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Consider the lilies: prolepsis and the development of complementation

By BRUCE FRASER, Cambridge

Synopsis: In the paper, an examination is made of prolepsis in ancient Greek, concentrating on its grammatical and prosodic structure. The feature is analyzed not as a stylistic curiosity, but as a syntactically anacoluthic construction, which demonstrates a transitional phase in the development of finite subordination, when an expansion in the transitivity of reporting verbs was taking place. The proleptic element is interpreted as a “building block” in the inter-clausal link, functioning syntactically in both clauses. The study is structural rather than historical, but a developmental sequence is inferred from the features of proleptic and other accusative constructions observed in Homeric and classical texts¹.

Definitions

Prolepsis does not here refer to the classical trope of rhetorical anticipation², but describes the presence, in a completive construction, of a word or phrase in the main clause, which functions syntactically in it, and is also co-referent with the subject (or sometimes object) of the following subordinate clause. In the most common type, the proleptic element functions as accusative object of the main verb. By completive is meant a complex sentence in which the subordinate clause functions as the complement of a “reporting verb”. These may be categorized as verbs of emotion, cognition (including perception or judgment), and speech³. The dependent completive clause may be

¹ Especial thanks are due to Professor Geoffrey Horrocks, under whose supervision the initial research was undertaken, and to Professor James Diggle, who very kindly read a draft of the paper, and by his corrections and suggestions has enabled me to improve both the presentation and the argument.

² For this sense, see Hermogenes, *Meth.* 10.17 and Quintilian, *Inst.* 4.1.49, 9.2.16. Its connection with the grammatical construction discussed here can be seen from its definition in the Oxford English Dictionary (1933): “A figure in which a matter is stated in a brief summary manner, before being set forth in detail.”

³ Noonan (1985, 10–133) gives a taxonomy of the verb types, as utterance predicates (“say”), propositional attitude predicates (“believe”), pretence

a declarative, a question, or a final clause, and may be introduced by a variety of conjunctions, canonically called “complementizers”⁴.

A frequently-cited Homeric example, from *Il.* 2.409, illustrates the construction⁵:

ἦδεε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀδελφεὸν ὥς ἐπονείτο
for he knew in his mind **his brother**, how he was troubled

It is common in classical, and especially dramatic, texts, and occurs also in *NT* Greek, as in the celebrated instance at Matthew 6.24:

καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ πῶς αὐξάνουσιν
consider the **lilies of the field**, how they grow

It occurs also in Latin⁶, and has lasted into modern languages (where the typical use of pronominals suggests a loss of prosodic prominence compared with most finite classical constructions), as in Boccaccio, *Decameron* 7.8.29:

Tu il saprai bene, rea femina, chi è.
You shall soon have cause enough to know him, lewd woman, who he is.

and Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI* II.1.11–12:

I saw him in the battle range about,
And watch'd **him** how he singled Clifford forth.

The problems

Though familiar in classical languages, the form has proved surprisingly difficult to analyze structurally. The central problem is to explain the position and function of the proleptic element (ἀδελφεόν, τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ, *il*, and *him* in the previous examples). Three specific questions require explanation:

- 1) Is the proleptic element best viewed as having moved out of the subordinate clause, or as functioning “in situ,” as the object (or subject) of the main verb?

(“imagine”), commentative or factive (“regret, be significant”), knowledge (“know, see”), manipulative (“persuade, let”), and others.

⁴ The term “complementizer” to denote a complement-introducing conjunction was introduced by Rosenbaum (1967).

⁵ Similar Homeric constructions include *Il.* 1.536–8, 3.192, 5.85–6; *Od.* 4.832–3, 17.373, 19.245.

⁶ See discussions by Touratier (1980) and Christol (1989).

- 2) What is the relation of the proleptic accusative to the subordinate verb?
- 3) Is the proleptic element emphatic?

These questions have been approached in two ways: syntactically and stylistically. The traditional structural interpretation is that the proleptic element has moved from the subordinate clause as a form of hyperbaton, or, in structural terminology, as a “transformation” or “raising movement”⁷. Alternatively, the element may be analysed entirely by its function within the main clause, which requires it to have circumstantial or relational force (“he knew **about** his brother ... think **about** the lilies of the field”).

An explanation of the structural relationship between the two clauses must then be given. A satisfactory structural model is the more difficult to achieve because of the existence of syntactic variation. Rather than accusative objects, genitives and datives may occur. A variety of introductory conjunctions appear, and the proleptic element may have different functions within each clause: it may represent the subordinate verb object, as at Hdt. 3.130: εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος **τὴν τέχνην** εἰ ἐπίστατο (Darius asked if he understood **the art**), while it has nominative case in impersonal constructions like Hdt. 2.174.1:

λέγεται δὲ ὁ **Ἀμασις**, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ιδιώτης, ὡς φιλοπότης ἦν ...

It is said that **Amasis**, even when he was a private man, was fond of drinking ...

The position of even accusative objects is variable within the main clause too. In the most common form, it immediately precedes the complementizer, but also occurs earlier. It may be a single word, or a phrase, whose constituents may be separated, as at S.*OT* 842–3:

Ληστὰς ἔφασκες αὐτὸν **ἄνδρας** ἐννέπειν
ὡς νιν κατακτείνειαν ...

you were saying of **robbers**, that he said
that they killed him ...

There is, rarely, a co-referent word in the subordinate clause, as at S.*Ph.* 549ff. (one of the few constructions involving ὅτι):

... ὡς ἤκουσα **τοὺς ναύτας** ὅτι
σοὶ **πάντες** εἶεν συννεναστοληγότες,
ἔδοξέ μοι μὴ σῖγα ... τὸν πλοῦν ποεῖσθαι

⁷ These terms derive from the work of Chomsky (1965, 1981).

... when I heard that **the sailors** were **all** of your crew,
I resolved not to silently ... complete my voyage⁸

Accusative elements also function as subjects of non-finite subordinate clauses, including participials like S.OT 955-6:

Ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, **πατέρα τὸν σὸν** ἀγγελῶν
ὥς οὐκέτ' ὄντα Πόλυβον, ἀλλ' ὀλωλότα.
... from Corinth, to announce **your father**
as no longer living, Polybus, but dead.

and accusative and infinitive (henceforth AI) constructions, as at X.An. 4.6.18:

ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ **τοὺς πολεμίους** μενεῖν ἔτι
And I hope that **the enemy** will remain no longer ...

Other variations and “prolepses manquées” are noted by Kühner-Gerth (1904, 578-82) and Sibilot (1983, 356-8). Structural variety may, clearly, affect stylistic interpretations, and the differences of structure and style make it difficult to identify whether the proleptic element is emphatic.

However, three distinctive features are common to all types, and may help to identify the structural and communicational influences behind the form: i) The proleptic element is almost always animate, and in fact human. ii) The construction is particularly common in dramatic texts. iii) The complementizer involved is very rarely ὅτι.

The proposal

Prolepsis is not the result of movement, or of a regular anaphoric relationship, but is anacoluthic, because the accusative functions in both clauses: it is a real object of the main verb, as well as having a semantic function in the subordinate clause. This double role typically leads to prosodic emphasis.

The construction may be analyzed in historical terms as an early form of complementation, structurally more inchoate than the more conventional types, but close to circumstantial relative clauses on the

⁸ Συννεναυστοληκότες at line 550 is Dobree's conjecture: the *codd.* have οἱ νενναυστοληκότες. The textual crux does not directly affect the point at issue, though it illustrates the interpretative difficulties of constructions with ὅτι following an accusative, as discussed below.

pattern of οἶδά σε ὅς / ὥς εἶ ("I know **you** who/how you are"), which are common in ancient Greek⁹.

Its existence demonstrates an expansion in the transitivity of reporting verbs, from having an object with real-world reference, to a purely formal one: a clausal complement. This change is mediated through the proleptic accusative itself, which identifies the main verb object with the subordinate subject, and introduces the introductory conjunction as an adverbial. Later structural developments may be seen in the use of textually-referring pronouns rather than proleptic accusatives, and finally the change of function of the subordinating conjunction from an adverbial to a complementizer, which itself serves as the main verb object.

The organization of the paper

First, previous structural and stylistic analyses are briefly described. Then, a structural and stylistic interpretation of prolepsis is advanced, and a formal model outlined. A chronology of the development of the form is proposed, with particular attention to demonstrative pronouns, both as proleptic elements and as emphatic textual links in conventional complementation. This leads to a structural comparison between proleptic accusatives followed by ὥς and the syntactic and semantic functions of completive ὅτι. Finally, the possible influence of participial and of AI clauses on the origin of the form is discussed, and its structural and historical significance is summarized.

Structural approaches

The central question is whether the position of the proleptic element can best be explained by movement from the subordinate clause, or whether it functions as a regular object of the main verb. The traditional analysis is that the element has moved out of the subordinate clause, in some type of hyperbatic movement. This interpretation is followed by Kühner-Gerth (1904, 577–8) and Chantraine (1963, 234). However, it is then difficult to explain the accusative case.

A number of interpretations have been advanced, suggesting that the construction is the result of interference between forms (as Paul

⁹ See Smyth (1956, 601–2).

1920, 166), or is an imperfect form: Monro (1891, 238) analyzed *Il* 2.409 (cited above) as a relative construction with a suppressed antecedent ("he knew of his brother, [as to the manner] in which he laboured"). Other alternatives to movement into the main clause include "extraposition" out of the sentence, along the lines of the "nominativus pendens" (Touratier 1980); and case attraction, as may have occurred with the AI construction. Christol (1989) proposes that the accusative element is case-marked, not according to its own function, but to that of the whole dependent clause as complement of the main verb. This effectively means that it functions as a complementizer (a view that will be explored later in this paper). Such interpretations identify plausible structural influences behind the form, but not their motivation, or the details of their development.

Gonda (1958, 120–1) was the first commentator to describe a linguistic function for prolepsis, viewing it not simply as a stylistic phenomenon, but as a narrative tool for ordering ideas according to their importance:

The construction is an excellent device in composing larger sentences consisting of small units which, being complete in themselves, do not strain the hearer's or reader's patience or intelligence by postponing to a later clause elements necessary for a right understanding of a preceding unit of the sentence ... it allowed the speaker to pronounce a dominant idea in the first clause of the sentence postponing particulars or explications to a following unit.

The feature identified by Gonda as "a dominant idea" may be described as the "topic" of the sentence: what it is about¹⁰. This interpretation of the construction as a linking device gives it a historical significance too: *Il* 2.409 is, as Gonda (1958, 19) puts it, "a more or less mechanical reproduction of an originally paratactic supplementation to a short sentence" ("for he knew in his heart with regard to his brother how he worked hard" – a somewhat surprising translation). The proposal is plausible, but does not model the resulting structure: the clauses in a proleptic construction are not simply placed paratactically, but linked by a conjunction. An integrated syntactic model would be desirable, to complete the explanation.

¹⁰ The topic may be defined as the logical subject. Lyons (1977, 501) describes the difference as categorial: "The subject, then, is the expression which refers to and identifies the topic and the predicate is the expression which expresses the comment."

An interpretation of the proleptic element's syntactic function within the main clause was proposed by Lecarme (1978), who calls it an "accusatif de relation." This seems to be a type of "accusative of topic," as identified in clauses with speech verbs by Jacquinod (1988), who notes that the meaning "speak of" with accusative occurs in Homer ("Ἀνδρά μοι ἔννεπε ... *Od.* 1.1) and is quite common in Aristophanes and Plato too. Jacquinod describes four types, involving slight changes in the meaning of the governing speech verb:

- 1) "invoke" or "name" a person (*Od.* 19.162: ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς μοι εἰπὲ τεὸν γένος, ὁππόθεν ἐσσί. Yet, even so, tell me of your stock from where you are);
- 2) "refer to" (*Ar.Ra.* 124: Ἔρα κώνειον λέγεις; Are you referring to hemlock?);
- 3) "mean" something (*Isoc.* 12.26: λέγω δὲ τὴν τε γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν ... I mean geometry and astronomy ...);
- 4) "talk about" a person or thing (*Pl.R.* 571c: λέγεις δὲ καὶ τίνας, ἔφη, ταύτας; Which of these are you talking about? he said).

Many of Jacquinod's examples (as *Od.* 1.1, *Od.* 19.162, and *Isoc.* 12.26 above) introduce subordinate relative clauses, with the "accusatif du topique" anticipating an element (normally the subject) within the subordinate clause. It therefore seems reasonable to consider a proleptic accusative as a type of topical accusative, as Jacquinod does. Its syntactic function in the main clause is close to that of an accusative of respect¹¹. However, a proleptic accusative appears to have a closer relationship with a cognitive governing verb, so the transitive, clumsy hyphenation, meaning ("he knew his brother") is also discernible, and indeed is an integral part of the stylistic effect (as is discussed below). This stronger verb-object relation may have a historical implication, since most early prolepsis involves cognitive verbs.

The structural relation between a proleptic accusative and the subordinate clause must also be defined. Milner (1980) proposes that the proleptic element has a co-referential relation with a "null anaphor" in the subordinate clause: that is, an implied pronominal in it. This paper adopts a similar but not identical view, arguing that there is a realized anaphor in the subordinate clause, namely the verb inflection¹², and that the proleptic element in fact has a structural relation

¹¹ That is, "to denote a thing *in respect to which* the verb ... is limited" (Smyth 1956, 360).

¹² This is, of course, true only for proleptic elements which express the

with the subordinate clause, by virtue of its position preceding the complementizer.

Structural interpretations have a bearing on the stylistic question: is the proleptic element emphatic? Traditionally, it has been considered so (as by Kühner 1904 and Gonda 1958), but Panhuis (1984) argues that it is not, because it is usually in the latter part of the main clause (rather than in the initial position of the following, subordinate, one) and so is narratively "thematic" rather than "focal"¹³. Slings (1992), using a similar theoretical apparatus, considers that the placing of the proleptic element is a way of "better articulating the focal information," that is, of making the remaining part of the subordinate clause more prominent than it otherwise would be: the main clause effectively becomes a presentational frame for the subordinate predicate. The variety of these interpretations suggests that stylistic criteria, while suggestive, are not sufficient to identify emphasis. The structure must be considered first.

The formal model

The sentence structure is described in terms of a basic clause with emphatic elements and subordinating conjunctions preceding it. The basic clause is termed the "inflection phrase" (IP), since its head element is the verb inflection¹⁴, and subordinating conjunctions and emphatic elements are analyzed as in a "complementizer phrase" (CP) preceding it¹⁵. The CP is modelled with an initial emphatic position and a following head position. The proleptic accusative may, then,

subordinate subject: the few which express the object may well be co-referent with a null anaphor.

¹³ These terms are adapted by Panhuis from the functional grammar of Dik (1978, 1989), in which they have specific structural meanings. The essence of the distinction is that theme is less prominent than focus. In this paper it is termed "narrative theme," in distinction from "thematic" in the sense of having "real-world" reference.

¹⁴ The head of a phrase may be defined as the governing element. However, a number of other definitions are possible: see Lyons (1977, 391-2).

¹⁵ These terms derive from the X-bar schema of Jackendoff (1977) and Chomsky (1981, 1986). The tree diagrams in this paper are marked accordingly, with co-referent elements marked by orthogonal lines. However, the diagrams are intended as a general visualization, and may be understood aside from the X-bar terminology.

be analyzed either as being within the basic clause (IP) of the main clause, or in the initial position of the subordinate CP. Only in the second case is it communicatively emphatic.

If it is in the main clause, the configuration might, provisionally, be shown as in Fig. 1:

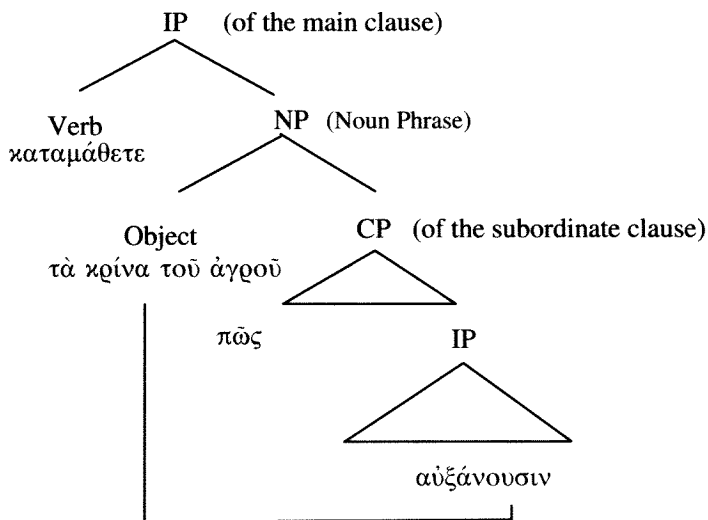


Figure 1

In this configuration, it is not specified whether the complementizer is emphatic: this depends on its position within the CP (not defined here). The proleptic phrase is not emphatic, though it would be, if preposed within the main clause, as at *S.Ph.* 444: **τοῦτον** οἶσθ' εἰ ζῶν καγεῖ ... Do you know **of him** if he is alive?).

However, textual observations (considered below) show that a clause-final proleptic element is generally prosodically prominent. The weakness of the structure in Fig. 1 derives from its failure to describe this. The prosodic trajectory is therefore better modelled with the proleptic element in the emphatic position of the subordinate CP, followed by a conjunction in the head position. As the emphatic element also functions as the object of the main verb, the double co-reference is marked in Fig. 2:

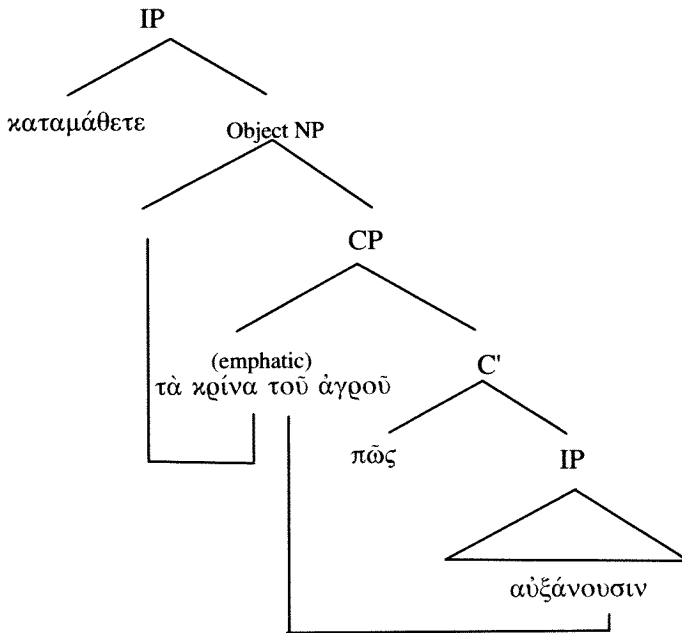


Figure 2

The clauses could equally be modelled as overlapping, since the main clause NP and the emphatic position in the subordinate CP are occupied by the same element. In either case, the construction is formally anacoluthic, because (in X-bar terms) a verbal argument can have only one thematic (“real-world”) role¹⁶. However, the broken-backed structure models the construction accurately, integrating its stylistic and syntactic features, and suggests how it may have developed.

The difference between the structures in Figs. 1 and 2 also affects the status of *πῶς*, which is in complementizer position in Fig. 2, and bears no emphasis. The construction therefore demonstrates the development of separate emphatic and complementizer positions in the CP, within which the linking conjunction follows an emphatic element

¹⁶ See Chomsky (1981, 36). “Thematic” is used with this sense here and throughout this paper. Thematic functions may be defined in terms of causality or agency (Tesnière 1959, Fillmore 1968), or of spatial or temporal goals (Gruber 1976, Jackendoff 1983). The roles of most relevance to this paper are “patient” and “goal” (often corresponding to direct and indirect objects respectively).

which functions in the main clause, but is also in subordinate focus position, and is prosodically emphatic.

Its relationship with the subordinate clause IP is of co-reference with the verb inflection. It is unnecessary to hypothesize a null anaphor (as proposed by Milner 1980, 42), as this is applicable only to languages like French and English where subjects are obligatory (“consider the lilies_i of the field, how **they**_i grow”). In Greek, where pronouns are optional, the inflection may constitute the anaphor (as also in the Italian vulgate translation of Matt. 6.24, where there is no resumptive pronoun: guardate li **gigli**_i del campo, come crescono_i).

Textual support: main verb objects preceding ὥς-complements

Prolepsis demonstrates, in particularly vivid form, a general structural feature of early complementation: the presence of an element functioning as main verb object. Explicit objects regularly precede ὥς-completives, and it will be proposed that even complementizing ὅτι carries a pronominal meaning, and functions as an accusative in the main clause.

Objects preceding completive ὥς-clauses may be divided into three categories, which accord with a chronological sequence: indirect “circumstantial” objects, proleptic accusatives, and, finally, nouns and demonstrative pronouns with purely textual reference.

1) Circumstantial constructions with indirect objects, often introduced by prepositions, constitute the most primitive type. It can be seen at *Od.* 8.266 ff.¹⁷:

Αὐτὰρ ὁ φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν αἰεῖδεν
ἀμφ’ Ἄρεος φιλόητος ἔϋστεφάνου τ’ Ἀφροδίτης,
ὥς τὰ πρῶτ’ ἐμίγησαν ἐν Ἥφαιστοιο δόμοισι
 λάθρη ...

Then he struck the lyre and began singing well **about** Ares
 and sweet-garlanded Aphrodite, **how** they first lay together
 in the house of Hephaistos secretly ...

This is very close to the “paratactic” model of Gonda (1958), as the clauses are joined through a (narratively) thematic link. Structurally, the ὥς-clause is adverbial, so the whole construction has a double meaning: Demodocos sang the familiar story, and also described its details (“how”).

¹⁷ This type is discussed in detail by Monteil (1963, 354–7).

2) Proleptic accusatives create a syntactically more integrated construction. They appear in Homer, and are common in tragic complementation: every instance of completive *ὥς* in the *Oresteia* (11), and most in *OT* (10 out of 15) and *Medea* (10 out of 14)¹⁸, follows a main clause accusative element, many of which are proleptic (the function of the others is discussed below). There are at least 90 instances in Aristophanes (Sibilot 1983).

3) The remaining accusative elements are textually-referring words: they seem to be a structural development from the proleptic type. They are of two kinds. NPs may explicitly name “these words”: here, the object refers to the whole subordinate clause, and also comments on its form, along the lines of the Homeric introductory phrase *ἔπεα πτερόεντα*¹⁹. Instances include *Il.* 17.641–2:

... ἐπεὶ οὐ μιν οἶομαι οὐδὲ πεπύσθαι
λυγρῆς ἀγγελίης, ὅτι οἱ φίλος ὤλεθ' ἐταῖρος.
 ... since I think he has not yet heard
the terrible news, that his dear companion has perished.

and *E.Med.* 776–7:

μολόντι δ' αὐτῷ **μαλθακούς** λέξω **λόγους**,
 ὥς καὶ δοκεῖ μοι ταῦτ' αἰ καλῶς ἔχει ...
 when he comes I shall speak **soothing words**
 how the matter seems the same to me ...²⁰

A few other such constructions occur in tragedy²¹. A more common structural link, however, is provided by the neuter demonstrative *τόδε* (or occasionally the plural *τάδε*)²², used with textual reference (rather than as a proleptic element which functions as subordinate subject). It occurs with verbs of speech and of knowing. The construction occurs at *A.Ag.* 494–7:

... μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις
 πηλοῦ ξύνουρος διψία κόνις **τάδε**,

¹⁸ These texts were chosen at random, and there is no reason to think that a different sample would evince a lower proportion.

¹⁹ “Winged words,” at *Il.* 1.201, 2.7, 3.155, 4.92, and 110 other occurrences.

²⁰ Suggestions to replace the uncertain *ἔχει* in line 777 include *ἔξειν* (Page) and *γαμεῖ* (Bolkestein), but do not affect the point at issue.

²¹ They include *E.Or.* 892–3 and (with a dative) *S.El.* 44: **λόγω** δὲ *χρῶ τοιῷδ'*, ὅτι ξένος μὲν εἶ ... (Use **this story**, that you are a foreigner ...).

²² Constructions with *τάδε* occur at *A.Ag.* 494 ff., *E.Med.* 1405, *Ph.* 692; *Hdt.* 5.97.2, 8.84.2, 8.94.3; *X.Eq.Mag.* 1.11; *Pl.Lg.* 661b5.

ὥς οὐτ' ἀναυδος οὐτέ σοι δαίμων φλόγα
 ὕλης ὀρεΐας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός·
 ... and the neighbouring brother of mud,
 thirsty dust, witnesses to me **this**,
 how he is not voiceless, nor for you kindling the flame
 of mountain wood will he signal with smoke of fire

It seems to become more common over time. In Homeric complements, main-clause *τόδε* always has proleptic function (co-referent with the subordinate subject), as at *Od.* 3.255:

ἦ τοι μὲν **τόδε** καὐτὸς οἶεαι ὥς κεν ἐτύχθῃ ...
 Indeed, you yourself surmise for yourself **this**, how it would have happened ...

The textually-referring uses are quite different, with the demonstrative referring to the whole subordinate clause, as a complementizer does (this will be argued below). The clauses are prosodically integrated, since they always involve *ὥς*, often adjacent to the pronoun, as at *A.Ag.* 494–7 (cited above) and *S.OT* 729–30:

Ἔδοξ' ἀκοῦσαι σοῦ **τόδ'**, ὥς ὁ Λαῖος
 κατασφαγεῖν πρὸς τριπλαῖς ἀμαξιτοῖς.
 I thought I heard from you **this**, that/how Laius
 was killed where three roads meet²³.

E.Med. 85–6:

... ἄρτι γινώσκεις **τόδε**,
 ὥς πᾶς τις αὐτὸν τοῦ πέλας μᾶλλον φιλεῖ ...;
 Have you only just now learned **this**,
 that/how each loves himself more than others?

and *S.Ant.* 735:

ὀρᾷς **τόδ'** ὥς εἰρηκας ὥς ἄγαν νέος;
 Do you see **this**, that/how you have spoken too much like a child?

The object may be preposed within the main clause, as at *E.Med.* 1405:

Ζεῦ, **τάδ'** ἀκούεις ὥς ἀπελαυνόμεθ' ...
 Zeus, do you hear **this**, that/how I am driven away ...

Two features show that the form is not motivated purely by metrical convenience. Firstly, the demonstrative can be used on its own to

²³ On the demonstrative force of the definite article here, see Dawe (1982, 165).

stand for a whole utterance, as in the exchange between Ismene and Antigone at S.O.C 1730ff:

μῶν οὐχ ὀρᾷς;	Do you not see?
τί τόδ' ἐπέπληξας;	Why do you make this rebuke?
καὶ τόδ', ὥς ...	And (do you not see) this, that ...
τί τόδε μάλ' αὖθις;	What is "this," again?

Secondly, the textually-referring function is also common in prose, occurring in Herodotus, as at 3.108.¹²⁴:

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ **τόδε** Ἀράβιοι ὥς πᾶσα ἄν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο
τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἷόν τι κατὰ τὰς
ἐχίδνας ἡπιστάμην γίνεσθαι.

The Arabians say **this**, that the whole world would swarm with these serpents, unless the same thing happens with them as I understand happens among vipers.

and in Xenophon, as at *Hell.* 5.2.18.¹²⁵:

δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ **τόδε** εἰδέναι, ὥς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην
οὔσαν, οὐπω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν.

But you must understand **this** also, that the power which we have described as great is not yet hard to wrestle with.

It seems to be a particular feature of Platonic style, providing introductions to at least 19 complements, most elaborately at *Lg.* 723b3²⁶:

ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπὼν, τί τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἂν μοι βουλευθεῖν εἰρησθαι; **τόδε**,
ὥς τὸν νομοθέτην πρὸ πάντων τε ἀεὶ τῶν νόμων χρεῶν ἐστὶν μὴ
ἀμοίρους αὐτοὺς προοιμίῳ ποιεῖν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ...

Having said this, what is the next statement I would wish to make?

This: that the lawgiver must never omit to furnish preludes, both to the laws as a whole and to each one ...

The use of a demonstrative gives great structural cohesion to the inter-clausal link when the demonstrative is clause-final. The proposed structure is shown in Fig. 3, where the principal formal difference from Fig. 2 is that the clauses are shown as overlapping (as the main clause object NP is interpreted as being also in the subordinate CP)²⁷:

²⁴ Other instances are at Hdt. 8.68.29–31 and 9.95.3–4.

²⁵ See also *X.Eq.Mag.* 8.16.1.

²⁶ Other Platonic examples of τόδε with ὥς occur at *Sph.* 248d10; *Plt.* 259c6, 266c.10, 276c6; *Phlb.* 20d7, 32d9, 43a1; *Phdr.* 245b5, 265c5; *Men.* 93e2; *R.* 370b7, 387d11, 526b5, 572b4; *Lg.* 788d4, 791b5, 805c2, 809e3.

²⁷ The citation is from *E.Med.* 85–6, "Have you only just learned this, that each loves himself more than others?"

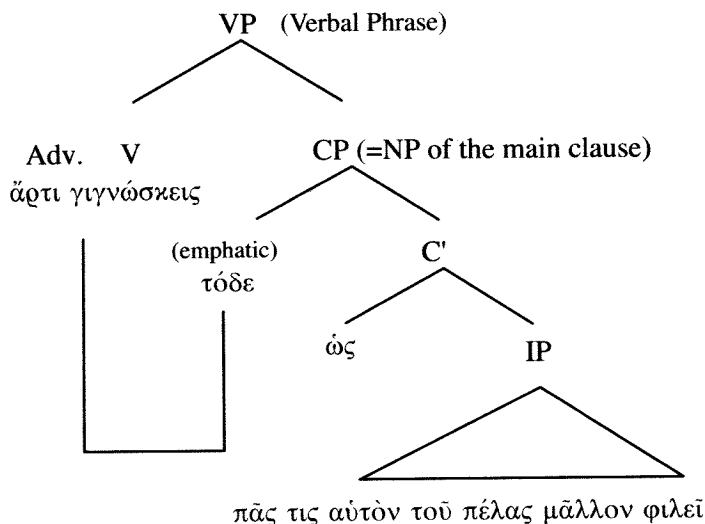


Figure 3

The difference between proleptic and textually-referring elements is that the latter have a syntactic function only in the main clause, although (when clause-final) they are in the emphatic position in the CP of the following subordinate clause. The construction therefore represents a development beyond prolepsis, to conventional (though emphatic) complementation. This textually-referential use of *τόδε* is, as will be discussed below, analogous to the early use of *ὅτι*.

4) Finally, *ὥς* becomes fully grammatical and loses its adverbial sense, and the inter-clausal link becomes prosodically weaker ("I tell you *this*, how x" becomes the unemphatic "I tell you that x")²⁸.

Prolepsis, verb types, and transitivity

The development of complementation involves an expansion in the transitivity of the introductory verbs: the ability to take textually-referring as well as thematic objects represents an increase in formalization, because a clausal complement does not have a (real-world) referring function, but is a purely formal relation²⁹. Though transitive

²⁸ On the meaning of *ὥς*, see Neuberger-Donath (1982), Biraud (1985), and Cristofaro (1998).

²⁹ However, Gruber (1976, 128) and Jackendoff (1983, 203) identify even clausal complements of speech verbs as thematic, in a rather abstract way:

relations presumably originally reflected real-world ones, their expansion to encompass textual objects as well as referring expressions is evident throughout Homeric and tragic complementation. The importance of proleptic objects lies in their function in the clause link, both as object of a reporting verb, and as mediating the change in function of *ὥς* from an adverbial to a complementizer.

This increasing formalization reduces any logical or causal (as opposed to purely linguistic) link between the clauses. There is progressively less causal force in the sequence [emotional > cognitive > speech] verbs: in the first type, the conjunction effectively means “because” or “in that,” which presupposes the truth of the subordinate proposition, rather than merely asserting it, while speech verbs are purely assertive (“say that *x* is *y*”)³⁰. This increase in formalization accords with the historical sequence of completive-introducing verbs proposed by Chantraine (1963, 288–299) and Monteil (1963, 248). However, these categories could be more exactly defined, since some cognitive verbs are causal while others seem to be purely assertive³¹, and speech verbs may carry causal force when used with topical accusatives. This may explain the greater frequency with which verbs like *εἶπον*, *ἐννέπω*, *ἀγορεύω* (Sibilot 1988, 110), *καταλέγω* (at *Od.* 4.832) and *μυθέομαι* (at *Od.* 19.245: *καὶ τόν τοι μυθήσομαι, οἷός ἑν περ* and I will tell thee of him too, what manner of man he was) appear in proleptic constructions. The simple verb *λέγω* appears later: there are no Homeric examples, and few in tragedy³².

By contrast with speech verbs, the link between a cognitive verb and a proleptic object frequently exploits its intra-clausal meaning. This is evident at *E.Med.* 37 (*δέδοικα δ' αὐτὴν μή τι βουλευσῇ νέον* I fear *her*, lest she plot some new plan), and similarly at 39–40, where the fear is also “of” Medea, and not simply “that”:

the clause itself is interpreted as a thematic entity [“patient”] moving from the speaker [“agent”] to the hearer [“goal”]. See Munro (1982) and Amberber (1996) for further discussion.

³⁰ See Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1970) and Lyons (1977, 599–606 and 794–809).

³¹ “See that *x* is *y*” presupposes [*x* is *y*], but (despite Lyons 1977, 794) “know *x* is *y*” could be interpreted as asserting rather than presupposing [*x* is *y*], at least with a first-person main verb.

³² Twice with non-animate objects, at *A.Eu.* 308–311 and *Th.* 375–6, and three times with human objects: *A.Ag.* 672, *E.Med.* 248–9 and 452. Topical accusatives follow *λέγω* in Aristophanes, Plato, and Menander (see Sibilot 1988, 106–7), but none of these is proleptic.

... ἐγῴδα τήνδε, δειμαίνω τέ **νιν**
μῇ θηκτὸν ὥση φάσανον δι' ἥπατος
 ... I know her, and fear **her**,
 lest she drive a sharpened sword through her liver

It may be demonstrated that the double transitivity of such constructions was perceived in the fifth century, from the evidence of an Aristophanic joke at *Ra.* 41, where a transitive sentence is re-interpreted as a complement main clause, by the addition of an unexpected subordinate clause. The humour depends on the double transitivity of δέδοικα, so “afraid **of**” becomes the circumstantial “afraid **for/about**”:

Ὡς σφόδρα **μ'** ἔδεισε. Νῆ Δία, **μῇ** μαίνοιό γε.
 (Dion.) How terribly afraid **of me** he was. (Xan.) Yes, [afraid] **that**
 you were mad.

A comparable example of proleptic double meaning occurs with ὥς at *Ar.Nu.* 842, where, as suggested by Süvern (1836, 9), the humour appears to involve an allusion to the Delphic inscription Γνῶθι σαυτόν (know thyself)³³, and so to make “a pleasant and comic allusion to the practice of the real Sokrates”:

γνώσει δὲ **σαυτόν** ὥς ἀμαθῆς εἶ καὶ παχύς.
 and you will know yourself, how stupid and thick you are.

Knowledge in a more serious, religious, sense is described at *E.Ba.* 859–61³⁴:

... γνώσεται δὲ **τὸν Διὸς**
Διόνυσον, ὥς πέφυκεν ἐν μέρει θεὸς
 δεινότατος, ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἡπιώτατος³⁵.
 ... and he will recognise the son of Zeus
 Dionysus, how he is by turns a most awesome
 and a most gentle god to mortals.

Similarly, at Luke 13.25 = 13.27 (οὐκ οἶδα **ὕμᾱς** πόθεν ἐστέ I know **you** not, whence you are), the rejection of the sinners is emphasized by the grammar.

³³ See *X.Mem.* 4.2.24.

³⁴ This construction was brought to my attention by Professor Diggle, who takes the main clause to be “complete, before the ὥς-clause, which then shows that we must acknowledge prolepsis” (personal communication).

³⁵ The text is as Diggle (1994b). The change from τέλει to μέρει (discussed in Diggle 1994a, 468–70) does not affect the point at issue. However, if ὅς instead of ὥς were read, the construction would exemplify the οἶδα **σε** ὅς εἰ type.

This sort of word play is not, perhaps, surprising, since the verbs have not simply changed, but rather extended, their meaning. We can still perceive the jokes, because the corresponding modern verbs have the same double transitivity. In prolepsis with cognitive verbs, then, we can see the resonance between the meanings of two originally independent clauses, and this accords with the early appearance of such constructions.

Objects and ὅτι-complementation

The rarity of proleptic constructions involving ὅτι may be explained by its pronominal form: since a demonstrative is morphologically emphatic, it is very difficult to place an emphatic element immediately before it, and as it is pronominal, it can itself function as main verb object, in a similar way to the textually-referring use of τόδε discussed above. Ὅτι, therefore, has a syntactic function in the main clause, and this is reflected in the prosody.

In early specifying constructions, where ὅτι has a meaning of “in that,” or “because,” it is unambiguously in the second clause, as at *Il.* 1.56:

κήδετο γὰρ **Δαναῶν**, ὅτι ῥα θνήσκοντας ὄρατο.

for she pitied **the Danaans**, because/in that she saw them dying.

and *Il.* 23.555–6:

Ὡς φάτο, μείδῃσεν δὲ ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς

χαίρων **Ἀντιλόχῳ**, ὅτι οἱ φίλος ἦεν ἑταῖρος·

So he spoke, and brilliant swift-footed Achilles smiled,

favouring **Antilochos** because/in that he was his dear companion

These are the causal “substantivals” which Chantraine (1963) and Monteil (1963) consider to mark the origin of complementation. Structurally they constitute a primitive type, because the clauses are not formally linked. This may be seen from the placing of the intonation break, and from the presence of enclitics (typically dative pronouns) which are normally placed in the second position in the clause, so here signalling that ὅτι is in emphatic first position.

A similar prosodic trajectory is evident in the rare transitive constructions with cognitive verbs, as at *Od.* 8.461–2:

χαῖρε, ξεῖν', ἵνα καὶ ποτ' ἐὼν ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ

μνήσῃ **ἐμεῖ**, **ὅτι** μοι πρώτη ζῳάγρ' ὀφέλλεις.

Good-bye stranger and think of me sometimes when you are back at home, because/in that I was the first you owed your life to.

In tragedy, by contrast, the intonation break occurs after ὅτι, so it is prosodically within the main clause. Strikingly, it appears in very few proleptic constructions: of the 53 subordinates with ὅτι in tragedy³⁶, only two follow proleptic elements³⁷. In Aristophanes, as Sibilot (1983, 351–2) notes, out of at least 90 constructions, only one (*Ach.* 375–6) is associated with complementizing ὅτι (and this also appears to have a causal, specifying, sense):

τῶν τ' αὖ γερόντων οἶδα **τάς ψυχὰς** ὅτι
οὐδὲν βλέπουσιν ἄλλο πλὴν ψηφθακεῖν.

And I know the minds of the elderly jurors, in that
they see nothing other than biting with their ballots.

Other emphatic elements occasionally precede ὅτι, yet retain their subordinate case, at *S.OT* 525–526, *E.Hel.* 1491–4, *Ba.* 173–4, and *Ar.Ra.* 519–20. All may be explained as the preposing of an element into the emphatic position of the CP (see Fig. 2) without its functioning as main verb object, and all are structurally irregular and interpretatively difficult.

It is proposed (as argued in Fraser 1999) that the structural reason why proleptic accusatives are so uncommon with complementizing ὅτι is because it retains its meaning as a demonstrative pronoun, and so functions as object in the main clause as well as complementizer in the subordinate.

This function seems to be a structural development of the Homeric use of ὅστις in free relative constructions which depend on the same verb types³⁸. These demonstrate an inter-clausal overlap: ὅστις functions syntactically in the relative clause, but is also semantically the object of the main verb, as at *Od.* 10.109–10³⁹:

³⁶ They comprise: 3 in Aeschylus (*Eu.* 98–9, 970–1, and the relative *Ag.* 97–8), 7 in *Prometheus*, 30 in Sophocles, and 13 in Euripides. Many are cited in Fraser (1999, Appendix 3B).

³⁷ These are *S.Ph.* 549ff. (cited earlier) and *A.Eu.* 970–1 (where ὅτι is substantival, and is followed by the enclitic dative μοι).

³⁸ There are 13 Homeric examples. By “free relative” is meant a construction in which there is no antecedent to the relative pronoun. Following reporting verbs, they are often called “indirect questions”.

³⁹ The others are at *Il.* 3.167, 3.192, 11.219, 14.509, 16.424, 20.363, *Od.* 4.380 = 423 = 469, 4.552, 8.28, and 9.331–2.

οἱ δὲ παριστάμενοι προσεφώνεον, ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο
ὅς τις τῶνδ' εἶη βασιλεὺς καὶ οἷσιν ἀνάσσοι.

My men stood by her and talked with her, and asked her who was king of these people and over whom he was lord.

The closest analogue of complementizing ὅτι, however, is the neuter form ὅτι, which is common in Homeric free relatives, mostly following speech verbs⁴⁰. These demonstrate a syntactic clausal overlap, since case does not restrict the pronoun to either clause, and it is therefore possible to interpret it as functioning in both, as at *Il*.14.195 = *Od*.5.89⁴¹:

αὐδα **ὅ τι** φρονέεις ...

Say **what** you are thinking ...

There is no evidence that the step from such free relatives to a complement ("say **that** you are thinking") eliminates the pronominal meaning, and some evidence that it does not – in particular, the parallel use of pronominals as complementizers in Latin ("quod"), English, Italian, and other languages. The structure of ὅτι-complementation may, therefore, be shown as in Fig. 4⁴².

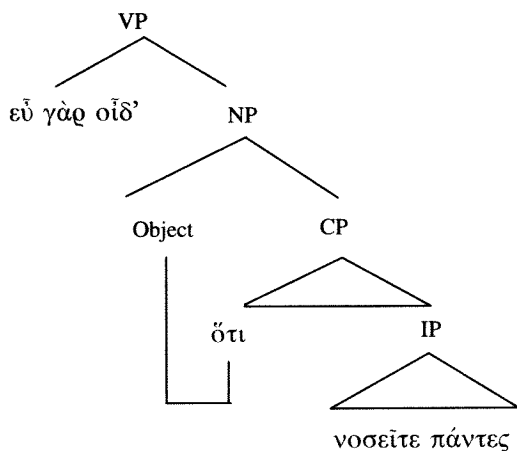


Figure 4

⁴⁰ There are 39 Homeric constructions, all cited in Fraser (1999, Appendix 3A).

⁴¹ Speech and cognitive verbs are quite often (as here) both involved in the same construction.

⁴² *S.OT* 59–60: "for I know well that you are all sick". The complementizer is here (as almost always in Sophoclean trimeters) prosodically highlighted by its position in the last foot of the line (the only exception appears to be *S.Ant.* 2: a notorious crux).

The double syntactic function of ὅτι (as demonstrative and complementizer) seems to derive from the clause sequence. However, the pronominal force becomes even clearer if the reporting clause follows, and the reference is retrospective: a point first made, for English, by Davidson (1968), where the logical form of the complement “Galileo said that the earth moves” is shown to be equivalent to the two sentences: “The earth moves. Galileo said that”.⁴³

The presence of a demonstrative object in the main clause, therefore, leaves no place for a proleptic phrase. However, the use of ὅτι does not preclude the co-occurrence of another pronoun with purely emphatic force. This occurs in five tragic constructions, creating a very emphatic effect, as at *S.Ant.* 98⁴⁴:

... τοῦτο δ' ἴσθ', ὅτι

ἄνους μὲν ἔρχη, τοῖς φίλοις δ' ὀρθῶς φίλη.

But know **this much**, that

you are foolish in your going, but truly dear to those who are your own.

The possibility of such reinforcement shows that ὅτι, while usually prosodically prominent, is not necessarily communicatively emphatic. In Fig. 4, therefore, the position of ὅτι within the subordinate CP is ambiguous.

The value of the analogy between complements with ὅτι and proleptic constructions with ὥς is that it illustrates how both complementizers may have emerged independently, but on semantically parallel lines, using a main verb object as the semantic component of the inter-clausal link.

Accusative and infinitive

It has been shown that an accusative element is regularly associated with the inter-clausal link in finite complementation. The AI construction provides a non-finite analogue, because it has been identified (by

⁴³ The same clause order occurs in Greek too, with cognitive verbs, as at *S.Ant.* 276 (πάρεμι δ' ἄκων οὐχ ἐκοῦσιν, οἶδ' ὅτι “and I am here unwilling to those who do not welcome me, I know that”), *Ph.* 1616–7, *Ar. Lys.* 154, *Plu.* 838, and *Pl. Cri.* 53a3.

⁴⁴ At *S.Ant.* 188, *El.* 988, and *E.fr.* 951.1, too, the pronoun is the normally anaphoric τοῦτο, rather than the standardly anticipatory τόδε. At *S.El.* 332, the main clause reads: τοσοῦτόν γ' οἶδα κάμαυτήν, ὅτι ... (I know this much about myself, that ...).

Meillet and Vendryes 1927, 589; Aitchison 1979, 53) as the forerunner of finite constructions. If that is so, it might be expected to influence proleptic complements. It is also likely, as argued by Christol (1989), that the function of the accusative element is semantically parallel in both (case-marking the subordinate clause as main verb object).

There is, however, structural evidence to suggest that the AI construction is not a direct forerunner of finite prolepsis, as may be seen by looking at the functions of the accusative. Case assignment in AI is usually described on the analogy of jussive sentences, where a semantically indirect but accusative object has a thematic relation with the main verb, as goal ("order someone" = "give an order *to* someone"). Variations of case in jussives (δέομαι σου ἐλθεῖν or δέομαι σε ἐλθεῖν, I beg you to go) are traditionally explained with the accusative as default, and other cases as the result of case attraction to that of the main verb object (Kühner-Gerth 1904, 24; Smyth 1956, 438–440): a description that does not explain the origin of the supposed default, other than by citing jussives which do take accusatives (κελεύω meaning "urge on," προείπον "proclaim," νουθετέω "advise"). Yet the high proportion of jussives which take datives (ἐπιστέλλω, παραινέω, παραγγέλλω, προστάττω etc.) and of other verbs which may do so when used in jussive sense (λέγω, εἶπον, φωνέω, βοάω, φράζω) weakens the argument for an accusative norm: there is likely to have been another, transitive, construction which provided the analogy⁴⁵.

In addition, there is little historical support for the view that AI complements are the precursors of finite constructions, as early instances of the relevant types are quite rare. Homeric AI constructions may be grouped in three categories⁴⁶, only one of which is semantically analogous to prolepsis:

1) Jussive constructions, as *Il.* 2.11:

θωρήξαι ἔ κέλευε κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς
 Bid him arm the flowing-haired Achaians

and *Il.* 17.30:

⁴⁵ There is, as Smyth (1956, 444) notes, a difference in meaning: with accusatives, it is not specified to whom the order is given.

⁴⁶ The first three are derived from discussions by Monro (1891, 202–203), Kühner-Gerth (1904, 26–33), Meillet and Vendryes (1927, 561 ff.), and Chantraine (1963, 312–318).

ἀλλὰ σ' ἔγωγ' ἀναχωρήσαντα κελεύω / ἐς πλῆθὺν ἵεναι
 but I myself tell you to get back into the multitude

Meillet and Vendryes (1927, 561) consider this to be the earliest type⁴⁷. As noted above, the accusative element is semantically an indirect object, and so its case must be motivated by some other construction.

2) Final clauses, where the accusatives also function as “goals,” as at *Od.* 4.209–210:

ὥς νῦν Νέστορι δῶκε διαμπερὲς ἡματα πάντα,
αὐτὸν μὲν λιπαρῶς γηρασκέμεν ἐν μεγάροισιν ...
 As now he has given to Nestor, forever, all his days,
 for himself to grow old prosperously in his own palace ...

The function of accusatives as thematic goals may derive from their use as physical goals with verbs of movement⁴⁸. In impersonal constructions, too (“it seems that/it is necessary that [x]”), as at *Il.* 1.126 (ἐπέουκε), 2.24 (χρή), *Od.* 14.193 (εἶη), the accusative element is semantically an indirect object, and must occur by analogy with some other construction.

3) Constructions following perceptual and judgmental verbs approach the proleptic type, because the accusative element is logically the object of the main verb, and the infinitive describes an additional fact or action, as at *Il.* 4.247:

ἧ μένετε **Τρῶας** σχεδὸν ἐλθέμεν;
 Are you waiting for the Trojans to come close?

and at *Il.* 6.386–7:

... οὐνεκ' ἄκουσε / τείρεσθαι **Τρῶας** ...
 ... because she heard of the Trojans being pressed hard ...

The analogy with prolepsis is the stronger because of the rare appearance in such constructions of speech verbs (which, it has been suggested above, take only “topical” objects in early prolepsis). Only one speech verb, φημί, is regularly involved, as at *Il.* 1.521:

νεικεῖ, καὶ τέ **μέ** φησι μάχη Τρῶεσσιν ἀρήγειν
 she accuses [me], and speaks of how I help the Trojans in battle

⁴⁷ Similar constructions occur at *Il.* 14.62, *Od.* 10.531–3, and *Od.* 23.258.

⁴⁸ The thematic roles of accusatives following Homeric verbs of movement (βάλλω, ἵκω, ἰκάνω, etc.) are discussed by Kühner-Gerth (1898, 303), Haudry (1977), and Boel (1988).

Moorhouse (1955, 179–81) estimates there to be 191 infinitive constructions with this verb in Homer, and cites the figures of Fournier (1946, 138), showing there are only five with other verbs⁴⁹. He explains this by categorizing *φημί* as a cognitive rather than a speech verb: “*φημί* is basically subjective, ‘affirm, maintain, declare, think,’ it gives expression to a judgment or opinion.” He also observes that in many constructions the subject is omitted, even if it differs from the main verb subject, suggesting that the accusative is “a later addition to the [infinitive] construction.”

Of these types, the jussives (1) cannot, as argued above, motivate the accusative use in complementation. The “goal” accusatives in final clauses (2) could provide the earliest analogue, as they derive from accusatives after verbs of movement: it is plausible that all thematic relations derive ultimately from spatial ones⁵⁰. However, circumstantials involving reporting verbs (type 3) are semantically closer to the proleptic type, as the function of the accusative as a “topical” object of the main verb is the same.

These constructions do not, however, pre-date finite prolepsis. As Christol (1989, 66) notes, the AI construction is not of Indo-European date (rarely occurring in Sanskrit), yet prolepsis appears in the earliest texts, including Sanskrit (Haudry 1977, 328). AI does not predate circumstantial participial clauses either, and so is not likely to be a significant influence.

Participial complements

Participial constructions are more plausible as an influence, partly for structural reasons⁵¹: they appear to derive, as Smyth (1956, 471) suggests, from circumstantial use following cognitive verbs, when *οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα* (“they did not know him as being dead”) may be interpreted as completive (“... know that he was dead”). The accusative subject of such a construction is functionally the object of the main verb, just as proleptic accusatives are.

The origin of the accusative is, however, less clear if the main verb is not transitive: for example, as Kühner-Gerth (1904, 49) notes, a

⁴⁹ The verbs are *εἶπον* (3 instances), *αὐδάω*, and *μυθέομαι*.

⁵⁰ See Gruber (1976) and Jackendoff (1983).

⁵¹ There is a chronological reason too: participials appear in the earliest Indo-European texts.

dative is normal after σύννοιδα (σύννοιδά σοι εὖ ποιήσαντι), and seems to be the basic form: the prefix implies an indirect object. The accusative (σύννοιδά σε εὖ ποιήσαντα) may then be a stylistic variation. The cases can be varied with great freedom, as at *A.Ch.* 216–7, where the change of case from the dative creates some ambiguity, hiding the object (Ορέστην) among the other accusatives:

καὶ τίνα σύννοιθά **μοι καλουμένη** βροτῶν;

σύννοιδ' Ὀρέστην πολλά σ' **ἐκπαλουμένην**.

(El.) And whom among men do you know **of me that I call upon?**

(Or.) I know that it is Orestes whom you very much **admire**.

It is likely that such accusatives developed by analogy with constructions depending on verbs which do take accusatives⁵². The importance of cognitive verbs is that most do.

In sum, prolepsis does not derive from AI complements, though there may be some influence from participials. There is a structural feature common to all types: the accusative element, depending on a reporting verb, and marking the subordinate clause as its object. Yet there is no evidence for a historical genealogy: the chronology suggests that any influences are likely to have been mutual.

Emphasis

The question of emphasis can now be answered, in terms of the structural features described above. The view of Panhuis (1984, 38) that “there is nothing emphatic or vivid etc. in a sentence containing a prolepsis” seems mistaken: the proleptic element is regularly prosodically emphatic, so is therefore likely to be communicatively emphatic⁵³, and its double function in both the main and the subordinate clauses gives it a structural prominence.

This view is supported by three features: firstly, the morphology. Proleptic elements are usually morphologically heavy: typically nouns or NPs. Proleptic pronominals are (in classical texts) typically demonstrative pronouns, where the suffix itself creates some phonetic prominence (in contrast with AI, participial, and post-classical construc-

⁵² The increase over time of transitive constructions is discussed by Coleman (1989) and Bauer (1993).

⁵³ A relation between prosodic and pragmatic prominence is normal in many languages: it might be said that “loud” often implies “important”.

tions). The complementizers are generally phonologically light, such as *ὥς*, *εἰ* or *μή*, which create a contrast with the preceding element.

Secondly, emphasis is implied by the function of the proleptic element as main verb object⁵⁴. By completing the syntax of the main clause, it finishes the word group and forces an intonation break, and so creates some emphasis through the lengthening of the final syllable⁵⁵. As with case attraction of a relative pronoun to that of a preceding main clause (Gonda 1954, 29), the accusative also demonstrates the grammatical integration of the subordinate clause in the main. This may be seen in minimal clauses of the *οἶδά σε ὅς* / *ὥς εἶ* type, as at *Il.* 9.527–8:

μέμνημαι **τόδε ἔργον** ἐγὼ πάλαι οὐ τι νέον γε
[ὥς ἦν' ...]

I remember **this behaviour** of old, it is not a new thing, how it was
...

and *A.Eu.* 454:

γένος δὲ **τοῦμόν** [ὥς ἔχει] πεύσῃ τάχα.
you will soon learn **my race**, how it is.

Such constructions always reduce the subordinate clause to a parenthesis, and usually emphasise the accusative⁵⁶.

Finally, proleptic elements are likely to be communicatively prominent, as they announce the topic of the following clause⁵⁷. They may have inter-textual reference too, as in the allusion to the Delphic inscription at *Ar.Nu.* 842 (cited earlier), and, in the construction at *Matt.* 6.28 (cited at the start of the paper), where the proleptic element *τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ* may be an echo of *ἄνθος τοῦ ἀγροῦ* (a flower of the field) in *Psalm* 103.15⁵⁸.

⁵⁴ An association between syntactic object and communicative emphasis in modern languages is noted in Hopper and Thompson (1982).

⁵⁵ The tendency for the last syllable of a word group to be lengthened is discussed by Allen (1973, 204–7), and the emphatic effect of a final long syllable is described by Quintilian, *Inst.* 9.4.91–3 and Demetrius, *Eloc.* 39.

⁵⁶ As with other types of prolepsis, the construction is more common in Euripides than in the other tragedians: *ὥς ἔχει* occurs 15 times (*Alc.* 280, *El.* 427, *HF* 956, *Ion* 1416, *Tr.* 394, 923, 931, 1144, *IA* 106, 446, and in the fragments) as against two in Aeschylus (*Eu.* 454 and *Frag.* 726 g), three in Sophocles (*Tr.* 622, *OT* 1172, *El.* 791), and one in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 153). *Ὡς ἦν* occurs in tragedy only in Euripides (*Andr.* 381, *HF* 27, *El.* 690, *IT* 532, *Ph.* 1280).

⁵⁷ As the logical subject, a topic tends to be an agent, and so dynamic: see Lyons (1977, 502).

⁵⁸ *Psalm* 102.15 in the Septuagint.

Such prominence of the accusative has a structural implication, because it shows that a prosodic trajectory of declining emphasis is not followed: the main clause has final rather than (the more normal) initial weight⁵⁹. The construction therefore provides an example of how clause linking in complex sentences may change intra-clausal prosody. It can change word order too: both the clause-final proleptic accusative and its textually-referring descendants create VO order in the main clause.

Conclusions

Answers have been proposed to the three questions posed at the start of this paper:

- 1) Is the proleptic accusative best viewed as having moved out of the subordinate clause, or as functioning as the object of the main verb?
- 2) What is the relation of the accusative to the subordinate verb?
- 3) Is the proleptic element emphatic?

No movement is required, since the element functions semantically in the main clause. The proleptic element has a double function, as a regular object in the main clause, and as co-referent with the inflection of the subordinate verb. The construction is, in structural terms, overlapping, with a prosodically and communicatively emphatic element in common.

Explanations can therefore be offered for the three features of the construction noted near the start of the paper.

- 1) The construction almost never involves ὅτι, because that complementizer occupies the object position in the main clause, just as it does in the indefinite relatives which are the forerunners of ὅτι-complements⁶⁰.

- 2) The construction is particularly common in dramatic texts, both tragic and Aristophanic (and Kühner-Gerth 1904, 578 observes that Latin examples are particularly common in Plautus and Terence). This

⁵⁹ Most commentators, as Denniston (1952, 44), consider that “the weight of a Greek sentence or clause is usually at its opening, and the emphasis tends to decline as the sentence proceeds.”

⁶⁰ Co-reference between elements in each clause may also be encouraged by the use of ὡς, which, as Monteil (1963, 329) notes, was originally anaphoric: “Ancienne forme casuelle d’instrumental, ὡς a dû primitivement se référer à un substantif antécédent, à l’intérieur d’un énoncé anaphorique puis relatif.”

might be expected from a topic-based linking function, as proposed by Gonda (1958): there is less burden on the memory if the topic of the following clause is already stated in the previous one.

3) The reason why the proleptic element is typically animate, and indeed usually human, is related to its topic function: there seems to be a cross-linguistic tendency for a topical element to be animate⁶¹. Prolepsis is primarily a way of talking about people: an animate topic creates a particularly vivid narrative link⁶².

In conclusion, prolepsis is a regular feature of ancient Greek, resulting from the developing structure of complementation. It demonstrates an incompletely grammaticalized inter-clausal link, with a (normally human) topic referring to the following clause. This proleptic accusative seems to be the structural forerunner of textually-referring pronouns (exemplified by τόδε) and of ὅτι (which retains an identifiable pronominal force), and, like them, it is, normally, prosodically and communicatively emphatic.

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⁶¹ See Comrie (1981, 198–200), and, on the relation of both with word order, Tomlin (1986).

⁶² It may also be noted that if it were not animate, it would usually be neuter, so its case would be unclear (though it has never been suggested that τὰ κείνα at Matt.6.24 is not accusative).

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