is he on his way or still delayed?'

[26] (5.32) is not included in Thomson (1939*a*).

(5.34) El. *ἀλλ᾽ ἐξίκοιτο τοῦδέ γ᾽ οὕνεκ᾽ ἐν τάχει.*
Chr. *τίν᾽, ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ᾽ ἐπηράσω λόγον;*
El. *ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖνον, εἴ τι τῶνδε δρᾶν νοεῖ.*
Chr. *ὅπως πάθῃς τί χρῆμα; ποῦ ποτ᾽ εἶ φρενῶν;*
El. *ὅπως ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ὡς προσώτατ᾽ ἐκφύγω.* (*El.* 387–91)

El. So far as that goes, let him arrive quickly!
Chr. Unhappy one, what is the imprecation that you have uttered against yourself?
El. That he should come, if he is minded to do any of these things.
Chr. So that what may happen to you? What kind of madness is this?
El. So that I can escape as far away as possible from you all.

When Chrysothemis has told Electra of what punishment awaits her, Electra does not react the way Chrysothemis expects her to. When Electra should be fearing Aegisthus's return, she wants him to come back as soon as possible. The form of Chrysothemis' question, which fronts *πάθῃς* as Topic, implies that she is convinced only bad can come of this.[27]

(5.35) El. *᾽Ορέστα φίλταθ᾽, ὥς μ᾽ ἀπώλεσας θανών.*
ἀποσπάσας γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς οἴχῃ φρενὸς
αἵ μοι μόναι παρῆσαν ἐλπίδων ἔτι,
σὲ πατρὸς ἥξειν ζῶντα τιμωρόν ποτε
κἀμοῦ ταλαίνης. νῦν δὲ ποῖ με χρὴ μολεῖν; (*El.* 808–12)

Dearest Orestes, how you have killed me by your death!
You have carried away with you, out of my mind,
the only hopes I still possessed,
that you would one day come to avenge our father
and my wretched self. But now where can I go?

In this instance, a Setting constituent precedes the question word. Electra has lived in hopes of seeing Orestes come back and act as the avenger. Now that her hopes are dashed, she has to come up with

[27] (5.34) is not included in Thomson (1939*a*).

plan B. In line 812, *νῦν δὲ* provides the transition from her sadness over a lost illusion to current reality.[28]

(5.36) Cho. *πῶς δή; τί νῦν πράσσουσιν;*
El. *ἡ μὲν ἐς τάφον*
λέβητα κοσμεῖ, τὼ δ' ἐφέστατον πέλας.
Cho. *σὺ δ' ἐκτὸς ἦξας πρὸς τί;* (*El.* 1400–2)

Cho. How now? What are they about?
El. She is preparing
the urn for burial, and those two are standing by her.
Cho. But why have you darted out?

The chorus's question in 1402 is the first example in which the postponed interrogative does not occupy the position expected for Focus elements, i.e. following the Topic (or Setting) element, and preceding the verb. The reason for this difference, presumably, is that the chorus follows Electra's presentation: the various characters are placed first as Topics (*ἡ μὲν . . . τὼ δέ . . . σὺ δέ*), and their actions are Focus in the respective clauses.[29] In effect they say, 'And you (Topic) rushed out (Focus). Why was that?' turning this third of the series into a question. The *πρὸς τί* phrase, rather than being given the position associated with Focus elements, follows the verb, thereby leaving the earlier part of the clause in a form parallel with the earlier clauses.

(5.37) Oe. *ἄναξ, ἐμὸν κήδευμα, παῖ Μενοικέως,*
τίν' ἡμὶν ἥκεις τοῦ θεοῦ φήμην φέρων;

[28] The prominent position of *πατρός* preceding both the predicate *ἦξειν* and its head noun *τιμωρόν* is surprising, but in a sense its 'promise' is fulfilled by *κἀμοῦ ταλαίνης* in the next line. As a result the line reads 'that you would one day come back alive both to avenge my *father* and me', rather than 'that you would one day come back as an *avenger* of my father'. Looking at this as a question of composition, one wonders whether this formulation came about by the troubles associated with inserting a word of the shape of *τιμωρόν* any earlier? At least *τιμωρόν* is given some of the prominence needed by *ποτε*. To me, the question remains whether the compositional problem posed by the molossus is the *raison d'être* of *κἀμοῦ ταλαίνης*.

[29] The beginning of Electra's answer, *ἡ μὲν ἐς τάφον*, is intriguing. Are we meant to suppose, just for a moment, that what will follow is something much more sinister than an anticlimactic *λέβητα κοσμεῖ*? Admittedly, as Kells remarks ad loc., 'the horror and ignominy . . . is enhanced by the detail that, at the moment he stands over her, she is actually tending the urn which she supposes to contain his ashes.' But I am not sure we have to make a choice between these two suggestions.

Cr. ἐσθλήν· λέγω γὰρ καὶ τὰ δύσφορ', εἰ τύχοι
κατ' ὀρθὸν ἐξιόντα, πάντ' ἂν εὐτυχεῖν.
Oe. ἔστιν δὲ ποῖον τοὔπος; οὔτε γὰρ θρασὺς
οὔτ' οὖν προδείσας εἰμὶ τῷ γε νῦν λόγῳ. (*OT* 85–90)

Oe. Lord, kinsman, son of Menoeceus,
what word of the god have you come to bring us?
Cr. One that is good; I can say that even troubles hard to bear,
if they chance to turn out well, can bring good fortune.
Oe. But what is the message? What you are now saying
makes me neither confident nor apprehensive.

Oedipus here is obviously not satisfied with being given ἐσθλήν for an answer. He wants the specifics, which he asks for in 89 with ποῖον. The formulation with ἔστιν in first position may seem odd, but we also find it in similar contexts in Plato. In this passage from the introduction of the Euthyphro, two of Socrates' questions feature a postponed interrogative following ἔστι. Socrates' question in 3e7 takes up the question of Euthyphro's, as opposed to his own, trial; in 4a9 he moves from the question of whom Euthyphro is prosecuting, to that of the charge he is bringing:

(5.P6) Euth. Ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐδὲν ἔσται, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ σύ τε κατὰ νοῦν. ἀγωνιῇ τὴν δίκην, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ τὴν ἐμήν.
So. **Ἔστιν** δὲ δὴ σοί, ὦ Εὐθύφρων, τίς ἡ δίκη; φεύγεις αὐτὴν ἢ διώκεις; (*Euthphr.* 3e5–8)

Euth. Well, Socrates, perhaps it won't amount to much, and you will bring your case to a satisfactory ending, as I think I shall mine.
So. What is your case, Euthyphro? Are you defending or prosecuting?

(5.P7) So. **Ἔστιν** δὲ τί τὸ ἔγκλημα καὶ τίνος ἡ δίκη;
Euth. Φόνου, ὦ Σώκρατες. (*Euthphr.* 4a9–10)

So. But what is the charge, and what is the suit about?
Euth. Murder, Socrates.

This usage is by no means restricted to questions. It appears that non-contrastive, given Topics (*δίκη* above, *διαλεκτικώτερον* below) are avoided in favour of *ἔστι* in initial position:[30]

(5.P8) So. *εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ νυνὶ φίλοι ὄντες βούλοιντο ἀλλήλοις διαλέγεσθαι, δεῖ δὴ πρᾳότερόν πως καὶ διαλεκτικώτερον ἀποκρίνεσθαι.* ***ἔστι δὲ ἴσως τὸ διαλεκτικώτερον*** *μὴ μόνον ταὐληθῆ ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκείνων ὧν ἂν προσομολογῇ εἰδέναι ὁ ἐρωτώμενος.* (*Meno* 75d2–7)

But if, like you and me on this occasion, we were friends and chose to have a discussion together, I should have to reply in some milder tone and more suited to dialectic. The more dialectical way, I suppose, is not merely to answer what is true, but also to make use of those points which the questioned person acknowledges he knows.

(5.38) Cr. *τούτου θανόντος νῦν ἐπιστέλλει σαφῶς*
τοὺς αὐτοέντας χειρὶ τιμωρεῖν τινας.
Oe. *οἳ δ' εἰσὶ ποῦ γῆς; ποῦ τόδ' εὑρεθήσεται*
ἴχνος παλαιᾶς δυστέκμαρτον αἰτίας; (*OT* 106–9)

Cr. He was killed, and the god now tells us plainly to punish his killers, whoever they may be.
Oe. Where in the world are they? Where shall the track of an ancient guilt, hard to make out, be found?

Oedipus' question switches the subject from Apollo to the perpetrators (*τοὺς αὐτοέντας*) with the Topic shifter *οἳ δέ* followed by the

[30] I should add that (5.P8) seems to be an instance of an extended Topic unit (as defined in Dik 1995: 207 f.). The Topic consists of the entire underlined segment of the clause, the Focus consists of a replacive Focus construction: not only A (answer the truth), but also B (in terms mutually agreed on). Extended Topic units instead of simple Topics are used especially when referents are not given in the immediate context, for instance in parenthetical statements such as the following from Herodotus (Dik 1995: 219): *Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν·* ***ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων*** *Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω…* (Hdt. 1.73.3). A mere *ἐτυράννευε* would have been hard to interpret as having reference to the Medes and not the Scythians, and we are one generation removed from the narrative in 1.73.2, hence *τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον*.

interrogative. Oedipus naturally wants to know where they can be found.[31]

(5.39) Cr. *δοκοῦντα ταῦτ' ἦν· Λαΐου δ' ὀλωλότος*
οὐδεὶς ἀρωγὸς ἐν κακοῖς ἐγίγνετο.
Oe. *κακὸν δὲ ποῖον ἐμποδών, τυραννίδος*
οὕτω πεσούσης, εἶργε τοῦτ' ἐξειδέναι; (*OT* 126–9)

Cr. That is what people thought at the time. But when Laius was dead there was no one to help us in our troubles.
Oe. Trouble? What trouble got in the way, when a king had fallen like that, of finding this out?

Oedipus picks up on Creon's mention of *κακοῖς*. What *κακόν* could prevent a full investigation of the assassination of a monarch? Compare *στολὴν δὲ τίνα κτλ.* in (5.E2) above.

(5.40) Tei. *ἆρ' οἶσθ' ἀφ' ὧν εἶ; καὶ λέληθας ἐχθρὸς ὢν* 415
τοῖς σοῖσιν αὐτοῦ νέρθε κἀπὶ γῆς ἄνω,
καί σ' ἀμφιπλὴξ μητρός τε κἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός
ἐλᾷ ποτ' ἐκ γῆς τῆσδε δεινόπους ἀρά,
βλέποντα νῦν μὲν ὄρθ', ἔπειτα δὲ σκότον.
βοῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς ποῖος οὐκ ἔσται †λιμήν†, 420
ποῖος Κιθαιρὼν οὐχὶ σύμφωνος τάχα . . .
(*OT* 415–21)

Do you know from what stock you come? First, you are unaware
of being an enemy to your own beneath and above the earth,
and, next, the two-pronged curse that comes from your mother and your father
with deadly step shall one day drive you from this land;
now you have sight, then you shall look out on darkness.
Of your laments what haven shall there not be,
what Cithaeron will not echo them soon . . .

[31] It may be asked why we do not get * *εἰσὶν δὲ ποῦ γῆς* here, along the lines of *OT* 89 (above, (5.37)). One important factor is that human referents are more likely to be used as Topics (entities one talks about) than are inanimate referents.

Whatever the exact wording of lines 420–1,[32] it is clear that Teiresias is saying that Oedipus' βοή will be heard everywhere. As part of his riddling utterance, Teiresias can present the new information βοῆς τῆς σῆς as given, adding a sense of inevitability.[33] The interrogative is in the expected position for Focus elements, preceding the verb.[34]

(5.41) Oe. πόσον τιν' ἤδη δῆθ' ὁ Λάϊος χρόνον
Cr. δέδρακε ποῖον ἔργον; οὐ γὰρ ἐννοῶ.
Oe. ἄφαντος ἔρρει θανασίμῳ χειρώματι; (*OT* 558–60)

Oe. How long is it now since Laius...
Cr. Did what? I do not understand.
Oe. Vanished from sight by a deadly stroke.

Creon completes Oedipus' question (for a similar example see *El.* 1400–2, at (5.34) above). One expects a predicate to finish Oedipus' question, and accordingly Creon supplies the *Allerweltsverb* δέδρακε, followed by the interrogative. The order within the noun phrase ποῖον ἔργον is reversed in the otherwise very similar instance, *Phil.* 1227.

Interestingly, Oedipus' question in 558 would seem to be a strong candidate for a postponed interrogative (*ὁ Λάϊος πόσον...). After all, as Jebb points out, 'Creon has heard only what Oedipus said of him: he does not yet know what Teiresias said of Oedipus (cp. 574). Hence he is startled at the mention of Laius.' If we want to go so far as to say that Oedipus fails or even refuses to present his question in a more comprehensible, step-by-step manner (in accordance with Gricean principles), we could ascribe this to his being in 'attack mode' at this point. Unfair questions are to be expected.

[32] I print the OCT text. Whether one retains λιμήν or, following Blaydes, Ἑλίκων, Lloyd-Jones's choice in the Loeb translation, though not the text, does not make a difference to my argument. Dawe's printing of a full stop after the second ποῖος runs counter to Thomson's (1939*a*: 151) observation that one hardly ever sees anaphora of postponed interrogatives (the only exception he cites being Ar. *Eccl.* 320, 'a passage as grotesque in form as it is in content').

[33] A classic example of the pernicious use of presupposed information is 'Have you stopped beating your wife?', to which the unfortunate addressee cannot give a reply that answers the accusation contained in it.

[34] This type of hyperbaton is, if implicitly, recognized by Devine and Stephens (2000) as the most frequent and natural, to be found in both poetry and prose: the element that intervenes between the two parts of the noun phrase is the verb, and the earlier element of the noun phrase (typically an adjective or other modifier) is the more salient of the two ('Y1 hyperbaton').

(5.42) Oe. *καὶ μὴν τοσοῦτόν γ' ἐστί μοι τῆς ἐλπίδος,*
τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν βοτῆρα προσμεῖναι μόνον.
Io. *πεφασμένου δὲ τίς ποθ' ἡ προθυμία;* (*OT* 836–8)

Oe. Why, I have just so much of hope,
simply to wait for the herdsman!
Io. But when he has appeared, what is your desire?

Iocaste's *πεφασμένου* is comparable to *νῦν δέ* in (5.33) above. It functions as a Setting for the question, since obviously Oedipus' wish for the shepherd to appear is not his actual wish, but a step toward fulfilling it, and this is how Iocaste takes it. 'When he is here, what do you want?'

(5.43) Io. *ἄκουε τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε, καὶ σκόπει κλύων*
τὰ σέμν' ἵν' ἥκει τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεύματα.
Oe. *οὗτος δὲ τίς ποτ' ἐστὶ καὶ τί μοι λέγει;* (*OT* 952–4)

Io. Listen to this man, and then ask
where the god's revered oracles stand!
Oe. Who is he and what does he say to me?

The messenger from Corinth (*τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε*) is new to Oedipus, so when Iocaste directs Oedipus to listen to him, he first wants to know who this person is. *οὗτος* establishes the messenger as Topic, and Oedipus' two questions follow. For another instance of two questions following the Topic, see *Trach.* 242.

(5.44) Oe. *σὺ δ' ἐμπολήσας ἢ τυχών μ' αὐτῷ δίδως;*
Mess. *εὑρὼν ναπαίαις ἐν Κιθαιρῶνος πτυχαῖς.*
Oe. *ὡδοιπόρεις δὲ πρὸς τί τούσδε τοὺς τόπους;*
(*OT* 1025–7)

Oe. Did you buy me or find me before you gave me to him?
Mess. I found you in the wooded glens of Cithaeron.
Oe. And why were you travelling in those regions?

While 1025 is not a question with a postponed interrogative, I should note that the structure of this question is very similar. *σύ*, the Topic constituent, switches back to the messenger after discussion of Polybus; Focus is on the preverbal participles, which form the two alternatives posed by Oedipus; the intervening elements (*μ' αὐτῷ*) are postpositive.

In 1027, another question follows in Oedipus' interrogation of the messenger. *ὠδοιπόρεις* 'you were travelling' is treated as an inferable Topic; nobody lives on the slopes of Cithaeron. The question is *why* somebody would go there, and this is the Focus. The sentence is filled out by the anaphoric reference to the place, *τούσδε τοὺς τόπους*.

(5.45) Oe. *οὗτος σύ, πρέσβυ, δεῦρό μοι φώνει βλέπων*
ὅσ' ἄν σ' ἐρωτῶ. Λαΐου ποτ' ἦσθα σύ;
Slave *ἦ, δοῦλος οὐκ ὠνητός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι τραφείς.*
Oe. *ἔργον μεριμνῶν ποῖον ἢ βίον τίνα;*
Slave *ποίμναις τὰ πλεῖστα τοῦ βίου συνειπόμην.*
Oe. *χώροις μάλιστα πρὸς τίσι ξύναυλος ὤν;*
(*OT* 1121–6)

Oe. You there, old man, look at me and answer my questions! Did you once belong to Laius?
Slave Yes, I was a slave not bought, but brought up in the house.
Oe. What work, or what way of life, was your care?
Slave For most of my life I have been with the herds.
Oe. In what places for the most part did you bivouac?

After ascertaining that the shepherd was indeed a slave of Laius, Oedipus inquires as to his activity. The Topic *ἔργον* is inferable: slaves have particular jobs. So far, there is nothing remarkable about the word order. The interrogative, however, does not follow in second position (*ἔργον δὲ ποῖον vel sim.*, see (5.47) below); instead, the participle *μεριμνῶν* intervenes. This ordering is termed (Devine and Stephens 2000: 97 f.) 'Topic Y2 hyperbaton': the head noun *ἔργον* introduces the Topic segment of the noun phrase, while the Focus segment follows the predictable participle.[35] (In § 5.5 we will encounter some very similar instances from Euripides—(5.E8), (5.E9)—in which the semantics of noun and verb are closely related, as here, or the verb is virtually empty semantically—(5.E10)—so that in either case, the verb is not particularly newsworthy.[36]) The postponed interrogative in 1126 is unproblematic. From *ποίμναις* in 1125, the question of location can be inferred.

[35] See also above, ch. 4, (4.21) on ***γνώμας*** *ἔχων* | ***χρηστάς*** in *Ant.* 635–6.

[36] *Phil.* 1227 is similar in that, as in (5.45), two semantically related words precede the interrogative, but there Odysseus first supplies a verb which is missing from Neoptolemus' line: Od. *ἡ δ' ἁμαρτία τίς ἦν;* | Ne. *ἦν σοὶ πιθόμενος τῷ τε σύμπαντι*

(5.46) Cho. *λείπει μὲν οὐδ' ἃ πρόσθεν ᾔδεμεν τὸ μὴ οὐ*
βαρύστον' εἶναι· πρὸς δ' ἐκείνοισιν τί φής;
(*OT* 1232–3)

Even the things we knew before do not fall short
of being
grievous; what can you add to them?

The Topic *ἐκείνοισιν* (referring to *οὐδ' ἃ πρόσθεν ᾔδεμεν*) prepares for the interrogative. 'Mind you, we have been through quite a lot already. What is it this time?'

(5.47) Cr. *τὰ δ' οὖν κόρα τάδ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάξει μόρου.*
Cho. *ἄμφω γὰρ αὐτὰ καὶ κατακτεῖναι νοεῖς;*
Cr. *οὐ τήν γε μὴ θιγοῦσαν· εὖ γὰρ οὖν λέγεις.*
Cho. *μόρῳ δὲ ποίῳ καί σφε βουλεύῃ κτανεῖν;*
(*Ant.* 769–72)

Cr. But he shall not save those two girls from death!
Cho. Then you have a mind to kill both of them?
Cr. Not the one that did not touch the corpse;
you are right!
Cho. And by what death do you plan to kill her?

The chorus's first concern is to make sure that Creon will not have both sisters killed (770–1). In 772 they inquire as to the mode of execution for Antigone.

From this discussion of postponed interrogatives in four Sophoclean plays, we have seen that in general, constituents in clause-initial position can be accounted for as Topics, and that the interrogative follows in second position, the expected position for Focus constituents. So far, we have seen only two exceptions: (5.36) and (5.45) above. In the former (*σὺ δ' ἐκτὸς ἧξας πρὸς τί;*), the chorus followed the construction of earlier declarative clauses; in the latter (*ἔργον μεριμνῶν ποῖον*), the noun and verb were closely related in meaning.

στρατῷ | Od. ***ἔπραξας ἔργον ποῖον*** *ὧν οὔ σοι πρέπον;* 'What did you do wrong?' 'Obeying you and the entire army—' '*You did what thing* that was not proper for you?' (5.E8) and (5.E9) front the verb as well, so that the only exact parallel for (5.45) is (5.E10). In Dik (1995) I discuss instances of extended Topic units in ch. 7 (207–21). In Herodotus I only found such extended Topic units in verb-initial sentences.

Of the remaining three plays, I will discuss just three instances that do not (or not obviously) follow the regular pattern as described above, in which the interrogative appears in second position, immediately followed by the verb.[37] First, (5.48) has multiple constituents preceding

[37] The following show the regular ordering: (i) *Trach.* 192 *αὐτὸς δὲ πῶς ἄπεστιν.* Deianeira wishes to know why Heracles has not arrived yet. 'But why is he himself not here, if indeed fortune favours him?' Heracles (*αὐτός*) is contrasted with his 'surrogate' Lichas, the source for the messenger's information. (ii) *Trach.* 242 *αὗται δέ, πρὸς θεῶν, τοῦ ποτ' εἰσὶ καὶ τίνες.* The newly introduced referent *γυναικῶν* (line 241) is taken up as a Topic in the question that follows. Whom do they belong to and who are they? As in (5.41), two questions are attached to the Topic *αὗται.* (iii) *Trach.* 403 *σὺ δ' ἐς τί δή με τοῦτ' ἐρωτήσας ἔχεις;* Lichas is interrupted in his conversation with Deianeira by the messenger. He turns to the messenger to ask why. *σὺ δέ* indicates the shift of interlocutor. (iv) *Trach.* 459 (*ἐπεὶ | τὸ μὴ πυθέσθαι, τοῦτό μ' ἀλγύνειεν ἄν· |*) *τὸ δ' εἰδέναι τί δεινόν;* Shift of Topic from *τὸ μὴ πυθέσθαι* to *τὸ δ' εἰδέναι.* (v) *Trach.* 545–6 *τὸ δ' αὖ ξυνοικεῖν τῇδ' ὁμοῦ τίς ἂν γυνὴ | δύναιτο…* I would argue that the articular infinitive as a whole functions as one constituent: 'living with her', so that *τίς* comes second in the clause. (vi) *Trach.* 742–3 *τὸ γὰρ | φανθὲν τίς ἂν δύναιτ' <ἂν>ἀγένητον ποεῖν;* (vii) *Trach.* 817–18 *ὄγκον γὰρ ἄλλως ὀνόματος τί δεῖ τρέφειν | μητρῷον…* The first three Mobiles together form one constituent: 'the dignity of the name that she is given in vain' (when she does not live up to her actions). Lloyd-Jones appears to construe *ἄλλως* with *τρέφειν*, however. He translates 'Why should one vainly honour the dignity…' For discussion see Davies ad loc. and Griffith (1978: 86). (viii) *Trach.* 1231 (*οἴμοι· τὸ μὲν νοσοῦντι θυμοῦσθαι κακόν,*) *τὸ δ' ὦδ' ὁρᾶν φρονοῦντα τίς ποτ' ἂν φέροι;* The whole of the articular infinitive again treated as one constituent. See above, *Tr.* 545–6. (ix) *Phil.* 111–12 *ὅταν τι δρᾷς εἰς κέρδος, οὐκ ὀκνεῖν πρέπει. | κέρδος δ' ἐμοὶ τί τοῦτον ἐς Τροίαν μολεῖν;* No finite verb, but the core of the sentence runs through *τί.* 'And the gain for me is what?' (x) *Phil.* 1225 (*λύσων ὅσ' ἐξήμαρτον ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ. | δεινόν γε φωνεῖς·*) *ἡ δ' ἁμαρτία τίς ἦν;* With *ἁμαρτία* Odysseus picks up on Neoptolemus's *ἐξήμαρτον*, and asks for specification. 'What *ἁμαρτία* do you mean?' (xi) *Phil.* 1404 *αἰτίαν δὲ πῶς Ἀχαιῶν φεύξομαι;* Philoctetes has insisted that he does not want to hear anything more about Troy and at 1402 Neoptolemus gives in. Line 1404 changes the direction of the dialogue with *αἰτίαν;* a more marked break than most examples discussed in this section, but the connection is clear enough. Neoptolemus has taken a decision, and his thoughts turn to what the consequences may be for him personally. *Ἀχαιῶν* intervenes between the interrogative but modifies *αἰτίαν* so that we do not have a new constituent in preverbal position. (xii) *OC* 335 *οἱ δ' αὐθόμαιμοι ποῦ νεανίαι πονεῖν;* Ismene stresses that she has come alone, with just one servant. Oedipus' reaction is to inquire as to her brothers. If anyone, should not they have been the ones to accompany her on her journey, or even have undertaken it in her stead? There is no finite verb in this sentence, but the two first constituents can be analysed as Topic and Focus, with *νεανίαι* and *πονεῖν* not being strictly necessary. (xiii) *OC* 357–8 *νῦν δ' αὖ τίν' ἦκεις μῦθον, Ἰσμήνη, πατρὶ | φέρουσα;* Setting followed by interrogative; interrogative placed to precede verb. (xiv) *OC* 401 *ἡ δ' ὠφέλησις τίς θύρασι κειμένου;* Ismene tells Oedipus that Thebes wants to bury him just outside the city walls. Oedipus wants to know what good that will do for the city. (xv) *OC* 412

the interrogative; secondly, (5.49) and (5.50) combine the characteristics of questions discussed in this and the previous section, in that in these questions, Mobile elements intervene between the postponed interrogative and the verb.

(5.48) Dei. *τὸν γὰρ βαλόντ' ἄτρακτον οἶδα καὶ θεὸν*
Χείρωνα πημήναντα, χὤνπερ ἂν θίγῃ,
φθείρει τὰ πάντα κνώδαλ'· ἐκ δὲ τοῦδ' ὅδε
σφαγὼν διελθὼν ἰὸς αἵματος μέλας
πῶς οὐκ ὀλεῖ καὶ τόνδε; δόξῃ γοῦν ἐμῇ.
(*Trach.* 714–18)

I know that the arrow that struck him
tormented even Chiron,
who was immortal, and it destroys all the beasts
whom it touches. How shall the black poison
of the blood,
coming from the fatal wound,
not destroy my husband also? That is my belief.

The notion of constituent becomes rather stretched, if we insist on interpreting everything that precedes the interrogative *πῶς* as merely a subject constituent with Topic function. It makes more sense in this case to consider the words up to *μέλας* a Theme, forming a separate intonation unit which precedes the main clause. Jebb translates with a finite clause, which would seem a better English equivalent than a top-heavy subject phrase: 'And since 'tis this same black venom in the blood that hath passed out through the wound of Nessus, . . .' On this reading, *πῶς* changes from 'postponed' to clause-initial, comparable to interrogatives following finite subordinate clauses.[38]

(5.49) Oe. *ἄρχει τις αὐτῶν, ἢ 'πὶ τῷ πλήθει λόγος;*
Cho. *ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἄστυ βασιλέως τάδ' ἄρχεται.*
Oe. *οὗτος δὲ τίς λόγῳ τε καὶ σθένει κρατεῖ;*
Cho. *Θησεὺς καλεῖται, τοῦ πρὶν Αἰγέως τόκος.* (*OC* 66–9)

ἃ δ' ἐννέπεις, κλυοῦσα τοῦ λέγεις, τέκνον; The participle *κλυοῦσα* presents an inferable Topic; *τοῦ* takes second position in the participial phrase. (xvi) *OC* 1170 *μή μου δεηθῇς*—:: *πράγματος ποίου; λέγε.*

[38] As in e.g. *OC* 969–71, where the main clause is preceded by a conditional clause: *ἐπεὶ δίδαξον, εἴ τι θέσφατον πατρὶ | χρησμοῖσιν ἱκνεῖθ' ὥστε πρὸς παίδων θανεῖν, | **πῶς** ἂν δικαίως τοῦτ' ὀνειδίζοις ἐμοί, κτλ.*

Oe. Have they a ruler, or does the people have the say?
Cho. This place is ruled by the king in the city.
Oe. And who has power by his speech and by his strength?
Cho. He is called Theseus, the son of the old king Aegeus.

οὗτος in 68 refers to 'the king', who is duly identified as Theseus in the next line. The adjunct phrase λόγῳ τε καὶ σθένει intervenes between the interrogative and the verb, which is surprising, the more so because the phrase seems rather trite. On the other hand, metrical problems would have ensued if κρατεῖ had appeared earlier (*οὗτος δὲ τίς κρατεῖ λόγῳ τε καὶ σθένει). From a pragmatic point of view, however, I do not see a persuasive explanation for the early position of the adjunct phrase.[39]

The situation is less dire in the following instance:

(5.50) Oe. τί δῆτα δόξης, ἤ τί κληδόνος καλῆς
μάτην ῥεούσης ὠφέλημα γίγνεται,
εἰ τάς γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβεστάτας
εἶναι, μόνας δὲ τὸν κακούμενον ξένον
σῴζειν οἵας τε καὶ μόνας ἀρκεῖν ἔχειν;
κἄμοιγε ποῦ ταῦτ' ἐστίν, οἵτινες βάθρων
ἐκ τῶνδέ μ' ἐξάραντες εἶτ' ἐλαύνετε, . . .
ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες; (*OC* 258–65)

What help comes from fame, or from a
fine reputation
that flows away in vain,
seeing that Athens, they say, has most reverence
for the gods,
and alone can protect the afflicted stranger,
and alone can give him aid?
How is this the case with me, when you have
made me rise from these ledges and are driving me away,
simply from fear of my name?

[39] Donald Mastronarde (p.c.) suggests that the phrase 'makes an additional point about the assumed nature of a good kingship such as that of Theseus in Athens (that it is a matter of intelligence and persuasiveness as well as of heroic strength and valor).' This interpretation would certainly work when contrasted with Creon's hamfistedness which will be evident later on in the play, but I am not sure that we can already see such contrast at work here. In the absence of such contextual factors, should we then take these words to be praise directed at the Athenian audience?

Oedipus contrasts Athens' reputation for taking in *τὸν κακούμενον ξένον* with his own present treatment. He shifts from the generic stranger to himself, specifically, with *ἔμοιγε* (Topic). The interrogative is followed by a deictic, *ταῦτα*. We have seen many examples of such deictic elements in § 5.3 above, and once again, *ταῦτα* allows an interpretation that goes beyond bland reference: '*that much vaunted reputation of yours*', which stands in such stark contrast with the actual behaviour that Oedipus finds himself confronted with (described with the immediately following *οἵτινες* clause). As in many of the examples discussed in § 5.3, the question is rhetorical. Oedipus is not asking for directions to Athens, but concluding that Athens is not all it has been made out to be.[40]

5.5 POSTPONED INTERROGATIVES IN EURIPIDES

In a recent article, Battezzato (2000) examines postponed interrogatives in Euripides, especially those cases in which an interrogative modifier follows a noun. He notes that in the majority of cases, this noun will be in clause-initial position, as we have seen above with *τάφος δὲ ποῖος* (*IT* 625, in (5.E1)), and the like.[41] These nouns will function as Topic, and the interrogatives follow as Focus of the

[40] For a comparable use of *ποῦ* see Eur. *Supp.* 127 at (5.E7) below. For a different indignant *ποῦ* in questions see e.g. Soph. *Aj.* 1100 *ποῦ σὺ στρατηγεῖς τοῦδε;* (more exx. of the latter use in LSJ s.v.)

[41] Battezzato cites the following (2000: 147). In 33 instances, the noun which is modified by the interrogative comes in clause-initial position (I have added the notation 'P2' to the citations where the interrogative follows the noun—sometimes, the noun phrase—immediately): *Cyc.* 549 P2, *Alc.* 479 (assuming punctuation after *εἰπέ*) P2, *Heracl.* 86 P2, *Hec.* 878 P2, *El.* 237 P2, 254 P2, *HF* 548 P2, 559 hyperbaton *φίλοι γάρ εἰσιν ἀνδρὶ δυστυχεῖ τίνες;*, 714 P2, *Tro.* 505 P2, 899 P2, *IT* 625 P2, 916 P2, 926 P2, 1168 P2, 1219 *τοῦδ' ὅρος τίς* P2, *Ion* 289 P2, 353 P2, 536 P2, 770 P2, 800 P2, 1004 hyperbaton *ἰσχὺν ἔχοντας τίνα*, 1012 hyperbaton *δύναμιν ἐκφέρει τίνα*, 1420 hyperbaton *μορφὴν ἔχον τίν[α]*, *Hel.* 113 hyperbaton *χρόνον δ' ἐμείνατ' ἄλλον ἐν Τροίᾳ πόσον;*, 1208 P2, *Or.* 101 P2, 749 P2, 1611 P2, *Bacch.* 830 P2, 832 P2, *IA* 700 P2, 821 P2, a total of 33 cases. The exceptions are *Cyc.* 138, *IT* 499, *Supp.* 1060, *Bacch.* 473 (presumably included in Battezzato's count of exceptions, but not mentioned as such, is *IA* 712).

clause. While I am in substantial agreement with many of his observations, below I suggest some modifications to his treatment.

Pace Battezzato, there is no need to assume Focus function for constituents preceding postponed interrogatives, as he proposes for examples like the following, in which a contrastive Topic opens the clause:

(5.E3) Her. *θάφθ' ὥσπερ εἶπον παῖδας.* Am. ***ἐμὲ*** *δὲ τίς, τέκνον;* (Eur. *HF* 1419)

Her. Bury my children, as I asked you. Am. But who will bury me?

It is of course true that we need to supply the verb *θάψει vel sim.* in the second clause, and that the conversation is 'about' burial (Battezzato 2000: 153–4): 'Il pronome *ἐμέ* è in contrasto con "i figli", e li sostituisce come *focus* dell' attenzione (il *topic* è "seppellire"); per questo motivo viene introdotto all' inizio della frase, e spodesta dalla P1 il pronome interrogativo'). However, that does not mean that we need to assign Topic to an invisible constituent. Rather, the direct object *ἐμέ* is the contrastive Topic. Amphitryon uses it as the starting point for his question.[42]

In (5.E4), we find another personal pronoun, followed by a noun plus interrogative modifier, which Battezzato reads as Focus-Topic-interrogative. Instead, I would analyse the pronoun simply as a hierarchically higher Topic than the 'Subtopic' *ὄνομα* that follows:[43]

[42] As to the Euripidean parallels adduced in Battezzato's n. 45 (2000: 154), these should be analysed in the same way: In Eur. *El.* 1086–7 *εἰ δ', ὡς λέγεις, σὴν θυγατέρ' ἔκτεινεν πατήρ,* | *ἐγὼ τί σ' ἠδίκησ' ἐμός τε σύγγονος;* 'But if, as you say, my father killed your daughter, what wrong did my brother and I do to you?', Electra switches from Agamemnon to herself and Orestes. Similarly *HF* 1415 *σὺ ποῖος ἦσθα* (contrasting Heracles and Theseus), *Phoen.* 412 *καὶ σοὶ τί θηρῶν ὀνόματος μετῆν* (Iocaste struggling to make the connection from the story of the oracle to her son's marriage), *Or.* 745 *σὺ δὲ τίνας λόγους ἔλεξας* (Pylades switching back from Helen to Orestes). In *Hel.* 557 Menelaus asks Helen: *τίς εἶ*, to which she replies in 558: *σὺ δ' εἶ τίς;* 'And you, who are you?' See also the passage in Ar. *Eq.* in which Cleon's and the Sausage Seller's supplies of oracles are compared, esp. lines 1003 and 1007. First the Topics are indicated, then the questions are asked. For line 1005, see the discussion of (5.35) above.

[43] Battezzato (2000: 154) does call *ὄνομα* an inferred Topic (for all humans, we can assume that they have names, just as they have a head and two arms), but does not conclude that we here have two hierarchically ordered Topics. For discussion of hierarchically organized Topics and examples from Herodotus, see Dik 1995: 27–8.

(5.E4) Iph. *σοὶ δ' ὄνομα ποῖον ἔθεθ' ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ;* (*IT* 499)
And you, what name did your father give you?

In more dynamic terms, we can say that with the first word of the clause, *σοί*, Iphigenia changes the topic of conversation from the two men together (are you brothers?), to Orestes alone. More specifically, she wants to know his name, and this follows as the second constituent.[44] Battezzato's examples have in common that they all start with personal pronouns which in my opinion function as contrastive Topics, at a higher level than the subsequent constituent, as in (5.E5):

(5.E5) Cly. *σὺ δὲ τάδ', ὦ γέρον, πόθεν φὴς εἰδέναι πεπυσμένος;* (*IA* 890)
But you, old man, where is it you say you heard these things?

In lines 873–89, Clytemnestra's trusted servant has told her what is about to happen to Iphigenia. Now Clytemnestra turns from the news of Iphigenia's fate to the servant (*σὺ δέ*), to ask him where (*πόθεν*) he got his information (*τάδε*). There is no logical inherent relationship between *σύ* and *τάδε* as there is between people and their names, of course. Rather, the strong thematic break at 890 is achieved in a two-step process.[45] In an exaggerated paraphrase: 'Now what about you, where did you learn this?' A similar case, with one more twist, is (5.E6):

(5.E6) Cly. *κἄπειτα δαίσεις τοὺς γάμους ἐς ὕστερον;*
Ag. *θύσας γε θύμαθ' ἁμὲ χρὴ θῦσαι θεοῖς.*
Cly. *ἡμεῖς δὲ θοίνην ποῦ γυναιξὶ θήσομεν;* (*IA* 720–2)

[44] A close parallel in Sophocles is formed by the indirect question *τὸν δὲ Λάιον φύσιν | τίν' εἶρπε φράζε, τίνα δ' ἀκμὴν ἥβης ἔχων* (*OT* 740–1), in which *φύσις* is a Subtopic to the higher-level Topic Laius.

[45] The distinction between Halliday's interpersonal and experiential/topical Themes comes to mind (see Halliday 1994: 52–4). Examples such as these, which have more than one topical element, may remind readers of Prague School descriptions of word order, which holds that sentences show a gradual progression from given to new information throughout the clause, most famously explored in the classical languages by Panhuis for Latin (Panhuis 1982). However, such a description fails to recognize that the first topical element in such sentences is typically a personal pronoun (Halliday's 'interpersonal Theme'), affecting a Topic switch as in *IA* 722. Other types of constituents are extremely rare and will typically involve 'subdivided' clauses, in which the second Topic is accompanied by *μέν* or *δέ* (see previous note).

Cly. And then you will have the marriage feast afterwards?
Ag. Yes, after sacrificing what I need to sacrifice to the gods.
Cly. And where shall I arrange the feast for the women?

After inquiring about Agamemnon's activities, Clytemnestra here switches to her side of the wedding preparations. Following the shift to ἡμεῖς, the specific Topic—like τάδε above in (5.E5)—is θοίνην. The twist here is that not only the interrogative, but also a (presumably contrastive) γυναιξί follows: you take care of the men's affairs; what shall I (contrastive Topic) do for the women (contrastive Focus)?

While Battezzato is right to say that this order (σύ . . . τάδε, ἡμεῖς . . . θοίνην) is precisely what one would expect,[46] I believe that this is due to the different status of these Topic constituents, where the second one is much more specific than the first.[47] An apparent counterexample, such as (5.E7), has to be explained differently:

(5.E7) The. ξύμβουλον οὖν μ' ἐπῆλθες; ἢ τίνος χάριν;
Adr. κομίσαι σε, Θησεῦ, παῖδας Ἀργείων θέλων.
The. τὸ δ' Ἄργος ἡμῖν ποῦ 'στιν; ἢ κόμποι μάτην;
Adr. σφαλέντες οἰχόμεσθα. πρὸς σὲ δ' ἥκομεν.
(*Supp.* 125–8)

The. Have you come to me for advice? Or for what?
Adr. I want you, Theseus, to recover the Argos' sons.
The. But where is your Argos? Is it merely an idle boast?
Adr. We have fallen and are in ruins. We have come to you.

[46] 'Si noti che l'ordine *focus* + *topic* è quello che ci aspetteremo in linea di principio; esso viene invertito in Eur. *Supp.* 127', Battezzato 2000: 154. Needless to say, it is unclear to me why we would expect Focus-Topic order; on *Supp.* 127, see below, (5.E7). The nearest case is perhaps Aesch. *Pers.* 230–1: κεῖνα ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω, | ὦ φίλοι, ποῦ **τὰς Ἀθήνας** φασὶν ἱδρῦσθαι χθονός. However, this is the first mention of Athens in the play, and Atossa tells the chorus that besides the interpretation of her dream, she wants to ask only one question, and that question concerns *Athens*. The chorus's explanations about Athens take up the rest of this passage until the arrival of the messenger (announced by the chorus in 246 f.).

[47] Similarly *IA* 1366, switching from what Achilles will do to stop Iphigenia's sacrifice to Clytemnestra: ἐμὲ δὲ δρᾶν τί χρὴ τότε; In *Med.* 565–6, Jason has laid out his reasons for wanting the new marriage, and children from it too, to everybody's benefit. Then, contrasting Medea and himself, he says: σοί τε γὰρ παίδων τί δεῖ; | ἐμοί τε λύει . . . Kovacs: 'For your part, what need have you of any more children? For me, it is advantageous . . .'

Theseus is not saying here, 'let's talk about me, in general, and more specifically what I have to do with Argos.'[48] Whether we read *ἡμῖν* or *ὑμῖν*, this is an ethic dative, placed in Wackernagel position.

I now turn from the interpretation of the clause-initial elements in clauses with postponed interrogatives to the precise position of the interrogatives when they are 'postponed' (Battezzato's § 1.10 (2000: 155–6)). As we have seen above, in the majority of Sophoclean instances the postponed interrogative follows as the second constituent in the clause, following the Topic constituent. Most Euripidean instances follow familiar patterns.

The exceptions to this in Sophocles were few and involved mainly the type of question that appears to start out as a declarative (5.34), but some of the Sophoclean exceptions turn out to be instances of a pattern that recurs in Euripides. I refer to (5.43) *ἔργον μεριμνῶν ποῖον* and the similar example *Phil.* 1227 *ἔπραξας ἔργον ποῖον*, in which the interrogative is the third Mobile following two words that are semantically closely related. Battezzato's survey of the Euripidean instances offers a number of parallels:

(5.E8) Eu. *ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ καλλίνικος ἔρχομαι.*
Iph. *νικῶσα νίκην τίνα; μαθεῖν χρῄζω σέθεν.*
(*Supp.* 1059–60)

Eu. Yes: I have come here in glorious victory.
Iph. That victory? I want to learn from you lips.

Iphis picks up on Euadne's *καλλίνικος*. What victory is that? The *figura etymologica* suggests even more strongly that we can read the two constituents together as Topic of the clause. Similarly in (5.E9), Clytemnestra, in discussing Achilles' suitability as a husband for Iphigenia, makes one of a series of predictable inquiries (696: *γένους δ' ὁποίου χὠπόθεν*) about a future son-in-law:

(5.E9) Cly. *οὐ μεμπτός. οἰκεῖ δ' ἄστυ ποῖον Ἑλλάδος;* (*IA* 712)
I find no fault. In Greece where does he dwell?

[48] Nor, reading *ὑμῖν*, 'let's talk about you'. I have followed Diggle's reading here. The translation does not bring out the relationship between question and answer as it works in the Greek. In effect, *σφαλέντες οἰχόμεσθα* answers *ποῦ* 'where' with *οὐδαμοῦ* 'nowhere'. See above, (5.31) for a similar ethic dative, and for a more likely Topic, *ἔμοιγε* in (5.50).

So far, Achilles' parentage and education with Chiron have been discussed. It is time for the second part of Clytemnestra's question, *χὡπόθεν*: and where is he from? *οἰκεῖ* is an easily inferable Topic here: for any human, we can assume a dwelling place as well as a family tree.[49]

A similar group features not a semantically close, but rather an 'empty' verb, such as *ἔχω* in (5.E10), involving Topic Y2 hyperbaton (see above on (5.45)):[50]

(5.E10) Cr. *σκέψασθ' ὃ παῖς ποτ' οὖσ' ὕφασμ' ὕφην' ἐγώ.*
Ion *ποῖόν τι; πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.*
Cr. *οὐ τέλεον, οἷον δ' ἐκδίδαγμα κερκίδος.*
Ion ***μορφὴν*** *ἔχον τίν'; ὡς με μὴ ταύτῃ λάβῃς.*
(*Ion* 1417–20)

Cr. See, all of you, the weaving I did as a girl.
Ion What kind of weaving? Maidens weave many things.
Cr. One not finished: you could call it my shuttle's apprentice work.
Ion And its design? Don't try to trick me here!

In fact it is only in a very few cases that the interrogative appears later than in second position in the clause. For the most part, the examples furnished by Battezzato as clause-final ('fine di frase') are indeed clause-final, but they are also clause-second, as for example (5.E11), so that they are not in conflict with my general analysis:[51]

[49] See below, (5.E15), for discussion of line 698, the only instance in Euripides of *τίς* at the end of the trimeter line (there is a handful of instances of *τί* at line end, but these are all in second position in their clause, as in *IA* 1354 *ἀπεκρίνω δὲ τί;* see also *Hel.* 141, 604, *Hipp.* 519, *Phoen.* 1338, *Tro.* 74).

[50] Similar examples: *Ion* 1004, *ἴσχυν ἔχοντας τίνα* (t), 1012 *δύναμιν ἐκφέρει τίνα.*

[51] To avoid confusion, I should note that in (5.E11) the verb *θνήσκει* has Topic function and is followed by the Focus constituent. Of the twelve instances cited by Battezzato for his sample (2000: 50) the only case in which the interrogative comes in later than second position is *HF* 559 (see (5.E14) below, where I discuss additional examples). Battezzato's other examples are *Hec.* 773 (5.E11), 878 (second in noun phrase; see below), 1009, *El.* 248, 547, 640 (not counting postpositive *ἐστί*), 974, *HF* 528, 1181, 1246, 1419. In the case of *Hec.* 878 (*πῶς οὖν; τί δράσεις; πότερα φάσγανον χερὶ | λαβοῦσα γραίᾳ φῶτα βάρβαρον κτενεῖς,*) | *ἢ φαρμάκοισιν ἢ 'πικουρίᾳ* ***τίνι;*** | (*τίς σοι ξυνέσται χείρ; πόθεν κτήσῃ φίλους;*) editors have adopted the reading *τίνι* on the assumption that the indefinite makes no sense, given that *φάσγανον* and

(5.E11) Ag. *θνήσκει δὲ* ***πρὸς τοῦ*** *καὶ τίνος πότμου τυχών;*
(*Hec.* 773)

By whom was he killed? What was the fate he met?

However, the following do seem problematic to such analysis. In all these cases, the interrogative word, or the constituent that contains it, comes at the end of a clause, beyond the second position in the clause and beyond the main verb. Do the examples below constitute a case for a Focus position at the end of the clause? I believe that there is another way to account for them, which avoids positing an extra Focus position. In most cases, the constituents that precede these interrogatives can be analysed as extended Topic units.[52] Consider the following example from *Orestes:*

(5.E12) Or. ***ἥξει δ' ἐς οἴκους Ἑρμιόνη*** *τίνος χρόνου;*
ὡς τἄλλα γ' εἶπας, εἴπερ εὐτυχήσομεν,
κάλλισθ'... (*Or.* 1211–13)

But when will Hermione return?
All else you have said is excellent provided
we can succeed...

In (5.E12), after having endorsed Electra's plan of action and praising her in more general terms, Orestes asks for one more detail. Electra had suggested taking Hermione hostage when she came home (1189 *ὅταν στείχῃ πάλιν*). The remaining detail is, how soon will that be? The constituents *ἐς οἴκους Ἑρμιόνη* need to be supplied precisely because of the distance between the first mention and this request for further detail.

φαρμάκοισιν also constitute *ἐπικουρία*. I wonder whether the difference is that the latter signifies human help rather than an instrument that Hecuba can use, so that in fact the indefinite makes good sense after all. But leaving this question aside, given the structure of the sentence, *Hec.* 878 cannot be considered an example of an interrogative beyond second position in the clause. Line 877 forms a complete clause, to which the extra alternatives are added in separate intonation units. Both *φαρμάκοισιν* and *ἐπικουρίᾳ τίνι* have Focus in 878.

[52] See above, n. 30, for discussion of an example from Plato (5.P8), and references to Herodotus.

In the following cases, the constituents preceding the interrogative present easily inferred information:[53]

(5.E13) Her. *οὕτω δ' ἀπόντες ἐσπανίζομεν φίλων;*
Meg. ***φίλοι γάρ εἰσιν ἀνδρὶ δυστυχεῖ*** *τίνες;*
Her. *μάχας δὲ Μινυῶν ἃς ἔτλην ἀπέπτυσαν;*
Meg. *ἄφιλον, ἴν' αὖθίς σοι λέγω, τὸ δυστυχές.*
(*HF* 558–61)

Her. Was I so lacking in friends when I was absent?
Meg. What friends does a man in misfortune have?
Her. Did they think so little of the battles I fought with the Minyans?
Meg. Once more I say: misfortune has no friends.

The continuity between lines 558 and 559 is obvious, but Megara makes a transition from specific (Heracles) to generic (any δυστυχής) here, so that here what precedes the interrogative is strictly speaking inferable, not given information.[54]

In Pentheus' questions in (5.E14), 'what are the rites?' seems naturally to be followed by 'what benefit do they impart?', where it is presupposed that there will be *some* kind of benefit. Here again, rather than assuming Focus function for one of the earlier constituents or assuming a clause-final Focus position, I propose that all the words from ἔχει to θύουσιν ('it benefits them') can be read as the Topic of this clause:

(5.E14) Pe. *τὰ δ' ὄργι' ἐστὶ τίν' ἰδέαν ἔχοντά σοι;*
Di. *ἄρρητ' ἀβακχεύτοισιν εἰδέναι βροτῶν.*
Pe. ***ἔχει δ' ὄνησιν τοῖσι θύουσιν*** *τίνα;*
Di. *οὐ θέμις ἀκοῦσαί σ', ἔστι δ' ἄξι' εἰδέναι.*
(*Bacch.* 471–4)

[53] *HF* 1114 also features verb and subject, both clearly given information, preceding the interrogative: (*ὦ τέκνον· εἶ γὰρ καὶ κακῶς πράσσων ἐμός.*) | ***πράσσω δ' ἐγὼ*** *τί λυπρὸν οὗ δακρυρροεῖς;* However, I believe that we should read *ἐγώ* as unemphatic here, and consider it a postpositive rather than a Mobile element, so that on this reading, only one Mobile, the verb, precedes the interrogative. See Dik (2003) on the nominative of the personal pronoun as postpositive.

[54] Here, as in some of the other examples below, an indefinite reading cannot be excluded entirely.

Pe. These rites—what is their nature?
Di. They may not be told to the uninitiated.
Pe. But those who perform them—what
kind of benefit do they get?
Di. You are not allowed to hear—though
the rites are well worth knowing.

As I mentioned above (see n.48) *IA* 698 is the only instance in Euripides of *τίς* at the end of the trimeter line. I think we can assume that what precedes the interrogative is topical given the nature of the conversation between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra:

(5.E15) Cly. *τοὔνομα μὲν οὖν παῖδ' οἶδ' ὅτῳ κατῄνεσας,*
γένους δὲ ποίου χὠπόθεν, μαθεῖν θέλω.
Ag. *Αἴγινα θυγάτηρ ἐγένετ' Ἀσωποῦ πατρός.*
Cly. ***ταύτην δὲ θνητῶν ἢ θεῶν ἔζευξε*** *τίς;*
Ag. *Ζεύς·* (*IA* 695–9)

Cly. Well, I know the name of the man to
whom you promised our daughter,
yet I would like to know what family and
what region he comes from—
Ag. Aegina was the daughter of Asopus.
Cly. And was it a god or mortal married her?
Ag. Zeus.

Clytemnestra knows, as any Greek would, how genealogies work. Given the name of a woman, the natural next question would be who married her.[55]

In (5.E16), it is given from the context (133 *ὅδησον*, 137 *ἐμπολήμασιν*) that Odysseus will pay for any food Silenus has to offer:

(5.E16) Si. *καὶ τυρὸς ὀπίας ἔστι καὶ βοὸς γάλα.*
Od. *ἐκφέρετε· φῶς γὰρ ἐμπολήμασιν πρέπει.*
Si. ***σὺ δ' ἀντιδώσεις,*** *εἰπέ μοι, χρυσὸν* <u>*πόσον*</u>*;*
(*Cyc.* 136–8)

[55] In fact the manuscript reads… *ἔζευξέ τις* and Kovacs, though printing the interrogative, follows the manuscript in translating 'And was it god or mortal married her?'. The indefinite would remove the difficulty of the late interrogative, but the answer in the next line reads more naturally with the interrogative than with the indefinite.

Si. And there is curdled cheese and also cows' milk.
Od. Bring them out: daylight befits merchandise.
Si. But you, tell me, how much gold will you
give in exchange?

However, in this case, it is perhaps more likely to suggest, in part because of the intervening *εἰπέ μοι*, that we should read the line as having a contrastive Topic *σύ*, followed by a Focus *ἀντιδώσεις*: 'and you will *pay* me for it, tell me, how much?'. On this reading, then, *χρυσὸν πόσον* would not be part of the clause proper.[56]

All in all, I do not see that these few instances should lead us to assume a clause-final Focus position, as assumed by Battezzato. Rather, I prefer a more unitary account of the data, which does, admittedly, mean that we need to allow for a definition of Topic as comprising more than one constituent.

5.6 CONCLUSION

Based on my interpretation of the evidence from Sophocles and Euripides, I have argued in this chapter that in both authors, questions show a distribution of pragmatically marked information over the clause that is compatible with a Topic-Focus-verb pattern. The majority of questions (§ 5.2) do not feature a Topic constituent, and the sole Focus constituent is the question word.[57] Matters were more interesting in § 5.3, where I discussed the instances of questions that I interpret as containing multiple Focus constituents. Most of these questions are in fact a character's emotional reaction to the situation they are confronted with, which sets them apart from the questions I discuss in other parts of this chapter. §§ 5.4 and 5.5 concentrated on the traditional problem of the postponed interrogative. Thomson (1939*a*) had established, if not in quite those terms, that these

[56] A final example of a late interrogative is *Hel.* 113 *χρόνον δ' ἐμείνατ' ἄλλον ἐν Τροίᾳ* ***πόσον;*** Again, the Mobiles preceding the interrogative present given information (*ἄλλον* refers to the period of the siege of Troy, a point of shared information).

[57] And similarly, the corresponding constituent in the answer will have Focus and comes first in a clause without a Topic constituent.

questions tend to be continuative (note the high frequency of δέ) and to have a word that can be described as Topic in initial position, thereby making the fundamental point that we should think not of interrogatives as postponed in such cases, but of other elements being given priority. Battezzato (2000) constitutes an advance in that, unlike Thomson, he is interested in more than the mere fact of postposition of the interrogative: it is equally important to examine what type of constituents take clause-initial position, and where in the clause the interrogative ends up: immediately following the first Mobile, or elsewhere. I have argued that there is no need, however, to assume that clause-final position is an alternative 'landing place' for interrogatives, or Focus elements in general. The highly limited number of clause-final interrogatives can be explained otherwise: as I argued in Dik (1995) regarding similar sentences in Herodotus, in some rare cases a Topic will consist of more than one constituent, and this appears to be the case in (5.12) and similar instances as well.

6

Back to the Trimeter

6.1 INTRODUCTION: TRIMETERS ARE NOT LIMERICKS*

My discussion up to this point has ignored the importance of metre. Throughout chapter 5, I asked readers to suspend their usual frame of analysis and follow an approach that treats text written in iambic trimeters as if it were mere prose. I will here return to the trimeter line and its real or supposed effects on the placement of words. By way of introduction, consider a different genre of poetry for a moment:

> There was a young lady from Kent
> Who said that she knew what it meant
> When men asked her to dine,
> Gave her cocktails and wine.
> She knew what it meant but she went.

The limerick can serve as an illustration of two important points. First, despite the formal constraints of the limerick form, no rule of English grammar is violated here, as far as I can tell.[1] In other words, limericks follow the rules of English. My approach to tragic dialogue

* I here want to acknowledge my indebtedness to C. J. Ruijgh for first making me aware in his lectures of many of the issues I discuss in this chapter, especially § 6.4, whose title 'reculer pour mieux sauter' is his characterization of prepositives at line end. Needless to say, while the section title is in homage to my teacher, I take full responsibility for any and all egregious errors and subversions in the pages which follow.

[1] We might have wished for a coordinating conjunction at the start of line 4. Further study of the genre does make clear, of course, that certain turns of phrase (There was an X from Y) are disproportionately frequent, and this is no doubt due not only to convention but also, originally, to the convenience of this formula for the opening line.

so far has been to treat trimeters as if they were limericks, so to speak, in that I have assumed the primacy of rules of grammar throughout.[2]

There is a second observation, however, to be made about the limerick, and that is the importance of the end of the line: the words at line end tend to be highly salient, and it makes good sense to read the lines with major stress on these last words.[3] This, I will argue, is a crucial difference between limericks and trimeters: one of the points I will be making in this chapter is that in the trimeter, line end is not a locus for salient words. While line beginning and line end in the trimeter have both been treated as positions of emphasis, there is little evidence to support this claim in the case of the end of the line. The beginning of the line is another matter: in most cases, this will also be the beginning of a clause, so that reading the first word in a line as marked is in accordance both with my analysis of how Greek clauses work, and with the traditional assumption about line-initial words. Since the correlation of line-beginning with clause-beginning is so strong, it is to be expected that a 'native listener' would tend to think of *all* line-beginnings as a locus for marked words.

But what exactly is the relationship between line and clause? Let me start with the strongest claim that has been made, which is that there is no relation at all between position in the line and emphasis.[4] This position is actually less unreasonable than it sounds. Consider once again the example from *OT:*

[2] By 'rules of grammar' in the case of the limerick I mean rules that exist for the spoken language and for prose. In the long literary tradition of English, prose and poetry rules for word order have grown apart. In the case of early Greek poetry, and I would even include the fifth century, I would agree with Slings (1992: 100) that 'standards of grammatical correctness are ultimately derived from those of spoken Greek' so that we do not necessarily have to assume this gulf between poetry and other uses of language as in English. Metrical tendencies in the trimeter did not develop in isolation from the words, so that it stands to reason that there is a great deal of symmetry between metrical and grammatical units from the start, with metre only later coming into its own as a more independent mode of expression.

[3] This stress pattern is reinforced by the rhyme scheme, a regular feature of English poetry that is absent from classical Greek poetry. The same end-stress is possible in spoken English and we could claim that English and limericks are a natural fit for each other, in much the same way as Aristotle observed that the iambic trimeter was *μάλιστα λεκτικόν*, closest to the spoken language (*Poet.* 1449^{a}24–5).

[4] This is the position of Headlam, followed and elaborated by Thomson. See further below.

(6.1) Cr. **λῃστὰς** ἔφασκε συντυχόντας οὐ **μιᾷ**
ῥώμῃ κτανεῖν νιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν πλήθει χερῶν.
(Soph. *OT* 122–3)

He said that *robbers* encountered them
and killed him;
he died not through *one* man's strength,
but by the hands of many.

As I argued in chapter 1, the placement and the salience of the words λῃστάς and μιᾷ in line 122 can be described very well in other than metrical terms: preverbal elements are pragmatically marked (chapter 3), and so are modifiers which precede their noun (chapter 4). And in fact, a mere glance at line 123 will show that a description of the first and last word in the line as positions for marked words cannot be the whole story: in that line, neither ῥώμῃ nor χερῶν stands out as λῃστάς and μιᾷ do in line 122.

For a second illustration, consider once again the various permutations of the sentence pattern as discussed in chapter 3, and how the elements there identified as Topic, Focus, verb, and Remainder are distributed over the line. Table 6.1 presents an overview of the

Table 6.1 The clause pattern in the trimeter line

Topic	Focus	Verb	Remainder	ex. no.:	notes
σύ τοι	**πρώτη**	θάνοις ἄν	—	(3.1)	necessary enj.
ἥ δ' ἐμὴ ψυχὴ	πάλαι	**τέθνηκεν**	—	(3.2)	necessary enj.
ἐμοὶ	πικρὸς	τέθνηκεν	—	(3.3)	—
οἵδε μὲν	**τεθνᾶσ'**,	—	—	(3.4)	necessary enj.
—	**θεοῖς**	τέθνηκεν	οὗτος	(3.5)	—
—	ἐξ ἐμοῦ	τέθνηκεν	—	(3.6)	—
—	ἐν ταὐτῷ	θάνῃς	—	(3.7)	—
—	καθ' ἡδονὴν	**θάνῃς**·	—	(3.8)	necessary enj.
—	**Αἵμων**	ὄλωλεν·	—	(3.17)	—
—	**γυνὴ**	τέθνηκε	—	(3.18)	—
—	**τεθνᾶσιν**		—	(3.9)	—
—	**τεθνᾶσιν**		ἄνδρες	(3.10)	—
—	ἢ τέθνηκεν		Οἰδίπου πατήρ	(3.11)	—
—		**τέθνηκεν**	ἡ τάλαινα	(3.13)	—
τέθνηκ'	ἐγώ	—	—	(3.19)	—
θνήσκει δὲ	πίστις	—	—	(3.20)	—
θάνοι μὲν	αὐτός	—	—	(3.21)	—

instantiations of the clause pattern much like table 3.1 in chapter 3, but with this difference, that elements in line-initial position have been printed in bold.[5]

This small sample already shows a great deal of variation in how clauses are placed in the trimeter structure in general, and in particular, in the pragmatic status of words in line-initial position:[6] There appear four constituents with Topic function, eight with Focus function, and two verbs that I did not consider pragmatically marked—(3.2) and (3.8). These two verbs are in enjambment, and the constituents that immediately precede them in the previous line have Focus. These one-word enjambments, resulting in an early stop, will be discussed further in sections 6.2 and 6.3 below. In two other cases, the line break separates Topic from Focus—(3.1) and (3.4): these clauses are examples of what has been called (following Choeroboscus, *in Heph.* 226.20) *εἶδος Σοφόκλειον*, where punctuation falls late in the line. I will return to this pattern in section 6.4.

What can we conclude from the table? Clearly, there is no simple one-to-one relationship between pragmatic status and position in the trimeter line. The only constituents in this sample that do not appear in line-initial position are the ones marked 'Remainder', which is in itself an interesting finding, but otherwise, it is mostly the variation in position that impresses. In a nutshell, this table presents the problems of interpretation when we look at single instances of enjambment. While 'die' will probably never be a completely forgettable word like 'be' (on which more below), it is hard to argue that line-initial *θάνῃς* in (3.8) is any more marked than the same word in (3.7), where it appears at line end, or that the line-initial Focus constituent *πρώτη* in (3.1) is more so than *πάλαι* in (3.2) or *πικρός* in (3.3).

What evidence is there that metre *should* be taken into account? Consider table 6.2, and what it tells us about words at line end.[7] In the

[5] Not all rows feature such a constituent, since some clauses follow a conjunction in line-initial position, e.g. example (3.6) and others fall entirely in the second half of the line, such as (3.7).

[6] The table only includes the instances discussed in the first overview of clause patterns in Sophocles, and I have omitted the 'all-new' sentences in this table—(3.14)–(3.16)—of which two also had a verb in clause-initial position, as well as (3.12), which for the purposes of this discussion is identical to (3.11).

[7] This table is reproduced from Dik (1998: 55). Percentages for 'average iamb' are based on my counts of *Trachiniae* and *Antigone*. For the individual words, all

Table 6.2 Localization of iambic forms of *πάσχω*, *θνῄσκω*, *μανθάνω*, *λαμβάνω*, *κυρῶ*, and *τυγχάνω* in Sophocles

Lexeme	1 (%)	3 (%)	5 (%)	7 (%)	9 (%)	11 (%)	Total
average iamb	(13)	(11)	(<1)	(11)	(11)	(53)	—
πάσχω	2 (9)	6 (26)	1 (4)	3 (13)	3 (13)	8 (35)	23
θνῄσκω	10 (13)	10 (13)	—	4 (5)	9 (12)	44 (57)	77
μανθάνω	4 (7)	7 (13)	—	4 (7)	7 (13)	32 (59)	54
λαμβάνω	4 (5)	10 (13)	—	2 (3)	5 (6)	57 (73)	78
κυρῶ	1 (3)	—	—	2 (6)	4 (12)	26 (79)	33
τυγχάνω	—	2 (7)	—	2 (7)	1 (4)	23 (82)	28

left-hand column, a number of verbs are listed which all feature iambic forms, most often from the aorist: *παθεῖν*, *παθών*, *θανεῖν*, etc. All of these iambic forms would fit equally well in any of the slots in the trimeter for iambic words, but in fact they are not equally divided over the trimeter. The numbers in parentheses give the percentages rather than raw numbers, and so are most easily compared. Of iambic forms of *πάσχω*, 9% occur line-initially, 26% in position 3, etc. For my present purposes, the most interesting part is the column marked 11, which gives the percentage of these words that occur in final position in the line. The average iambic word goes in that slot roughly half of the time but the verb forms I have looked at do not follow the same distribution. In the table, I have ordered them by the frequency of their occurrence in final position. The forms of *κυρῶ* and *τυγχάνω* turn out to have the highest percentages in final position, whereas *πάσχω* and *θνῄσκω* show the lowest percentages. My conclusion from these numbers is that they provide further support for the idea that the end of the line is not a position for salient information—which would explain why *κυρῶ* and *τυγχάνω* are so well at home there. It will be clear that such a conclusion necessarily makes untenable the assumption that position in the line is meaningless. Rather, it seems clear from these numbers[8] that some positions in the line are *more* meaning*less* than

instances in Sophocles of iambic forms belonging to the lexemes listed were counted, and listed from left to right is the number of occurrences in their possible positions in the line, signified by the position of the first syllable, so that 1 = an iambic word starting in position 1 (following Maas's convention of numbering the positions in the trimeter line as 1 to 12).

[8] Granted that the sample is small.

others—which presumably entails that other positions are, shall we say, less meaningless. Also, if we once again roughly equate line end with clause end, these numbers are another indication that salient elements are more likely to come early in the clause than later.[9]

It is not just verb forms for which line end is non-salient. To take two examples of other parts of speech, the adverb *καλῶς* patterns with *πάσχω* (38%, or 22 of 58, at line end), while forms of *βροτός*, and especially its frequent genitive plural, come close to the numbers for *κυρῶ* (76%, or 42 of 55, at line end). If we look closer at the few instances of *καλῶς* at line end, still fewer (12 instances, or 20%) are actually *clause*-final: many are immediately followed by a verb in necessary enjambment (e.g. *καλῶς | φέροιντ' ἄν Aj.* 1073 | *λέγω El.* 252 | *ἔξοιδα El.* 526 | *πράξαιμεν Ant.* 271), which, needless to say, results in clausal word order that is perfectly in line with prose usage. On the other hand, just about half of all instances (27, or 49%) of *βροτός* are both line-final *and* clause-final.

From these widely differing statistics for words similar in form,[10] I conclude that word shape is not the sole determinant of position. The example of *καλῶς* shows how the association of line end with emphasis can come about: in fact the perceived emphasis in many cases is due to enjambment effects (compare ***μιᾷ*** | *ῥώμῃ* in (6.1) above) rather than anything else.

This chapter aims to give a clearer idea of how the two dimensions of grammar and metre interact. While it is certainly possible to look

[9] We will see many instances in this chapter of lines and clauses that do not coincide; nevertheless, the majority do. Schein (1979: 45) states that 'in the Sophoclean trimeter there are relatively fewer quadrisyllabic and pentesyllabic words at positions 10 and 12 than in the Aeschylean trimeter. Since words of these shapes tend to be verbs, this means that there are relatively fewer verbs near and at the end of the Sophoclean line, and therefore that the line tends to be end-stopped less frequently', but it seems to me that this line of reasoning is problematic. We know that the Sophoclean line is end-stopped less frequently, but verbs are not necessarily clause-final. In fact, of the quadrisyllabic words that fit positions 10 and 12, in Sophocles almost 91% (1650 out of 1818) occur in positions 10 and 12, and almost 89% (1245 out of 1399, not counting *PV*; counting *PV*, 88%, or 1494 out of 1689) in Aeschylus (Schein's numbers). Perhaps the confusion is due to the higher general frequency of longer vs. shorter words in Aeschylus, so that comparatively more long words occur in any position.

[10] One may quite reasonably object that *καλῶς* and *βροτός* are not of similar shape, but the forms of *βροτός* are predominantly iambic not pyrrhic in shape: the genitive plural occurs the most.

at what happens at other points in the trimeter line, such as the caesura, here I will concentrate on the line break, the strongest rhythmical boundary in the trimeter line, and look at cases in which the two units of expression—line and clause—are not coextensive. The line break is all the more interesting because the tragic poets differ significantly in what kinds of line break they allow and do not allow, as documented by, among others, Humborg (1909) and Descroix (1931/1987: 288–95).

Given these differences among the tragedians, it is tempting to step back from the discussion of individual examples, and construct a narrative about the three tragedians which could run as follows. In Aeschylus' day, trimeter dialogue has not come into its own yet. The requirements for a perfectly 'overdetermined' classic trimeter line, a seamless composition in terms of word choice, word order, syntax, *and* rhythmic effect, at times still elude Aeschylus, resulting in enjambments such as in (6.A1) below, in which word choice, word order, and syntax are all unobjectionable but the line-initial position of *εἶναι* is unfortunate. Sophocles and Euripides, by contrast, are masters of the form. Their lines seem to deal effortlessly with all the formal constraints, turning what was necessity *(Verszwang)* in Aeschylus into virtuosity. But this virtuosity takes on very different form in the two authors. Syntactic and rhythmic parallelism, or 'concinnity' of clause and line are a higher priority for Euripides, while Sophocles, the innovator, exploits the line boundary for pragmatic effect with utter disregard for syntax.

This account is something of an exaggeration but the tendencies are there. As it happens, some prime candidates for what one might point to as instances of compositional difficulty in Aeschylus were adduced by Headlam (1891) in *On Editing Aeschylus*, an attack on Verrall's 1889 edition of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. Consider (6.A1), in which clause-final *εἶναι* is at the same time line-initial:

(6.A1) Cho. *ἔοικεν εὔρις ἡ ξένη κυνὸς δίκην*
εἶναι, *ματεύει δ' ὧν ἀνευρήσει φόνον.*
(Aesch. *Ag.* 1093–4)

Methinks the stranger is keen-scented as a hound;
she is on the trail where she will discover blood.

Verrall incurred Headlam's ridicule for his treatment of these lines. He had used some particularly egregious special pleading to claim

emphasis for εἶναι (Verrall 1889: 127): 'εἶναι; note the emphasis; "The strange woman *is indeed,* it seems, keen at a scent".' As Headlam noted (1891: 6): 'There has been no reference of any kind to her keenness of scent.' Rather, Headlam insisted, words at the beginning of the trimeter line that are followed by pause (i.e. words coming at the *end* of a *syntactical* unit), which were commonly treated as emphatic in commentaries, should not be considered emphatic at all on the basis of their position in the line or of the following pause.

While it is not only Aeschylus who uses up valuable real estate for εἶναι,[11] in Sophocles examples of enjambment that seem quite as colourless as this are few.[12] (6.2) is a case in point. Line-initial εἶναι does not seem pragmatically marked here:[13]

(6.2) Oe. τί δῆτα δόξης ἢ τί κληδόνος καλῆς
μάτην ῥεούσης ὠφέλημα γίγνεται,
εἰ τάς γ' Ἀθήνας φασὶ θεοσεβεστάτας
εἶναι, μόνας δὲ τὸν κακούμενον ξένον
σῴζειν οἵας τε καὶ μόνας ἀρκεῖν ἔχειν; (*OC* 258–62)

What help comes from fame, or from a
fine reputation
that flows away in vain,
seeing that Athens, they say, has most reverence
for the gods,
and alone can protect the afflicted stranger,
and alone can give him aid?

As in (6.A1), the position of εἶναι in (6.2) is unobjectionable from the point of view of the clause; but if we consider both dimensions of

[11] See the list of examples from (mainly) Aeschylus given by Headlam (1891: 5–6). Of course, εἶναι is not necessarily always predictable and non-contrastive, but the instances of enjambment of εἶναι in Aeschylus do not seem to lend themselves at all well to an interpretation as pragmatically marked. By way of contrast, compare this example of Focus on εἶναι in *Sept.* 592: οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' **εἶναι** θέλει.

[12] There are four line-initial instances of εἶναι in Sophocles: *OT* 403 (clause-final), 550; *OC* 261 (clause-final, see (6.2)), 935. Aeschylean and Sophoclean cases feature enjambment as in (6.2), and typically, there are clear candidates for Focus present in predicate adjectives like θεοσεβεστάτας in (6.2) that precede the infinitive, e.g. Aesch. *Supp.* 388 ἐγγύτατα γένους, 453 ἄιδρις μᾶλλον ἢ σοφὸς κακῶν; Soph. *OT* 402 γέρων.

[13] Victor Bers (p.c.) suggests the possibility of a veridical reading ('that Athens is *indeed*...'), but I believe that this amounts once again to special pleading, even if the case for such a reading here is stronger than in (6.A1).

ordering, clause and line, only one is really successful. Line-initial position is not exploited to good effect here. For a counterexample, consider μάτην in line 259 of (6.2): its prominence can be said to be marked twice over: both by its position preceding the participle and by its line-initial position. The break before μάτην can be considered a poetically effective line break. The metre does not run in parallel with the syntax of the clause; even so, it is not at odds with the clausal prominence of μάτην; rather, the metre reinforces it.[14]

Sophocles' predilection for bold line breaks is shared only by the author of *PV.* He frequently places conjunctions such as ἐπεί at line end and occasionally puts even the definite article there, followed by its noun in the next line. Euripides too can place ἐπεί in this position (*Heracl.* 567; *Or.* 1161), but in Sophocles we find no fewer than 24 instances. No definite articles in Euripides are placed at line-end as they are in Sophocles. Line end, then, is a curious animal in the Sophoclean trimeter. On the one hand, many of his line ends show the characteristics of the ideal metrical period end: *brevis in longo* and hiatus; on the other, he allows proclitics and elision at line end. It is as if in Sophocles' hands, period end was an option, not a rule, in the trimeter. It is impossible in principle to decide for any single line break in a tragic *rhesis* whether the author intended a special effect by it; however, in the case of Sophocles, there is every reason to expect an effect and weigh the possibilities.

6.1.1 Line end as a 'Chunking Device'

Slings (1997) describes various figures of speech—anaphora, antithesis, and chiasmus—which, as used in non-literary language,[15] (1997: 175) 'all have to do with strategies devised to give maximum accessibility to the information as distributed over the clause or sentence.' Of these figures of speech, he describes (1997: 179) anaphora as originating in

[14] The distribution of μάτην over the trimeter line constitutes more evidence that wordshape is not a deciding factor in its placement. Only 7 out of 20 instances in Sophocles, and 12 out of 39 in Euripides, come at the end of the line, where the general tendency for iambic words is to occur in final position roughly 50% of the time (see table 6.2).

[15] As for literary language, Slings continues, 'it follows automatically that the simpler the information supplied in a clause or sentence is, the higher the chances are that the distribution phenomenon was experienced as "literary."'

natural language as a 'chunking device, a strategy that enables the user to distribute complex information over several clauses.' He continues: 'Poetry, however, is not natural language use. It already has a chunking device of its own: line end.' This is a fair argument to make in trying to explain the scarcity of certain types of anaphora in poetry, but I would propose that not all line ends are created equal as 'chunking devices.' Let us go back to the notion that line end typically coincides with the end of an intonation unit. This is largely true in Homeric epic, as shown in Bakker (1997). Individual lines and parts of lines can be interpreted on their own, even if entire sentences frequently span multiple lines. In such cases, syntax and metre are in parallel, with initial position in the line coinciding with clause-initial position. When line breaks coincide with what would be intonation breaks in naturally used language, line-initial position only lends prominence to a word that would also have been prominent in a prose clause (or, presumably, a spoken intonation unit). Such use of the 'chunking device' of line break, then, we could place at the low end of a scale of likely poetic effect. By taking the comparison with epic a bit further, we can consider line breaks that 'chunk' where epic cannot to be formally marked, and therefore more likely to have struck the audience of Sophocles' time as poetically effective.[16]

In this chapter (generally, but in § 6.4, in particular), I will argue that such poetically effective line breaks can frequently be observed in Sophocles, and that this exploitation of both dimensions of ordering, often reinforcing the pragmatics of the clause, sometimes adding an additional accent, is crucial to an understanding of the interaction of clause and line in Sophocles. Where we may detect compositional difficulty in Aeschylus' placement of words such as *εἶναι* in (6.A1) above, such examples are few and far between in Sophocles.[17]

In the following sections, I will first of all return to the question of enjambment (§§ 6.2 and 6.3). I start with a number of examples of enjambment, involving a single run-on word, in which the same line-initial words were judged emphatic by Jebb but unemphatic by Thomson, Headlam's student. These are followed by a more systematic discussion of all instances of this type of enjambment, involving

[16] For notions of pause and possible pause, see in particular Stinton (1977*a* and *b*).

[17] Compare with Headlam's (1891: 5–6) catalogue of Aeschylean instances the handful of Sophoclean instances of line-initial *εἶναι* besides *OC* 261: *OT* 403, 550, and *OC* 935.

early pause, in *Ajax* (§ 6.3). Discussion of these examples, and the distinction between syntactically different kinds of enjambment, will also allow for a more satisfactory account of the circumstances in which line-final words can be interpreted as marked: I will argue that words at line end are typically marked only in the case of necessary enjambment (as for instance εὐσεβεστάτας in (6.2) above, where εἶναι is syntactically necessary). Conversely, the case for 'emphasis' on a run-on word is the strongest when there is free (adding) enjambment (where the run-on word is not syntactically necessary).

In § 6.4, I turn to the converse of this form of enjambment, namely those lines in which a clause starts near the end of a line, exemplified above by (3.1) and (3.4) in table 6.1, and discuss more generally some peculiarities of line end in Sophocles. To devotees of Sophoclean metre, these will be familiar, but I hope they will be interesting nonetheless to other readers.

§ 6.5 concludes this chapter with a brief look at some of the 'tools' of versification that the tragic poets used in achieving the classic trimeter line. Just as we can take prose as a starting point for looking at word order, the frequency of particular words and word types in tragedy compared to other genres can perhaps bring us closer to the strategies at work in composition. In other words: even though Sophocles in particular strikes his readers as highly economical in his word use, should we nevertheless want to speculate about 'fillers' in his lines, and what are some candidates for that designation?

6.2 EMPHASIS ACCORDING TO JEBB AND THOMSON

> To a remarkable extent, individuals may disagree about the location of 'emphasis' in a given passage of Greek, and an individual may disagree with himself[18] on different occasions.
>
> (Dover 1960: 33)

[18] Or herself, as the case may be. I have changed my mind about a number of the examples to follow in this section. I am grateful to the members of the Amsterdam 'Hellenistenclub' for their comments on an earlier version of this section, which helped me a great deal.

Few, if any, commentators on Sophocles have been as influential as Jebb, and few were as outspoken on the subjects of word order and emphasis. When one examines the instances Jebb commented on for their irregular/unusual word order and/or emphasis, it soon turns out that many of them concern cases of enjambment. Jebb described such words in enjambment as 'emphatic by place and pause', with 'pause' referring to the punctuation early in the trimeter line. His position was assailed quite vociferously by Thomson (1938: ii.368–70).[19] I will here consider a number of cases discussed by both scholars. What will emerge, besides two strong convictions, is that neither scholar is much concerned with the syntactic function of the run-on element. Studies on the use of enjambment in Homer have long distinguished between syntactically necessary words and more independent additions to the clause (e.g. Parry 1929/1971, Kirk 1966, Higbie 1990).[20] Compare the two run-on words in (6.3):[21]

(6.3) Or. *πόλλ' ἀντιφωνεῖς, ἡ δ' ὁδὸς βραδύνεται.*
ἀλλ' ἕρφ'.
Ae. *ὑφηγοῦ.*
Or. *σοὶ βαδιστέον πάρος.*
Ae. *ἦ μὴ φύγω σε;*
Or. *μὴ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡδονὴν*
θάνῃς· *φυλάξαι δεῖ με τοῦτό σοι πικρόν.*
χρὴν δ' εὐθὺς εἶναι τήνδε τοῖς πᾶσιν δίκην, 1505
ὅστις πέρα πράσσειν γε τῶν νόμων θέλοι,
κτείνειν· (*El.* 1501–7)

Or. You utter long replies, and the going is delayed!
Go!
Ae. Lead the way!

[19] This is part of a larger discussion of word order by Thomson in the supplement to the Oresteia edition (1938: ii.367–72).

[20] See Higbie ch. 1 for an overview. While I will follow her in using 'necessary' and 'violent' as terms for the two strongest types of enjambment, I will reserve 'violent' for prepositives (prepositions and the article) at line end, and postpositives at line beginning. Examples of the former include *Ant.* 409–10 *τὸν* | *νέκυν;* of the latter *Aj.* 985–6 *ὅσον τάχος* | *δῆτ[α]*. I will not consider conjunctions at line end (such as *ἐπεί*) examples of violent enjambment. Cf. discussion of this question by Ruijgh (1990*b*: 184).

[21] It has been impossible in this chapter as elsewhere to maintain the line divisions of the Greek in the English translations. On the impossibility in principle of maintaining Greek word order in English translation, see Edwards (2001: 12–13, esp. n. 31).

Or. You must go first!
Ae. In case I should escape?
Or. No, in case you should die
where you please; I have to see that this tastes bitter for you.
This punishment should come at once to all
who would act outside the laws—
death.

Jebb comments specifically on *κτείνειν*: 'For the emphatic place of the word, cp. 957 *Αἴγισθον*.' In fact, both *θάνῃς* (1504) and *κτείνειν* (1507) are verse-initial and followed by pause. But how 'emphatic' are they? Let us first consider the two words in their clauses. In our first clause it is clear enough that the verb *θάνῃς* is necessary to complete the clause. The adjunct *καθ' ἡδονήν* 'as you like it', which precedes it, is the Focus element.[22] As for *κτείνειν*, however, its syntax is not quite as straightforward. Depending on how exactly we take *τήνδε . . . δίκην* in line 1505 (*this* punishment I am here and now exacting; the *following* punishment), *κτείνειν* presents mere iteration of known information, or a more pointed one-word clause. Either way, however, this infinitive is not syntactically integrated in a preceding clause like *θάνῃς*, and it can be classified as a Tail constituent.[23]

As a result, the prominence of these two run-on words is very different. In the case of *θάνῃς*, the line break makes it possible to highlight it in addition to *καθ' ἡδονήν*, the Focus of the clause, in a way unavailable in prose, but there is no real need to understand it as pragmatically marked.[24] *κτείνειν*, as a single-word Tail, has no competition, and would be equally prominent were this prose.[25]

[22] See ch. 3, at (3.8) for earlier discussion of this clause.

[23] Thomson (1938: 369) says of this kind of enjambment 'the speaker throws it in as an appendage to a sentence already structurally complete'. In the terms used by Higbie (1990), 'adding' enjambment.

[24] In other words, the only source of any prominence *θάνῃς* has here is its line-initial position. The audience expects marked words in line-initial position because of the high incidence of clause beginnings, and indeed, as we saw above, verbs that are inherently salient occur more often in line-initial position than verbs that are less so. For this particular case, Ineke Sluiter (p.c.) suggests a play on *καθ' ἡδονὴν* ***ζῇν***.

[25] In the preceding lines, *εὐθύς*, *τήνδε* and *πέρα* are marked by clause-internal ordering. *γε*, as Jebb remarks, does not have scope over *πράσσειν* alone.

I will continue first of all with the instances discussed by Jebb which are of the same type as *κτείνειν* above: the words in enjambment are free additions to a clause that can be interpreted without them.

(6.4) El. *νῦν δ' ἡνίκ' οὐκέτ' ἔστιν, ἐς σὲ δὴ βλέπω,*
ὅπως τὸν αὐτόχειρα πατρῴου φόνου
ξὺν τῇδ' ἀδελφῇ μὴ κατοκνήσεις κτανεῖν
Αἴγισθον· (*El.* 954–7)

But now, that he is no more, I look to you,
not to be afraid to kill with me your sister
the author of our father's murder,
Aegisthus . . .

Jebb: 'The mention of the murderer's name is forcible here; and the emphatic place given to it is in the manner of Sophocles.' Thomson: '*Αἴγισθον* derives emphasis from its position in the sentence, not in the verse; the speaker throws it in as an appendage to a sentence already complete.' As Thomson saw, Aegisthus is an afterthought rather than strictly a part of the clause ending in *κτανεῖν*. As a one-word utterance, 'Aegisthus' can receive all kinds of prominence in an actor's enunciation, but this prominence has nothing to do with enjambment from the previous line. Also, *Αἴγισθον* does not present 'new' information. For the character, if not necessarily for the audience,[26] *τὸν αὐτόχειρα*, Topic of the *ὅπως* clause, is co-referential with Aegisthus.

We can compare two instances of line-initial *Αἴγισθον* in Euripides' *Electra*. In (6.E1) it is again co-referential with an earlier word. Before we come to this example, we already know that Orestes has killed Aegisthus. Electra has heard the news and welcomes her triumphant brother with the words:

(6.E1) El. *ὦ καλλίνικε, πατρὸς ἐκ νικηφόρου*
γεγώς, Ὀρέστα, τῆς ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ μάχης,
δέξαι κόμης σῆς βοστρύχων ἀνδήματα.
ἥκεις γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρεῖον ἔκπλεθρον δραμὼν

[26] Strictly speaking, we do not know whether Electra will single out Aegisthus or Clytemnestra.

ἀγῶν' ἐς οἴκους ἀλλὰ πολέμιον κτανὼν
Αἴγισθον, ὃς σὸν πατέρα κἀμὸν ὤλεσεν.
(Eur. *El.* 880–5)

O Orestes, glorious in victory, son of the
man who won
the prize of victory in the war at Troy,
accept this garland for the tresses of your hair!
You have come home: you have run no futile furlong
but have destroyed your enemy
Aegisthus, who killed your father and mine.

In line 885, *Αἴγισθον*, with the following relative clause, stands in apposition to *πολέμιον*, so that the enjambment functions in much the same way as in (6.4) above, with the name Aegisthus not necessary to form a syntactically complete clause. Focus lies on '(You have returned victorious, not from a trivial footrace but) having killed an *enemy*'.[27]

In (6.E2), however, *Αἴγισθον* is syntactically necessary.[28] While *Αἴγισθον* in (6.E1) can again be interpreted as a Tail, not an integral part of the preceding clause ('having killed an enemy, Aegisthus (that is), who . . .'), this is a non-obvious way of reading (6.E2), which therefore is a more clear-cut instance of a predictable, non-emphatic word in enjambment, with the Focus on another part of the clause: Orestes responds to Electra 'after the gods, praise me—'

(6.E2) Or. ἥκω γὰρ οὐ λόγοισιν ἀλλ' ἔργοις κτανὼν
Αἴγισθον· ὡς δὲ τῷ σάφ' εἰδέναι τάδε
προσθῶμεν, αὐτὸν τὸν θανόντα σοι φέρω,
(Eur. *El.* 893–5)

I arrive having killed Aegisthus, not in
word but in deed:
and in order to add to your clear knowledge of this,
I bring you the dead man himself.

[27] Note also the other run-on items in line-initial position in this passage: 881 *γεγώς* follows the Focus of that participial phrase, 884 *ἀγῶν[α]* follows the participle, whereas its salient modifiers precede.

[28] This is not to claim, of course, that 'kill' can never occur without an object argument. The distinction between necessary and non-necessary elements is not an absolute one, but there is still an important qualitative difference between (6.E2) and the earlier instances, where Aegisthus' name comes in apposition to an earlier reference.

The Focus of the participial phrase lies on *οὐ λόγοισιν ἀλλ' ἔργοις* (which precedes the participle): 'I have *really* done it now.' As is clear from the preceding lines, there is no reason to read the run-on word as having an effect like 'and the victim is . . . Aegisthus'.[29]

Returning to Sophocles, (6.5) is an instance of a rare stop following a line-initial monosyllable.[30]

(6.5) Guard *τέλος γε μέντοι δεῦρ' ἐνίκησεν μολεῖν*
σοί· *κεἰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐξερῶ, φράσω δ' ὅμως.*
(*Ant.* 233–4)

But in the end the thought that prevailed
was that of coming here
to you; and even if what I say amounts to nothing, still I will tell you.

Jebb: 'For the emphatic place of *σοί* cf. 273 and 46n.' The guard to whom it had fallen to report to Creon has just told us how afraid he was and how he dragged his feet accordingly. But finally common sense prevailed and he went. It seems clear to me that in this situation *δεῦρο* is co-referential with *σοί* and therefore *σοί* is more an afterthought or gesture of deference than that it carries the main Focus. Rather, preverbal *δεῦρο* has Focus in the clause; *σοί*, as a Tail, can be given prominence at the actor's discretion ('to come *here*, to *you*'). In (6.6), adduced by Jebb, *σοί* appears unemphatic:

(6.6) Guard *τέλος δ' ὅτ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἐρευνῶσιν πλέον,*
λέγει τις εἷς, ὃ πάντας ἐς πέδον κάρα
νεῦσαι φόβῳ προὔτρεψεν· οὐ γὰρ εἴχομεν
οὔτ' ἀντιφωνεῖν οὔθ' ὅπως δρῶντες καλῶς
πράξαιμεν. ἦν δ' ὁ μῦθος ὡς ἀνοιστέον
σοὶ *τοὔργον εἴη τοῦτο κοὐχὶ κρυπτέον.*
(*Ant.* 268–73)

[29] Diggle prefers to delete *ὡς . . . προσθῶμεν*, so that *αὐτὸν τὸν θανόντα* would follow it immediately. Omission does not make a difference to my interpretation of *Αἴγισθον* here. Incidentally, if we retain these words, 895 *προσθῶμεν* is a case of necessary enjambment, following preverbal Focus *τάδε*.

[30] Denniston (1936: 74): 20 instances in Sophocles, one of which is followed by a full stop (*Phil.* 1443); three by a colon, as here.

> And finally, when our search had done us no good,
> one of us said a thing that made us all bow
> our heads
> to the ground in terror; for we could not
> answer him nor see what action would help us
> escape disaster.
> What he said was that we had to report
> the matter to you and not conceal it.

The Focus of the ὡς clause has taken the form of 'X and not Y', viz. report, not hide. The identity of the person reported to is a secondary issue, and σοί is as unremarkable as the other words following the predicate: τοὔργον εἴη τοῦτο. Even though monosyllabic enclitics are not found in line-initial position,[31] in this case it is tempting to read σοί as postpositive, immediately following the first Mobile word of the ὡς clause. Thomson remarks: 'In tragic dialogue the accented forms of the personal pronouns are constantly used where prose would use the enclitic forms'.[32]

Jebb does not comment on πράξαιμεν in 272, itself not salient, but in necessary enjambment following the Focus constituent καλῶς. It is of course the prerogative of commentators to discuss only a subset of the instances of a particular phenomenon—and in fact it is not humanly possible to do anything else—but it is curious to find no comment on instances of this type of enjambment, where the doctrine of 'emphasis by place and pause' seems well-nigh impossible to uphold.

With (6.7) and (6.8) we reach the grey area between necessary and free enjambment. The run-on words here are not free additions to the clause, but neither are they absolutely necessary:

(6.7) Is. ἦ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πόλει;
An. τὸν γοῦν ἐμὸν, καὶ τὸν σὸν, ἢν σὺ μὴ θέλῃς,
ἀδελφόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ προδοῦσ' ἁλώσομαι. (*Ant.* 44–6)

[31] Elided disyllables do occur, though rarely: ποτ' in *OT* 1085, δῆτ' in *Aj.* 986.

[32] The Guard uses a line-initial πρὸς σοῦ in *Ant.* 408 (below, in (6.55)), which lends credence to the idea that this is a deferential strategy on his part, as suggested on (6.5) above. Other line-initial instances of σοί are marked (I list only those instances that are not also clause-initial): *OT* 840 (the same as you), *Trach.* 422 (will bear witness to you that he has heard this from me), *OC* 577 (my body as a gift for you).

Is. Are you thinking of burying him, when it has been forbidden to the city?
An. Well, I will bury my brother, and yours, if you will not; I will not be caught betraying him.

Jebb: '*ἀδελφόν* emphasised by position as first word, with a pause after it'. Thomson's reaction: 'No, the order is designed to emphasise *τὸν σόν*, which, had it been followed by *ἀδελφόν*, would not have been emphatic: "I'll bury *my* brother, and if *you* won't, yours."' However, Jebb is curiously inconsistent in his treatment of this passage. Earlier on he says: 'The whole thought is "I will certainly do *my* duty, and *thine*, if thou wilt not, to a *brother*."... this thought can be poetically expressed by saying, "I will certainly bury *my* brother, and *thine*, if thou wilt not."' Thus Jebb's 'poetic expression' comes very close to Thomson's interpretation of the line.

As to my own view of this sentence, first of all one should bear in mind that the whole clause consists of only one noun phrase plus a parenthesis. The order of the possessive pronouns relative to the noun is such that the primary Focus is on the possessives. Undeniably, Antigone's answer to Ismene's *ἀπόρρητον could* have been simply: 'Of course (I mean to bury him,) he's my *brother*,' but that would have removed the antagonism of line 45 as it stands: *I'm* going to do the right thing, what about *you?*

Griffith ad loc. remarks that 'it would be possible (though unusually abrupt) to understand 45 by itself, without express mention of *ἀδελφόν*'. As we have seen in other instances above, it is especially these free additions that leave the possibility open for an additional Focus on the word in enjambment. The effect then would be once again to throw the incriminating 'brother' in Ismene's face. While Thomson, in pointing to the possessives as primary, was correct, the distance between *τὸν σόν* and *ἀδελφόν*, created by the conditional and the line break, does allow a secondary emphasis on *ἀδελφόν*.

(6.8) Mess. *καλεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν πολλὰ πολλαχῇ θεός·*
'ὦ οὗτος οὗτος, Οἰδίπους, τί μέλλομεν
***χωρεῖν;** πάλαι δὴ τἀπὸ σοῦ βραδύνεται.'* (*OC* 1626–8)

For the god called him often and from many places:
'You there, Oedipus, why do we wait
to go? You have been delayed too long!'

Jebb: 'cp. the emphatic place of δεῖξαι, *O.T.* 278.' Thomson: 'There is no emphasis on χωρεῖν, which might well be omitted in translation: "why delay?".' τί μέλλομεν and its variations are indeed commonly used without a following infinitive.[33] On the other hand, this χωρεῖν has a very specific destination, which makes it harder to dismiss it as insignificant.[34]

(6.9) is another instance of an infinitive carried over to the next line, referred to by Jebb in discussing (6.8) above. In this case, it may still be argued that the auxiliary, in this case ἔχω, can be read as a main verb, but this is not as persuasive as in the case of (6.8):

(6.9) Cho. ὥσπερ μ' ἀραῖον ἔλαβες, ὦδ', ἄναξ, ἐρῶ.
οὔτ' ἔκτανον γὰρ οὔτε τὸν κτανόντ' ἔχω
δεῖξαι. τὸ δὲ ζήτημα τοῦ πέμψαντος ἦν
Φοίβου τόδ' εἰπεῖν, ὅστις εἴργασταί ποτε. (*OT* 276–9)

As you have put me upon oath, so, my lord,
shall I speak.
I did not kill him, neither can I point to the killer.
But the enquiry was the task of Phoebus who
has sent the message,
so that he should tell us who it is that did the deed.

Jebb, on δεῖξαι: 'Note the emphatic position of the word: the speaker knows not that he is face to face with the slayer.' Thomson: 'There is no emphasis on δεῖξαι: "Neither did I kill him nor can I tell you who *did* [my italics]."'

There are several formal arguments that support Thomson's interpretation here: the οὔτε . . . οὔτε phrase and the parallelism of ἔκτανον . . . κτανόντ[α] both seem to point in the direction of Focus

[33] As in, among others, Aesch. *Ag.* 908, *Sept.* 99; *PV* 36; Eur. *El.* 757, *Alc.* 255, *Hec.* 1094, *Hel.* 1593, etc.; Ar.: *Nub.* 1298, *Lys.* 128. Nauck even suggested reading τί μέλλομεν; | χώρει.

[34] χωρεῖν in *OC* 1020, when read in the transmitted order, following 1019: πομπὸν δ' ἐμὲ | χωρεῖν, is more problematic (in that no special significance or contrast would seem to attach to it), but this is solved (along with other difficulties) by Housman's transposition of 1028–33 to come between 1019 and 1020 (adopted in the OCT). The only remaining line where a form of χωρεῖν seems unemphatic in line-initial position is *OT* 619: ὅταν ταχύς τις οὐπιβουλεύων λάθρᾳ | χωρῇ, ταχὺν δεῖ κἀμὲ βουλεύειν πάλιν.

on κτανόντ[α] rather than δεῖξαι in the second clause. Note, too, that κτανόντ[α] is immediately preverbal, i.e. in the position stipulated for Focus elements. Once again, we see that the run-on word is not the Focus of the clause, and it could be argued that it is as much an afterthought or clarification ('I don't have the killer, (so as to be able) to point him out to you') as *Φοίβου* is in the next line. The line break does allow an actor to give prominence to δεῖξαι, but there is no indication from the context that suggests that this is necessary. Oedipus responds to the positive, second part, of the chorus's response: Phoebus' message needs to be verified.

As to the dramatic irony presented by δεῖξαι (the chorus leader is actually very much in the position to point his finger at the killer), there is no reason to assume that only elements with Focus function—which would be the elements (presented by the author as those) which the *character* deems the most salient of his or her utterance—can be 'carriers' of dramatic irony.[35]

In (6.10), finally, there can be no question that the run-on word is necessary, nor can it be denied that the notion of burial is central to the *Antigone.* But what are we to make of the pragmatics of this short clause:

(6.10) An. οὔτ' ἄν κελεύσαιμ' οὔτ' ἄν, εἰ θέλοις ἔτι
πράσσειν, ἐμοῦ γ' ἂν ἡδέως δρῴης μέτα.
ἀλλ' ἴσθ' ὁποία σοι[36] δοκεῖ, κεῖνον δ' ἐγὼ
θάψω. καλόν μοι τοῦτο ποιούσῃ θανεῖν. (*Ant.* 69–72)

I would not tell you to do it, and even if
you were willing
to act after all I would not be content for
you to act with me!
But you be the kind of person you have decided to be,
and I shall bury him! It is honourable for me to
do this and die.

[35] Quite the contrary: since the character should appear to be unaware of the force of δεῖξαι, undue emphasis on this word would spoil the effect, as much as the addition 'nudge, nudge, wink, wink' would. For another instance of dramatically crucial information which to the character speaking must be irrelevant, see the discussion of τριπλαῖς ἀμαξιτοῖς in ch. 8, at (8.3).

[36] So the OCT. Griffith (1999) rightly, to my mind, prints σοὶ in 71. See below.

Jebb calls *θάψω* emphatic by place and pause. Thomson [reading *ὁποῖα*]: 'There is no emphasis on *θάψω*: what Antigone says (with a contemptuous toss of the head) is "Go your own way—*I*'ll bury my brother."'

In order to come to a decision about the interpretation of *κεῖνον δ' ἐγὼ | θάψω* it is first of all necessary to decide on the clause preceding it. Antigone is reacting to Ismene's unwillingness to act, which she has defended in lines 61–2:

(6.11) Is. *ἀλλ' ἐννοεῖν χρὴ τοῦτο μὲν* ***γυναῖχ' ὅτι***
ἔφυμεν, *ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας οὐ μαχουμένα·* (*Ant.* 61–2)

Why, we must remember that we are women,
who cannot fight against men.

'We are *women*' (so there is nothing we can do about it).[37] On the basis of these lines it seems indeed preferable to read Antigone's counter as: You be the kind of person *you*[38] want to be—which in turn produces a context that strongly suggests reading the second clause as '*I*'m going to bury him' with Focus on *ἐγώ*, not *θάψω*. If we wish to interpret *θάψω* as the Focus of the second clause, it is unclear to me how the two clauses make a coherent unit. What, then, remains of *θάψω* as emphatic? I believe that while the necessary enjambment first of all highlights *ἐγώ*,[39] the line break allows—but does not force—an actor to highlight both words. Taking my cue from Slings's

[37] Another case of necessary enjambment, not commented on by Jebb. The choice of *ἔφυμεν* as the one run-on word following the conjunction *ὅτι* at line end suggests that this state is necessarily unchangeable, which saves the run-on word from being entirely without force (compare, however, *φῦναι* in (6.35), which does not seem to me to carry this nuance). The prolepsis here deviates from usual practice in that *γυναῖκ[ϵ]* is not Topic but Focus of the clause.

[38] Reading *σοὶ* (see above, n. 36).

[39] *ἐγώ* is frequent at line end. Other cases of *ἐγώ* with Focus in this position will typically be in P2 of a short clause starting at or after the main caesura (P2#). Many instances are postpositive (p)—on *ἐγώ* as postpositive see Dik (2003)—usually following a main verb and clause-final, without enjambment (p#), but sometimes followed by participial or infinitive clauses (p*). In *Ant.*, the other instances of line-final *ἐγώ* are: 39 (Focus, violent enj.), 71, 85 (P2#), 319 (P2#), 390 (p), 547 (Focus#), 552 (p#), 655 (p*), 668 (p*), 886 (p#), 900 (violent enj. as at 71), 913 (p), 1014 (P2#), 1042 (p?), 1092 (p), 1099 (P2#), 1166 (p*), 1211 (p#). There are ten instances of line-initial position. As becomes clear from these examples, line end and pragmatic status do not show a clear correlation: there are many unmarked cases, and many with Focus function. Clausal position is a better predictor of pragmatic status.

description of hyperbaton (2000: 126), another 'chunking device', I would say that Sophocles uses the line break here to achieve, within the information unit, an effect which in spoken language could only be achieved by using two information units. The line end, following on what are merely an object and subject constituent, is highly marked.

Finally, reconsider lines 69–70. *πράσσειν* is in the same position as *θάψω* and is also followed by pause. As far as I can tell, no one has suggested that *it* is emphatic.[40] *θέλοις* is the Focus of the conditional clause. Much like *δεῖξαι* in (6.3), the infinitive *πράσσειν* comes as a less violent enjambment than *θάψω*.

(6.12) similarly is a case of necessary enjambment, since *φιλέω* will normally take a direct object:[41]

(6.12) An. *οὗτοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν.*
Cr. *κάτω νυν ἐλθοῦσ', εἰ φιλητέον, φίλει* ***κείνους***· (*Ant.* 523–5)

An. I have no enemies by birth, but I have friends by birth.
Cr. Then go below and love those friends, if you must love them!

Creon's riposte to Antigone's *συμφιλεῖν* makes a pseudo-concession: if you insist on *φιλεῖν*, then go ahead and love—your dead brothers, that is. We might understand *φίλει* in the first instance as a one-word apodosis to the conditional (you insist on love? then go ahead, love!). Read this way, *κείνους* would become an unexpected sting in the tail, and cause us to reinterpret *φίλει* as not the Focus of a one-word clause but Topic to the Focus *κείνους* in the next line. However, it seems more natural to read the imperative as Topic in the first

[40] It is true, of course, that the *Allerweltsverb πράσσειν* here refers to performing the *burial*, but compare the line-initial position of *πράξαιμεν* in *Ant.* 272 (above, (6.6)), where no such special reference is present. On the other hand, the abrupt line break before *πρᾶγμα* at *Ant.* 238–9 (= (6.60)) speaks in favour of treating this *πράσσειν* with more respect than commentators have done.

[41] Jebb: 'for the pause after the emphatic word cf. 46'. Thomson: 'The emphatic word is *κάτω*: there is no emphasis on *κείνους*...' While Thomson is right about *κάτω*, this is not particularly relevant for our interpretation of the *φίλει* clause. It is possible to read *φίλει* as Focus in the first instance, and have a reinterpretation as Topic forced by the addition of *κείνους*.

instance, following as it does on φιλητέον, with κείνους in the next line as Focus.

This instance is the only example among the ones discussed here where I do believe that there is a strong case for the run-on word as the Focus of the clause, but I should point out that here we have a main clause that only started with the last word of the previous line. We will see more instances of this in § 6.4.[42] In other words, while I believe that here is an instance of a run-on word that should indeed be analysed as Focus of its clause, this word in fact appears in the clausal Focus position, following an initial Topic. In this case, then, while metre and syntax may seem at first sight to be at odds, they in fact appear to reinforce each other.

On the basis of the above examples, and the other instances of enjambment in their immediate context, which were left unremarked on by Jebb,[43] there is reason to suspect that the phenomenon of 'emphasis by place and pause' is a chimera, at least when we understand it to refer to an element that is an integral part of the clause and appears, despite its salience, late in a clause. In the next section I will give a more systematic overview of the cases of enjambment in *Ajax* with similar formal characteristics, in order to give a more balanced picture of how enjambment functions in that play.

6.3 ENJAMBMENT IN *AJAX*

After the examples discussed in the preceding pages, which share the history of being picked out as emphatic by Jebb and as unemphatic by Thomson, it is time for a more systematic approach to the

[42] *El.* 365–7 is very similar: νῦν δ' ἐξὸν πατρὸς | πάντων ἀρίστου παῖδα κεκλῆσθαι, καλοῦ | τῆς μητρός 'But as things are, when you could be called the daughter of the noblest of men, be called the child of your mother!' In both cases, the repeated verbs are juxtaposed, and again the imperative takes clause-initial position, while the Focus element takes line-initial position. In *El.* 1055–6, there is no such salient object to the imperative, and it seems likely that we should here read the imperative as Focus: ἀλλ' εἰ σεαυτῇ τυγχάνεις δοκοῦσά τι | φρονεῖν, φρόνει τοιαῦθ' ...

[43] θάνῃς in (6.4) is followed by a colon, πράξαιμεν in (6.6) by a full stop. γεγώς in (6.E1) and πράσσειν in (6.11) are clause-final but not followed by such strong punctuation.

problem. Our view of the correct interpretation of these instances must depend not just on our understanding of individual lines that have apparently resisted the emergence of scholarly consensus but also, and I hope more readily, on the interpretation of words in other lines that share these formal characteristics. If it turns out that many of these elements are in fact pragmatically marked, arguments in favour of reading run-on words like δεῖξαι as marked gain credibility.

The occurrence of pauses in the tragic trimeter was the subject of Denniston's 'Pauses in the Tragic Senarius' (1936), but his was an inventory of the frequency of various pauses rather than an inquiry into the effects of these pauses.[44] In this section, I will be concerned with one of the groups of pauses that Denniston investigated: I have examined instances where punctuation is absent[45] at the end of the line preceding the line with the early pause, that is, I have searched for cases of true enjambment rather than exceptionally short clauses. I have also eliminated from consideration cases where the punctuation was clause-internal, as in (6.13), where the whole of line 297 is the direct object of ἄγων:[46]

(6.13) Tec. εἶσω δ' ἐσῆλθε συνδέτους ἄγων ὁμοῦ
ταύρους, κύνας βοτῆρας, εὔερόν τ' ἄγραν. (*Aj.* 296–7)

But he came in bringing with him bound
bulls, herdsmen's dogs, and woolly prizes.

This leaves a series of instances that at least in their punctuation are similar to the cases discussed above. There is a short run-on into the next line of at most two words; typically the punctuation will be at or before position 3.

[44] Denniston, incidentally, did not hold the view that all run-on words followed by early stops were necessarily emphatic (1936: 76): 'In some cases the word carried over is emphatic . . . But this is not by any means (as Wilamowitz, on *HF* 326, implies) always so. The word carried over is sometimes of very slight importance.'

[45] Or at least weaker than the punctuation following the word in enjambment. See e.g. *Aj.* 68–9.

[46] Similarly asyndetic: *Aj.* 59–60 ἐγὼ δὲ φοιτῶντ' ἄνδρα μανιάσιν νόσοις | ὤτρυνον, εἰσέβαλλον εἰς ἕρκη κακά. Short clauses: 515 πλὴν σοῦ (adding enjambment), 844 γεύεσθε but see below, § 6.4, for comparable examples). There is early punctuation, but not clause end, in 289 (vocative, so also in 482, 575, 1269), 692, and 824.

What follows is a complete inventory of the instances found in Sophocles' *Ajax*, occasionally supplemented with similar cases from the rest of the Sophoclean corpus.

My questions have been the following: Which element in the clause as a whole is the most likely Focus element? Is the run-on element a necessary addition, or is the preceding clause syntactically complete? Is the run-on element pragmatically marked?

6.3.1 Proper Names and Pronouns

I start with instances of proper names and personal pronouns. A number of these are co-referential with a constituent earlier in the clause, much like *Αἴγισθον* in (6.5) above. I analyse these proper names as Tail constituents. The words they are co-referential with are all pragmatically marked, as was the case in (6.5):

(6.14) Aj. *καὶ ποῖον ὄμμα πατρὶ δηλώσω φανεὶς*
Τελαμῶνι; *πῶς με τλήσεταί ποτ᾽ εἰσιδεῖν…* (*Aj.* 462–3)

What kind of face shall I to show to my father Telamon
when I appear?
How ever shall he bring himself to look at me…

As I argued in chapter 5, at (5.26), *πατρί* has Focus: How am I going to face my father (of all people)? Telamon is mentioned for the first time here.[47]

(6.15) Cho. *τίνος βοὴ πάραυλος ἐξέβη νάπους;*
Tec. *ἰὼ τλήμων.*
Cho. *τὴν δουρίληπτον δύσμορον νύμφην ὁρῶ*
Τέκμησσαν*, οἴκτῳ τῷδε συγκεκραμένην.* (*Aj.* 892–5)

Cho. Whose cry came from the cover of the wood nearby?
Tec. Alas for me!
Cho. I see the unhappy bride of the spear,
Tecmessa, lost in that lament!

[47] The wordshape *Τελαμῶνι* can fit elsewhere, but in practice only the genitive *Τελαμῶνος* occurs in another position in the line. *φανείς* seems no more than a filler in the final position of the line.

Tecmessa reappears on stage here. In a sense 894 is the answer to 892: whose cry was this? *τὴν . . . νύμφην* has Focus.

(6.16) Aj. *σὺ δ', ὦ τὸν αἰπὺν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν*
Ἥλιε, *πατρῴαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὅταν χθόνα*
ἴδῃς, ἐπισχὼν χρυσόνωτον ἡνίαν
ἄγγειλον ἄτας τὰς ἐμὰς μόρον τ' ἐμὸν
γέροντι πατρὶ τῇ τε δυστήνῳ τροφῷ. (*Aj.* 845–9)

But do you who drive your chariot through high heaven,
Sun, when you see my native land,
check your golden rein and
announce my ruin and my fate
to my aged father and to the unhappy one
who nursed me.

We can identify *σύ* as Helios by the invocation in line 845 alone. The addition of the proper name in 846 rounds off the introduction of the new Topic; this order of description followed by proper name is conventional, see for instance the opening lines of *Electra* and *Philoctetes*.[48]

In all three of these instances the proper name that occurs in line-initial position is strictly speaking predictable from the preceding line, but the line-initial position of the proper name at introduction (or reintroduction, in the case of Tecmessa) serves to highlight it nevertheless. Since they are not in necessary enjambment, but are Tail constituents in 'adding' enjambment, the effect of their position is more similar to initial position than final position in a clause.[49]

[48] *El.* 1–2 *Ὦ τοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Τροίᾳ ποτὲ | Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ . . . Phil* 3–4 *ὦ κρατίστου πατρὸς Ἑλλήνων τραφεὶς | Ἀχιλλέως παῖ Νεοπτόλεμε*, etc. See Norden, *Agnostos Theos* on Partizipialstil der Prädikation (1913: 166 f.). *ἴδῃς* in 847 is not the most salient part of the temporal clause, and a number of alternatives could have done just as well (e.g. 'when you reach'). Contrast the clause-initial verbs *ἐπισχών* and *ἄγγειλον*. I have not looked at clustering of enjambment. It is doubtless attractive to associate the high incidence of enjambment with the almost lyrical nature of this passage but this is doubtful; see for instance the words of the Stranger in the opening scene of *OC*, in which, outside of stichomythia, hardly a clause ends at line end. Frequent enjambment also in the Guard's words in *Ant.* 249–58.

[49] I should note in addition that it is difficult to accommodate the word shapes of Telamon and Helios elsewhere in the line.

In the next example Salamis, part of the same series of invocations that included Helios in (6.16) above, functions in a very similar way. It is co-referential with *γῆς . . . οἰκείας* in the previous line:

(6.17) Aj. *ὦ φέγγος, ὦ γῆς ἱερὸν οἰκείας πέδον*
Σαλαμῖνος, *ὦ πατρῷον ἑστίας βάθρον, . . .* (*Aj.* 859–60)

O light, O sacred plain of my own land
of Salamis, O pedestal of my native hearth, . . .

This is the third time (after lines 135, 596) in the play that Ajax's *γῆ οἰκεία*, Salamis, is invoked, so that the name, much like the names in the previous examples, does not constitute particularly salient new information here, but in this list of invocations the name of Salamis in line-initial position achieves a similar effect to that of Helios.

I have left one exceptional instance of a proper name to the last. While the names in examples (6.14) to (6.17) were co-referential with another constituent, this is not the case in (6.18), the introduction of Ajax's name in the play.[50] Our hero is introduced as a modifier in the genitive:

(6.18) Ath. *ἀεὶ μέν, ὦ παῖ Λαρτίου, δέδορκά σε*
πεῖράν τιν' ἐχθρῶν ἁρπάσαι θηρώμενον·
καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ σκηναῖς σε ναυτικαῖς ὁρῶ
Αἴαντος, *ἔνθα τάξιν ἐσχάτην ἔχει,*
πάλαι κυνηγετοῦντα καὶ μετρούμενον 5
ἴχνη τὰ κείνου νεοχάραχθ', ὅπως ἴδῃς
εἴτ' ἔνδον εἴτ' οὐκ ἔνδον. (*Aj.* 1–7)

Always, son of Laertes, my eye is on you
as you prowl about to snatch some opportunity
against your enemies;
and now I see you by the hut of Ajax near the ships,
where he occupies the last position,
a long while on his trail and scanning
his newly made footprints, to see
whether he is inside or not . . .

[50] This enjambment occurs within a longer sentence that goes on for several lines after the run-on word, but there is clearly a boundary at this point. The modifier following the noun does not constitute a necessary enjambment, so in that sense this case is quite comparable to the others. The parallelism with lines 1–2, however, causes us to expect a participle clause, which indeed follows in 5.

Ajax's name must be highly salient from a number of perspectives: the audience hears Ajax's name for the first time, and undeniably, Odysseus was not looking for just any of his *ἐχθροί*, as he makes clear in lines 18–20:

(6.18a) Od. *καὶ νῦν ἐπέγνως εὖ μ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ δυσμενεῖ*
βάσιν κυκλοῦντ', Αἴαντι τῷ σακεσφόρῳ.
κεῖνον γάρ, οὐδέν' ἄλλον, ἰχνεύω πάλαι. (*Aj.* 18–20)

And now you have rightly guessed that
I am circling round
on the trail of an enemy, Ajax the shieldbearer.
For it is he and no other I have long been tracking…

Thirdly, Athena herself knows what Ajax has just done (9–10, 13) so she should be aware that Odysseus is not just looking for trouble. However, her words seem to lay more emphasis on Odysseus' activities (1–2 *ἀεὶ πεῖραν ἁρπάσαι θηρώμενον* and 5–7) than the particular selection of Ajax. In line 4, the expected supplementary participle after *ὁρῶ* is postponed by a line with the name of Ajax and a relative clause. Examples like this one, to which we can add the mention of Aegisthus in (6.4), Telamon in (6.14), and Tecmessa in (6.15), leave the impression that line-initial position is attractive when it comes to naming important participants, regardless of their pragmatic function in the clause itself.[51]

In the following examples the run-on words refer to Ajax as well, either in the form of the proper name or as a pronoun, serving as a genitive modifier:

(6.19) Tec. *καί τις πικρὸν πρόσφθεγμα δεσποτῶν ἐρεῖ*
λόγοις ἰάπτων, 'ἴδετε τὴν ὁμευνέτιν
Αἴαντος, *ὃς μέγιστον ἴσχυσε στρατοῦ,*
οἵας λατρείας ἀνθ' ὅσου ζήλου τρέφει.' (*Aj.* 500–3)

And one of my masters shall let fall bitter words
like these: 'Look upon the concubine

[51] It is especially attractive to introduce characters this way, without being too explicit about it ('that other actor you see, dear audience, is Pylades'). Pylades gets this treatment in *El.* 16. Also, compare the explicit introduction by Oedipus of Polybus in *OT* 774 with the mention of his name in the context of Oedipus' fear of killing his father in *OT* 827.

of Ajax, who was the army's mightiest man,
and see what servitude she endures after
being so envied!'

(6.20) Tec. *οἱ δ' οὖν γελώντων κἀπιχαιρόντων κακοῖς*
τοῖς τοῦδ'· *ἴσως τοι, κεἰ βλέποντα μὴ 'πόθουν,*
θανόντ' ἂν οἰμώξειαν ἐν χρείᾳ δορός. (*Aj.* 961–3)

Well, let them laugh and rejoice at his sorrows!
Even if they did not miss him while he lived,
now that he is dead they may lament him in the
urgency of battle.

(6.21) Tec. *φεῦ τάλας. τί γὰρ τέκνον*
τὸ τοῦδε; *ποῦ μοι γῆς κυρεῖ τῆς Τρῳάδος;* (*Aj.* 983–4)

Alas, unhappy one! What of his child,
where in the Trojan land is he?

In all three cases, the modifier presents predictable if not always easily omissible information. The entire line taken up by *Αἴαντος* and the following relative clause in (6.19), line 502, is omissible without the reference *τὴν ὁμευνέτιν* becoming unclear, but the clause is more specific than *ὅσου ζήλου* in the next line in describing Tecmessa's earlier good fortune. The two pronominal modifiers following their more salient nouns are unmarked.[52]

The final two references to Ajax in run-on words are (6.22) and (6.23):

(6.22) Ath. *θαρσῶν δὲ μίμνε, μηδὲ συμφορὰν δέχου,*
τὸν ἄνδρ'· *ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀμμάτων ἀποστρόφους*
αὐγὰς ἀπείρξω σὴν πρόσοψιν εἰσιδεῖν. (*Aj.* 68–70)

Stay to meet the man with confidence, do not expect
disaster;[53]
I shall divert the rays of his eyes
so that he cannot see you.

[52] On marked and unmarked possessives see above, ch. 4. The pronoun *αὐτοῦ*, which would seem to be the functional equivalent of these genitives, is avoided in line-initial position (and typically placed in 4–5), except in its locative meaning. The only example of non-locative line-initial *αὐτοῦ* I find is *OC* 1015: *αἱ δὲ συμφοραὶ | αὐτοῦ πανώλεις, ἄξιαι δ' ἀμυναθεῖν.*

[53] I follow Lloyd-Jones in construing *τὸν ἄνδρ[α]* with *μίμνε* here.

'The man', referring of course to Ajax, is equivalent to a pronominal expression 'him', and there seems to be no reason to attribute special emphasis to it here.[54]

(6.23) Teu. *οὗτος τί κρύψει; ποῖον οὐκ ἐρεῖ κακὸν*
τὸν ἐκ δορὸς γεγῶτα πολεμίου νόθον,
τὸν δειλίᾳ προδόντα καὶ κακανδρίᾳ
σέ, *φίλτατ' Αἴας, ἢ δόλοισιν, ὡς τὰ σὰ*
κράτη θανόντος καὶ δόμους νέμοιμι σούς.
(*Aj.* 1012–16)

What will he keep back? What evil will he not
speak of me,
the bastard born of the prize he won in battle,
the betrayer, in my cowardice and weakness,
of you, dearest Ajax, or in my cunning, so that
with you dead I might control your lordship and
your house?

This is a convenient instance to discuss two questions at once. First, should we really read a pause before this vocative? Second, what is *σέ* doing here? Jebb predictably states: 'the place of the pronoun is emphatic: "thee"—for whom I would gladly have died.' I would like to propose that *σέ* in fact shows more of a resemblance with postpositives. It follows *κακανδρίᾳ* just as *προδόντα* follows *δειλίᾳ*.[55] The effect of this ordering, I believe, is that the marked element in this clause, where it cannot be followed by a governing verb (as are *δειλίᾳ* and *δόμους*), is given prominence by virtue of the pronoun that follows it.

6.3.2 Other Nouns

I start with run-on nouns that follow a modifier in the previous line. In these cases—(6.24) to (6.27)—the modifier is the more salient element of the noun phrase:

[54] See for other examples of the quasi-pronominal arthrous use of *ἀνήρ Aj.* 99, *Ant.* 402.

[55] For an example from prose, see Dem. 18.299 *οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ*, where the (here unemphatic) pronoun *ἐγώ* similarly follows the Focus of a verbless clause. See further on this issue Dik (2003).

(6.24) Aj. *ἀλλ᾽ εἶμι πρός τε λουτρὰ καὶ παρακτίους*
λειμῶνας, *ὡς ἂν λύμαθ᾽ ἁγνίσας ἐμὰ*
μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξαλύξωμαι θεᾶς· (*Aj.* 654–6)

But I shall go to the meadows by the shore where I can wash myself, so that I can clean off the dirt upon me and escape the grievous anger of the goddess.

I do not see a special significance to *λειμῶνας*. From what precedes, we know where (*παρακτίους*) Ajax is headed and for what purpose (*λουτρά*).

(6.25) Mess. *Τεῦκρος πάρεστιν ἄρτι Μυσίων ἀπὸ*
κρημνῶν· (*Aj.* 720–1)

Teucer is here, just back from the hills of Mysia . . .

The more salient part of the noun phrase, *Μυσίων*, precedes. I see no reason to attach special value to *κρημνῶν*.[56]

(6.26) Cho. *ἀλλ᾽ οἴχεταί τοι, πρὸς τὸ κέρδιον τραπεὶς*
γνώμης, *θεοῖσιν ὡς καταλλαχθῇ χόλου.* (*Aj.* 743–4)

Why, he is gone; he had turned his thoughts in a more profitable
direction, to be reconciled with the gods with whom he had been angry.

Again, the salient *τὸ κέρδιον*, preceding the participle *τραπείς*, has been given precedence over *γνώμης*, which would seem to be quite dispensable.

(6.27) Teu. *οὐ γάρ τι τῆς σῆς οὕνεκ᾽ ἐστρατεύσατο*
γυναικός, *ὥσπερ οἱ πόνου πολλοῦ πλέῳ,*
ἀλλ᾽ οὕνεχ᾽ ὅρκων οἷσιν ἦν ἐπώμοτος,
σοῦ δ᾽ οὐδέν· (*Aj.* 1111–14)

For he did not go to war for the sake of your wife, like those who are weighed down with heavy labour,

[56] For another toponym followed by run-on nouns see *El.* 32–3 *ἡνίχ᾽ ἱκόμην τὸ Πυθικὸν | μαντεῖον* and *OT* 70–1 *ἐς τὰ Πυθικὰ | ἔπεμψα Φοίβου δώμαθ᾽* . . . 242–3 *ὡς τὸ Πυθικὸν θεοῦ | μαντεῖον ἐξέφηνεν*. *El.* 32–3 is the best parallel in that, here too, the run-on noun is clause-final.

but because of the oaths that bound him,
not because of you . . .

(6.28) Teu. ἐπεὶ καλόν μοι τοῦδ' ὑπερπονουμένῳ
θανεῖν προδήλως μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς σῆς ὑπὲρ
γυναικός, ἢ σοῦ τοῦ θ' ὁμαίμονος λέγω; (*Aj.* 1310–12)

Since I am proud to die before all fighting
for him rather than for your wife,
or shall I say for you and your brother?

Teucer makes clear on two different occasions that the affairs of the Atreidae are of little importance to him. Ajax didn't come to Troy because of Helen, and Teucer will gladly die for Ajax, not for Helen or whatever other concern of Agamemnon's. In both cases, γυναικός is predictable.

(6.29) Tec. κἀγὼ 'πιπλήσσω καὶ λέγω, 'τί χρῆμα δρᾷς,
Αἴας; τί τήνδ' ἄκλητος οὔθ' ὑπ' ἀγγέλων
κληθεὶς ἀφορμᾷς πεῖραν οὔτε του κλύων
σάλπιγγος; ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πᾶς εὕδει στρατός.'
(*Aj.* 288–91)

And I objected, saying, 'What are you doing,
Ajax? Why are you starting on this expedition unbidden,
when you have not been summoned by messengers,
nor heard
any trumpet? Why, now all the army is asleep!'

σάλπιγγος cannot be said to be totally predictable; however, it is not indispensable. Tecmessa is merely making the point that Ajax had no reason to go out in the dead of night. The order in the οὔτε clauses is chiastic. It is understandable that following ἄκλητος the specification ὑπ' ἀγγέλων has to precede κληθείς: 'You are uncalled, not having been called' makes little sense. The second οὔτε then dismisses the possibility that Ajax *heard* a general alarm.

In (6.30), the phrase ταφῆς ἄμοιρον is interrupted by the line break. This is a case of necessary enjambment, and as in the case of adjectival modifiers above, I believe that the genitival modifier here is the more salient part of the clause (this in contrast to the post-nominal possessives in examples (6.19) to (6.21) above):

(6.30) Ag. *οὔ φησ' ἐάσειν τόνδε τὸν νεκρὸν ταφῆς*
ἄμοιρον, *ἀλλὰ πρὸς βίαν θάψειν ἐμοῦ.* (*Aj.* 1326–7)

He says he will not leave this corpse unburied,
but will bury it against my will.

I conclude with one instance where I am uncertain about the status of the run-on word (6.31) and one where the run-on word has Focus (6.32):

(6.31) Teu. *ἄριστ' Ὀδυσσεῦ, πάντ' ἔχω σ' ἐπαινέσαι*
λόγοισι· *καί μ' ἔψευσας ἐλπίδος πολύ.* (*Aj.* 1381–2)

Noble Odysseus, in my speech I can approve you
in every matter; and you have altogether belied
my expectations.

With some hesitation, I regard this example as a run-on word that, even though it is not in necessary enjambment, is not particularly salient. After all, where we see *λόγοι*, a contrast with *ἔργα* is usually not far behind.[57] And sure enough, after Teucer's opening praises, he will go on to deny Odysseus permission to participate in the burial rites for Ajax. I doubt, however, that this can already be read into *λόγοισι* here—this would make the lines a less than fulsome compliment, which they surely are intended to be. Rather, Teucer broaches the subject a dozen lines further on (1393–4): *σὲ δ', ὦ γεραιοῦ σπέρμα Λαέρτου πατρός,* | *τάφου μὲν ὀκνῶ τοῦδ' ἐπιψαύειν ἐὰν . . .*

(6.32) Teu. *τοιοῦτος ὢν τοιῷδ' ὀνειδίζεις σποράς;*
ὃς ἐκ πατρὸς μέν εἰμι Τελαμῶνος γεγώς,
ὅστις στρατοῦ τὰ πρῶτ' ἀριστεύσας ἐμὴν
ἴσχει ξύνευνον μητέρ', ἣ φύσει μὲν ἦν
βασίλεια, *Λαομέδοντος· ἔκκριτον δέ νιν*
δώρημ' ἐκείνῳ 'δωκεν Ἀλκμήνης γόνος.
(*Aj.* 1298–1303)

Does such a man as you reproach with his origin
such a one as I,

[57] In order to avoid such an implied words-deeds contrast, Jebb takes *λόγοισι* as 'for your words', which seems problematic. Teucer's praise includes practical aid (*παρέστης* in 1384). All in all, whether we decide that *λόγοισι* refers to Teucer's or Odysseus' words, in both cases it has to be non-contrastive. Compare for line-initial *λόγοις* that is contrastive (and preverbal) e.g. *Aj.* 1160, *El.* 1360.

whose father was Telamon,
who as the army's greatest prize for valour
won as bedfellow my mother, who was by birth
a princess, daughter of Laomedon, and she was given as a special
gift by Alcmene's son?

This instance is different from the others treated here in that there are not one but two 'irregularities'. Not only is there a pause early in 1302, there is also a late pause in 1301. We will see more examples of this in § 6.4. In this case one 'Mobile' word precedes the line end. *φύσει*, the Topic, is followed by the Focus *βασίλεια* in the next line.

6.3.3 Verbs

In my discussion I will start with the semantically 'lightest' verbs, where it is most likely that preceding constituents have Focus, moving on to those instances where it seems that the run-on verb carries more semantic and, ultimately, pragmatic, weight.

(6.33) Aj. *ἦ τοὐπίτριπτον κίναδος ἐξήρου μ' ὅπου;*
Ath. *ἔγωγ'· Ὀδυσσέα τὸν σὸν ἐνστάτην λέγω.*
Aj. *ἥδιστος, ὦ δέσποινα, δεσμώτης ἔσω*
θακεῖ· *θανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὔ τί πω θέλω.* (*Aj.* 103–6)

Aj. Did you ask me where the cunning fox was?
Ath. I did; I mean your rival, Odysseus.
Aj. Mistress, he sits inside, the most welcome of prisoners!
I do not want him to die yet.

The verb *θακεῖ* does not present salient information. The following *θανεῖν*, which is contrastive, does not force us to read it with contrastive Focus. Rather, it contrasts with *δεσμώτης*. Strictly speaking *θακεῖ* is not a copula, of course, but here it functions in a similar way. We saw similar instances in examples (6.A1) and (6.2) above; the following are the closest equivalents in *Ajax:*

(6.34) Aj. *ὁ μὲν σφαγεὺς ἕστηκεν ἦ τομώτατος*
γένοιτ' ἄν, *εἴ τῳ καὶ λογίζεσθαι σχολή,...* (*Aj.* 815–16)

The killer stands where it will be sharpest,
if one has time to work it out . . .

In the relative clause the superlative *τομώτατος* has Focus, and the copula *γένοιτ' ἄν* follows in its wake.

(6.35) Cho. *ὅστις σ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, μὴ λέγει γνώμῃ σοφὸν*
φῦναι, *τοιοῦτον ὄντα, μῶρός ἐστ' ἀνήρ.* (*Aj.* 1374–5)

Odysseus, whoever says that you are not wise in
your judgement,
when you are like this, is a fool!

This example brings us close to the *εἶναι* instance discussed by Verrall that first incurred Headlam's ridicule (Verrall 1889: 127). The fact that a verb like *φῦναι*—which here, unlike *ἔφυμεν* in (6.11), has to be fully synonymous with *εἶναι* for the following *τοιοῦτον* ***ὄντα*** to make sense—occurs in this position would seem to constitute an immediate case against the assumption that these enjambments are always emphatic.

(6.36) Tec. *Αἴας ὅδ' ἡμῖν ἀρτίως νεοσφαγὴς*
κεῖται, *κρυφαίῳ φασγάνῳ περιπτυχής.* (*Aj.* 898–9)

Here lies Ajax, lately killed,
spitted upon a sword sunk deep into his body!

I have followed the OCT punctuation, but one wonders whether it is necessary to punctuate after *κεῖται*. If we grant that this is a case of early pause and should therefore be included in our listing, it is clear that there is an affinity with the three previous examples. *κεῖται* can function as another non-salient quasi-copula, but of course it also has the more pregnant meaning 'lie dead'.[58] Even that is not particularly salient following *νεοσφαγής*, however, so I would read *ἀρτίως νεοσφαγής* as Focus and *κεῖται* as an instance of a non-salient necessary enjambment.

(6.37) Tec. *οἴμοι, τέκνον, πρὸς οἷα δουλείας ζυγὰ*
χωροῦμεν, *οἷοι νῷν ἐφεστᾶσιν σκοποί.* (*Aj.* 944–5)

Alas, my son, to what a yoke of slavery
we are coming! Such are the masters that now
stand over us.

[58] In the latter use, it occurs in line-initial position at *OT* 972 and *Ant.* 1240, but the more neutral meaning is also found: *Phil.* 503.

Moving on to other verbs that contribute little information, in *χωροῦμεν* we have another of the many intransitive verbs, close in meaning to a copula ('how we become slaves'), with the Focus of the clause on an earlier element, here *οἷα δουλείας ζυγά*.

(6.38) Men. *οὐ γάρ ποτ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐν πόλει νόμοι καλῶς*
φέροιντ' *ἄν, ἔνθα μὴ καθεστήκοι δέος…*
(*Aj.* 1073–4)

The laws of a city can never function well
where no one is afraid…

Focus is on *καλῶς*.[59] This is not exactly a frequent collocation with *φέρω*; but then the adverbs of choice are negative. *φέροιντ' ἄν* is necessary but predictable.

(6.39) Ag. *καίτοι τοσοῦτόν γ' ἐξεπίστασθαι δοκῶ,*
εἰ ζῶν Ἀχιλλεὺς τῶν ὅπλων τῶν ὧν πέρι
κρίνειν ἔμελλε κράτος ἀριστείας τινί,
οὐκ ἄν τις αὔτ' ἔμαρψεν ἄλλος ἀντ' ἐμοῦ.
νῦν δ' αὖτ' Ἀτρεῖδαι φωτὶ παντουργῷ φρένας
ἔπραξαν, *ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ' ἀπώσαντες κράτη.* (*Aj.* 441–6)

Yet so much I think I well know, that
if Achilles were alive and were to award the prize
of valour
in a contest for his own arms,
no other would receive them but I.
But now the sons of Atreus have made them over to an
unscrupulous fellow, pushing aside this man's mighty
deeds.

Again the main verb does not present salient information. The recipient Odysseus, *φωτὶ παντουργῷ φρένας*, is the Focus of the clause.

(6.40) Cho. *Αἴας, ἔχειν σ' ἂν οἶκτον ὡς κἀγὼ φρενὶ*
θέλοιμ' ἄν· *αἰνοίης γὰρ ἂν τὰ τῆσδ' ἔπη.* (*Aj.* 525–6)

[59] I read *οὔτ' ἂν ἐν πόλει* as extra-clausal and *νόμοι* as the Topic of this sentence. 'For even where cities are concerned, laws would never…'

Ajax, I would wish you to have pity, as I do;
yes, you should approve her words.

The line-initial verb provides grammatical 'closure' to the sentence but is not particularly salient. What matters is clause-initial *ἔχειν σ' ἂν οἶκτον*.[60]

(6.41) Ag. *καὶ σοὶ προσέρπον τοῦτ' ἐγὼ τὸ φάρμακον*
ὁρῶ *τάχ', εἰ μὴ νοῦν κατακτήσῃ τινά·* (*Aj.* 1255–6)

And I see this remedy in store for you,
soon, if you do not acquire some sense...

Agamemnon is threatening Teucer, warning him that he will be forced to submit to higher authority if he does not give in. Note that *ἐγώ*, postpositive,[61] strengthens *τοῦτ[ο]*. The line-initial main verb *ὁρῶ* is not particularly salient compared to the embedded clause, much like *θέλοιμ' ἄν* in the previous example.

(6.42) Teu. *τοιαῦτ' ἀνὴρ δύσοργος, ἐν γήρᾳ βαρύς,*
ἐρεῖ, *πρὸς οὐδὲν εἰς ἔριν θυμούμενος.* (*Aj.* 1017–18)

Such words will be uttered by a man who is irascible,
fierce in old age, and quick to quarrel angrily over
nothing.

In 1012, Teucer had said *οὗτος τί κρύψει; ποῖον οὐκ ἐρεῖ κακόν*... and this clause comes at the end of the catalogue of imagined taunts. The verb *ἐρεῖ* is predictable.[62]

With these last instances we have reached 'full verbs'. In this group we find the best candidates for pragmatically marked line-initial elements. So far, the verbs were mostly predictable and colourless; in the next set of cases they carry more weight, and in some cases, especially with contrastive Focus or complex Focus, it can be argued that the line-initial element has Focus function.

[60] A similar example occurs in the kommos, 428–9: where the auxiliary *ἔχω* merely serves as a syntactic supplement to the Focused *οὔ*... *οὐδέ* which show the chorus's despair of any way out.

[61] I have argued elsewhere that such a postpositive use of *ἐγώ* has to be recognized (Dik 2003).

[62] A similar example in the kommos, 410–11: *ὦ δυστάλαινα, τοιάδ' ἄνδρα χρήσιμον* | ***φωνεῖν***, *ἃ πρόσθεν οὗτος οὐκ ἔτλη ποτ' ἄν*. Here *τοιάδ[ε]* and the relative clause that follows it react to Ajax's words far more specifically than the verb *φωνεῖν*.

(6.43) Od. *ὥστ᾽ οὐκ ἂν ἐνδίκως γ᾽ ἀτιμάζοιτό σοι·*
οὐ γάρ τι τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεῶν νόμους
φθείροις ἄν. *ἄνδρα δ᾽ οὐ δίκαιον, εἰ θάνοι,*
βλάπτειν τὸν ἐσθλόν, οὐδ᾽ ἐὰν μισῶν κυρῇς.
(*Aj.* 1342–5)

And so you cannot dishonour him without injustice;
for you would be destroying not him, but the laws
of the gods.
It is unjust to injure a noble man, if he is dead,
even if it happens that you hate him.

In this first instance, even without the preceding line, the Focus of the sentence is clear from the *οὐ . . . ἀλλά* construction.

(6.44) Aj. *κεῖνοι δ᾽ ἐπεγγελῶσιν ἐκπεφευγότες,*
ἐμοῦ μὲν οὐχ ἑκόντος· εἰ δέ τις θεῶν
βλάπτοι, *φύγοι τἂν χὠ κακὸς τὸν κρείσσονα.*
(*Aj.* 454–6)

And they have escaped and are laughing at me;
the fault is not mine, but if one of the gods
does harm, even the coward may escape the
stronger man.

It was only thanks to divine interference that Ajax's enemies escaped scot-free, and this is how he explains his failure. Should we consider *τις θεῶν* contrastive Focus, and *βλάπτοι* as clearly given from the context? It is equally defensible, I believe, to regard *τις θεῶν* as contrastive Topic (contrasting with *ἐμοῦ μέν*), and *βλάπτοι* as contrastive Focus.[63] As Thomson would have pointed out, the ordering here is equally acceptable in prose, so that there is no reason to associate the pragmatic status of *βλάπτοι* with its line-initial position.

(6.45) Aj. *καὶ νῦν τί χρὴ δρᾶν; ὅστις ἐμφανῶς θεοῖς*
ἐχθαίρομαι, *μισεῖ δέ μ᾽ Ἑλλήνων στρατός,*
ἔχθει δὲ Τροία πᾶσα καὶ πεδία τάδε. (*Aj.* 457–9)

[63] In the following clause, *φύγοι* resumes the earlier *ἐκπεφευγότες* as Topic and *χὠ κακός* is the Focus.

And now what must I do, I who patently am hated
by the gods,
and loathed by the army of the Greeks,
and hated, too, by Troy and by these plains?

In this passage we face a similar dilemma. Can we regard ἐχθαίρομαι as merely supplementing a verb after the Focus θεοῖς, or is it itself the Focus of the clause? A μέν to follow θεοῖς is unfortunately not there to help us out.[64]

(6.46) Aj. τοιγὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰσόμεσθα μὲν θεοῖς
εἴκειν, μαθησόμεσθα δ' Ἀτρείδας σέβειν. (*Aj.* 666–7)

Therefore for the future we shall learn to yield to
the gods,
and we shall learn to reverence the sons of Atreus.

In this passage at least there is a completely parallel construction. The embedded clauses have θεοῖς and Ἀτρείδας as their Topics and εἴκειν and σέβειν have Focus.

In the following example the first line looks at first sight like one long series of predicatives:

(6.47) Teu. ἀγὼ κλυὼν δύστηνος ἐκποδὼν μὲν ὢν
ὑπεστέναζον, νῦν δ' ὁρῶν ἀπόλλυμαι. (*Aj.* 1000–1)

When I heard it, poor fellow, while I was still far off
I mourned quietly, but now that I can see I am
stricken to death!

In fact, after a first scene-setting participle κλυών and the commenting δύστηνος, the clause has a contrastive Topic in ἐκποδών (followed in the next clause by ὁρῶν), and a Focus ὑπεστέναζον (followed in the next clause by ἀπόλλυμαι). A translation that attempts to reflect the Greek ends up with an overload of preposed dependent clauses.[65]

The last group of examples that I will discuss here all involve imperatives in line-initial position. All things being equal, imperatives tend to be more salient than indicatives, and so tend to appear early in

[64] The two following clauses have the verbs μισεῖ and ἔχθει as their Topics but that does not help us in deciding the pragmatic function of ἐχθαίρομαι.

[65] I reordered slightly Lloyd-Jones's translation 'when I heard it, poor fellow, I mourned quietly [Focus] while I was still far off [Topic], but now that I can see [Topic] I am stricken to death [Focus]'

the clause. In the examples below, however, this effect is often diminished in that other elements precede which are also candidates for Focus, while the imperative can be either predicted from the immediate context, as in (6.48), or is semantically light, comparable to the verbs discussed early in this section, e.g. *θακεῖ* in (6.33), that were combined with predicate nominatives with Focus.

(6.48) Tec. *ὅταν κατεύχῃ ταῦθ', ὁμοῦ κἀμοὶ θανεῖν*
εὔχου· *τί γὰρ δεῖ ζῆν με σοῦ τεθνηκότος;* (*Aj.* 392–3)

When you pray for that, at the same time pray for death for me!
Why must I live when you are dead?

The salient elements are *ὁμοῦ κἀμοί* in the embedded clause rather than *εὔχου*, which resumes compound[66] *κατεύχῃ* from the temporal clause.

(6.49) Aj. *ἀλλ' ὡς τάχος τὸν παῖδα τόνδ' ἤδη δέχου,*
καὶ δῶμα πάκτου, μηδ' ἐπισκήνους γόους
δάκρυε. *κάρτα τοι φιλοίκτιστον γυνή.* (*Aj.* 578–80)

Come, now speedily take the boy,
and bar the doors, and make no weeping in front of the hut;
surely women are prone to lamentation!

The run-on imperative is the third in a series, all of which have the imperative at clause end, preceded by Topic constituents (*τὸν παῖδα τόνδε*, *δῶμα*). With the internal object *ἐπισκήνους γόους* already given as Focus 'no out of doors crying' the imperative *δάκρυε* offers virtually no new information.

(6.50) Aj. *ὑμεῖς θ', ἑταῖροι, ταὐτὰ τῇδέ μοι τάδε*
τιμᾶτε, *Τεύκρῳ τ', ἢν μόλῃ, σημήνατε*
μέλειν μὲν ἡμῶν, εὐνοεῖν δ' ὑμῖν ἅμα· (*Aj.* 687–9)

And do you, my companions, honour my commands as she does, and when Teucer comes, tell him to have care for me, and to be loyal to you.

The chorus is to do exactly what Ajax has told Tecmessa to do (*ταὐτὰ . . . τάδε*); this is the Focus of the sentence. That they are to

[66] Compound-simplex iteration. For references to the literature see Diggle (1981: 18).

do this *out of respect* for him is the added nuance of τιμᾶτε, which otherwise functions as a mere 'do'.[67]

(6.51) Mess. 'ἄνασσα, τοῖς ἄλλοισιν Ἀργείων πέλας
ἵστω, καθ' ἡμᾶς δ' οὔποτ' ἐνρήξει μάχη.' (*Aj.* 774–5)

'Queen, stand by the other Argives;
where I am the enemy shall never break through.'

Ajax haughtily dismisses Athena and tells her to go and help another contingent. ἄλλοισιν has Focus, the verb is a necessary but predictable supplement. Later in the play we find a close parallel. In 1182 the Focus is γυναῖκες ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν:

(6.52) Teu. ὑμεῖς τε μὴ γυναῖκες ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν πέλας
παρέστατ', ἀλλ' ἀρήγετ', ἔστ' ἐγὼ μόλω
τάφου μελητθεὶς τῷδε, κἂν μηδεὶς ἐᾷ. (*Aj.* 1182–4)

And do you men not stand around like women,
but render aid, until I return
from taking care of his grave, even if everyone
forbids it.

6.3.4. Interim Conclusion

Once we step away from the narrow selection of examples discussed in § 6.2, enjambment seems less of a force than Jebb and others have assumed. In dealing with individual cases, it is important to distinguish necessary enjambment, where the run-on word rarely seems salient, and 'adding' enjambment, where the run-on word really forms a new, separate unit, so that it can be prosodically marked like any clause-initial word.[68]

Exceptional instances of salient run-on words in necessary enjambment, as in (6.12) and (6.46), involve clauses that start late in the preceding line, so that the run-on word can occupy a clausal Focus position. In § 6.4 we will see many more instances of line breaks that result in Focus constituents occupying line-initial position.

[67] For the ordering of lines 684–6, cf. below, § 6.4, examples (6.73) and (6.74).

[68] The most violent types of enjambment, with elision or prepositive at line end (definite article, preposition – *not* following a modifier as in (6.25) and (6.28) above –, or negation) do not occur in *Ajax*. See further below, section 6.3.

6.4 RECULER POUR MIEUX SAUTER

So far I have concentrated on line breaks that fall late in a clause, with one word running on into the next line. We saw that in relatively few cases is the run-on word of much interest. It is an attractive assumption, but a hard one to prove, that *μὴ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἡδονὴν | θάνῃς*, compared to *ἐν ταὐτῷ θάνῃς |*, sets the adverbial expression in greater relief and/or provides some secondary Focus for the run-on element.

This form of enjambment, however, is only one among several ways in which clauses can straddle lines. Some of the most spectacular line breaks in Sophocles are in fact the result, not of clauses running over by a word or two into the next line, but of clauses starting with only a word or two just before line end and then running on into the next line. A strategy especially used by Sophocles, which I have already mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, is the placing of a conjunction such as *ἐπεί* at or near line end. An example is Oedipus' famous remark to Teiresias:

(6.53) Tei. *εἴπερ τί γ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἀληθείας σθένος.*
Oe. *ἀλλ' ἔστι, πλὴν σοί· σοὶ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἔστ', **ἐπεὶ***
τυφλὸς τά τ' ὦτα τόν τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματ' εἶ.
(*OT* 369–71)

Tei. Yes, if the truth has any strength.
Oe. It has, except for you; you are without it, since you are blind in your ears, in your mind, and in your eyes.

The anticipation caused by the conjunction *ἐπεί* at line end receives a pay-off with a memorable line here. I will return to this pattern below, but there are even more strident line breaks. In a handful of cases in Sophocles there is elision at line end:[69]

(6.54) Tei. *ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἐμαυτὸν οὔτε σ' ἀλγυνῶ· τί **ταῦτ'***
ἄλλως ἐλέγχεις; οὐ γὰρ ἂν πύθοιό μου. (*OT* 332–3)

I shall give pain neither to you nor to myself.
Why do you
question me in vain? You cannot learn from me.

[69] See Descroix (1931/1987: 292) for an inventory.

In this example, the rules of line end (the expected hiatus and *brevis in longo*) are flouted, and the suggestion of some break in phrasing that normally comes with line end is overridden. The necessary enjambment allows prominence for *ταῦτ[α]*; *ἄλλως* is line-initial and in the preverbal Focus position.[70]

Another small group of remarkable line breaks are those following prepositives at line-end: definite articles, prepositions, and negatives.[71] In (6.55), the guard reports to Creon on the efforts to undo the burial of Polyneices and ends a line with a definite article:

(6.55) Guard
τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμ'. ὅπως γὰρ ἥκομεν
πρὸς σοῦ τὰ δείν' ἐκεῖν' ἐπηπειλημένοι,
πᾶσαν κόνιν σήραντες ἣ κατεῖχε **τὸν**
νέκυν, μυδῶν τε σῶμα γυμνώσαντες εὖ...
(*Ant.* 407–10)
It was like this! When we went back
after those terrible threats of yours,
we swept away all the dust that covered the
corpse, carefully stripped the mouldering body...

The end of line 409 is at once an unexceptionable line-end, as far as metre is concerned, and an absolutely unacceptable syntactic boundary. What can we make of these two seemingly contradictory signals of continuity and discontinuity at the same time? One possible interpretation is that the guard hesitates before uttering the word *νέκυν* ('the, er, *corpse*'), given the horrendousness of his task of undoing this burial and the state of the mouldering corpse. The violent enjambment brings about a secondary Focus on an otherwise predictable element, which might have been referred to by an unemphatic pronoun.[72] We could say that the penthemimeral caesura in line 410 replicates this effect in a small way, by halting ever so slightly before *σῶμα*.

[70] For more examples of this type of question, in which the interrogative is followed by additional (Focus) elements, see § 5.3 above.

[71] See again Descroix (1931/1987: 291) for an inventory; I omit most of his examples of prepositions at line end, since I only include prepositions that are not already preceded by modifiers, as for instance in (6.25) and (6.28) above.

[72] Or even left out. *κατεῖχε* alone could conceivably have done the job, or *νιν* might have been used. Surprisingly, Webster ad *Phil.* 260 f. (= (6.56) below) says that 'in the late plays this binding together of two lines always seems to be emotional', but explicitly excludes *Ant.* 409.

In the following example from *Philoctetes*, the immediate situation is less gruesome, but one might well claim that the 'two generals' are not people whom Philoctetes enjoys thinking about. Perhaps the line end after the definite article happens for the same reason that makes Philoctetes use descriptive paraphrases for the hated sons of Atreus and for Odysseus rather than names or patronymics:

(6.56) Ph. *ὅδ' εἶμ' ἐγώ σοι κεῖνος, ὃν κλύεις ἴσως*
τῶν Ἡρακλείων ὄντα δεσπότην ὅπλων,
ὁ τοῦ Ποίαντος παῖς Φιλοκτήτης, ὃν **οἱ**
δισσοὶ στρατηγοὶ χὠ Κεφαλλήνων ἄναξ
ἔρριψαν αἰσχρῶς ὧδ' ἐρῆμον… (*Phil.* 261–5)

I am he whom you have perhaps heard
to be the master of the weapons of Heracles,
the son of Poeas, Philoctetes, whom the
two generals and the lord of the Cephallenians
despicably threw out into this desolation…

The two remaining instances of definite article at line end lend support to the idea that the word following the definite article is salient. The modifiers *σαυτῆς* in (6.57) and *οἴκοι* in (6.58) are both clearly contrastive:

(6.57) El. *ἀλλ' ἦ μέμηνας, ὦ τάλαινα, κἀπὶ* **τοῖς**
σαυτῆς κακοῖσι κἀπὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς γελᾷς; (*El.* 879–80)

Are you mad, poor creature, and are you
mocking your own troubles as well as mine?

The line break before the possessive *σαυτῆς* gives it prominence in addition to the explicit contrast with *ἐμοῖς*.

(6.58) Oe. *…γερονταγωγεῖ, πολλὰ μὲν κατ' ἀγρίαν*
ὕλην ἄσιτος νηλίπους τ' ἀλωμένη,
πολλοῖσι δ' ὄμβροις ἡλίου τε καύμασι
μοχθοῦσα τλήμων δεύτερ' ἡγεῖται τὰ **τῆς**
οἴκοι διαίτης, εἰ πατὴρ τροφὴν ἔχοι. (*OC* 348–52)

…she guides an aged man, straying often through
the wild
jungle without food or footwear,

> and vexed often by rain and scorching sun,
> the unhappy one gives second place to her
> home comforts, if her father can be cared for.

Oedipus is in the process of a comparison between his sons and daughters. The sons are stay-at-home good-for-nothings (343 *κατ' οἶκον οἰκουροῦσιν*), whereas his daughters do all the hard work with no thought for home.

Besides the definite articles at immediate line end (Maas's position 12), there are also definite articles in position 11 followed by post-positive, the most frequent combination being *τὸ γάρ*, as in (6.59):[73]

(6.59) Oe. *εἰ δ' αὖ τις ἄλλον οἶδεν ἢ 'ξ ἄλλης χθονὸς*
*τὸν αὐτόχειρα, μὴ σιωπάτω· **τὸ γὰρ***
κέρδος τελῶ 'γὼ χἠ χάρις προσκείσεται. (*OT* 230–2)

> But if someone knows another of you, or a foreigner,
> to be the killer, let him not be silent; for I
> can dispense rewards and gratitude also shall be his.

[73] Given such examples as (6.59), I am not sure that one can really claim that *τὸ γάρ* enjambment or any of the other kinds of enjambment discussed in this section actually (Griffith ad *Ant.* 67–8) 'mark the concluding *gnome*'. Of seven instances of *τὸ γάρ* at line end, three are articular infinitive constructions (*OT* 1389–90, *Ant.* 67–8, *Trach.* 434–5), which we can consider gnomic; and four are not: *OT* 231–2, *Ant.* 238–9, *Trach.* 742–3, *Phil.* 674–5. Of these four, *Trach.* 742–3 *τὸ γὰρ | φανθὲν τίς ἂν δύναιτ' ἂν ἀγένητον ποεῖν;* can be considered a *gnome* in the form of a rhetorical question. Of the twenty-four cases of *ἐπεί* at line end, I would describe at most three or four as introducing a gnomic statement (*El.* 1053–4 *πολλῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τὸ θηρᾶσθαι κενά*, *OT* 613–14 *χρόνος δίκαιον ἄνδρα δείκνυσιν μόνος*, *OT* 376–7 *ἱκανὸς Ἀπόλλων* (dubious), *OC* 1115 *ταῖς τηλικαῖσδε σμικρὸς ἐξαρκεῖ λόγος* (disregarding the demonstrative taking the place of a more general expression)); the remaining twenty, such as (6.53) above, are too individuated to be considered gnomic (*Aj.* 490–1, 916–17, 1330–1, *OT* 326–7, 370–1 (= (6.53)), 433–4, 705–6, 985–6, 1417–18, *Ant.* 389–90 (= (6.68)), 538–9, *Trach.* 320–1, 457–8, 732–3, *OC* 566–7, 732–3, 956–8 (= (6.71)), 1151–2, 1334–5, 1405–6). Given the high frequencies of both enjambment and gnomic expression in Sophocles, not to mention the high frequency of these 'conclusions' in the back and forth of dialogue, I think the correlation is hard to prove one way or the other. I myself am tempted to see these continuations at line end as an attempt to 'hold the floor'. Once speakers have uttered a prepositive, they can pause, but it would be very impolite to interrupt them. The speeches in which line-initial *ἐπεί* is found are 39 lines long on average, and only two out of twenty-four are three lines or fewer in length (one of which is Neoptolemus' aborted narrative at *Phil.* 332); the speeches in which line-final *ἐπεί* is found average 14 lines, and twelve of twenty-four are three lines or fewer in length.

To have something, anything, follow the prepositive word at line end makes the break less harsh,[74] but it is tempting to see effects similar to the 'bare' definite articles here, as for instance in another response from the guard about the burial of Polyneices (see also above, (6.55)):

(6.60) Cr. *τί δ' ἐστὶν ἄνθ' οὗ τήνδ' ἔχεις ἀθυμίαν;*
Guard *φράσαι θέλω σοι πρῶτα τἀμαυτοῦ·* ***τὸ γὰρ***
πρᾶγμ' οὔτ' ἔδρασ' οὔτ' εἶδον ὅστις ἦν ὁ δρῶν,
οὐδ' ἂν δικαίως ἐς κακὸν πέσοιμί τι. (*Ant.* 237–40)

Cr. But what is it that so troubles you?
Guard First I want to tell you about myself; for I
did not do the deed, nor did I see who did,
and I could not with justice come to any harm.

The guard once again uses an interesting line break. As with the interpretation of the break before *νέκυν* in (6.55) above, we could suggest here that 'the, er, matter' of Polyneices' burial is something that the guard prefers not to talk about at all, especially in the presence of Creon.

Turning to prepositions, I am aware of only three instances in Sophocles of prepositions at line end (that is, prepositions that are not preceded by modifiers and not in anastrophe). Aristophanes has just such a line break in his *Thesmophoriazusae*, in the introduction of the complaint against Euripides in the assembly. The announcement has just been made that Euripides is the first item of business (378–9 *χρηματίζειν πρῶτα περὶ Εὐριπίδου, | ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἐκεῖνον*), when the first speaker obliges, and launches into her attack:

(6.Ar1) Mica *φιλοτιμίᾳ μὲν οὐδεμιᾷ μὰ τὼ θεὼ*
λέξουσ' ἀνέστην ὦ γυναῖκες· ἀλλὰ γὰρ
βαρέως φέρω τάλαινα πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον
προπηλακιζομένας ὁρῶσ' ἡμᾶς ***ὑπὸ***
Εὐριπίδου τοῦ τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας
καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖ' ἀκουούσας κακά.
(Ar. *Thesmo.* 383–8)

[74] In Homer, short prepositives cannot come at line end but larger prepositive groups can, as in *Il.* 1.340 *εἴ ποτε δ' αὖτε* |; 1.578 *ὄφρα μὴ αὖτε* |.

> By the Twain, I have not risen to speak,
> fellow women, out of any personal ambition; no, but
> because I have long unhappily endured
> seeing us get dragged through the mire by
> Euripides, son of that herb-selling woman,
> and subjected to the whole gamut of slurs.

The line break after *ὑπό* is not so much one of suspense, since all women know that it is Euripides who is the intended target of the speech, but I am tempted to compare it to a ceremonial drum roll, with the mention of the guilty party postponed till the end, and then filling an entire trimeter (with another definite article preceding the caesura): besmirched by… *Euripides*, the son of—the *greengrocer woman*!

In the case of Sophocles, it is harder to tell what to make of the three instances we have, which occur in *OT*, *Philoctetes*, and *OC*—examples (6.61) to (6.63) respectively.[75] The example in *OT* is perhaps the most straightforward:

(6.61) Oe. *ἔπειθες, ἢ οὐκ ἔπειθες, ὡς χρείη μ' **ἐπὶ***
τὸν σεμνόμαντιν ἄνδρα πέμψασθαί τινα; (*OT* 555–6)

> Did you or did you not persuade me that I ought to
> send someone for
> the much-revered prophet?

Oedipus' use of *σεμνόμαντις* is reminiscent of Philoctetes' *δισσοί στρατηγοί* in (6.56) above. Clearly Oedipus is not expressing his awe here (nor does he with *οὗτος ὁ σοφός* in 568). As Jebb points out, many *σεμνός* compounds are used sarcastically.

Turning to (6.62), the 'Merchant' had told Philoctetes a nicely rehearsed story earlier but now seems to be at a loss as to how to react to Philoctetes' strong emotions:

(6.62) Ph. *οἴμοι τάλας· ἦ κεῖνος, ἡ πᾶσα βλάβη,*
ἔμ' εἰς Ἀχαιοὺς ὤμοσεν πείσας στελεῖν;
πεισθήσομαι γὰρ ὧδε κἀξ Ἅιδου θανὼν
πρὸς φῶς ἀνελθεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐκείνου πατήρ.

[75] The only instance of preposition at line end in Euripides is *El.* 852–3, *ἐγνώσθη δ' ὑπὸ | γέροντος ἐν δόμοισιν ἀρχαίου τινός*. It is puzzling that an entire line is spent on the description of an anonymous character who will not play a role in the rest of the play.

Mer. οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγὼ ταῦτ'· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμ' **ἐπὶ**
ναῦν, σφῷν δ' ὅπως ἄριστα συμφέροι θεός.
(*Phil.* 622–7)

Ph. Alas for me! Did that man, that utter plague,
swear that he would bring me to the Achaeans?
I shall as soon be persuaded to return from Hades
to the world of light after my death, like his father!
Mer. I know nothing of this; but I will go to the
ship, and may the god help you as best he may!

The Merchant tries to sound non-committal and to get out of the way as soon as possible, to—his ship, leaving Philoctetes and Neoptolemus with a conventional farewell. Are we meant to hear the Merchant hesitate for a moment before he states his destination?[76]

The third instance of preposition at line end is (6.63):

(6.63) Oe. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁδωτά· λείπομαι γὰρ **ἐν**
τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι μηδ' ὁρᾶν, δυοῖν κακοῖν· (*OC* 495–6)

I cannot go, for I fall short
for lack of strength and of vision, two afflictions;

Here again, there may be some ambiguity in the preposition. Oedipus stays behind in—, but what follows the preposition after the line break is not a location, which we might have expected.

Finally, there are some instances of negatives at line end.[77] Typically these negatives do not negate just the one word that immediately follows. In fact it is hard to point to a single instance, but (6.63) might qualify, if only because every other single constituent in this sentence is also negated.[78]

[76] The destination has so far been expressed as πρὸς ναῦν (lines 125, 132, 461), a more regular preposition to use for this concrete object.

[77] Compare Descroix's inventory (1931/1987: 291): (οὔ) *Ant.* 5 (single constituent: (6.64)), *El.* 1466 φάσμ' ἄνευ φθόνου μὲν οὐ | πεπτωκός ('orthotone-like', cf. (6.65)), 1491 (= (6.65)), (μή) *Ant.* 324 εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ | φανεῖτέ μοι τοὺς δρῶντας, *OT* 1461 (=(6.67)), *Phil.* 912 (see n. 79 below), *OC* 1175 (see n. 78 below). Even more clause-like and therefore less harsh are τὸ μή *Ant.* 27, *Trach.* 90 (for *clause*-final τὸ μή at line end, see *Aj.* 96 and *Ant.* 443); τὸ μὴ οὐ *Ant.* 544, *OT* 1232. Emphatic negatives introducing clauses can fill the entire second colon, as in *Phil.* 611 ὡς οὐ μή ποτε | (similar examples in *OT* 328, *OC* 1023).

[78] *OC* 1175–6 μὴ δρᾶν ἃ **μὴ** | χρῄζεις has only one word following, but this is also the 'entire following clause'.

(6.64) An. *οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτ' ἀλγεινὸν οὔτ' ἄτης ἄτερ*
οὔτ' αἰσχρὸν οὔτ' ἄτιμόν ἐσθ', ὁποῖον ***οὐ***
τῶν σῶν τε κἀμῶν οὐκ ὄπωπ' ἐγὼ κακῶν. (*Ant.* 4–6)

No, there is nothing painful or laden with destruction
or shameful or dishonouring among
your sorrows and mine that I have not witnessed.

The negation *οὐ* is much less frequent than *μή* at line end. When it appears, it is often used in such a way that it can be interpreted as orthotone in the first instance, as in (6.65), a pattern which resembles clause-final orthotone *οὔ* as in (6.66).

(6.65) Or. *χωροῖς ἂν εἴσω σὺν τάχει· λόγων γὰρ* ***οὐ***
νῦν ἐστιν ἀγών, ἀλλὰ σῆς ψυχῆς πέρι. (*El.* 1491–2)

Go inside at once! It is not talk,
but your life, that is the issue.

Unusually, the negative in (6.65) has scope over the preceding *λόγων*, not the following *νῦν*. The part of the clause before the line break gets a Topic-Focus structure much like that in (6.66):

(6.66) Guard *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἠφάνιστο, τυμβήρης μὲν* ***οὔ***,
λεπτὴ δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὡς ἐπῆν κόνις.
(*Ant.* 255–6)

He had vanished, not buried in a tomb,
but covered with a light dust, as though put there
by someone to avoid pollution.

More typically, the negation at line end is *μή*, which can have scope over the entire following clause as in (6.67), which makes this group of prepositives more closely affiliated with conjunctions and less with the definite article or prepositions.[79]

[79] One case of *μή* is complicated as a result of the very condensed expression, but it follows the general pattern. In *Phil.* 912–13 *λιπὼν μὲν οὐκ ἔγωγε, λυπηρῶς δὲ* ***μὴ*** | *πέμπω σε μᾶλλον* 'it is not the thought that I will desert you, but rather the thought that I will take you on a journey that will cause you grief', *λυπηρῶς* is the presupposed information that is shared between Philoctetes and Neoptolemus: hurting Philoctetes is what Neoptolemus admits he is likely to do, but not by leaving him, as Philoctetes suspects, but precisely by taking him.

(6.67) Oe. *παίδων δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀρσένων μή μοι, Κρέον,*
προσθῇ μέριμναν· ἄνδρες εἰσίν, ὥστε ***μὴ***
σπάνιν ποτὲ σχεῖν, ἔνθ' ἂν ὦσι, τοῦ βίου·
(*OT* 1459–61)

But as to my children, do not take thought
for the males, for they are men, and wherever
they are will never fail to get a living.

All in all, we can generalize that if the negation does behave as a prepositive, it is more likely to be placed at line end if it serves as an 'upbeat' not to a single word but to the following clause, in much the same way as did *ἐπεί* in (6.53), the very first example of this section.[80] As I mentioned earlier, line breaks after conjunctions are not quite as violent as those following other prepositives (see Fraenkel 1965: 41, Ruijgh 1990*b*: 184), so that this brings us to the end of this short catalogue of the syntactically most violent line breaks.[81]

Line breaks following conjunction are a favourite with Sophocles (for instance, twenty-four instances of *ἐπεί* in this position as against only two in Euripides; one in *PV* 384). What does this line break achieve that is not achieved by having *ἐπεί* in line-initial position?

Consider again the clause pattern. The Focus, the single most important element of a clause, will often be preceded by other elements: Topic constituents for one, but also by conjunctions and particles and the occasional Setting constituent. All this 'clutter' can cause the Focus element to end up in a position that is not particularly prominent, unless a line break intervenes to lend a new dimension of prominence besides that of the clause. In fact, we find numerous instances in Sophocles where conjunctions, in particular, are placed at line end, when they fit just as well at the opening of lines. But why spend a precious line-initial slot on *ἐπεί*, or *ὅτι*, when this is not necessary? Consider (6.68):

[80] Not surprisingly, a number of instances of *μή* at line end appear in combination with conjunctions (*εἰ Ant.* 324, *ὥστε OT* 1461), relatives (*ἅ OC* 1175), or with the definite article that introduces an articular infinitive (above, n. 77).

[81] I omit here the examples of line-initial postpositives, the phenomenon that is the converse of prepositives at line end. Examples in Sophocles are *Aj.* 985–6 *οὐχ ὅσον τάχος* | ***δῆτ'*** *αὐτὸν ἄξεις δεῦρο*, *OT* 1084–5 *τοιόσδε δ' ἐκφὺς οὐκ ἂν ἐξέλθοιμ' ἔτι* | ***ποτ'*** *ἄλλος*.

(6.68) Guard *ἄναξ, βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ᾽ ἀπώμοτον.*
*ψεύδει γὰρ ἡ ᾽πίνοια τὴν γνώμην· **ἐπεὶ***
σχολῇ ποθ᾽ ἥξειν δεῦρ᾽ ἂν ἐξηύχουν ἐγώ…
(*Ant.* 388–90)

King, there is nothing that mortals can swear is impossible!
For second thoughts show one's judgment to be wrong; why,
I scarcely would have thought I would come here again…

Here the conjunction is placed at the end of the line, and the Focus constituent *σχολῇ* gains prominence from its line-initial position, in addition to its clause-initial position, and the postpositive *ποτε* in its wake.[82]

If there is a Topic constituent, *ἐπεί* plus Topic can be placed in the preceding line for a similar effect, as in (6.69) and (6.70):[83]

(6.69) El. *ἀλλ᾽ ὦ κασίγνηθ᾽, ὧδ᾽ ὅπως καὶ σοὶ φίλον*
*καὶ τοὐμὸν ἔσται, **τάσδ᾽ ἐπεὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς***
πρὸς σοῦ λαβοῦσα κοὐκ ἐμὰς ἐκτησάμην. (*El.* 1301–3)

Brother, your pleasure shall be
mine also; since my delight
I got from you, and it is not my own.

(6.70) Oe. *ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε*
*σῶμ᾽ οὐδὲ τἄργα τἄμ᾽· **ἐπεὶ τά γ᾽ ἔργα μου***
πεπονθότ᾽ ἐστὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα… (*OC* 265–7)

[82] Similar instances: *OT* 326–7 *ἐπεὶ | πάντες σε προσκυνοῦμεν οἵδ᾽ ἱκτήριοι*, 433–4 *ἐπεὶ | σχολῇ σ᾽ ἂν οἴκους τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐστειλάμην*, *Trach.* 320–1 *ἐπεὶ | καὶ ξυμφορά τοι μὴ εἰδέναι σέ γ᾽ ἥτις εἶ*. *Ant.* 923–4 has Topic and Focus in second line: *ἐπεί γε δὴ | τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦσ᾽ ἐκτησάμην*, similarly *Aj.* 1330–1 *ἐπεὶ | φίλον σ᾽ ἐγὼ μέγιστον Ἀργείων νέμω* (*φίλον* Topic, *μέγιστον* Focus, with postpositives *σ᾽ ἐγώ* separating the two), and *OT* 705–6 *ἐπεὶ | τό γ᾽ εἰς ἑαυτὸν πᾶν ἐλευθεροῖ στόμα*. For a full listing of line-end *ἐπεί* instances in Sophocles, see n. 73 above.

[83] Not all constituents following *ἐπεί* are so easily classified. In *OT* 1266–7 *ἐπεὶ δὲ γῇ | ἔκειτο τλήμων*, I am unsure as to the pragmatic status of *γῇ*. The hiatus (cf. Stinton 1977*b*) and the enjambment make us wait for *ἔκειτο*, however, which acquires added prominence as a result.

simply from fear of my name? For it is not my
person or my actions that you fear; why, my actions
consisted in suffering rather than in doing . . .

The Focus constituents (*πρὸς σοῦ*, *πεπονθότ*[*α*]) are placed in line-initial position.[84]

In (6.71), a more involved example, which ranges over three lines, both Topic and Focus of the main clause end up in line-initial position:

(6.71) Cr. *ἐπεὶ*
ἐρημία *με*, *κεἰ δίκαι' ὅμως λέγω*,
σμικρὸν *τίθησι·* (*OC* 956–8)

Since
even if my plea is just, my solitude
makes me powerless; . . .

In all these cases we may say that the line breaks, while they break up syntactic units, serve to highlight those elements that are pragmatically marked—this in contrast to the cases that we saw in §§ 6.2 and 6.3, both of necessary enjambment (where the line-initial run-on word was not particularly salient), and the cases of adding enjambment (where no syntactic unit was broken up).

The group of *ἐπεί* clauses which I have treated at some length here is just one sample of Sophocles' special preferences for these enjambments. The conjunction *ὅτι* occurs at line end all but three times in Sophocles; in Aeschylus only once outside *PV* (*Eum.* 98; there are six instances at line end in *PV*); in Euripides, there are just three instances of *ὅτι* at line end (*Bacch.* 173, *Med.* 560, *Cyc.* 421; *Phoen.* 1617 *οἶδ' ὅτι* is clause final).

While the examples above featured clauses starting late in the line, this is not a necessary condition for Focus constituents to follow the line break, as is shown by (6.72), another pattern familiar to readers of Sophocles:

[84] Lloyd-Jones and Wilson print Hertel's *με . . . ἴσθι*, which makes no difference to my analysis here, except that a *με* rather than *μου* makes the line break even more keenly felt as interrupting the syntax, thereby heightening still more the effect of line-initial *πεπονθότ'*.

(6.72) Guard *τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ κακῶν πεφευγέναι*
ἥδιστον, ἐς κακὸν δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἄγειν
ἀλγεινόν. (*Ant.* 437–9)

For to have escaped oneself from trouble is
most pleasant, but to bring friends into danger is
painful.

Here the first Topic constituent (*τὸ μὲν . . . πεφευγέναι*) fills an entire line, followed by the Focus *ἥδιστον* in the next, where the second Topic fills out the line, to be followed in turn by its Focus, *ἀλγεινόν*, in the third line.

The same effect can be seen with imperatives. While in § 6.3 above we saw a number of imperatives that seemed rather predictable, the tendency to place imperatives in initial position in the clause is real, and examples such as (6.73) are an indication that when that position is taken, line-initial position is a good second best. The availability of the dimension of the line in addition to that of the clause means that clauses can open with miscellaneous 'clutter' but still have imperatives in prominent position, as here. Once *ὅπως τάχιστα* has opened line 1410, we wait until the next line for the imperatives:

(6.73) Oe. *ἀλλ', οὐ γὰρ αὐδᾶν ἔσθ' ἃ μηδὲ δρᾶν καλόν,*
ὅπως τάχιστα πρὸς θεῶν ἔξω μέ που 1410
καλύψατ', ἢ φονεύσατ', ἢ θαλάσσιον
ἐκρίψατ', ἔνθα μήποτ' εἰσόψεσθ' ἔτι.
ἴτ', ἀξιώσατ' ἀνδρὸς ἀθλίου θιγεῖν·
πίθεσθε, μὴ δείσητε· τἀμὰ γὰρ κακὰ
οὐδεὶς οἷός τε πλὴν ἐμοῦ φέρειν βροτῶν.
(*OT* 1409–15)

But since it is hateful to speak of hateful deeds,
as soon as possible, I beg you, hide me somewhere
abroad, or kill me, or hurl me into the sea,
where you shall never again see me!
Come, condescend to touch a man accursed!
Do as I say, do not be afraid! For there is
no human being who can bear my woes but I.

In 1409 *πρὸς θεῶν* is used postpositively to follow clause-initial *ὅπως τάχιστα*, and the next Mobile element *ἔξω* is also followed by two

postpositives, ensuring that both elements are prominent. Pragmatically both of these first constituents can be analysed as Focus. Even though the imperative comes as the third Mobile constituent of the sentence as a whole, and even though the enjambment can be classified as necessary, the imperative is not like the imperatives discussed in § 6.3 above (e.g. *ἵστω* in (6.51)) in that it is not nearly as predictable in its meaning, but of course the prominence we perceive in the imperative *καλύψατ[ϵ]* is due in large part to the fact that it is the first in a string of imperatives.

In (6.74) similarly, the imperative in line 229 appears to be postponed to line-initial position, but the passage features a number of different ways in which the boundaries between lines are exploited:

(6.74) Ph. *ἀλλ' οἰκτίσαντες ἄνδρα δύστηνον, μόνον,*
ἔρημον ὧδε κἄφιλον, κακούμενον,
φωνήσατ', *εἴπερ ὡς φίλοι προσήκετε.*
ἀλλ' ἀνταμείψασθ'· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ***οὔτ' ἐμὲ*** 230
ὑμῶν *ἁμαρτεῖν τοῦτό γ' οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ.*
Ne. *ἀλλ', ὦ ξέν', ἴσθι τοῦτο πρῶτον,* ***οὕνεκα***
Ἕλληνές *ἐσμεν· τοῦτο γὰρ βούλῃ μαθεῖν.*
(*Phil.* 227–33)

Ph. Take pity on an unhappy man, alone,
afflicted like this without a companion or a friend,
and *speak*, if indeed you come as friends!
But answer me! It is not right *that I*
should miss this *from you* or you from me.
Ne. Why, stranger, first know this, *that* we are
Greeks! That is what you wish to learn.

The first Mobile in the sentence, *οἰκτίσαντες*, should of course be understood as imperative as well. The string of miserable adjectives fills a line and a half, resulting in line-initial position for *φωνήσατε* in 229. The break between lines 230 and 231 separates the two Focus constituents *ἐμέ* and *ὑμῶν*.[85] In line 232, finally, we see another example of a conjunction at line end, resulting in line-initial position for the Focus constituent *Ἕλληνες*.

[85] See ch. 4 for further examples of contrastive use of personal pronouns.

Lines 230 and 232 are a good illustration of the paradoxical status of the line break here. Both lines have all the characteristics of metrical period end: there is *brevis in longo*, and hiatus between the word at line end and the word opening the next line. At the same time, the syntax (specifically, *οὔτε* and *οὕνεκα*) makes it abundantly clear that this line end is not an end at all. The clash of rhythm and syntax is evident, and the result, I believe, is increased prominence for the Mobile words involved.[86]

All in all, line breaks are highly salient in the instances discussed in this section, where they occur at or near the beginning of a clause. In these cases the enjambment tends to be necessary rather than 'adding', and listener's expectations are more obviously flouted than in the case of adding enjambment. In rare cases, such unexpected line breaks bring about a secondary effect, as in (6.55), where the clausal Focus is the verb; more often, the manipulation of line and clause gives further relief to constituents which can also be considered marked in a clausal analysis. It appears that Sophocles does not break his lines at random, disregarding the clause; rather, line boundaries are used as a means to achieve additional prominence.

6.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have looked at some of the metrical characteristics of the iambic trimeter, concentrating on the line break, the strongest rhythmical boundary available to the poets. The interaction between clause and line is most evident at the line break, but similar phenomena can be observed at the midpoint of the line. While my main aim throughout this book is to urge an interpretation of word order that is not based on metre in the first instance, in this chapter I have sought to illustrate the major ways in which Sophocles exploits the line break as a 'chunking device', to use the terminology introduced to Greek literature by Slings (1997).

[86] As often, the prominence of *ἐμέ* and *ὑμῶν* becomes overdetermined: In the case of *ἐμέ*, emphatic form of the first-person pronoun, initial Mobile in the embedded clause; in the case of *ὑμῶν*, initial position in the line, preverbal position in the dependent clause.

In his book on the iambic trimeter, Descroix (1931/1987: 334 f.) makes a number of suggestions about particular lexical items that the poets made use of to round out their trimeters. He concentrates on the disyllabic words at line end. These are very frequent, but how do we go about proving that these were put in by choice?

First of all, as Descroix argues, conscious choice seems to be in play since, despite Aristotle's assurances that the trimeter comes so naturally to Greek speakers, the percentage of these disyllabics is higher in tragedy than in comedy, and also significantly higher than in prose (Descroix 1931/1987: 335). Secondly, the Ionic words that the tragedians borrow tend to yield convenient disyllabic iambic forms, which can replace differently shaped Attic words: δορός, κάρα, φάος, κλυών, θανών, κτανών, μολών, with which can be contrasted Attic δόρατος, κεφαλή, φῶς, ἀκούσας, ἀποθανών, ἀποκτείνας, ἐλθών. Thirdly, there is the high frequency of disyllabic participles (some of which were included in table 6.2 above), and a handful of nouns: θεός, βροτός, χθών (in their iambic forms) and adjectives, for example καλός and κακός.

How do we prove that these words are used in disproportionate number? Should we not make allowances for subject matter? Subject matter as an argument for high frequency sounds reasonable in the case of some of these words, such as καλός and κακός, but is surely more problematic in the case of the iambic forms of πούς 'foot',

Table 6.3 Fillers? Frequencies per 10,000 words in the tragedians, Aristophanes, and Plato

	Aeschylus	Sophocles	Euripides	Aristophanes	Plato
πούς	6	5	12	4	1
καλός	9	17	21	18	27
κακός	17	31	28	16	10
ὅδε	189	179	168	40	14
οὗτος	50	104	40	195	188
(ἐ)κεῖνος	5	27	11	16	18
ἐγώ	84	167	131	188	124
σύ	72	100	105	130	55
νῦν	34	50	28	46	31
ἀεί	7	19	9	8	14
ποτε	15	42	27	25	18
πάλαι	3	10	3	6	3

which in Euripides occurs about 12 times in every 10, 000 words (177 times in 147,582 words), which is twice the rate of Aeschylus and Sophocles, three times that of Aristophanes, and twelve times that of Plato.

In table 6.3 I present the frequencies per 10,000 words of πούς and the adjectives καλός and κακός in the tragic poets compared to Aristophanes and Plato but I concentrate on words that are less likely to strike an audience as out of place at any time in dialogue. The personal pronouns, demonstratives, and temporal adverbs in this table[87] show remarkable frequency in the tragedians and in Sophocles in particular as compared to Plato. Somewhat lower frequencies for all words are to be expected for Plato, given the much higher frequency of the definite article in that corpus, but the frequency of especially the demonstrative ὅδε cannot be explained in this way. Generally, the frequency of demonstratives and the personal pronouns may to some extent be ascribed to 'mask language' and to the higher degree of affect in tragic dialogue as opposed to comedy or Platonic dialogue, but I believe that they are also an important category that should be added to Descroix's inventory of, dare I say it, possible 'fillers' of the trimeter. We will encounter several such possible filler uses in the next chapter.

[87] Data are in part based on Perseus' word frequency tool (e.g. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/persfreq?lookup=egw&lang=greek for the forms of the first-person pronoun) and in part on *TLG* searches. The numbers for ἐγώ and σύ include *all* forms of the first- and second-person pronouns, singular and plural. For the form ἐγώ alone, the frequencies per 10,000 are: Aeschylus 28; Sophocles 56; Euripides 40; Aristophanes 59; Plato 41.

7

Back to the Text: Four Readings in Sophocles' *Electra*

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Individual chapters from chapter 3 onwards have presented an assembly of lines and half-lines found scattered in the tragic corpus. Most of the time, I have refrained from discussing anything in those lines that was not immediately relevant to the questions central to that particular chapter. In this chapter, I will discuss a number of short passages in their entirety in order to offer a better synthesis of the argument of the whole of this book, and to show how I would apply findings based on various highly restricted sets of data (occurrences of *θνήσκω*, *μέγας*, *ἐμός*, and the like) to the 'random' selection of a passage, any passage, of tragic trimeters.

The particular selection of passages is not wholly unmotivated, however. First of all, in § 7.2, I offer a pendant to Schein's (1979: 46–50) 'explication de métrique' of *Electra* 516–27, part of his book on the iambic trimeter in Aeschylus and Sophocles. What I seek to offer here is a description of word order in these lines, often complementing this earlier work, sometimes offering alternative approaches.

For the other readings in this chapter I have taken three passages from the same play, which vary widely from a number of perspectives. Schein's selected passage is taken from a speech by Clytemnestra directed at Electra. These two characters are openly at odds with each other. In § 7.3, I return to the prologue of the play and discuss Orestes' first lines, which are addressed to the Paedagogus (23–37).

Like Clytemnestra's lines in § 7.2, this is an extended speech by one character, but this time the addressee is a trusted co-conspirator, and the words are words of praise and instruction rather than reproach. In § 7.4, I discuss the entrance of the Paedagogus and his exchange with Clytemnestra leading up to his extended messenger speech (660–80). This passage has frequent changes of speaker; the tone (apart from the lines exchanged between Clytemnestra and Electra) is friendly. In § 7.5, finally, I turn to the recognition scene between Electra and Orestes.

The purpose of selecting passages with such disparate characteristics is not to argue for different modes of interpretation for each. Rather, I would say that these friends and enemies express their differences in a common language. My focus in this chapter will be on assessing what word-order phenomena in all four of these passages my approach does and does not account for.

The format of the discussion will change gradually throughout this chapter. In the first two sections, I print text and translation followed by a line-for-line commentary on word order in the passage. In § 7.4, I still provide this commentary, but I also print the Greek text in such a way as to represent my analysis graphically. In general, I have refrained from such graphic representation in previous sections and previous chapters, since it might have the effect of cutting discussion short before it has even started. In § 7.5, finally, treating the longest passage of all, I again print the text as in § 7.4, but only comment on more complicated or problematic cases.

7.2 *ELECTRA* 516–27

Cly. ἀνειμένη μέν, ὡς ἔοικας, αὖ στρέφῃ.
οὐ γὰρ πάρεστ' Αἴγισθος, ὅς σ' ἐπεῖχ' ἀεὶ
μή τοι θυραίαν γ' οὖσαν αἰσχύνειν φίλους·
νῦν δ' ὡς ἄπεστ' ἐκεῖνος, οὐδὲν ἐντρέπῃ
ἐμοῦ γε· καίτοι πολλὰ πρὸς πολλούς με δὴ 520
ἐξεῖπας ὡς θρασεῖα καὶ πέρα δίκης
ἄρχω, καθυβρίζουσα καὶ σὲ καὶ τὰ σά.

ἐγὼ δ' ὕβριν μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, κακῶς δέ σε
λέγω κακῶς κλυοῦσα πρὸς σέθεν θαμά.
πατὴρ γάρ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο, σοὶ πρόσχημ' ἀεὶ,
ὡς ἐξ ἐμοῦ τέθνηκεν. ἐξ ἐμοῦ· καλῶς
ἔξοιδα· τῶνδ' ἄρνησις οὐκ ἔνεστί μοι. (*El.* 516–27)

You are ranging about once more, it seems, at large;
because Aegisthus is not here, he who always used to prevent you
from shaming your family at least outside the house.
But now that he is away, you show no respect
for me; and you have declared often and to many people
that I am insolent and rule unjustly,
doing violence to you and what is yours.
I do no violence, but I abuse you because
you often abuse me.
Your father, and nothing else, is always your pretext,
because I killed him. I know it well;
I cannot deny it.

516 Schein[1] notes that the line-initial *ἀνειμένη* is of a rare shape for this position. I would describe it as the Focus of this clause. It is followed by several elements which primarily serve to highlight it, and the finite verb. Schein states that '*αὖ* modifies (...) *στρέφῃ*', but it is not clear what this is based on: parentheses such as *ὡς ἔοικας*, conventionally set off by commas in our editions, can be followed by postpositives which belong in the main clause.[2] I take *αὖ*, then, with the participle.[3] Main clause analysis: Focus-verb.

517 I take it that here, as in 519 below, it is the absence of Aegisthus that is the point of Clytemnestra's utterance 'Aegisthus is not here'. The postponed subjects *Αἴγισθος* and *ἐκεῖνος* (in 519

[1] Reference throughout is to Schein's metrical commentary on Soph. *El.* 516–27 (Schein 1979: 46–9), to which this section may usefully be compared.

[2] Cf. Eur. *Or.* 1577 *οὐδέτερ'· ἀνάγκη δ', ὡς ἔοικε,* ***σου*** *κλυεῖν*; Pl. *Phd.* 106e5 *ἐπιόντος ἄρα θανάτου ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸ μὲν θνητόν, ὡς ἔοικεν,* ***αὐτοῦ*** *ἀποθνῄσκει.* Like *αὖ*, these words are postpositive. For further references see Barrett ad *Hipp.* 327 (on enclitics following vocatives), adding Ar. *Ran.* 1272, Hdt. 1.39.1, Eur. *Hel.* 1166, *Heracl.* 981, *Tro.* 288, Lysias 30.1, Pl. *Symp.* 201c6, Theocr. *Id.* 2.95.

[3] This, incidentally, in agreement with Jebb's translation: 'At large once more, it seems, thou rangest.'

below) follow the verb; they are predictable information. The relative clause with ἐπεῖχε prepares the ground for the dependent clause in the next line; the line end effected here is comparable to that effected by conjunctions such as ἐπεί or ὅτι at line end.[4] On ἀεί, frequent in this position, see below, line 525.

518 The two salient words here are θυραίαν (preceding the participle, followed by γε) and αἰσχύνειν: don't go out and embarrass us.[5] φίλους 'the family' is predictable, and follows the verb.

519–20 The line opens with the Setting element νῦν δέ, which is further explained by the ὡς clause (see above on 517: ἄπεστι with Focus). In the main clause οὐδέν has Focus. The sentence could have ended here, at the end of the line, but it does not: Clytemnestra lashes out with ἐμοῦ γε (520). The audience is forced to reinterpret the latter half of 519, which looked like a complete sentence already. The effect is that of 'adding enjambment', an addition that gains force because it is unexpected.[6]

520–1 As Schein remarks, the prepositive καίτοι occurs at the end of the first colon. This adds to the prominence of the start of the second colon with its *polyptoton* πολλὰ πρὸς πολλούς (complex Focus[7]). ἐξεῖπας (521) is a good example of necessary enjambment, which by virtue of the suspense created by a 'missing' verb at line end, an effect strengthened by the postpositives at the end of the preceding line, further highlights πολλὰ πρὸς πολλούς, whose

[4] I would not, then, call this 'semi-complete non-essential enjambment' (Schein). This seems to be getting the wrong end of the stick. In itself the relative clause up to ἀεί does not tell us much; what it *does* tell us is that something is to follow it. The enjambment that follows, then, is the *raison d'être* of the relative clause.

[5] I note in passing that οὖσαν takes the position in the line regarded by Schein (1979: 30–1) and van Raalte (1986: 175) as highly apposite for focal words, which is clearly not the case here. See further Dik (1998: 62).

[6] To my mind, arguing (as Schein does) from the presence of ἐμοῦ γε that the enjambment is essential, is to adopt a static approach to the textual end product, in which ἐμοῦ γε is construed as an argument with ἐντρέπῃ. I prefer a more procedural approach in which, at the end of line 519, a spectator or reader does not feel the suspense of a missing argument (cf. *OT* 1056 μηδὲν ἐντραπῇς, where there is no second argument). On the other hand, in line 517, the presence of subject, object, and verb may bear superficial resemblance to a complete clause (hence Schein's classification as 'non-essential' enjambment), but there is clearly more to follow.

[7] The first instance in these lines of a clause, and a colon, with more than one focused element.

prominence, then, has been achieved in many ways, from lexical/rhetorical to clausal to rhythmical. All in all, 520 is the first line in this passage with markedly unprosaic word-order effects: *ἐμοῦ γε* late in its clause, but marked by enjambment; the postpositives *με δή* following the second, rather than the first mobile in the clause.[8]

521 In the *ὡς* clause, preverbal *θρασεῖα* and *πέρα δίκης* are Focus, again followed by a necessary enjambment with *ἄρχω*.

522 It is difficult to determine the pragmatic status of *καθυβρίζουσα κτλ*. Does the participle merely reiterate the charge made in the previous line, now specifying Electra as the target, that is, should we read it as Topic with *καὶ σὲ καὶ τὰ σά* as Focus? Alternatively, we can read it as Focus of the clause, which is then taken up by *ὕβριν* in the next line. It seems clear, at any rate, that both participle and object are marked, and their distribution over two cola allows both elements prominence.

523 Clytemnestra switches to her own perspective of the situation with the Topic *ἐγώ*. She denies the charge of *ὕβρις* and only admits to the returning of taunts. After *ἐγώ*, the clause is subdivided,[9] with *ὕβρις* the Topic of the first subclause ('hubris, no'). The expected second part would be 'taunts, yes', with *κακῶς* as Topic, but things turn out to be more complicated than that in the next line.

524 Clytemnestra wants to stress that her *κακῶς* ***λέγειν*** is a result of *κακῶς* ***κλυεῖν***. With necessary enjambment, the main verb *λέγω* ends up in a position that we have seen was not very forceful in the case of *ἐξεῖπας* and *ἄρχω* in lines 521 and 522. This lack of force would work well here too, because it is natural for Clytemnestra to downplay her own part in the conflict (*λέγω*), as opposed to Electra's. The repetition of the adverb and the antithesis then serve to highlight *κλυοῦσα* in the participle phrase.[10]

[8] The postpositives may be seen as 'enabling' the enjambment. After all, *λέγεις vel sim.* could have taken their place. As it is, they contribute to the suspense of the delayed verb.

[9] See Dik (1995: ch. 3) for discussion, for the term 'subdivided' Ruijgh (1990*a*).

[10] I lean toward describing the adverb as Topic in both phrases, and the verb forms as Focus 'taunt you I *do*, but only because I *get* taunted'. Alternatively, one might speculate that the adverb-verb combination really functions as one expression, in which case, one might consider the whole of *κακῶς λέγω* as Topic and *κακῶς κλυοῦσα* as Focus (following Jebb's intuition that 'in [this] line, *κακῶς κλυοῦσα*, etc. are the emphatic words: "Insolent [Topic] I am not [Focus]; my words to you [Topic] are only such as you address to me [Focus]."'

525 This line turns to the central theme of Electra's recriminations: πατήρ. Its importance is conveyed by its initial position in clause and line, and further highlighted by οὐδὲν ἄλλο. Commentators point out that πατήρ is proleptic and should be understood as part of the ὡς clause in the next line; however, as Schein points out, it seems that sense can be made of σοὶ[11] πρόσχημ' ἀεί without the following line: 'You always[12] throw your father, nothing else, in my face' *vel sim.*, with the reference to the person standing for the larger situation.

526 Agamemnon, the subject of the ὡς clause, has been effectively introduced in the previous line, so that it is not necessary here. Preverbal ἐξ ἐμοῦ is Focus in the clause, which is further borne out by the repetition. The adverb καλῶς takes its canonical preverbal (Focus) position, with the suspense caused by the following necessary enjambment of ἔξοιδα adding prominence to it, as was the case with the enjambments of the verbs ἐξεῖπας and ἄρχω in lines 521 and 522.

527 τῶνδ' ἄρνησις is an inferable Topic. From 'the facts', the notion 'denial of the facts' can be inferred, that is, it forms a valid, presupposed, starting point for a sentence, rather than itself being asserted. The assertion (Focus) is οὐκ ἔνεστι. As in 519 and 523, the negation is the first element in the second colon (and it opens the line at 517 and 518). As it is prone to be used as Focus, it is not surprising that the negation often turns up at the beginning of a metrical unit.

7.3 ORESTES TO THE PAEDAGOGUS: LINES 23–37

In contrast to Clytaemestra and her addressee Electra, Orestes is on excellent terms with the Paedagogus. In this passage from the

[11] It seems preferable to me to read σοι as postpositive (like αὖ in 516) despite the parenthesis.

[12] Always (ἀεί) here for the second time in this passage. The word is, of course, a universal staple in heated argument, but it also has a convenient shape to fill out a trimeter. Half of the instances of ἀεί in the trimeter (30 of 59) occur at line end. Of all authors of the classical period in the Perseus corpus, Sophocles uses it most frequently (as of Summer 2004: see <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/persfreq?lookup=a)ei/>). The only authors in the Perseus corpus who use it more frequently are Callimachus and Theocritus. See also above, § 6.5.

beginning of the play, Orestes praises the Paedagogus, requests his advice, and recounts the story of his consultation of the oracle.

Or. *ὦ φίλτατ᾽ ἀνδρῶν προσπόλων, ὥς μοι σαφῆ*
σημεῖα φαίνεις ἐσθλὸς εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγώς.
ὥσπερ γὰρ ἵππος εὐγενής, κἂν ᾖ γέρων,
ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς θυμὸν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν,
ἀλλ᾽ ὀρθὸν οὖς ἵστησιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ σὺ
ἡμᾶς τ᾽ ὀτρύνεις καὐτὸς ἐν πρώτοις ἕπῃ.
τοιγὰρ τὰ μὲν δόξαντα δηλώσω, σὺ δὲ
ὀξεῖαν ἀκοὴν τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις διδούς,
εἰ μή τι καιροῦ τυγχάνω, μεθάρμοσον.
ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡνίχ᾽ ἱκόμην τὸ Πυθικὸν
μαντεῖον, ὡς μάθοιμ᾽ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ πατρὶ
δίκας ἀροίμην τῶν φονευσάντων πάρα,
χρῇ μοι τοιαῦθ᾽ ὁ Φοῖβος ὢν πεύσῃ τάχα·
ἄσκευον αὐτὸν ἀσπίδων τε καὶ στρατοῦ
δόλοισι κλέψαι χειρὸς ἐνδίκους σφαγάς. (*El.* 23–37)

Dearest of retainers, how clearly
you show your loyalty to us!
Just as a noble horse, even if he is old,
does not lose his spirit in a time of danger,
but pricks up his ear, just so do you
urge us on and yourself are foremost in support.
So I will explain my decisions, and do you
lend a prompt ear to my words,
and if I do not hit the mark, correct me!
When I went to the Pythian
oracle to learn how I might get
vengeance for my father on his murderers,
Phoebus gave me a prophecy which you shall soon hear;
that alone, without the help of armed men or of an army,
I should accomplish by cunning the slaughter done by a
righteous hand.

23 Orestes addresses the Paedagogus with the superlative *φίλτατε*, which as a superlative is inherently salient, and is treated as such here. Since Orestes is not actually picking him out of a group of *πρόσπολοι*,

it is not to be expected that the genitive would precede in this case.[13] *Pace* Kells, the noun *ἀνδρῶν* has its common role of generic noun here (cf. Dover 1961: 837), so that there is no need to emphasize it in the translation. *ἀνδρῶν* is the head noun, so that its position preceding *προσπόλων* is what we would expect by default. With Lloyd-Jones, then, we should translate 'O dearest of servants' rather than (Kells ad loc.) 'O dearest of *men*-servants' (Kells's emphasis). Below (§ 7.4) we will see an exception to the default ordering in *ξέναι γυναῖκες*.

23–4 The first Mobile constituent is *σαφῆ σημεῖα*. This constituent as a whole has Focus and precedes the verb *φαίνεις*. The modifier *σαφῆ* precedes its noun here. Forms of *σαφής* are frequently found in final position in the line (e.g. just above in *El.* 18, where the adjective is postposed: *ἑῷα κινεῖ φθέγματ' ὀρνίθων σαφῆ*). In line 23 the adjective is surely more relevant than in line 18, where *ἑῷα* is the key: birdsong is another sign that a new day is starting.[14] More formally, the importance of *σαφῆ* in 23 is borne out by *ὡς*, which allows an English paraphrase making use of a cleft construction: 'how clear are the signs that you show me . . .'[15]

The participle phrase opens with its Focus *ἐσθλός*. Its remaining constituents would seem to be equally predictable. The position of *εἰς ἡμᾶς*, preceding the participle, suggests prominence, however, and possibly we can connect this to the particular meaning that *ἐσθλός* takes on here. Orestes is not concerned with the Paedagogus' general excellence of character, but with how the man is showing himself to be the best servant he could have wished for: it is really loyalty that is at issue here.

25 The simile starts with the comparandum: like the Paedagogus, a good horse will also be obedient and reliable when it matters. I would analyse *ἵππος εὐγενής* as a Theme. The Theme introduces

[13] As it does in e.g. Hdt. 1.8.1 when Candaules picks out Gyges as his confidant: *ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης*.

[14] Jebb takes *σαφῆ* in 18 as proleptic, which at least has the advantage of giving a reason for its presence here.

[15] Similarly Kaibel on the relative importance of the adjective: 'das innere Object inhärirt dem Verbum, und man hört nur die prädicative Bestimmung heraus *σαφῶς φαίνεις* oder *φανερὸς εἶ*.' Incidentally, Kells seems to be the only critic who does not take *γεγώς* as a supplementary participle.

a new referent, 'in relation to which the content of the ensuing clause is to be interpreted' (S. C. Dik 1997*b*: 389), and it is a separate intonation unit from the finite clauses that follow it.[16] The noun and adjective are in default order. The concessive clause that follows has the verb immediately after the conjunction, which is the expected and usual ordering in conditionals and concessives, given that in such clauses it is most often the verb that has Focus.[17]

25–6 The combination of Theme and concessive clause of line 25 is followed in 26 by the first of the two ὥσπερ clauses. A Setting phrase ἐν τοῖσι δεινοῖς precedes the clause proper,[18] in which θυμόν (Topic) precedes the verb (Focus).

27–8 The second ὥσπερ clause has ὀρθὸν οὖς as its Focus. The adjective, which is proleptic, precedes the noun. With ὡσαύτως δέ we reach the main clause. The status of σύ is interesting. On the one hand, we reach a possible clause end here: 'Just as a good horse does not lose heart but rather gets ready for action, just so do you!' If the sentence had ended with the end of the line, then, we would have interpreted σύ as Focus. **(28)** Instead, the sentence continues with a τε-καί construction. The first elements in these parallel clauses (ἡμᾶς and αὐτός) are contrastive Topics, with ὀτρύνεις and ἐν πρώτοις as the respective Focus constituents: 'us, you exhort; yourself, you are in the first ranks.' Given how the sentence, following ὡσαύτως δὲ σύ, develops into a 'subdivided' clause (see Dik 1995, § 3.1.4 and Ruijgh 1990*a*), with 'Subtopics' ἡμᾶς and αὐτός, we cannot analyse σύ as the Focus of the apodosis; rather, it introduces

[16] A constructed English example of such a Theme, followed by a dependent clause, followed by a Setting: My grandmother, even when she was very old, on a Sunday you could count on her to… In the case of line 25, the nominative is syntactically unproblematic, but nominative case is typical of Theme constituents generally, hence the grammarians' *nominativus pendens* for those cases in which the Theme referent does not become the subject of the ensuing finite clause, as in line 32 below (see Slings 1992 and 1997: 192 f. for an analysis of *nominativus pendens* constructions in Greek from Homer to the classical period).

[17] I have not discussed clauses with a copulative verb in this book; forms of εἰμί and their position in the clause form a subject in themselves, which is made especially complicated by the frequent postpositive behaviour of the verb. In this case, however, the subjunctive takes a position that lexical verbs regularly take as well. For the behaviour of *esse* in Latin, see Adams (1994*b*).

[18] The Setting has scope over both finite clauses, and by implication, over the apodosis as well.

its main topic. Since σύ comes at line end, and the subdivided clause follows, it becomes attractive to analyse it as another Theme constituent like ἵππος εὐγενής above.[19]

29 This line begins with a short μέν clause, which is followed by a δέ clause that takes up the two lines that follow. The first elements of the μέν and δέ clauses are not parallel, but this of course is a not infrequent occurrence outside the strictest formalism as found in Isocrates.[20] Kaibel, sensibly to my mind, comments : 'Die Auslassung von ἐγώ besagt, dass Or. nicht sowohl den Unterschied der Person als der Sache betonen will'. I take τὰ δόξαντα as Topic of the μέν clause. Orestes will first lay out (δηλώσω as Focus) his plan, then it is up to the Paedagogus to correct it. Once again the pronoun σύ, which is clause-initial, but practically at line end, can be interpreted as a Theme. Before we reach the main clause verb, μεθάρμοσον, with which σύ should be construed, at the end of line 31, there is a participle phrase and a conditional clause that intervene.

30 The participle phrase, with imperative force, contains two noun phrases with preposed modifiers. ὀξεῖαν is similar in importance to ὀρθόν in line 27 above: 'listen *closely*' is what Orestes urges the Paedagogus to do. The possessive ἐμοῖς can be understood as marked given the presence of the second-person pronoun in the immediate context, but more generally it behaves as we would expect it to behave in a noun phrase which is tantamount to a first-person reference: listen to my words—listen to me.[21] I interpret the two noun phrases as having complex Focus: the lack of parallelism mentioned earlier is here followed by two syntactically parallel phrases that pair the Paedagogus' ἀκοή, listening, to Orestes' λόγοι, his speaking. The peculiar choice of the verb δίδωμι implies that this listening is a reciprocal act from addressee to speaker.

31 In the conditional clause I tentatively analyse καιροῦ as Focus. The fact that μή precedes it rather than the verb makes me lean in this

[19] For an example from Herodotus, see e.g. 2.35.3 **τὰ ἄχθεα** οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. With a similar subject constituent: . . . τῆς προαποθανούσης **Κύρος** αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι (Hdt. 2.1.1).

[20] Examples from Herodotus in Dik (1995: § 3.2.3). See esp. Hdt. 5.94.1 οὕτω μέν . . . Ἱππίῃ δέ . . .

[21] See § 4.3.

direction (τι 'in some respect' does not fall under the scope of μή). For the rest, it is very difficult to decide the relative importance of this noun and the verb τυγχάνω. Both are open to 'weaker' and 'stronger' interpretations. The noun, we might interpret as blandly as 'the present moment' or as strongly as to amount to 'all the right answers', while τυγχάνω can be analysed as semantically heavier 'hit the mark' rather than the blander 'get'. At the very end of this sentence, and at line end, comes the main clause which consists of just the imperative.

32 This line opens Orestes' narrative of his consultation of the oracle at Delphi.[22] Once again, as in line 25 after ἵππος εὐγενής, a dependent clause intervenes between the personal pronoun and the main clause, and we can consider ἐγώ a Theme constituent. In this case, however, the Theme constituent does not also become the subject of the main clause, so that we can speak of a *nominativus pendens*, which nevertheless is mitigated by the fact that the two immediately following dependent clauses do have ἐγώ as their subject. The combination of this Theme and the conjunction ἡνίκα preceding the caesura leads to a ritardando effect not unlike that created by conjunctions at line end.

32–3 The structure of the temporal clause itself is straightforward. In temporal clauses, Focus will typically fall on verbs, as here on ἱκόμην. The adjective *Πυθικόν* precedes its noun. It is similarly preposed in *OT* 70 and 242, where it also refers to the oracle, and only postposed in *El.* 49, where the reference is not to the oracle but to the games.[23] A total of four examples is not nearly sufficient to have probative value, but I would suggest that the informational value of the head noun is much less in the case of *Πυθικὸν μαντεῖον* than in the case of *ἄθλοισι Πυθικοῖσιν*. Whereas μαντεῖον is practically predictable, ἄθλοισι is more informative than *Πυθικοῖσιν* about the nature of Orestes' fatal accident.

[22] Orestes uses a standard opening for a narrative. Compare Lys. 1.6: *Ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξέ μοι γῆμαι καὶ γυναῖκα ἠγαγόμην εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν* . . . The marked form and position of the personal pronoun in *El.* 32 and in this example from Lysias are due at least in part to the episodic boundary rather than to strict considerations of participant reference.

[23] *τέθνηκ' Ὀρέστης ἐξ ἀναγκαίας τύχης,* | ***ἄθλοισι Πυθικοῖσιν*** *ἐκ τροχηλάτων* | *δίφρων κυλισθείς* (*El.* 48–50).

33–4 Following the purpose clause, which consists solely of the verb μάθοιμι (Focus), comes an indirect question with rather a lot of constituents preceding the verb compared to the direct questions I discussed in § 5.3: following the question constituent ὅτῳ τρόπῳ, we find both πατρί and δίκας. The verse boundary between πατρί and δίκας makes it easier to accommodate multiple Focus constituents, as argued by Slings.[24]

35 The main clause starts with the verb (Focus). The next most important element in this clause is τοιαῦτα, which prepares for the relative clause. The predictable subject Φοῖβος takes last position in the main clause. In the relative clause, I take πεύσῃ as Focus. The adverb τάχα comes at line end, which is the regular position for the unelided form of this word in Sophocles.[25]

36–7 Phoebus' instructions are contained in these two lines. The key words, viz. the answer to ὅτῳ τρόπῳ of line 33, are placed at the beginning of each line: ἄσκευον αὐτόν and δόλοισι. In line 36, the genitives in the second half of the line further explain ἄσκευον αὐτόν. The third Focus element, δόλοισι, follows in 37, preceding the infinitive κλέψαι. The second half of line 37 contains predictable information (for which many lexically 'lighter' formulations are equally possible: exact rightful vengeance, do the deed, etc.). I do not go along with Lloyd-Jones and Wilson, who, following Lange, print a genitive singular ἐνδίκου rather than the accusative plural of the MSS,

[24] See also above, ch. 6. In Slings's view, the line boundary is one of the 'chunking devices' available to the poet.

[25] All ten unelided instances, eight of which are also clause-final. The elided forms are more 'proselike' in their behaviour, coming clause-initially, often accompanied by ἄν and other particles. This combination is also found at line end. Clause-final instances in prose are rare; these instances are typically still pragmatically marked but simply part of an extremely short clause, as at Plato *Chrm.* 159e10 (ταχέως—there are no examples in Plato of clause-final τάχα except in a one-word utterance). Given the high frequency of τάχα in Sophocles (in the Perseus corpus of Summer 2004 he is the author with the highest frequency, cf. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/persfreq?lookup=ta/xa>), and the high frequency at clause end, I conclude that these instances are most likely not to be interpreted as marked, but rather as 'fillers'. The following instances from *OT* bear this out, I believe. In these, the pragmatic analysis is more clear-cut, and I conclude that we do not need to assign τάχα Focus function here either: *OT* 373 (Focus on οὐχὶ τῶνδε), 421 (Focus on οὐχὶ σύμφωνος), 936 (ἐξερῶ), 1295 (θέαμα).

since I think that the adjective is better taken as in marked position with *σφαγάς* than postposed with *χειρός*.[26]

7.4 THE PAEDAGOGUS ARRIVES AT THE PALACE: LINES 660–80

The Paedagogus, disguised as a visitor from Phocis, addresses first the chorus, then Clytemnestra. Electra interrupts. In contrast to the passages in §§ 7.2 and 7.3, then, there is a number of speakers (Paedagogus, chorus, Clytemnestra, Electra), and in contrast to the open hostility in the former passage and the mutual trust in the latter, the tone is friendly[27] here, but the reality is otherwise. Clytemnestra thinks she is on excellent terms with the Paedagogus, but from the first word he utters, he misrepresents his identity, and goes on to deceive his addressees, Clytemnestra in particular. The audience are left to admire the manner in which the Paedagogus carries out Orestes' instructions.[28]

Pae. ***ξέναι*** *γυναῖκες*, ***πῶς*** *ἂν εἰδείην σαφῶς* 660
εἰ ***τοῦ τυράννου*** *δώματ' Αἰγίσθου τάδε;*
Cho. ***τάδ'*** *ἐστίν, ὦ ξέν'·* ***αὐτὸς*** *ἥκασας καλῶς.*
Pae. *ἦ καὶ* <u>*δάμαρτα*</u> ***τήνδ'*** *ἐπεικάζων κυρῶ*
κείνου; ***πρέπει*** *γὰρ ὡς* ***τύραννος*** *εἰσορᾶν.*
Cho. ***μάλιστα*** *πάντων·* <u>*ἥδε*</u> *σοι* ***κείνη*** *πάρα.* 665
Pae. *ὦ χαῖρ', ἄνασσα.* ***σοὶ*** *φέρων ἥκω λόγους*
ἡδεῖς φίλου *παρ' ἀνδρὸς Αἰγίσθῳ θ' ὁμοῦ.*
Cly. ***ἐδεξάμην*** *τὸ ῥηθέν·* <u>*εἰδέναι*</u> *δέ σου*
πρώτιστα *χρῄζω* ***τίς*** *σ' ἀπέστειλεν βροτῶν.*

[26] Kaibel offers a rationale for *χειρός*, in pointing out that it brings in the second element of *αὐτοχειρία*, after *αὐτόν* in the previous line. While it is part of the 'Remainder' elements following *κλέψαι*, *χειρός* is highlighted by appearing first in its noun phrase, and at the opening of the second colon.

[27] Compare Lloyd (1999: 36): 'The tone of these opening exchanges (660–72) is elevated and courteous.'

[28] In this section and the next one, I have formatted the Greek text to represent my analysis graphically. Underline indicates Topic; bold indicates Focus (a combination of these two, as in 678, indicates uncertainty on my part). Wide spacing indicates Theme. In one-word clauses such as *εἰπέ* in 671 I have not marked Focus.

Pae. ***Φανοτεὺς ὁ Φωκεύς***, *πρᾶγμα πορσύνων* ***μέγα***. 670
Cly. *τὸ* ***ποῖον***, *ὦ ξέν'; εἰπέ. παρὰ* ***φίλου*** *γὰρ ὢν*
ἀνδρός, ***σάφ'*** *οἶδα*, ***προσφιλεῖς*** *λέξεις* ***λόγους***.
Pae. ***τέθνηκ'*** ***'Ορέστης***· *ἐν* ***βραχεῖ*** *ξυνθεὶς λέγω*.
El. *οἵ 'γὼ τάλαιν'*, ***ὄλωλα*** *τῇδ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ*.
Cly. ***τί*** *φής*, ***τί*** *φής*, *ὦ ξεῖνε; μὴ* ***ταύτης*** *κλύε*. 675
Pae. *θανόντ' 'Ορέστην* ***νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι*** *λέγω*.
El. ***ἀπωλόμην*** *δύστηνος*, ***οὐδέν*** *εἰμ' ἔτι*.
Cly. *σὺ μὲν* ***τὰ σαυτῆς*** *πρᾶσσ'*, *ἐμοὶ δὲ* ***σύ***, *ξένε*,
τἀληθὲς *εἰπέ*, ***τῷ τρόπῳ*** *διόλλυται;*
Pae. ***κἀπεμπόμην*** *πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ* ***τὸ πᾶν*** *φράσω*. 680
(*El.* 660–80)

Pae. Ladies of Mycenae, how can I know for certain
if this is the house of the king, Aegisthus?
Cho. This is it, stranger; your own guess is correct.
Pae. Should I be right in guessing this lady is his wife?
She has the aspect of a queen.
Cho. Yes indeed! Here she is!
Pae. Hail, royal lady! I bring to you and
to Aegisthus good news from a friend.
Cly. I accept the omen! But first I want
to know from you who among mortals sent you.
Pae. Phanoteus the Phocian, furthering an important matter.
Cly. What is that, stranger? Tell me, for you come, I know,
from a friend, and the words you utter will be friendly words.
Pae. Orestes is dead! There you have it in a word!
El. Ah me, misery! I am lost this day!
Cly. What are you saying? What, stranger? Do not listen to her!
Pae. I said then and I say now that Orestes is dead.
El. Misery, I am ruined, I am no more!
Cly. Do you mind your own business, but do you, stranger, tell me
the truth! How did he die?
Pae. I was sent for this purpose, and I will tell you all!

660 The Paedagogus fronts *ξέναι*, rather than *γυναῖκες*, in his address to the chorus. The audience know that the chorus are not *ξέναι* to him, so that for them, the tone is now properly set: the Paedagogus will manage to appear trustworthy, but his words will be

a web of lies. The interrogative takes first position in his question, with σαφῶς relegated to a position following the verb. The tone of the question is polite; Lloyd[29] contrasts Aegisthus in 1442.

661 The indirect question starts with τοῦ τυράννου δώματ[α] before the caesura. Of these words, the possessive τοῦ τυράννου is the most salient part: 'the house that belongs to the *king*…' The second half of the line features first a logically redundant apposition *Αἰγίσθου*, which, similarly to adding enjambment, has the advantage of further highlighting Aegisthus (…to the *king*, to *Aegisthus*?). The pronoun τάδε, which we can assume is accompanied by a gesture toward the palace, follows at line end. One option, then, is to analyse τοῦ τυράννου δώματ' *Αἰγίσθου* together as Topic, and τάδε as Focus of the clause. We can paraphrase this as 'if the house that belongs to the king, to Aegisthus, is *this* one?[30] But there are problems with this analysis, in particular with the status of the deictic τάδε. There are good indications that we should not necessarily read it as marked. First of all, both τάδε and τόδε in their unelided form are extremely frequent at line end, which is not a position where we expect marked words to show up with such frequency, especially if line end regularly coincides with clause end, which it does.[31] In view of parallels (*El.* 10, and especially *Phil.* 36 and 37), it is better to analyse the first colon by itself with a Focus τοῦ τυράννου, followed by the second colon in which the apposition *Αἰγίσθου* as first constituent of the Tail is prominent as described above. I would paraphrase, then, inelegantly but I think more accurately: 'if it is the house that belongs to the king

[29] Lloyd ('Sophocles in the light of face-threat politeness theory', 2006: 233).

[30] Earlier, the Paedagogus had pointed out several landmarks to Orestes in a very similar way: Argos: τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἄργος οὑπόθεις τόδε (*El.* 4). In this case I do analyse τόδε as Focus, following the non-restrictive relative clause, οὑπόθεις. *El.* 10, in which the Paedagogus points out the palace, is a closer parallel. Given ὁρᾶν in the preceding line, we can construe this line perfectly well without the deictic: πολύφθορόν τε δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε. The proper name Πελοπιδῶν like *Αἰγίσθου* in 661 opens the second colon, and is as predictable (*and* at the same time, as loaded with meaning).

[31] The frequency of forms of ὅδε in tragedy is astonishing (in comparison to other genres represented in the Perseus corpus); for numbers, see § 6.5 above. This frequency gradually declines from Aeschylus to Euripides. I regard the frequent (line- and) clause-final instances, which are alien to prose usage, as likely 'fillers'.

(Focus), to Aegisthus that is, this here.' Similarly in *El.* 10 and *Phil.* 36–7 I would analyse the deictics as omissible.[32]

662 The chorus replies, placing τάδε with Focus in initial position: *this* is it, stranger. In the next clause αὐτός has Focus: you figured it out by yourself! καλῶς is placed at line end like σαφῶς in 660.

663–4 The next question of the Paedagogus concerns Clytemnestra. Since a spouse, δάμαρτα, can be safely inferred[33] from the earlier mention of an adult male, it can be used as Topic here, followed by τήνδε as Focus: am I also right that his spouse is *this* woman? The enjambment of κείνου is adding enjambment, resulting again in a highlighted reference to Aegisthus.

664 The impersonal verb πρέπει comes first. The postpositive γάρ just before the caesura results in greater prominence for the 'delayed'[34] dependent clause, with τύραννος as its Focus.

665 The chorus's answer places the superlative first (see above, § 7.3, on line 23).[35] The nominal sentence that follows is straightforward to understand, but harder to describe formally. I take it that the chorus says, the one we are looking at right now (ἥδε, Topic) is the one we were talking about (κείνη, Focus).

666 Jebb gives parallels for ὦ χαῖρε and comments that 'the ὦ prefixed to χαῖρε marks joyous excitement'. This does not seem all that fitting a description of the atmosphere at this point. As to the construction and its ordering, all these examples are followed by the vocative, as here, so that it is unclear whether we should not construe ὦ with the vocative that follows.

[32] I italicize the constituents I analyse as Focus in *Phil.* 36 (second colon) and 37: . . . καὶ πυρεῖ' ὁμοῦ τάδε. :: κείνου τὸ θησαύρισμα σημαίνεις τόδε. There is no need to take κείνου as predicative with Lloyd-Jones: 'the treasures that you are describing must be his.' Rather, Odysseus says 'you are talking about his *stockpile*' (τόδε: that you are seeing).

[33] The inferable status is also the reason why in English, we can use the definite expression 'his wife'.

[34] Delayed in the sense of the discrepancy between syntax and rhythm here. πρέπει needs to be construed with a dependent clause, which only follows after the caesura. This effect of 'reculer pour mieux sauter' is comparable to the use of e.g. τὸ γάρ at line end (see above, § 6.4).

[35] The ordering πάντων μάλιστα is more frequent in Plato (e.g. *Lysis* 205e1), but both occur (e.g. μ. π. at *Prt.* 331b5). Both variants can be said to be functionally motivated: one for fronting the superlative, one for fronting the equally 'preferential' (in Dover's sense) πάντων.

666–7 The Paedagogus' first words to Clytemnestra place her at the beginning of the clause as the Focus: 'It is to you that I have come bringing'. As far as clausal word order is concerned, this leaves the rest of these lines as the 'Remainder'. However, the noun phrases contained in it can be analysed for their internal structure. The object *λόγους | ἡδεῖς*, thanks to the line break, has an effect similar to Topic Y2 hyperbaton (cf. Devine and Stephens 2000: 97 f.). The line break divides the noun phrase in two, achieving an effect similar to English 'words that are pleasant', allowing the noun and the modifier to be highlighted in turc. The second noun phrase juxtaposes the second adjective to the first, overriding a default tendency for the ordering *ἀνὴρ φίλος*. The noun *ἀνδρός* is predictable and colourless: '*good* news from a *friend*' sums up these two noun phrases. Following the caesura, we find the 'pay-off' for the prominent *σοί* at the beginning of the sentence: for *you*, and for Aegisthus as well. It turns out that the Focus on *σοί* can be seen as motivated not just by a backward-looking 'It's *you* I've come to see', but also, despite the lack of an earlier *τε*, by the forward connection to *Αἰγίσθῳ θ' ὁμοῦ*. There is no need to follow Kells in describing this placement of *σοί* and *Αἰγίσθῳ* as 'interlaced hyperbaton'.

668 Whether *ἐδεξάμην* here means 'accept' (the omen)[36] or 'understand' (what you have said), the verb is a better candidate for Focus than the direct object, which could have been omitted.

668–9 *εἰδέναι*, here in the sense of *μανθάνειν*, is the Topic of this clause, followed by the Focus *πρώτιστα* in the next line. In the indirect question the only Mobile that precedes the verb is the question word, as usual. *βροτῶν* (Remainder) fills out the line.[37]

670 The answer is straightforward. Orestes had instructed the Paedagogus, tell them that *ξένος μὲν εἶ | Φωκέως παρ' ἀνδρὸς Φανοτέως ἥκων* (44–5). He has made abundantly clear that he is a

[36] Thus English commentators generally. Kaibel sticks with the more general sense. Lloyd (1999: 36): 'Sophocles alludes to the practice of exploiting an utterance as an omen by imposing upon it a meaning of one's own, different from that intended by the speaker.' On the other hand, the way in which Clytemnestra continues seems to suggest that she considers the Paedagogus' opening remarks irrelevant rather than an omen. She reminds him of standard practice for messengers: First tell me who sent you (669). Then give me your news (671).

[37] The frequency at line end of *βροτῶν* puts it on a par with forms of *κυρῶ* and *τυγχάνω* (see § 6.2). Only in a very few instances does this word obtain a more marked position (two of these in Ajax's 'deception speech': *Aj.* 664, 683).

ξένος, and since Clytemnestra has asked τίς, he now naturally places the name first and the ethnic second. The participle phrase that follows shows Topic Y2 hyperbaton (see Devine and Stephens 2000: 97 f., and, for a similar effect of the line break, above on λόγους ἡδεῖς in lines 666–7): 'a *matter*... of *importance*.'

671 The beginning of Clytemnestra's answer is a series of short bursts consisting of no more than one Mobile each, so that there is nothing I have to say about this line until after the caesura.

671–2 The noun phrases that in lines 666–7 were relegated to the part of the clause following the verb, here return, with some variation, preceding the verb. This time the modifiers precede; the link between quality of source and quality of news is forged by the parallelism but also by the near-repetition of φίλος-προσφιλής. The position of informationally light ἀνδρός at the opening of the line is at first sight surprising, but we can read it as preparing the way for the contrast between the nouns: friendly *man*—friendly *words*. This effect is strengthened by the fact that ἀνδρός is followed by the parenthesis σάφ' οἶδα. The form of this line, then, manages to convey both highlighting of the two modifiers, but thanks to the line break and the interjection it also brings out the contrasting nouns ἀνδρός and λόγους. This is why all four of these words are printed in wide spacing, which blurs the distinction, but at least makes it clear that the pairs of modifiers and nouns can both be considered marked. The parenthesis σάφ' οἶδα, finally, places the object (Focus) where it is regularly found in prose.

673 In this line the Paedagogus announces Orestes' death in an 'all-new' sentence. For discussion, see chapter 3, at (3.15). The 'meta statement' that follows places the Focus ἐν βραχεῖ at the beginning of the clause.

674 Electra interrupts for the first time here. After her outburst οἵ' 'γὼ τάλαιν[α], the verb has Focus in the clause that follows. The temporal phrase follows as Remainder.

675 Clytemnestra is shocked too. She repeats her question (Focus on τί), and instructs the Paedagogus to listen not to Electra (Focus on ταύτης), but—this partly by implication—to herself.

676 The Paedagogus pretends he is losing patience. Rather than giving Focus to the answer that is requested, the answer is relegated to a participle phrase with Topic function; the adverbs νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι have Focus. In the participle phrase the verb precedes the

subject, as in the earlier all-new statement, but here I think the postposed subject is more likely postposed because it is predictable.

677 As she did with ὄλωλα in line 674, Electra places the verb ἀπωλόμην first in its clause; in the second clause οὐδέν has Focus.

678–9 Clytemnestra lashes out at Electra in the first half of this line. σύ μέν is a contrastive Topic, to be followed by ἐμοὶ δέ in the next clause. τὰ σαυτῆς is the Focus in the first clause, 'you go and do your *own* thing'. Then she turns back to the Paedagogus. This next clause is not as straightforward. It seems clear that ἐμοί is Topic and τἀληθές Focus, but what are we to make of the σύ in between? I am tempted to classify it as Focus, but in any case, the vocative and the line break that intervene between σύ and τἀληθές allow for prominence for both those elements.[38] The question that fills the remainder of line 679 opens with the question word in Focus position as usual.

680 The Paedagogus replies that to answer this last question was precisely what he came to do: 'I was *sent* for that purpose.' The anaphoric πρὸς ταῦτα is relegated to a position following the verb, when we might also have seen it used as a Topic. In the second half of the clause, τὸ πᾶν 'the whole story' has Focus.

7.5 THE RECOGNITION SCENE: LINES 1171–226

The recognition scene barely needs introduction, except to point out that this is the most emotional scene of the four I discuss in this chapter. The rapid stichomythia ends in *antilabe*. Because the passage is so lengthy, I do not discuss every single clause, but restrict myself to a few comments, while indicating the basic analysis in the graphic representation of the Greek. For the meaning of the various ways in which the Greek text is formatted, see note 28 above. Due to the length of this passage, I do not include a translation.

Cho. ***θνητοῦ*** πέφυκας πατρός, Ἠλέκτρα, φρόνει·

[38] The separation of ἐμοὶ δὲ σύ from the rest of the clause is also suggestive of colon formation, or in other words, that we should read this as a Theme. 'Now between me and you, stranger, tell me…'

*θνητὸς δ' '**Ορέστης**· ὥστε μὴ **λίαν** στένε·*
***πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ'** ὀφείλεται παθεῖν.*
Or. *φεῦ φεῦ, **τί** λέξω; **ποῖ λόγων** ἀμηχανῶν*
*ἔλθω; **κρατεῖν** γὰρ οὐκέτι γλώσσης σθένω.* 1175
El. ***τί** δ' ἔσχες ἄλγος; **πρὸς τί τοῦτ'** εἰπὼν κυρεῖς;*
Or. *ἦ **σὸν** τὸ κλεινὸν εἶδος Ἠλέκτρας τόδε;*
El. ***τόδ'** ἔστ' ἐκεῖνο, καὶ **μάλ' ἀθλίως** ἔχον.*
Or. *οἴμοι ταλαίνης ἆρα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς.*
El. *οὐ δή ποτ', ὦ ξέν', **ἀμφ' ἐμοὶ** στένεις τάδε;* 1180
Or. *ὦ σῶμ' **ἀτίμως κἀθέως** ἐφθαρμένον.*
El. *οὗτοι ποτ' **ἄλλην ἢ 'μὲ** δυσφημεῖς, ξένε.*
Or. *φεῦ τῆς **ἀνύμφου δυσμόρου** τε σῆς τροφῆς,*
El. ***τί** δή ποτ', ὦ ξέν', **ὧδ'** ἐπισκοπῶν στένεις;*
Or. *ὅσ' οὐκ ἄρ' **ἤδη** τῶν ἐμῶν ἐγὼ κακῶν.* 1185
El. ***ἐν τῷ** διέγνως τοῦτο τῶν εἰρημένων;*
Or. *ὁρῶν σε **πολλοῖς** ἐμπρέπουσαν ἄλγεσιν.*
El. *καὶ μὴν ὁρᾷς γε **παῦρα** τῶν ἐμῶν κακῶν.*
Or. *καὶ **πῶς** γένοιτ' ἂν τῶνδ' ἔτ' **ἐχθίω** βλέπειν;*
El. *ὀθούνεκ' εἰμὶ **τοῖς φονεῦσι** σύντροφος.* 1190
Or. *τοῖς τοῦ; **πόθεν τοῦτ'** ἐξεσήμηνας κακόν;*
El. *τοῖς πατρός. εἶτα τοῖσδε **δουλεύω** βίᾳ.*
Or. ***τίς** γάρ σ' **ἀνάγκη τῇδε** προτρέπει βροτῶν;*
El. ***μήτηρ** καλεῖται· μητρὶ δ' **οὐδὲν** ἐξισοῖ.*
Or. ***τί** δρῶσα; πότερα **χερσὶν**, **ἢ λύμῃ** βίου;* 1195
El. *καὶ **χερσὶ** καὶ **λύμαισι** καὶ **πᾶσιν** κακοῖς.*
Or. *οὐδ' οὐπαρήξων οὐδ' ὁ κωλύσων **πάρα**;*
El. *οὐ δῆθ'. **ὃ ς ἦ ν γ ά ρ μ ο ι σ ὺ** προὔθηκας σποδόν.*
Or. *ὦ δύσποτμ', ὡς ὁρῶν σ' **ἐποικτίρω** πάλαι.*
El. ***μόνος** βροτῶν νυν ἴσθ' **ἐποικτίρας** ποτέ.* 1200
Or. ***μόνος** γὰρ ἥκω **τοῖσι σοῖς** ἀλγῶν κακοῖς.*
El. *οὐ δή ποθ' ἡμῖν **ξυγγενὴς** ἥκεις ποθέν;*
Or. *ἐγὼ **φράσαιμ'** ἄν, εἰ τὸ τῶνδ' **εὖνουν** πάρα.*
El. *ἀλλ' **ἐστὶν** εὔνουν, ὥστε **πρὸς πιστὰς** ἐρεῖς.*
Or. ***μέθες** τόδ' ἄγγος νῦν, ὅπως **τὸ πᾶν** μάθῃς.* 1205
El. *μὴ δῆτα πρὸς θεῶν **τοῦτό** μ' ἐργάσῃ, ξένε.*
Or. ***πιθοῦ** λέγοντι κοὐχ **ἁμαρτήσῃ** ποτέ.*
El. *μή πρὸς γενείου μὴ '**ξέλῃ** τὰ φίλτατα.*
Or. ***οὔ φημ'** ἐάσειν.* El. ***ὦ τ ά λ α ι ν' ἐ γ ὼ σ έ θ ε ν,***

'*Ορέστα, τῆς σῆς εἰ* ***στερήσομαι*** *ταφῆς.* 1210
Or. ***εὔφημα*** *φώνει· πρὸς δίκης γὰρ οὐ στένεις.*
El. ***πῶς τὸν θανόντ' ἀδελφὸν*** *οὐ* ***δίκῃ*** *στένω;*
Or. *οὔ σοι προσήκει* ***τήνδε*** *προσφωνεῖν φάτιν.*
El. ***οὕτως ἄτιμός*** *εἰμι τοῦ τεθνηκότος;*
Or. *ἄτιμος* ***οὐδενὸς*** *σύ· τοῦτο δ'* ***οὐχὶ σόν.*** 1215
El. *εἴπερ γ'* ***'Ορέστου σῶμα*** *βαστάζω τόδε.*
Or. *ἀλλ'* ***οὐκ 'Ορέστου,*** *πλὴν* ***λόγῳ*** *γ' ἠσκημένον.*
El. ***ποῦ*** *δ' ἔστ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ταλαιπώρου τάφος;*
Or. *οὐκ ἔστι· τοῦ γὰρ ζῶντος* ***οὐκ ἔστιν*** *τάφος.*
El. ***πῶς*** *εἶπας, ὦ παῖ;* Or. *ψεῦδος* ***οὐδὲν*** *ὢν λέγω.* 1220
El. *ἦ* ***ζῇ*** *γὰρ ἀνήρ;* Or. *εἴπερ ἔμψυχός γ'* ***ἐγώ.***
El. *ἦ γὰρ* ***σὺ*** *κεῖνος;* Or. ***τήνδε*** *προσβλέψασά μου*
σφραγῖδα πατρὸς ***ἔκμαθ'*** *εἰ* ***σαφῆ*** *λέγω.*
El. *ὦ* ***φίλτατον*** *φῶς.* Or. *φίλτατον, συμμαρτυρῶ.*
El. *ὦ φθέγμ',* ***ἀφίκου;*** Or. *μηκέτ'* ***ἄλλοθεν*** *πύθῃ.* 1225
El. ***ἔχω*** *σε χερσίν;* Or. *ὡς τὰ λοίπ'* ***ἔχοις*** *ἀεί.*

(*El.* 1171–226)

1171–2 *θνητός* 'mortal' is Focus in 1171 and becomes Topic in 1172.

1173 The dative *πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡμῖν* has properties that make it a likely Focus (*πᾶσιν*) but a Topic analysis cannot be excluded either, because of the first-person reference. If Focus, then we have two Focus constituents here: '*All of us* can expect to suffer *that*'.

1174–5 The interrogative *ποῖ* takes first position in its clause and appears to be followed by the genitive modifier *λόγων* as if that were a geographic entity like *γῆς*. I am tempted to return to the reading of the MSS, *ἀμηχάνων*, taking it as modifying *λόγων*. Reading the participle, commentators disagree on how *λόγων* should be construed (Jebb: with *ποῖ*; Kaibel: with *ἀμηχανῶν*; Kells: with both). *ἔλθω* follows in necessary enjambment.

1175 The following *γάρ* clause is problematic in that *γλώσσης* is given prominence both by its position preceding the finite verb (even though it depends on the infinitive *κρατεῖν*), and by the preceding *οὐκέτι*, since negations typically have scope over the word that immediately follows. Such narrow Focus on *γλώσσης* ('I can no longer control my tongue, but everything else is fine') seems out of place here, despite the happy event of recognition.

1176 On these questions, see chapter 5. The interrogative comes first, as usual. The second question is an instance of the Q-X-V pattern discussed in § 5.3. The 'filler' κυρεῖς fills out the line.

1177 See on 661 above. I take σόν as Focus, followed by the subject (Remainder). The second colon is on the pattern of *El.* 10 and 661, highlighting the proper name.

1178 The first half of the clause τόδε has Focus (cf. on 662 above), with ἐκεῖνο the predictable subject (Remainder). In the second colon, the adverbs are placed in marked position preceding the participle ἔχον.

1180 Focus on ἀμφ' ἐμοί. Electra expresses surprise at the stranger's reaction: surely this is not about *me*? This is rephrased in 1182. τάδε Remainder, would have been omissible (as also above on 661, 1177).

1181 Default ordering of noun and modifier (ἐφθαρμένον). The adverbs are placed in marked position preceding ἐφθαρμένον, as above, 1178.

1182 See above on 1180.

1183 The marked adjectives are preposed.

1184 The two Focus constituents are separated by the vocative (another 'chunking device'). On this pattern of question ('Q-X-V'), see § 5.3.

1185 Possessive ἐμῶν preposed as the more efficient reference: τὰ ἐμὰ (κακά) 'my situation'.

1188 Repeated ὁρᾷς after ὁρῶν here becomes Topic, with Focus παῦρα.

1189 I read τῶνδε as Topic of the infinitival clause.

1190 The first colon of this line is taken up by conjunction and εἰμί (in Wackernagel position). The effect is much like the cases of enjambment discussed in § 6.4, giving special prominence to τοῖς φονεῦσι (Focus).

1191 Another Q-X-V question (see above on 1184), to be expected in emotional exchanges.

1193 An example of an unemphatic, omissible βροτῶν at line end.

1194 On the sentiment, see Griffith (1978). Repeated μητρί becomes Topic.

1197 It is difficult to decide whether the subject constituents should indeed be analysed as Topic; I do so in part because of the

definite articles, which carry the suggestion that embattled women come naturally with defenders.

1198 I have marked the relative clause as a Theme. It introduces the referent that functions as the Topic of the main clause, but the construction is not fully integrated (*nominativus pendens*).

1200 *μόνος*: fronting ('prolepsis') of one of the two Focus constituents belonging in the dependent (participle) clause. Obviously, Orestes is the only one to have taken pity, not the only one to know. Of the two Focus constituents one precedes the main verb, the other is the participle itself, *ἐποικτίρας*.

1201 Same prolepsis construction; in this case the second Focus constituent is *ἴσοις . . . κακοῖς*.

1202 I would read *ἡμὶν* (postpositive); *ξυγγενής* has Focus. The truth is beginning to dawn on Electra.

1203 The status of Orestes' *ἐγώ* is ambiguous. It can function, after all, as the answer to Electra's question: 'Yes I am'. But this is too far-fetched. The conditional shows that Focus must be on *φράσαιμι*, with *ἐγώ* the Topic: 'I *could* tell you, if . . .'

1209 Electra's exclamation is extraclausal.

1210 The line seems to express two thoughts at once: Electra does not want to be robbed of her brother (as in 1208), nor of the opportunity to give her brother burial.

1211–12 I am not sure about the status of *πρὸς δίκης*. Line 1212 gives the order we expect from prose, with the negation preceding *δίκῃ*. Perhaps we should read *πρὸς δίκης* as Topic, and the negation as Focus, as in a paraphrase 'justified it is *not*'. But this is rather strained.

1212 As many as three preverbal constituents, arguably all with Focus. See § 5.3.

1216 On *τόδε* see above on 661.

1222–3 The three clauses (*προσβλέψασα—ἔκμαθε—λέγω*) come with three Focus constituents: *τήνδε* 'look at *this*' (followed in adding enjambment by *σφραγῖδα πατρός*); *ἔκμαθε* 'figure out'; *σαφῆ* 'if I'm *right*'.

1226 I am tempted to read *ἔχω* as subjunctive 'Shall I . . . ?' rather than indicative, and to read Orestes' response as 'Yes, go ahead, as for the rest of time (Topic) I wish you may hold me (Focus on *ἔχοις*).'

7.6 CONCLUSION

This concludes the four connected passages presented in this chapter. The aim has been to show how the analysis of individual bits and pieces, as carried out in earlier chapters, translates into a mode of reading connected text, which any reader can take and apply to other texts. While the mode of analysis has been the same in all four passages, the distinctive character of monologue versus stichomythia has shown up in the pragmatic analysis as well. In particular, the various cohesive devices in stichomythia, such as frequent word repetition, will have been apparent. § 7.2 showed that pragmatic and metrical analysis are often quite compatible, and I hope that my analysis, which has consisted of a large dose of pragmatics with a bit of metre thrown in, will be followed by future metrical analyses that will in their turn take pragmatic factors into account.

8

Conclusion: Reading Word Order, Slowly

Athenians would sit in the theatre of Dionysus to watch a tragic performance. Classicists can spend weeks, months, or an entire career mulling over tragic texts. How can one activity ever approximate to the other? This book nevertheless constitutes an extended attempt to reconstruct one aspect of the interpretive activity of a native audience, namely their interpretation of word order. I have argued that in spite of the formal constraints of poetry, we should take word-order variation in tragic dialogue as seriously as we take it in Greek prose. I presented a variety of evidence for this position in chapters 3 to 5. In chapter 6, I considered the interaction of clause and line, and finally I presented a set of sample readings in chapter 7.

Clearly, since in principle every line of tragic dialogue provides 'evidence' for word order, I have only discussed a fraction of what one might discuss in a book like this. On the other hand, a linguist might summarize the gist of the argument put forward here in a dozen pages. After all, I have merely argued that Greek (in this case, the stylized Attic Greek of tragedy) places Topic and Focus constituents early in the clause, and that marked modifiers appear early in the noun phrase. It almost goes without saying that such ordering rules are not unparalleled in the languages of the world. Similar statements can be found about Seneca (Chafe 1994: 146 f.) or Papago/O'odham (Payne 1987, 1992), to name but two languages.

If that really was all that there was to the question, I need not have taken the trouble to write this book, and my readers could have been spared the effort of reading it. Why then do we find ourselves at this point? There is, of course, a number of things that the linguistic précis left out, and these concern most particularly the literary and

poetic aspects of the grammatical rules just stipulated. We might say that this is where we cross the line between linguistics proper and philology. Famously, philology has been called the art of reading slowly. Collectively, the discipline of classics reads slowly in ways that are agreed upon, but our teachers and colleagues, and our own reading of the primary texts, all affect where and how each of us individually slows down.

So how do I propose that we read word order slowly? In the first instance, the chapters of this book will have made for slow reading in a more pedestrian sense. When single clauses from many tragedies are presented out of context this naturally will slow down any reader. But juxtaposing these clauses was a heuristic procedure that was meant to cut down on as many variables as possible or, in other words, to compare like with like, such as the clauses with verbs meaning 'die' in chapter 3.

This is not the mode or the speed of reading that I would hope readers come away with after reading this book. Reading equally slowly all the time is not the ideal way of approaching texts. If we are conscious of an audience listening to and interpreting tragic dialogue in 'real time', we cannot remain in 'armchair philologist' mode forever, and dwell on every single word in isolation for an unlimited amount of time. Like an actor who will have to choose how to perform his lines, we have to choose how to read them. Or, to continue the Nietzschean trope, we have to choose where exactly we will read slowly.[1] So for instance, to give a rather simplified paraphrase of chapter 3, I would conclude that it is always a good idea to slow down, so to speak, as one approaches the verb in a Greek clause. A conclusion from chapter 4 would be that it is a good idea to slow down for *πατρῷος* in *πατρῴῳ Διί* but not necessarily in *θεοὶ πατρῷοι*. By extension, I would be less likely to slow down at (postposed) *πολυχρύσους* than at (preposed) *πολύφθορον* in (8.1):

[1] I should stress that I am now talking about the philologist's reading, *not* a reconstruction of Greek intonation. I suggest that a philologist should slow down where I would hypothesize intonational prominence in the original; ironically, in reconstructing original prosody, it would be the end of the line where we expect slowing down (general 'downtrend' and lengthening of final syllable).

(8.1) *φάσκειν Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους ὁρᾶν,*
πολύφθορόν τε δῶμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε… (*El.* 9–10)

…say that you see Mycenae, rich in gold,
and the house of the sons of Pelops here, rich in disasters…

This is not to say that an unequivocal interpretation presents itself for the reader who slows down at such a 'correct' moment, caught up by the preposed adjective, which happens to be one of three preposed adjectives with associations of violence in the Paedagogus' sketch of our surroundings at the opening of the play.[2] I have no business deciding what exactly the 'generic spectator' (a dubious character at best) should or should not have thought on hearing *πολυχρύσους* or *πολύφθορον*. As others have pointed out, excess of meaning—or seeming absence of meaning—is normal in tragedy as it is in oracular language,[3] and the range of possible associations invoked by the opening lines of *Electra* is immense.

But this 'excess of meaning' does not stop interpretation in its tracks, and linguists, especially those involved in pragmatics, live and breathe in the reconstruction of communicative intentions of speakers and communicative effects on listeners. The contention of this book is that, just as an English audience would pick up on an adjective that receives stress by intonation, and would try to interpret that marking, so a Greek audience would pick up on the preposing of the adjective and try to interpret it. The parallel with oracular language is apt: the mere notion that Croesus will destroy a *great* empire, or that the Athenians will be saved by a *wooden* wall, does not lead automatically, or even easily, to a final interpretation. But on looking back, we know how much significance can be attached to these adjectives.

A pragmatic approach would conclude, then, that preposing an adjective, or putting a word early in a clause, produces a certain communicative effect. Putting ourselves in the position of the

[2] *οἰστροπλῆγος*, *λυκοκτόνου* are the other two. In an innocent landscape description, the notions of venerability (*παλαιόν*, *κλεινός*, both preposed as well) and riches (*πολυχρύσους*) would seem more at home. The Paedagogus selection of descriptive adjectives is telling; *what* it tells, however, is indeterminate.

[3] Most recently, Bruce Heiden. I wish to thank all the participants in the conference on the language of Sophocles (Amsterdam, September 2003) for providing much inspiration and food for thought.

audience of a tragedy, where are we to suppose that this effect originates? I have placed at the centre of my analysis the back and forth of dialogue, approaching these staged pieces of high art as if they were private exchanges on which we happen to eavesdrop. It is a natural action for any listener, be it someone involved in an exchange or someone listening in on an exchange between third parties, to attempt to reconstruct communicative intent. The characters on stage are made to ascribe intent to each other and, by extension, so do we as their audience. Characters and audience continually draw inferences about what is being said, even if this process is rarely made explicit. In a rare moment where this does happen, Tecmessa tells us that when Ajax pronounced the *gnome* that it behoves women to be silent, she took the hint and fell silent:[4]

(8.2) ‘γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει.’
κἀγὼ **μαθοῦσ**᾽ ἔληξ᾽, ὁ δ᾽ ἐσσύθη μόνος. (*Aj.* 293–4)

‘Woman, women ought to be silent.’
I understood and stopped, and he left on his own.

Tecmessa, to put it anachronistically, shows her familiarity with one of the Gricean cooperative principles, namely the maxim of relevance. The apparent breach by Ajax of this maxim leads to an inference on her part as to his communicative intent.[5] As we listen to Tecmessa’s account, this becomes an inference that we share with her.

Likewise, the audience must, in the first instance, ascribe word order in a line to the character that speaks the lines, not to an omniscient author.[6] Thus, highly significant information need not be presented in a pragmatically marked position. Iocaste happens to mention where Laius met his death:

(8.3) καὶ τὸν μέν, ὥσπερ γ᾽ ἡ φάτις, ξένοι ποτὲ
λῃσταὶ φονεύουσ᾽ **ἐν τριπλαῖς ἀμαξιτοῖς**· (*OT* 715–16)

And he, as the story goes, was murdered one day by foreign robbers at the place where three roads meet…

[4] I owe this example to André Lardinois.

[5] On his part, Ajax uses the common politeness strategy of indirectness to avoid a face threat (Lloyd 2006).

[6] The audience *qua* audience, that is. Fellow playwrights or critics are another matter.

As far as Iocaste is concerned, the Focus of this clause is *ξένοι . . . λῃσταί*. It was not her son, as predicted by the oracle, but strangers who killed her husband. The location of the killing is irrelevant to Iocaste's argument, the refutation of the oracular wisdom. The crossroads follows the verb as a Remainder constituent. For Oedipus, by contrast, matters are quite different. He has heard about the robbers before, but this detail is new to him. The revelation leads to further questions, and eventually he tells his side of the story. In *his* words, the crossroads figures prominently:

(8.4) *καί σοι, γύναι, τἀληθὲς ἐξερῶ.* ***τριπλῆς***
ὅτ' ἦ κελεύθου τῆσδ' ὁδοιπορῶν πέλας . . . (*OT* 800–1)

And I will tell you the truth, lady! When I was
walking near this meeting of three roads . . .

8.1 POETIC FORM

All in all, I think I have shown how intimately my analysis of word order is bound up with the essence of communication between individuals and thereby, with the essence of what makes drama work. Word order is one dimension of what a Greek clause communicates, and it is worth paying attention to.

What has become of poetic form in this approach? I would say that many aspects of poetic style live happily side by side with, and are enhanced by, word order. We cannot, of course, 'reverse-engineer' the many variables that have to be weighed in the composition of a trimeter line. There are too many factors that are by definition unrecoverable, such as lexical choice, perhaps the most distinctive element of the high style of tragedy. As for that, I would speculate that the larger vocabulary of poetry, and the possibility to use dialect variants, did not 'cramp' the tragedian's style when it came to word order; rather, it made for a wide range of possibilities. It would surely be a mistake to think that a word of a particular shape, however difficult to accommodate in the trimeter line, ends up in a certain position because it had to, and that therefore its position contributes nothing to meaning. This line of reasoning not only unduly privileges lexical

choice above all else, but also disregards the receiving end: a listener will still hear that intractable word in a particular position and will interpret it accordingly.

In part because of the many unknowns, but also owing to the consummate skills of the tragedians and the competing skills of generations of readers, single lines of tragedy often give us the impression of overdetermination. Every word is the exact right word for a host of reasons, and every word is in the exact right place for a host of reasons. So a metrician and a pragmatist may both come up with what, within their paradigm, is a satisfactory account of a line. That having been said, I must point out that some old chestnuts of the metrical approach really need to be regarded as such. One of these is 'emphasis by place and pause'. Jebb's doctrine about run-on words needs to be revised in view of the different types of enjambment that are possible. In the case of necessary enjambment, I have argued that it is not the run-on word, but the word that comes at the end of the previous line that deserves our full attention. Only in the case of 'adding' enjambment can it be maintained that the run-on word is itself *the* highlighted element. The other old chestnut is that of emphasis at line end. The behaviour of words like *βροτός* or *κυρῶ* at line-end shows quite conclusively, to my mind, that when line end and clause end coincide, we need not go to excessive lengths to find 'emphasis' in the final word of the line. Rather, line end emphasis, when it occurs, derives from other factors, principally necessary enjambment. This conclusion is not new with me, of course, but I have offered new evidence to support it, and evidence that is more objective in nature than what was offered previously.

That final point leads me to the conclusion that there are indeed places where one may safely read faster rather than slower, in Greek, as well as in English. This is such a place. I trust my readers will quickly return to some Greek and, from time to time, will read it at a different speed than they did before.

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