



Focus on each breath

Pragmatic Word Order Analysis in Tragic Monologue
applied on the level of the Intonation Unit



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List of abbreviations and symbols

	boundary between two intonation units
[E]	Necessary enjambment (when at verse end still something is needed to make the clause into a grammatical whole)
^p or ^h	caesura (breathing pause that breaks a verse into two prosodic units)
ECC	Extra Clausal Constituent (any constituent, may it be a Noun Phrase, or complex participial clause, that is not necessary for the grammaticality of the structure of the clause)
ECTop	Exclusive Contrastive Topic (pragmatical position for Topics that belong to a previously introduced group and/or form a contrast with the previous Topic)
FSTop	Frame setting Topic (Topic that functions to introduce a referential frame in which what follows is to be interpreted)
Narr-IU	Narrator's IU (Intonation Unit that is semantically not part of the plot but only of the story)
NP	Noun Phrase (syntactical term for a constituent that has a noun as its Head, other types are PP (prepositional phrase) and VP (verb phrase))
PreMat	Presupposed Material (pragmatically unmarked position in Pragmatic Word Order Analysis)
PWO-analysis or PWO-model	Pragmatic Word Order-analysis or -model (the model that describes Ancient Greek word order being ruled by pragmatic functions)
Reg-IU	Regulatory IU (Intonation Unit that has an organizational rather than referential function)

1 Introduction

Recently, interest into the mechanisms that define word order in Ancient Greek has grown. The common description is that it has a free word order, but that only means that syntax does not prescribe most of the word order. It does definitely not mean that word order is arbitrary and has no semantic value.

On the contrary, it can be said that because grammar does not prescribe word order, word order is all the more interesting because when multiple options are available, the difference should mean something. This can be seen for example when different words are available for the same referent. A simple example is the following: in English, one can use the word *dining* and *having dinner* for the same activity. However, when using the one word or the other, expectations of the quality of the food and/or the social surroundings are different. The same type of subtle interpretation differences can be expected of variation in word order.

The currently accepted model of Ancient Greek word order is focused on finite clauses, leaving word order variation in parts of the sentence that are not finite clauses unaccounted for. I propose to apply word order analysis to units smaller than clauses: Intonation Units. These units are often separated by breathing pauses and one of the main factors in word order analysis is *focus*. Hence the title 'Focus on each Breath'.

1.1 Current Model of Word Order

Current research on Ancient Greek word order is focused on a system in which word-order is motivated by the communicative structure of a sentence: what is the new information and what is already known and/or can be derived from the context? The terms used come from S.C. Dik's *Functional Grammar*-theory and they describe pragmatic functions.

Pragmatics is the study of language as a communicational tool and speaks in terms of speech as an action with a certain communicative goal. The most salient information that conveys the reason for the utterance of a sentence in the first place is named *focus*.

It has been shown that Ancient Greek follows the following word order scheme -although there are still exceptions¹, which researchers are trying to account for by variation on this main scheme. This system is adapted from systems to describe other languages with 'free word order', such as modern Hungarian.² The basic scheme is as follows:

¹ According to Matic' (2003): 578, only 50 percent of all clauses in Xenophon are consistent with the scheme.

² Dik (1995): 12.

Setting – Topic – Focus – Verb – Remainder³

I will first discuss what is meant by all of these terms and then turn to an example to clarify the mechanics of this scheme. All of these so-called pragmatic slots are usually filled by a constituent. The whole scheme is clause-based, which means that this is a way to describe the word order of a clause.⁴ Hereunder I will list the specifics of each pragmatic slot.

Setting: information given about the temporal or spatial setting of the predication. This needs not be realized in every clause, though multiple settings are possible in a clause as well.

Topic: introduces about which the predication says something⁵, this is something that is already known from the context. The topic needs not always be expressed if it is the same topic as in the preceding clause.

Setting and Topic are often also the other way around,⁶ and this happens due to the accessibility of the topic. In cases of a topic switch or newly introduced topic, this is often already needed to be known to interpret the setting. This causes the topic to be fronted.⁷

Focus: the only thing that needs to be expressed in every clause as it is the main information that is the reason the clause is uttered in the first place. This constituent holds the most salient and relevant information.

Verb: this goes without saying. However, it can be moved to Topic or Focus position if the verb is qua information value topic or focus.

Remainder: needs not be realized in every clause, but when realized it can consist of multiple constituents. The words placed here are often said to be pragmatically unmarked⁸ and denoted as X. There can also be multiple separate word groups as *Remainder*.

As said, usually these slots in a clause are filled by constituents, but it is also possible that units larger or smaller than constituents fulfil a function such as Topic or Focus.⁹ In the case of hyperbaton a constituent is divided up and a part can take Topic or Focus position with the other part being placed in the pragmatically unmarked Remainder. An example of a larger unit than a constituent filling one

³ Dik (2007): 38; Rijksbaron et al. (2000): 146.

⁴ Allan (2012): 7.

⁵ Dik (1995): 25. This characteristic of the topic is often named 'notion of aboutness'.

⁶ Rijksbaron et al. (2000): 147-148.

⁷ Allan (2012): 187.

⁸ Matic (2003): 574.

⁹ Matic (2003): 576; Dik (2007): 24.

slot is the group of ‘broad focus’, which Matic’ proposes.¹⁰ In sentences with broad focus, the verb together with one or more of its arguments fill the slot of Focus.

To clarify these terms and discuss how model works, let’s consider the following two examples.

(I) ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος	ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα	ἐστρατεύετο
Cyrus:now	against of:this woman the son	marched:he
TOPIC	FOCUS	VERB

‘Cyrus now marched against the son of *this* woman.’¹¹

In this example, we see how the topic is that ‘about which’ (or in this case him, about whom) the utterance is done and how the focus is the most relevant. To understand that, we need to consider the context. In the preceding text, some anecdotes about this woman are told and the text goes on to talk about the son. Therefore, it makes sense to mark the constituent which has both the woman and the son in it as Focus. Word order analysis does not account for the word order within this focus constituent and though word order within Noun Phrases is an interesting topic, it is not within the scope of my research question.¹²

(II) [an excursus on the reasons of hatred between the Corinthians and Samians is concluded:]

τούτων ὧν	εἵνεκεν	ἀπεμνησικάκεον	τοῖσι Σαμίοισι	οἱ Κορίνθιοι.
these	ptc:be	because:of	bore:grudge	to:the Samians the Corinthians.
FOCUS		VERB		X

‘So, it is *for these reasons* that the Corinthians bore a grudge against the Samians.’¹³

Matic’ argues that according to Dik’s model both the verb and the two arguments are pragmatically unmarked because they are predictable. The reader already knows that their relationship was hostile, and the most salient part in this sentence is the part that wraps up what came before: the enumeration of reasons for this hostile relationship. Considering this, τούτων ὧν εἵνεκεν is the focal element. In this model, the word order of τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι is completely arbitrary, both being pragmatically unmarked.

Matic’ differentiates between a few more slots than Dik, and this might provide an answer to the question why the Samians and Corinthians appear in this order.

¹⁰ Matic’ (2003): 584. The distinction between narrow focus and broad focus will be discussed later in this paragraph.

¹¹ Example from Rijksbaron et al. (2000): 146, my lay-out and translation.

¹² For more on this topic, c.f. Bakker (2009).

¹³ Matic’ (2003): 574 –his example (Hdt. 3.49.2), my lay-out.

On the basis of his corpus, Matic' makes the distinction between two types of sentences, namely those with 'narrow focus', which is most like Dik's model, and those with 'broad focus'. He proposes a refinement of the model with two possible word order models to account for different types of sentence¹⁴:

- Sentences with broad focus:

Frame setting Topic - [Verb] - Continuous Topic - [Focal Material] ¹⁵

in which V and FocMat together form the broad focus (from here on BF) of the sentence.

e.g. καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι_{FSTop} προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω_{BF}

While Xenophon was having breakfast, two young men came running up to him.

- Sentences with narrow focus (cf. (VIII) and (IX)):

FSTop¹⁶—Focus - Verb - ConTop -Presupposed Material¹⁷

e.g. (γινομένων δὲ τούτων) κατυπέρτεροι_{FOCUS} ἦσαν_{VERB} οἱ Πέρσαι_{ConTop} τῶν Κυπρίων_{PreMat}

(When these things -namely the attack from the Persians on the Cyprians- took place)

*the Persians had the advantage over the Cyprians.*¹⁸

Broad focus most often appears in cases in which there is not many presuppositional material available and when the sentence is dense with new information. With presupposition, he means assumptions that can be made on the basis of logical derivation from the context, either within the discourse or within the situation. To clarify this, he uses an example of Socrates going somewhere, showing that in that case, the presupposition encompasses both Socrates, his movement from somewhere to somewhere and the only things left to ascertain are the exact locations.¹⁹

With FSTop Matic' means topical material that does not only adhere to the aboutness rule that defines topics (i.e. that the utterance is about whatever is in topic position), but also that it posits a new referential frame that helps interpret the utterance rightly. Only in these cases, he argues, topic is expressed preverbally. It is possible that a sentence contains multiple FSTops, especially when a sentence is about a relation between two or more referents.²⁰ A clear example of FSTop is where a narrative describes two sides of a battle. When the attention switches from the one army to the

¹⁴ Matic' (2003): 588, 626.

¹⁵ Hereafter respectively denoted as FSTop, V, ConTop and FocMat.

¹⁶ Matic' also makes a distinction between exclusive contrastive topic and other frame setting topics, but as these two possible types of topic do not occur side by side, the distinction is not necessary for the current research.

¹⁷ Hereafter respectively denoted as PreMat.

¹⁸ Example from Allan (2014): 208, his translation, my lay-out.

¹⁹ Matic' (2003): 583-584.

²⁰ Matic' (2003): 601-602.

other, the topic-switch also takes you along to their camp and brings about the expectations that fit in that side of the story. Topics that go into the place of FSTop can be contrastive, reintroduced or even newly introduced but they must put forth a referential frame for the following discourse.²¹ The contrastive topic is a special kind as it is more invariably fronted, in such a way that it may be placed even before a Setting.

As can be seen, Setting itself is missing from Matić's model, this is because he sees Settings either as extraclausal or considers them to be FSTop, because an utterance can also be said to be about a certain time or place.

What we have seen up until now is that the basic model of word order allows for many variations to account for the variation found in the texts. We have seen in the discussion of the example of the Corinthians and Samians (II) that possibly not everything in word order can always be accounted for. Possible reasons can maybe be found in the cognitive relation between certain elements of an utterance (the verb with its object) or the larger structure of a narrative²² in which one order fits better than the other, as we saw in (I).

1.2 The role of intonation units in these models

Dik takes heed of the role that intonation units might play in their pragmatic word order models when she builds on the basic model as described above. Dik (2007) describes Theme and Tail as specific positions that fall outside the clause proper and form an Intonation Unit of themselves.²³ Dik describes Tail as something that is added to an already complete clause, presenting an afterthought or a specification or correction of something within the clause. Because both form a separate IU, she acknowledges that both Theme (an extraclausal topic as seen in (III)) and Tail should by definition be analysed as Focus, in addition to the Focus that is within the clause proper.²⁴

In a footnote to this, however, Dik notes that analysing these extra-clausal IU's as just another focus is not entirely satisfactory. I agree with this, as analysing all these elements as equally salient makes the analysis less productive. She does not propose a clear alternative, so what I aim to do in this thesis is find out whether or not certain non-clausal IU's should be attributed a focal position.

Elsewhere, Dik warns for over-colonization of sentences into small units on the basis of the placement of particles such as *μέν* and *δέ*.²⁵ I do not agree with this, because the words mentioned

²¹ Matić (2003): 591.

²² Matić (2003): 629.

²³ Dik (2007): 35.

²⁴ Dik (2007): 36.

²⁵ Dik (2007): 21-21.

are so regularly in Wackernagel position that it is to be assumed that for a native speaker it would feel like a new speech unit just started when such a particle is uttered.

Whether she is right is what I would like to challenge. I think that because the Wackernagel-words are so invariably in second position, that when they seem to occur irregularly, indeed the sentence should be viewed as two separate segments.

Doing so, results in the following model of the order of different IU's in a sentence, which is the model that I will use throughout this thesis:

[THEME] [SETTING] main clause with its broad/narrow focus organisation [TAIL]²⁶

In this model, Theme is the place for topics that are fronted because of their relative newness. We have to take into account that the earlier category of ECTop is different and can be part of a Setting. A striking example of Theme is the first IU of the following sentence²⁷:

(III) τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα	ἔραψας μὲν σύ,	ὑπέδησατο δὲ	Ἀρισταγόρης
This shoe	stitched you,	put it on	Aristagoras.
Topic	sub-1 Focus,	sub-2	Focus

In this case both the other IU's still have a topic of their own. This same phenomenon is described by Matic' as extracausal topic, which leaves the intracausal model untouched, which is why still a Topic inside each IU is possible.²⁸ Dik describes sub-1 and sub-2 as subtopics of the topic τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόδημα.

It is not necessarily so that Themes are always cut up in smaller topics in the IU's that follow it. They are also used to introduce new Topics. According to Allan, the candidates for Theme position can also be re-introduced topics that are 'inferentially accessible on the basis of an active cognitive frame'. This means that they were active earlier within the discourse or present in the reality surrounding the discourse.²⁹ Dik also briefly addresses the topic, showing that Themes can be used to introduce a topic or generate emphasis and suspense due to not immediately talking about the situation but first only introducing the topic.³⁰

Attributing a whole separate IU to a new or relatively new topic, is in line with the maxim that Lambrecht formulated about separation of a topic and the clause in which it is a topic. Allan quotes

²⁶ Allan (2014): 185; following Dik (2007): 35-37.

²⁷ Dik (1995): 28 (Hdt. 6.1.2).

²⁸ Matic' (2003): 580-582.

²⁹ Allan (2014): 189.

³⁰ Dik (2007): 35.

him: “Do not introduce a referent and talk about it in the same clause”³¹. Change the word clause to intonation unit and we can indeed match this with the function and form of Themes. Chafe has connected this to the IU rather than the clause and named it the ‘one new idea constraint’.³²

We have already seen Setting in the initial model, so that needs further clarification. According to Dik, some Settings are intraclausal and others are extraclausal. Their function is the same, to provide a spatial, temporal or causal background for the clause. The difference is mainly the length of the setting, making participial settings separate IU’s and making propositional settings clausal. Dik says that some Settings can be given Focus function, but is not clear whether all extraclausal Settings should be assigned a focal element.³³

Finally, Tail is defined as a constituent that is added to a complete clause, as an afterthought, specification or correction. These can be noun phrases and when they are, they function as topic, added afterwards to make sure the addressee knows what the speaker had been talking about.³⁴ They can also be additions to noun phrases within the clause proper, that specify what is already said.

We have now seen that it has already been recognized that the boundaries of Intonation Units play a role in Ancient Greek word order, but that it is not made into a systematic approach how to deal with whether these resulting non-clausal IU’s have Focus or a Focus position within them or not.

1.3 Research Question and Method

This has led me to formulating the following research question:

Does the pragmatic word order-model of Ancient Greek apply not only to clauses but also to the separate Intonation Units that are added to the clause?

To be able to answer this question the first thing that had to be done is to segment a corpus of texts into intonation units. The chosen corpus consists of two messenger stories in tragedies by Euripides. I have chosen this, because the concept of IU’s comes from the study of speech, not written texts. Therefore, I wanted to choose a text of which we know it has been spoken. Earlier comparable research has been done on Plato’s dialogues³⁵, epic³⁶ and tragic dialogue³⁷. This leaves tragic monologue, which is why I chose the messenger stories.

³¹ Lambrecht (1994): 185.

³² Chafe (1994): 108.

³³ Dik (2007): 36-37.

³⁴ Allan (2014): 202.

³⁵ Cf. Dik (2007), Scheppers (2011).

³⁶ Cf. Bakker (1997)- Part II: 33-86.

I have chosen the specific messenger stories in *Helen* and *Bacchae* because they are different with regard to their communicative function: one that has a lot of immediacy and the other not so much. The story told by the messenger in the *Helen* is relevant and new to the addressee and the addressee will probably need to take immediate action upon what is told. The other in the *Bacchae* has less immediacy, because the main event (the murder on Pentheus) has happened and the *chorus* that forms the audience together with the actual audience of the play can just listen, but there is no action to be taken on the basis of this messenger story. This difference may be relevant for IU-segmentation, for if we imagine a messenger running from a scene that calls for immediate action, it might be that the resulting text is closer to spontaneous speech than a text of which the function is purely informative.

Throughout this thesis, the context and content of the messenger stories is considered to be known by the reader. If you happen to be unfamiliar with these, please read through the translation and introduction in Appendices A and B.

Chapter 2 of this thesis is dedicated to IU-segmentation, in which three things are addressed separately. The first chapter is to provide more information on the concept itself, which was first described by Chafe. After that I will provide an overview of segmentation criteria in addition to the earlier mentioned criterion of the placement of Wackernagel-particles. The last chapter will be dedicated to the role that the metre of the text plays with regard to IU-segmentation. This is motivated by the fact that IU's are often separated from each other by breathing pauses and the metre prescribes certain places for breathing pauses, such as verse end and the caesura.

Thereafter, in chapter 3, the proposed system of word order analysis will be applied. Separate sections are dedicated to the abovementioned extra-clausal IU's, namely Themes, Settings and Tails. From the text two other relevant phenomena have risen, namely extraplottal IU's and hyperbaton. Extraplottal IU's are the IU's that do not have a function within the plot, but that are added in mediation from plot to story. This means that these IU's hold the extra comments on the plot, such as subjective remarks, prospective elements and the like. Hyperbaton has already been discussed above. In the last chapter of this thesis the occurrence of hyperbaton in non-clausal IU's will be dealt with.

I expect that trying to apply word order analysis to all IU's will be a useful addition to the established model as it is a less prejudiced approach: Dik's model has a very strong preference for finite clauses and approaching all IU's equally allows for a less prejudiced assessment of the structure of a text.

³⁷ Cf. Dik (2007).

Bakker has shown that in Homer syntactically subordinate elements such as participle clauses are on a par with the finite clauses when it comes to salience of the information presented.³⁸ Due to the nature of epic and tragedy, this is probably less often the case in tragedy, but it is still a good idea to leave the option open and find out which IU's have focus instead of assuming that only clausal ones have it.

³⁸ Bakker (1997): 66-67.

2 Intonation Units

I will first introduce and explain what Intonation Units are understood to be. Also, some different types of Intonation Units will be discussed as this provides a very useful distinction between IU's that have an information value and IU's that have a communicational or cognitive function. After that I will turn to how Intonation Units can be identified in an Ancient Greek text. Because of the lack of recorded speech, this has to be done on the basis of syntactical features (2.2) and metrical features (2.3).

2.1 Chafe's concept of the Intonation Unit

Chafe was the one to coin the word Intonation Unit (actually two words but they together denote one concept³⁹) on the basis of spoken English spontaneous dialogue. Both because of cognitive and physiological reasons, language is not uttered like a long stretch of sounds, but as spurts of sounds: it is segmented.

The physiological reason for segmentation is very clear: the speaker needs time to breathe. The cognitive reason is quite as simple: the speaker needs time to think. On the listener's part, something similar is the case: an on-going stream of words would be highly unpleasant and hard to process.

He notes that this is not only the case for spoken English spontaneous dialogue, but also for other languages and other kinds of discourse, such as storytelling, oration, performance of rituals and reading aloud. Therefore, it can be expected that the text uttered in Ancient Greek tragedy by the messengers should also be segmented. Physiologically, the actor would have needed air, his audience would need time to process things and the actor would sometimes need time to recall his text. The fact that tragedy was written before it was played means that cognitively it is different from spontaneous speech.

In spontaneous speech, not every utterance is grammatically correct and syntactically complete: sentences might not be finished, which results in fragmentary IU's. Also, a speaker would utter IU's that do not contain information, but are in some way preparational for other IU's. Chafe names this category 'regulatory IU's'. They can function to fill a break in the speech in which the speaker needs to make up his mind about what to say or how to say it, as way to get the attention or to provide some modality to the IU's that follow. He gives a few examples, like "I think", "and then" and "well". Ancient Greek equivalents are for instance ἐπεὶ, πρῶτον or οἴμαι.

³⁹ Cf. Chafe: *Meaning and the Structure of Language* for more on that topic.

Though regulatory IU's are to be expected in lesser quantities in tragic monologue than in spontaneously produced speech, they still occur in the messenger stories. I have marked them as regIU's in the texts.

To exemplify Chafe's way of segmenting speech into IU's, let's consider a narrative example from his analyses:

these gals were in a Volkswagen
(0.4) and uh
(0.3) they uh kept honkin' the horn
(0.2) hootin' the hooter
(0.6) and uh
(0.4) and the .. elephant was in front of em
so= he just proceeded to sit down on the VW
(0.3) But they .. had .. managed to get out first⁴⁰

From this example, we learn that pauses can occur within IU's, and that IU-boundaries are mostly marked by a longer pause. However, also lengthening of the vowel can signal the start of a new IU.⁴¹ The fourth IU is co-referential with the third. The second and fourth IU can be identified as a type of regulatory IU that is not to be expected in the messenger stories.

Now we have seen what these IU's are that we are talking about it is time for translation. The main challenge when applying modern linguistic concepts to ancient languages lies in the fact that we do not have access to native speakers and have to rely on the data in written sources. The next paragraph will deal with the syntactical criteria that have been used to segment the text that makes up the corpus of this study.

2.2 Scheppers' Segmentation Criteria

Scheppers (2011) has been the first to explicitly provide a guide on IU-segmentation in the no longer spoken language of Ancient Greek. This guide is based both on empirical data from other languages and on statistical research into the Ancient Greek language. His main corpus consists of texts from Plato, but he also incorporates some passages from Lysias, Herodotus and from the tragic poets Aeschylus.

⁴⁰ Chafe (1994): 62; in which the bracketed numbers denote the length of measured pauses in seconds, a double dot denotes a pause of less than .10 seconds and = denotes the lengthening of a vowel. I have left out the pitch markers as they are not relevant for the current research.

⁴¹ Chafe (1994): 58.

Most IU-boundaries can be identified by the syntactical criteria Scheppers introduces in his chapter 10. The majority of IU-boundaries can be easily identified through the appearance of connecting particles, of which many adhere to Wackernagel's law: **δέ, γάρ, τε** and others⁶. These words are highlighted in bold in the Appendices and examples that follow. Often **μέν** and **δέ** are used to mark contrastive enumerations and in that case the separate parts constitute IU's of themselves. This is also true for **καί**, but only if the parts of the enumeration are more elaborate or form parallel or contrastive structures⁴² as in (IV) below.

Another clear criterion is that most clauses are separate IU's. This definitely goes for main and subordinate clauses, but also for infinitives and participles that take arguments and thereby form more complex infinitive or participle clauses⁴³.

To see how the criteria introduced up until now, consider the example below, with explanation for each segment.

(IV) ἐγὼ γάρ	-marked by γάρ
πρῶτον μέν	-marked by μέν
οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης	-complex gen.abs. with indirect object
διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς	-IU-overarching
καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς	-part of enumeration with parallel structures
καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως	-part of enumeration with parallel structures
δύο μέν ἀδελφὰς ἐξέδωκα	-marked by μέν
ἐπιδοῦς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρᾳ	-complex participial clause. that is co-referential with the preceding IU

For I, as a first, though not much property had been handed down to me due to the misfortunes both of my father and of the city, have given both my sisters for marriage, giving as dowry thirty minae to each.

(*Lysias* 16.10)

Both cases of participles in (I) are rather complex. Genitivi absoluti by definition are separate IU's as it is for a reason that they are 'absolutus': *absolved* of the clause. The participle in the last IU is complex as it takes both an object and an indirect object.

⁴² Scheppers (2011): 196-197.

⁴³ Scheppers (2011): 194.

With the infinitives, it is often a question of placement as well as of complexity. Because it is often the case that Acl-constructions are more complex than regular infinitives (c.f. (II) and (III)), they constitute separate IU's more often. The following two examples function to show how the complexity and placement influences the autonomy of infinitives⁴⁴. In (V) the verb precedes a complex infinitival clause and in VI the infinitive with its argument precede the Verb.

(V) τὸ δὲ πεπονθὸς ταῦτα | ἄρ' οὐκ ἀδύνατον | αὐτό γε τὸ ἐν αὐτὸ εἶναι;
for that which undergoes these things, is it not impossible that it is itself an absolute unity?
 (Plato, *Sophist* 245a)

(VI) ἐκκαλέσας γάρ με ἔνδοθεν | ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐξήλθον | εὐθύς με τύπτειν ἐπεχείρησεν
for when he called me outside, as soon as I came, he immediately attempted to beat me.
 (Lysias 3.8)

Another group of IU's is that of vocatives. Fraenkel devoted an article to the placement of the vocative and the role it plays in IU-segmentation. He describes the frequent use of the vocative in written dialogue as a way to denote intonation in writing.⁴⁵ Understanding its use helps the reader to assign emphasis and understand the overall structure of sentences better.⁴⁶ Often a Wackernagel-particle appears second position after a vocative as can be seen in (VII). This co-occurrence led to the assumption that indeed marks the separation of an utterance into two syntactically autonomous elements, be it a fronted element, apposition, infinitival or participial clause.⁴⁷

(VII) προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου | ὧ ἄνδρες | ἤκον **μὲν** ἀπροσδοκῆτως ἐξ ἀγροῦ |
 μετὰ **δὲ** τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ παιδίον ἐβόα [...]
when time went on, gentlemen, I arrived unexpectedly from the countryside and after dinner the child screeched [...]
 (Lysias 1.11)

Scheppers, on the other hand, notes that taking the vocative as decisive for segmentation leads to some IU's without a reason for autonomy⁴⁸, such as that you would end up with syntactically incomplete and semantically uninterpretable units that don't have a role of themselves within the

⁴⁴ Both are Scheppers' segmentation, my translation.

⁴⁵ Fraenkel (1965): 70.

⁴⁶ Fraenkel (1965): 71.

⁴⁷ Fraenkel (1965): 31.

⁴⁸ Scheppers (2011): 210-211.

discourse.⁴⁹ For him, every IU must have a function of its own, and this is not the case when the vocative is taken to invariably mark the separation of IU's. Just like short pauses a vocative can occur within an IU, in that case yielding emphasis comparable to emphasis yielded by the particle γε.⁵⁰

A yet more fickle group of IU's is that of fronted elements and appositions. Both are elements that do belong to a clause, but are not a part of its syntactical structure. Fronted elements are constituents that are moved to the left of the clause, because they in some way introduce the clause.⁵¹ These may or may not be seen as separate IU's, and according to Scheppers this depends on the scope of the fronted element.⁵² This can be seen in the following example given by Scheppers:

(VIII) κατὰ τὴν χθὲς ὁμολογίαν, ὧ̄ Σώκρατες, ἤκομεν | αὐτοῖ τε κοσμίως | καὶ τόνδε τινὰ ξένον ἄγομεν, [...]

according to the agreement yesterday, Socrates, we have come, both with ourselves as we were supposed to and we have brought this stranger, ...

(Plato, *Sophist* 218c⁵³)

As can be gathered from the context, the agreement was that they should come, so the scope of the fronted element underlined is only ἤκομεν and therefore Scheppers analyzes it as one IU and places the boundary after ἤκομεν. In this example we also see that not always a vocative needs to be seen as an IU-boundary.

In the next example Scheppers shows how fronted elements can have a larger scope:

(IX) ἔξεστι τοίνυν | τῶν παρόντων | ὃν ἂν βουλευθῆς ἐκλέξασθαι, | πάντες γὰρ ὑπακούσονται σοι πράως | συμβούλω μὴν ἐμοὶ χρώμενος | τῶν νέων τινὰ αἵρήσῃ | Θεαίτητον τόνδε | ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων | εἴ τις σοι κατὰ νοῦν.

It is allowed now to choose from those present whomever you wish, for they all will respond gently to you; but following my advice you will take someone of the young ones, that Theaitetos or also one of the others, if there is someone that you have in mind.

(Plato, *Sophist* 217d⁵⁴)

⁵⁰ Scheppers (2011): 212.

⁵¹ Scheppers (2011): 200.

⁵² Scheppers (2011): 225.

⁵³ Scheppers (2011): 203; his segmentation, my translation.

⁵⁴ Scheppers (2011): 198; his segmentation, my lay-out and translation.

The scope of ἔξεστι τοίνυν consists of more than one IU: the infinitive ἐκλέξασθαι in the second IU that is marked by ἄν is dependent of the verb ἔξεστι. This IU-overarching scope is what is decisive for Scheppers in identifying fronted elements as separate IU's. Another example was in (IV), in which διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς was followed by two modifiers in separate IU's.

Appositions are add-on words or word groups that are not needed for the preceding clause to be syntactically complete. They often represent an afterthought, clarification or amendment of what is presented in the preceding clause. In that way, they are the same as the Tails from the Pragmatic Word Order Model.

The main characteristic of appositions is that they occupy a syntactical position which is already occupied by another item.⁵⁵ We will see examples of this from the tragic corpus later on, but an example can also be found in (IX) above: the syntactical function of Θεαίτητον τόνδε, is already fulfilled in the preceding IU by τινά.

Now we have discussed the segmentation criteria and their comparative decisiveness and restrictions, a quick summary is in place. Therefore, the table underneath shows an overview of all segmentation criteria and some characteristics for further reference. These criteria have been used to identify the IU-boundaries in the messenger stories in Appendices A and B.

Criterion	Decisiveness?
Wackernagel-particles	Decisive
Main clauses	Decisive
Subordinate clauses	Always when adverbial, sometimes when relative.
Infinitival clauses	Depends on placement and level of complexity
Participial clauses	Genitivus absolutus: always Other: depends on level of complexity
Appositions	Decisive, when their syntactical function is already fulfilled by a preceding element. Not decisive when their syntactical function is just not a necessary function for the clause

⁵⁵ Scheppers (2011): 198.

Fronted elements	When they have scope larger than only the IU that follows
Enumerations	Depends on form, level of complexity and expectation
Vocatives	Often but not always

To exemplify how this segmentation works in the tragic texts, first without regard to metre, let us consider the following passage, which is the first full sentence of the messenger story of the Bacchae. I have chosen to leave out the punctuation and verse endings to ensure that I would not be guided by these in segmenting the text.

(1) ἐπεὶ | θεράπνας τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονὸς λιπόντες | ἐξέβημεν Ἀσωποῦ ῥοάς | λέπας
 Κιθαιρώνειον εἰσεβάλλομεν | Πενθεύς τε κἀγώ | δεσπότη **γὰρ** εἰτόμην | ξένος θ' ὄς ἡμῖν
 πομπὸς ἦν θεωρίας.

When, after having left the dwelling places of this Thebaian land, we came upon the streams of the Asopos, the bare Kithairan hills we reached, Pentheus and me – for I was following my master - and the stranger, that for us was the guide of our excursion.

(Euripides, *Bacch.* 1043-1047)

For all these IU-boundaries, a syntactical reason from the table above is applicable. In (1) the Wackernagel-connectives and all verbal heads (participles, infinitives or finite verbs that are the head of a Verb Phrase) have been highlighted to make the segmentation even more intelligible. To further make the considerations underlying this segmentation explicit, let's consider all IU's from the passage above separately.

ἐπεὶ = a fronted element, as a conjunction connected to the verb ἐξέβημεν and therefore having a scope larger than only the IU that comes directly after it. It can be classified as a textual regulatory IU that might also have a communicational function to draw attention to the story that will be told from thereon. Seeing that messenger stories regularly start with ἐπεὶ⁵⁶ it makes sense to assume this communicational function as introducing the fact that a longer story is coming.

θεράπνας τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονὸς λιπόντες =
 a participial phrase that takes a complex and long argument.

⁵⁶ W. Allan: 329. This is the case for instance in *Alcestis* v. 158, *Heracleides* v. 800, *Andromache* v. 1085, *Electra* v. 774 and *Heracles* v. 923.

ἐξέβημεν Ἄσωποῦ ῥοάς =

an adverbial subordinate finite clause, according to Scheppers the kind of subordinate finite clause that almost exceptionless is an IU of itself⁵⁷.

λέπας Κιθαιρώνειον εἰσεβάλλομεν =

a main finite clause, always one or more IU's of itself.

Πενθεύς τε κἀγώ =

a new IU, marked by a Wackernagel-particle.

δεσπότη γὰρ εἰπόμην =

a main clause, therefore a new IU, marked by a Wackernagel-particle.

ξένος θ' ὅς ἡμῖν πομπὸς ἦν θεωρίας =

a new IU, marked by a Wackernagel-particle. Within the same IU is a subordinate relative clause, which need not but can be uttered as a separate IU. Regarding the occurrence of elision between θ' and ὅς, it can be assumed that they form a prosodic unity which points in the direction of them being one IU.

2.3 The Metre's Breathing Pauses and IU-boundaries

The tragic metre is an iambic trimeter, consisting of three iambic metra, usually resulting in a total of twelve syllables per verse. One of the main aspects that makes tragic mono- or dialogue suitable for analysis as a spoken language is that we can be sure that it was indeed spoken; Therefore, it needed to follow enough rules of actual spoken language to be processable for the audience. Also, the iamb, the building block of the iambic trimeter, has been identified as coming quite natural to Greek.⁵⁸

The trimeter itself is quite long to utter in one breath. This results in a breakdown of the verse into two metrical units -called *cola*-, separated by a caesura. It has been established that the trimeter has two possible caesurae, the penthemimeres and heptemimeres at which word end and hiatus are more often realized than at other places.⁵⁹ In most verses, one of these two is realized as caesura and breathing pause in the verse.⁶⁰ If none of these two is realized, possibly halfway in the verse an alternative breathing pause is realized⁶¹, as for instance in Bacchae 1125.

⁵⁷ Scheppers (2011): 194.

⁵⁸ Sicking (1993): 88; Soltic (2014): 98.

⁵⁹ Sicking (1993): 95.

⁶⁰ Sicking (1993): 95.

⁶¹ Sicking (1993): 96.

The two cola, separated by a breathing pause, are of an appropriate length to be Intonation Unit.⁶² Intonation Units are also often marked by a breathing pause. With that, the expectation arises that the borders of the two types of segments often coincide.

The trimeter, however, is a bit shorter than the Intonation Unit in Ancient Greek and therefore it can be expected that there are less IU-boundaries than there are the breathing pauses at verse end and caesurae combined.

There exist different views on the value of caesura: whether it is only a rhythmical break or that it should denote something more. I will regard caesura as realized, when there is real word end at the predefined locations of pentemimeres, heptemimeres and more rarely *Mittelzäsur*. This means that I do not regard caesura as realized when the words around it form a single group. When regarding only caesurae that mark the end of an idea, we get very close to the concept of IU's already and that defeats the purpose of this section. Also, I think that caesurae are mainly formal: they provide rhythm to the verses and I think that therefore they should be regarded as such.

In some cases, this can be connected to IU-boundary and in other cases it only marks the end of a prosodic unity: it is not the case that every IU-boundary needs a breathing pause and therefore a caesura, nor that every caesura or breathing pause necessarily is an IU-boundary. It is just the case that these two types of boundaries in the verse often coincide. In the following example, we see how in this case all IU-breaks correspond to a breathing pause in the verse, but that some of these breathing pauses are not IU-boundaries as can be identified by Scheppers' criteria.

Using these criteria, I have segmented the messenger stories into Intonation Units. By and large, the natural breaks of the metre coincide with the IU-boundaries as can be seen in Graph 1 underneath. These criteria resulted in a total of 319 separate IU's and the graph beneath shows their distribution in the metre⁶³. All categories introduced in the graph will be dealt with in the coming subchapters. The realized pentemimeres and heptemimeres are in Appendices A and B and from here on in the examples indicated by respectively ^p and ^h.

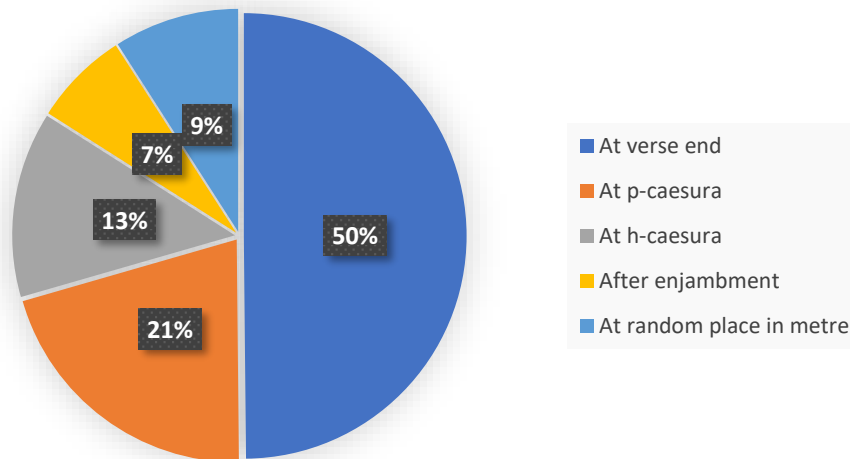
⁶² According to Chafe the IU in English has a modal length of 4. The average length of regulatory IU's is 1.36 words and that of substantive IU's is 4.84 words (Chafe (1994): 65). The length differs among languages but something similar can be expected of Ancient Greek. The colon in the trimeter is 5-8 syllables long and looking at the data in the appendices this length would fit better than the length of the verse to correspond to 4-word IU's.

⁶³ Please note that some of the IU-borders are debatable. These make up less than 1% of the total amount so they are not significant.

Not only the caesurae play a role, there is also verse end, which normally constitutes a pause. In cases of enjambment, often the pause is moved backwards until after the *run-on* word. This is what I call 'moved verse end'.

But let us first turn to the relation between IU-boundaries and the verse form.

Graph 1: Placement of IU-boundaries in the verse



Though we can see that IU and breaks in the metre most often coincide, this is not always the case.

The other way around, as well, of the actualized p- and h-caesura only about 42% coincides with IU-break. Therefore, we cannot conclude that we can use the caesurae for defining the IU-breaks and that it is a more delicate matter.

However, it is on 9% of the time that an IU break occurs at a place that does not provide a regular metrical break. These occur mostly within and around embedded speech or in hectic parts of the story. Based on that, the marking of IU-boundaries by metrical breaks can be considered noteworthy. It is a sign of the possibility of IU-boundary. This is also in line with the evidence found by Dik.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Dik (2007): 36.

3 Pragmatic Word Order Analysis on the basis of IU's

Non-clausal IU's have been named ECC's in S.C. Dik's theory of Functional Grammar. These are extraclausal constituents, which may precede, interrupt or follow a clause. H. Dik (1997) describes them to be bracketed off by pause-like inflections in the intonation pattern and as not being essential to the structure of the clause proper⁶⁵ – criteria similar to those found in Scheppers. ECC's can have various functions: management of interaction, comments on the content of the clause or organisation of the content.

We have seen that Dik and Allan identified three types of ECC's: Themes and Settings that precede the clause and Tails that follow the clause. These are all content-ECC's, but there are also the regulatory IU's as seen in 2.1. These function on the level of discourse organisation or even communication. They do not feature in my thesis as PWO-analysis cannot be applied to these IU's: they often consist of only one word or of words that always take first or second position and therefore word order analysis is not a very interesting endeavour. Also, because they function on the communicative or organisational rather than on the referential level, the term Focus cannot be applied to them in the same way as they can to the IU's that do have referential value. The same goes for vocatives. They are respectively marked 'regIU' and 'voc' in the appendices for reference.

To the other non-clausal IU's I will try to apply word order analysis. From Dik the expectation arises that this would lead to overcolonization of a text and thereby to assigning too many elements focus-position. My aim is to find out within which of the ECC-types focal position can be assigned, so to each different function I will attribute a chapter and see if focal position is fitting to apply within themes, settings or tails.

The anecdote in the first paragraph 'starting the story' functions as a test-case. I will first apply clausal word order analysis and then the proposed IU-based word order analysis to the first sentence of the messenger story from *Helen*. In this way, I will provide an overview of the issues that will be addressed by the chapters that follow.

In addition to the categories of IU's provided by Allan, one other category of ECC's will come to light, namely that of IU's that are not part of the plot but only of the story. The difference between these two is that the plot is only what happens and that the story is what is told: what is added there is the mediation by the storyteller. These can be comments on the plot, explications, prospective elements, comparisons or else.

⁶⁵ S.C. Dik (1997): 310-311.

The last phenomenon that is of our concern is hyperbaton. Oftentimes, this occurs around the verb, turning the first part into pragmatically marked and the second part into pragmatically unmarked material. In 3.2 some hyperbata in the messenger stories will be discussed, so that it can be used when coming across hyperbata in the different non-finite clauses that will be dealt with in sections 3.3-3.6.

3.1 Starting the Story

The first passage (v. 1526-29) of the messenger story in *Helen* is a sentence that consists of two clauses, each resulting in a separate clausal word order analysis. I have underlined the finite verbs and their arguments. After applying this clausal word order analysis, I will discuss each IU of the passage and address the following questions: how is the IU-segmentation motivated, to what category of IU's does it belong and how would IU-based word order analysis go?

- (2) ἐπεὶ | λιποῦσα ^P τούσδε βασιλείους δόμους |
 ἢ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς ^P πρὸς θάλασσαν ἐστάλη |
 σοφώταθ' | ἄβρὸν ^P πόδα τιθεῖσ' | ἀνέστενε [E]
πόσιν | πέλας παρόντα ^h κού τεθνηκότα |
When, after having left the kings house,
the daughter of Zeus went towards the sea,
wisely, placing her delicate foot, she bewailed
her husband, who was close by and not dead.

(Hel. 1526-29)

Clausal word order in this case results in the following analysis of the two clauses:

ἐπεὶ | λιποῦσα τούσδε βασιλείους δόμους_{Setting} ἢ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς_{Topic} πρὸς θάλασσαν_{Focus} ἐστάλη_{Verb}
 σοφώταθ' ἄβρὸν πόδα τιθεῖσ'_{Setting}
 ἀνέστενε πόσιν_{BF} πέλας παρόντα κού τεθνηκότα_{Tail}

According to this analysis, the foci result in a summary consisting of 'towards the sea' and 'she bewailed her husband who was close by and not dead'. This is a rather concise, but accurate summary of the information presented about the Topic ἢ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς.

Now it is time to see what an IU-based word order analysis might add to the analysis above. To show all the issues concerned with the different types of ECC's, I will go through each of the IU's separately. The reasoning shown here has been used throughout the messenger stories, resulting in the segmentation as found in Appendices A and B. Please not that in some cases there are multiple realizations of IU-segmentation possible on the basis of the text, depending on the preferences of

the actor. I have made my choice in those cases on the basis of the iambic metre and its breaks (caesurae, verse end or moved verse end after enjambment).

ἐπεὶ a fronted element, introducing the subordinate clause, and therefore having scope over the next two IU's. As we already saw in 2.2, this is a regulatory IU and will not be discussed in more detail.

λιποῦσα^p *τούσδε βασιλείους δόμους* a participial clause that can be marked as setting of the subordinate clause. The right end of the IU is at verse end.

Because the participial clause is syntactically complete at longer pause is expected at verse end, marking the IU break to the next part. The word order within can be described as broad focus, with the participial in front and the argument behind it. This IU will be discussed in more detail in 3.4.

Whether the word order within this Setting should actually be analyzed as Broad Focus can be questioned, because the audience, Theoklymenos and the messenger already know that she had left the palace. So stating this is merely providing a commonly known starting point for the story. It is definitely not the case that only part of the words is focal and the rest is not, because all the elements in it have an equal attribution to this function. So if there is Focus within it, then it definitely is Broad Focus.

σοφώταθ' Allan took it as an adverb to the finite verb *ἀνέστανε* and not to the participle that is closer⁶⁶. This makes it IU-overarching and therefore a separate IU. A breathing pause cannot be expected after this word, because of occurrence of elision from this word to the next. Allan points out that *σοφώταθ'* is the first of several remarks that show the Messenger's knowledge of the deceit discovered later in the story.⁶⁷ Set apart as a separate IU this therefore is a Narrator's IU. Being only one word long, IU-based PWO-analysis marks the word as Focus.

ἀθρόν^p *πόδα τιθεῖσ'* there is probably no breathing pause after it because of elision. However, it is a complete, rather elaborate participial clause. Semantically it seems like a verse-filler, because the information in it with regard to the plot is completely redundant: of course she is placing her feet when she is going towards the sea. However, it cannot be PreMat of the preceding clause if indeed *σοφώταθ'* should be taken with *ἀνέστανε*. Therefore, it needs to be marked as Setting to *ἀνέστανε πόσιν*. Word order within it can be analyzed as Focus Verb.

But what is the resulting semantic salience of this focus? My interpretation is that it adds irony: it marks the contrast between Helen's beauty and her deceit. This is also substantiated by the

⁶⁶ Allan (2008): 330.

⁶⁷ Allan (2008): 330.

juxtaposition of σοφώταθ' and ἄβρὸν: on the one hand, the word that encapsulates the deceit and on the other the word that reflects her beauty.

This analysis gives the IU of ἄβρὸν πόδα τιθεῖσ' the same status as the other two that are still left to discuss: σοφώταθ' and πέλας παρόντα κού τεθνηκότα: a narrator's remark on his story. This does not make them the most salient IU's concerning information that propels the plot, but they are salient concerning information communicated: these IU's create the suspense and irony that makes the story interesting.

ἀνέστενε πόσιν the IU-break is placed after the run-on word, at what I call moved verse end.

Normally and IU-break is expected at verse end and in most other cases it occurs after the run-on element. The word order can be described as Broad Focus, which is in accordance with the salience that the words should have in the plot, it is the whole predicate that forms the core action of the passage discussed in this section.

πέλας παρόντα κού τεθνηκότα the content of this IU cannot be considered presuppositional, so consequentially the constituent is marked as Tail. In terms of news value, this is the core information that is presented in the sentence, as the rest was already known by the addressee. The two elements in this Tail are placed on par with each other by καί. In terms of meaning, the second part of it is slightly more loaded. In this second part there is no room for word order variation as it is just one word that can be assigned focus. The first part does allow for variation, and according to the model these two words can be seen either as Topic-Focus or as Focus-Verb. There is definitely no topicality to πέλας, and saying it has focus does make sense. It is possible to see the verb itself as unmarked, as πέλας already carries the implication that he is there.

From this chapter, the different sections that are to follow have been introduced by the use of a single passage. We have seen examples of Theme, Setting, Tail and Narrator's IU's.

For now, we can summarize that IU-based word order analysis allowed for the more salient position of both πέλας παρόντα κού τεθνηκότα and σοφώταθ'. But we cannot conclude anything from this single passage yet. The main goal of this discussion was to introduce the different issues concerned and place them in a context. First, we will go into hyperbaton as the occurrence of this device in non-clausal IU's might provide some insight in the usefulness of IU-based PWO-analysis and after that we will go on to more systematically approach the different types of ECC's.

3.2 Hyperbaton and Word Order

Hyperbaton is a very well-known and often-occurring phenomenon in Ancient Greek; not only in poetry but also in prose. It is interesting with regard to word order analysis, as a constituent is broken up into two pieces that fill different pragmatic slots.

Most of the hyperbata in my data occur in finite clauses and are Noun Phrases (NP) that are interrupted by a verb. This means that the most salient part of the NP is placed preverbal and that the other, postverbal part is pragmatically unmarked PreMat. This is in agreement with the findings of Devine and Stephens about the most regular occurring type of hyperbaton.⁶⁸

The amount of cases of hyperbaton in the messenger stories is rather limited. There is room for discussion about what actually constitutes hyperbaton - but for the current purposes I will only consider the following types, which occurred in my corpus:

- when a noun phrase is interrupted by something that is not dependent⁶⁹ of one of the words that forms the noun phrase;
- when a participle and its dependent is interrupted by a governing verb (*Helen* 1544).

The common denominator of these hyperbata is that something that together forms a node in a syntax tree is interrupted by an element that is on a higher level in the syntax tree. I have added all the cases considered in appendix C. In most of these cases, the modifier is fronted and the head is moved backwards. The modifier is thereby emphasized and the head turned into unmarked PreMat, as can be seen in the example below:

(3) **βακχεῖον** ἀντέκλαζον ^h ἀλλήλαις **μέλος** |
they sang a Bacchic song taking turns.

(*Bacch.* 1057)

There are only a few nouns that can be expected to take the adjective *Bacchic* (probably rites, songs or dances), and after the verb ἀντέκλαζον it is narrowed down to songs, thereby making μέλος presuppositional. The cases in *Helen* 1539-40, *Bacchae* 1059, *Bacchae* 1097, *Bacchae* 1103, *Helen* 1596, *Helen* 1612, *Bacchae* 1048, and *Bacchae* 1141 are comparable, and the first four of these are non-clausal IU's in which a participle separates the two parts of the hyperbaton.

⁶⁸ Cf. Devine & Stephens (2000) – Ch. 2: The meaning of Y1 Hyperbaton in Prose.

⁶⁹ For example “Ἕλληνας ἄνδρες Μενέλεω ξυνέμποροι in *Helen* 1538 is not a hyperbaton, because Μενέλεω depends on ξυνέμποροι.

It can also be the case that the head precedes the modifier:

- **κορμούς** ἔχοντες **ναυτικούς** (*Helen* 1601),
- **ὄχλος** πᾶς ἐπέϊχε **βακχῶν** (*Bacchae* 1130-31).

In these cases, it is the modifier that is presuppositional and the head that is in the pragmatically marked position. In the context this fits very well, as the only κορμούς available on the ship are of course ναυτικούς. And there is only one ὄχλος in the story of the Bacchae and that is the ὄχλος βακχῶν.

We have seen how hyperbaton around a participle can be interpreted in the same way as hyperbaton in clauses. This points in the direction that the PWO-model works for participial clauses as well as for finite clauses.

3.3 Word order within Themes

Most of the constituents that fall within this category can easily be identified by the occurrence of Wackernagel-particles or conjuncts at another place than the second place in the sentence or clause. We have seen them already being recognized by Dik and marked as themes by Matić and Allan. They also occur as overarching topics of which multiple sub-topics are introduced, as seen in the shoe-example in (III). Because these themes are usually just single noun phrases, there is not much room for word order variation within them. My main question, therefore, lies in whether or not these themes should be regarded as separate foci or not.

Attributing focus to these themes can be connected to the ‘one new idea constraint’ introduced in 1.2. If indeed these themes function to separately introduce new or relatively inaccessible topics, it would make sense to attribute focus position to them. If not attributing focus, this theme position is not so different from regular topic position. To illustrate that, let’s consider the example given by Chafe⁷⁰:

- A: Have the .. animals,
- A: (0.1) ever attacked anyone in a car?
- B: (1.2) Well I
- B: well I heard of an elephant,
- B: .. that sat down on a VW one time.

In the example above both the animals and the elephant are introduced in a separate IU and a subsequent IU includes these loose referents as participants in events or states. Chafe notes that the

⁷⁰ Chafe (1994): 67.

existence of such IU's show that sometimes speakers focus on a referent alone. He uses the word focus, which of course calls the pragmatic term 'focus' to mind.

S.C. Dik (1987) defines focus as: the information the speaker judges to be new to the addressee, or to be a piece of information that needs extra emphasis, for instance because of surprise or contrast.⁷¹ Therefore, introducing a new referent or when reintroducing that referent after some time, corresponds to the definition.

The main reason not to attribute focus position to themes is that because in the larger context of the sentence, these themes do function as topic.

To find out whether indeed there is focus within these themes and whether in the cases in which there is room for variation word order can be described using the pragmatic word order model introduced in the introduction, I have addressed the following questions for each of the themes:

- How are Themes set apart as separate IU's and not regular topics?
- What is the content and function of Themes?
- Can you attribute focus position to or within Themes?

In the Appendices I have included a list of all the themes found, this comes to a total of 16. I will first go through a passage with two of them in detail to show how I got to the answers as presented in Appendix D1. Afterwards I will present the characteristics found to try and answer the third question in the list above.

(4) οἱ δ' ἐκβαλόντες δάκρυα_{setting} |^h ποιητῶ τρόπῳ_{narr-IU} |
ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρου_{clause} |^p Μενέλεω ποντίσματα [E]
φέροντες_{tail} | ἡμῖν δ'_{theme} |^p ἦν μὲν ἡδ' ὑποψία_{clause} |
λόγος τ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισι_{clause-ellipsis} |^h τῶν ἐπεσβατῶν_{theme} [E] |
ὡς πλῆθος εἶη_{clause} |^p
*They wept in a feigned manner,
and went to the ship, the sacrifices for Menelaos
carrying aboard. We were suspicious at this,
and said to each other that if they went aboard
it would be full of them;*

(Hel. 1547-51)

⁷¹ Dik (1987): 326-327.

The two themes concerned are underlined. They are both marked by unmovable words, in the first case the Wackernagel-particle μὲν and in the second case the placement of the conjunct ὡς. This same is the case in *Helen* 1576 and *Bacchae* 1108. Comparable is a case of πρίν in *Bacchae* 1149.

In (11) the group that makes up ‘us/we’: ἡμῖν has been away from the attention for some time. The preceding passages are about Menelaos, Helen and the other Greeks. Now the attention shifts back towards the messenger and his fellow Egyptians and the audience hears about their reaction.

Whether this ‘attention’ can be named ‘focus’ is the question. I think in this case yes, because when thinking what happens cognitively is that first the audience is reminded of the group of Egyptians and afterwards separately hears about the reaction. This differs from regular topics, because these only ascertain that something is the current topic before the focal element is uttered.

Beside the ‘do not introduce and talk about’-reason, the other reason for being a separate IU is that ἡμῖν is IU-overarching. This means that its scope stretches out over the two following IU’s: *for us there was suspicion and word* (ὑποψία λόγος τε).

The fact that τῶν ἐπεσβατῶν is syntactically and metrically set apart as an IU is more difficult to clarify, because in verse 1548 the fact of them coming aboard was stated (ἐς ναῦν ἐχώρουν).

Syntactically it is a genitive because of πλῆθος. The fact that it is a theme/topic is very clear, as it is about their going aboard that the ‘fullness’ is asserted. Within its own context: the embedded speech, this topic is newly introduced and attention is asked for *them, going* aboard.

Apart from one of them, all the themes are set apart by a feature of the metre combined with another reason: vocative, interruption by a Setting, a Wackernagle-particle.

There are two cases that I marked as themes but that were not set apart by anything else then verse end. Both occupy an entire verse and are part of a complex longer structure. One is during the silence before the storm in the *Helen* messenger story:

- (5) ἄλλοι δὲ τοίχους π δεξιούς λαιούς τ' ἴσοι_{theme} |
 ἀνὴρ παρ' ἄνδρ' ἔζονθ'_{clause} |^M ὑφ' εἵμασι ξίφη [E]
 λαθραῖ' ἔχοντες_{tail}
The rest, equally divided on the right and left sides
sat down, man next to man, swords under their cloaks
concealedly having [...]

(*Hel.* 1573-76)

In this case the entire verse is occupied by an introductory phrase, which grammatically is more fit to be the subject of ἔζονθ' than ἀνήρ -making the whole structure anacoluthic. The introductory phrase

is not introductory in the sense that the people themselves are not already in the picture, otherwise the word ἄλλοι would have been too vague. In the structure of the whole sentence, leading up to the chaotic scene afterwards, what this verse adds is calling an orderly image to mind that can be contrasted with the hidden swords and the following turmoil. It functions as a theme, because it can very well be said that the following two IU's are about ἄλλοι...ἴσοι.

But can we also say that word order applies within this theme? That would mean that ἄλλοι is the topic and that τοίχους δεξιούς λαιούς τ' ἴσοι is the focus. Definitely within this IU this is the case, as τοίχους δεξιούς λαιούς τ' ἴσοι is indeed about ἄλλοι and conveys the most salient information that is restated with ἀνὴρ παρ' ἀνδρ' ἔζονθ' and contrasted with what follows.

(6) |^P "Φέρε περιστᾶσαι κύκλω_{setting} |
 πτόρθου λάβεσθε_{εclause} |^P μαινάδες_{voc} | τὸν ἀμβάτην [E]
 θῆρ'_{theme} | ὡς ἔλωμεν_{clause} |^P μηδ' ἀπαγγεῖλη θεοῦ [E]
 χοροὺς κρυφαίους"_{clause} |^P

*"Come on, standing in a circle,
 let's take a branch, mainades, so that we can seize
 the animal that climbed up, so that he will not tell others
 the secret dances of the god."*

(Bacch. 1106-1109)

Due to the placement of ὡς the object τὸν ἀμβάτην θῆρ' is set apart from its clause. Both the ὡς- and μηδ'- clause are about τὸν ἀμβάτην θῆρ', though in the first it is the object and in the second it is the subject so they don't fit syntactically. However, regarding news value, this is the first time Agaue mentions Pentheus and semantically this is a very unrespectful way of referring to him. For the audience of the messenger story this topic is very accessible, but not for the audience for this piece of embedded speech within the plot (the rest of the Bacchae). By calling him 'animal' it is clear that Agaue doesn't recognize his son and that she sees him as prey. Attributing him a separate IU is therefore motivated, in the same way as some other themes within the narrative: you do not introduce a referent and talk about him in the same breath.

In 10 of the cases it can be said that the attention is newly drawn to the element in theme position. As said earlier, it is possible to ascribe focal attention to these elements, even though in the larger context the function of their (re)introduction is to say something new about them.

There are also three cases in which the content of the theme is more accessible, because they are part of a category that is already active in the discourse.

The other three cases are more exceptional. One of them is already discussed above in (5) and has an almost clausal status because the sentence is anacoluthic or ellipsical. This leaves two cases to discuss. The first occurs when Pentheus is speaking in *The Bacchae* and the second in a rather chaotic part of the messenger story in *Helen*.

(7) Ἐγὼ τοι_{theme} |^p μήτηρ_{voc} |^h εἰμί παῖς σέθεν_{clause} [e] |

Πενθεύς_{tail} | ὄν ἔτεκες ἐν δόμοις Ἐχίονος_{clause} |

“I, mother, am the son from your womb,

Pentheus, whom you gave birth to in the house of Echion.

(*Bacch.* 1118-1119)

It is set apart by the vocative, and though this is not a decisive segmentation criterion, in this case both the fact that ἐγὼ is only ever used when emphasized and τοι also has an emphasizing function, it makes sense to see it as an isolated element.

(8) σπουδῆς δ' ὕπο [E]

ἔπιπτον_{clause} | οἱ δ' ὠρθοῦντο_{clause} |^h τοὺς δὲ κειμένους_{theme} [E] |

νεκροὺς ἄν εἶδες_{clause} |^p

In their eagerness,

some fell, some stood upright, others lying

dead you would have seen.

(*Hel.* 1604-06)

In (16) the theme is clearly set apart by the placement of the Wackernagel-particle ἄν. Semantically κειμένους is in clear contrast with the word ὠρθοῦντο. In that way, the attention shifts back and forth, first from falling people, to standing people and then to lying people- who are the topic of the next IU: because *about* the lying people that you could see them being dead is said. In this case seeing this element as focal does not seem very informative, as from the previous ἔπιπτον the logical result is that there are people lying. This makes the topic fairly accessible and not newly introduced. It is very much like the ECTop's we discussed earlier.

But there were two possible reasons for something to be focal, of which the first -being presented as new information- is not applicable. The other reason, however, is applicable: when something is given extra emphasis, as a means to communicate surprise or contrast. The latter is the case here. Also, I think that the breathing pause after the theme -and thus the setting apart as theme of τοὺς δὲ κειμένους adds suspense and thereby adding impact to the word νεκροὺς. One can envision a storyteller: “And those people on the ground.... Dead.”

We have seen that all theme elements have a reason to be marked as focus because of their status of being newly introduced. The definition of focus is that it is ‘that which is new or emphasized in an utterance’, so something newly introduced should be marked as focus. This has been connected to Lambrechts maxim of not introducing and talking about a new referent within one utterance and Chafe’s one new idea-constraint. The word order analysis prompted by regular clausal word order analysis has proven to be applicable and the cases that the theme contained a verbal head and in a few cases a form of εἰμί could be inserted, strengthening the idea of introducing a referent. Also, with regard to the fact that difference exists between themes which are both syntactically and prosodically separated from the rest of a clause and regular topics, it is very credible that this distinction should have pragmatic meaning as well.

3.4 Word order within Settings

Settings are separate intonation units that provide a temporal, spatial and/or other framework for the following clause. In Ancient Greek, they are often participial clauses made up of multiple constituents. They can also be longer adverbial phrases.

The criteria I have used to identify them have already been introduced in 2.2. Most of the times they are set apart because they are quite long and complex, and sometimes they are set apart by vocatives or IU-introducing words, such as conjuncts and Wackernagel-particles. In the table in Appendix D2 I have included how their right boundary is marked. This is most of the time by verse end and because the participial clause itself is syntactically complete.

Because of the length of the elements and because they often have a verbal head, it is possible to try to apply pragmatic word order analysis to them. I have taken the participle as filling the slot that is usually the verb. This means that in cases that the participle, just like the verb, can also move to Topic or Focus position or form Broad Focus together with one or more of its arguments.

To show how word order analysis seems to be applicable, let’s consider the start of the messenger stories. They both start with a participial clause after the introductory ἐπεὶ, and in these clauses the variation is very clear, with the participle in front in the first and at the end in the second:

- (9) a. λιποῦσα τοῦσδε βασιλείους δόμους (*Helen* 1526)
 b. θεράπνας τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονὸς λιπόντες (*Bacchae* 1043-44)

When applying word order analysis to these IU’s, the first makes the participle part of a broad focus and the second leaves the participle unmarked. This can be motivated by the circumstances: in the case of Helen leaving, the main issue is that she is *gone* from Theoklymenos’ house, whereas the main thing in *Bacchae* is that they left *civilization*.

Now that the fact that variation occurs within participial clauses has been illustrated, let's turn to whether or not they can indeed communicate information that is as salient as that which is communicated by main finite clauses. Because of the definition of Settings -providing background material for a clause- it should be the case that they provide information less salient than the clauses. This is true for the cases in NR (17), and it actually is true for almost all of the settings. From the total of 34 there is only one exception:

- (10) διαφυγών δ' ἐγὼ_{BF} φόνον_{PreMat} [E]
καθῆκ' ἑμαυτὸν ^p εἰς ἄλ' ^h ἄγκυραν πάρα |
But escaping death
I let myself down by the anchor into the sea;
(HeI. 1614-1615)

In this example, the information given by the participle seems to be more important than the following finite clause, which just elaborates on it. Word order within this setting can be analysed as seen in the text. This analysis is in line with the context, as indeed the most salient new thing is that the messenger is talking about himself and that he escaped. What he escaped -death- can be derived from the battle described before, which makes it acceptable as PreMat.

However, looking at it from another perspective, the argument can be turned around. The interpretation above is based on the fact that *what happened* (he escaped death) is more important than *how it happened* (via the anchor). However, if you think about news factor: the fact that the messenger is there to tell his story makes the fact that he saved himself presuppositional. How he did it is what is new in this passage. So even in this example we see that the setting is only preparatory and never the most salient.

- (11) **κάν** τῷδε μόχθῳ_{setting} |^p τοῦτ' **ἄρα** σκοπούμενοι_{setting} |
and during this work, the watched this
(HeI. 1537)

The case of *κάν τῷδε μόχθῳ* is most clearly showing that the applying the concept of focus to the Setting-IU's is not possible in the same way as it is in clauses. This is because of the preparatory/background-providing function Settings have. In *Helen* 1537 *κάν τῷδε μόχθῳ* is used to anchor the clause that follows into the situation sketched in the passage right before it (1533-36). The setting itself is not adding any information that is not new, apart from making explicit what the situation is in which the action of the clause takes place.

But it still seems possible to apply the PWO-model to these settings, even though they are always inferior and only preparatory for the main clauses. One of the arguments for applying the model to them is the presence of hyperbaton in them.

In my corpus, there are two cases of hyperbaton in settings:

- (12) Πενθεὺς δ' ὁ τλήμων_{theme} |^P θῆλον οὐχ ὀρῶν ὄχλον_{setting} |
 ἔλεξε τοιάδ'_{clause} |^P ᾧ ξέν'_{voc} |^h οὔ μὲν ἔσταμεν_{clause} |
 οὐκ ἐξικνοῦμαι ^P μαινάδων ὄσσοις νόθων_{clause} |
 ὄχθων δ' ἐπ' ἀμβὰς ^P ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα_{setting} |
 ἴδοιμ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ^P μαινάδων αἰσχροργίαν_{clause} |
*But the poor Pentheus not seeing the group of women
 said this: 'Stranger, where we are standing now,
 I don't reach those notorious mainades with my eyes;
 On the hills, climbed into a high-necked fir,
 I would be able to see the misbehaviours of the mainades well.*
 (Bacch. 1058-62)

- (13) ἐκ δὲ ^h ταυρείου φόνου [E]
 Ἀτρέως σταθεὶς παῖς_{setting} |^P ἀνεβόησε συμμάχους_{clause} |
*and from the bull slaying
 the son of Atreus standing up, he cried out to his comrades: [...]*
 (Hel. 1590-91)

The first passage actually has two cases of discontinuous Noun Phrases: θῆλον ... ὄχλον and μαινάδων ... νόθων. The first of these is of interest here, as it occurs within a setting. The word order model is Topic-Focus-PreMat. This does not mean that Pentheus is no longer the setting, it is just that the 'not seeing' in this IU is about the relationship between Pentheus and the women. The word ὄχλον can be considered presuppositional, as it is already known that the women were a group.

The fact that μαινάδων ... νόθων is also hyperbaton speaks against my argument that hyperbaton can be seen as evidence for the usefulness of applying PWO-analysis to all IU's, because this hyperbaton is not interrupted by a verbal head. I think νόθων is mainly added to fill the verse, but it could also be seen as Tail. The word order before it marks ὄσσοις as PreMat and as the adjective can not be seen as presuppositional it has to be a Tail. In that way it's almost like a swearword. As it is just one example and seems very much *metri causa*, I will not go into it any further.

The phrase in (13) would, from a sentence-based perspective, not be a case of hyperbaton according to the criterion given in 3.2: grammatically the participle σταθείς is the modifier of παῖς. However, from an IU-based perspective, this is a case of hyperbaton, because it takes the participle to be the verbal head of this phrase.

The problem is that word order analysis does provide an acceptable analysis, for after Ἀτρέως the word παῖς can be considered to be presupposed, but not a satisfying analysis. Why would Ἀτρέως have a more marked position than παῖς? It is possible to cast it away as *metri causa*, as no other order in which these three words can be put would fit in the metre as well as Ἀτρέως σταθείς παῖς.

Apart from one setting, **κάν** τῷδε μόχθῳ, marked on its right by ἄρα (*Helen* 1537), all settings are participial phrases. Though there is variation in the placement of the participle, most of them are placed IU-initial or IU-final. Of 27 participial settings, the participle is 13 times IU-final and 10 times IU-initial.

For all of the 10 IU-initial participles, it meant that they have a Broad Focus word order, as seen in 17a. For most of these, this can be motivated by the semantics of the setting. With more lexically rich verbs in IU-initial position than in IU-final position.

However, some of the IU-final settings are quite short and in these cases the participle is not unmarked, but focal. The cases of unmarked participles are more semantically weak verbs, such as ‘going’ or ‘having’. that can be expected on the basis of the contexts or the preparticipial words in the setting itself.

There are, however, also some problematic cases, such as *Bacchae* 1116:

- (14) ὃ δὲ μίτραν κόμης ἄπο [E]
 ἔρριψε_{νclause} | ὧς νιν^P γνωρίσασα_{setting} | μὴ κτάνοι_{clause} [e] |
He ripped his headband off his hair
so that she, recognizing him, would not kill him.
 (*Bacch.* 1115-16)

Because of the salience of recognizing, broad focus would be the expected word order. However, νιν is a Wackernagel-word and is therefore place after ὧς. It is also possible to say that νιν is the topic here both of γνωρίσασα and of μὴ κτάνοι. This makes the word order analysis applicable again, even in this case of fixed word slots.

Another problematic IU is found in *Bacchae* 1061:

(15) ὄχθων δ' ἐπ' ἀμβάσ ^P ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα_{setting}

Having climbed onto the hills, in a highnecked fir

(*Bacch.* 1061)

The problem in this setting is that it is too long. With the participle in the middle the only option would be that either ἐπ' ὄχθων is topical or that ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα is presuppositional. Neither is the case. However, Dik made the distinction between settings that are separate IU's and settings that can be part of an IU.⁷² The latter is applicable here, so ἐπ' ὄχθων is a setting for the Broad Focus ἀμβάσ ^P ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα.

In the chapter on the Narrator's IU's (3.6), however, more inserted elaborations that interrupt the regular structure will be seen. Therefore, I have marked this a case of Tail. This is also in line with the fact that the words occur within embedded speech and this disruptive, adding structure is reminiscent of actual, spontaneously produced speech.

Another problematically long setting is found in *Bacchae*:

(16) αἱ δ' ^{ECTop} ὠσὶν ἤχην ^P οὐ σαφῶς δεδεγμένα_{setting}

And they with their ears not clearly having received the sound

(*Bacch.* 1086)

I have marked αἱ δ' as ECTop in (16) as it is a contrastive topic: the topic shift needs to be marked before the setting to interpret the setting rightly, but the topic is also very accessible, meaning that there is no need to set it apart as Theme. These topic switches in the form of a pronoun + μὲν or δέ often occur at the start of clauses, but can also occur at the start of Settings—a total of six can be found in Appendix D2.

From the meaning of the sentence and the context both the sound and the ears should be considered presuppositional. Word order analysis is simply not possible, for it makes no sense to say that ὠσὶν can be the topic. For the last part of the sentence it does make sense to say that οὐ σαφῶς is in preverbal focus position.

I will finish this section with a long example in which the PWO-model serves its purpose very well in a Setting:

⁷² Dik (2007): 35.

(17) ὣς κλῶν' ὄρειον^p ὁ ξένος χεροῖν ἄγων_{setting}

Thus the stranger with his hands taking the mountain-twig

(Bacch. 1068)

Both the twig and the stranger are topics that were introduced already in the preceding passage (resp. 1063 and 1064) and the current IU is about them both: they can be seen as topics. This turns the focus on χεροῖν, which is exactly the reason that the messenger says in the next verse that *he is doing a deed not mortal*.

We have seen that in most of the Settings the PWO-analysis taking the participle as 'verb' very fittingly helped identify the focal point of the IU, even though all of these IU's were subordinated to the clauses that followed. This means that focus should be seen as something relative: when looking at smaller units, there still is something that is most important but only most important of the things within that small unit. When considering very short Settings, such as κἄν τῷδε μόχθῳ, we have to take heed of Dik's warning for overcolonization and we should not attribute focal emphasis to these single constituent Settings.

3.5 Word order within Tails

Two pragmatic word order slots in the right periphery of a sentence or clause compete with each other: that of presupposed material and tail. Not in all cases it is clear whether a postverbal element is presupposed material (PreMat) or a Tail constituent, but there are some criteria to distinguish between the two. The relevance for distinguishing between the two lies in the fact that according to my hypothesis it should be possible to apply word order analysis within tail constituent, i.e. that within every tail there is a focal element.

I will first clarify the difference between PreMat and Tail which enabled me to identify the tails that are separate IU's, which are found in the table in Appendix D3. I will go into the relevant segmentation criteria from Scheppers and also show how tails are placed in the metre of the messenger stories. Then I will describe the different forms Tails take and this chapter will end with a section to answer my research question: does word order analysis apply to tails? Due to the fact that tails as opposed to PreMat provide new information, my expectation is that indeed word order analysis can be applied or at least that Tails have a focal element or are focal as a whole. This expectation can be linked to Scheppers, who argues that right branches of an utterance are usually the newest and least presuppositional.⁷³

⁷³ Scheppers (2011): 280.

Presupposed Material needs to be accessible on the basis of the information available, either within the text itself or in the surroundings in which the text is uttered. This can be seen for instance in *πρὸς οὐδὰς* and *Πενθεύς* earlier in (19). An example where the content of PreMat can be derived from the circumstances is in *Helen* 1595 where first Menelaos urges his men to slaughter the Egyptians and then the Egyptian boatswain gives *the opposite comment*. This is something that can be expected from the circumstances if we already know that he is saying something. The constituent or constituents may or may not be necessary for the syntax of the clause. It does not form an IU of itself and is therefore pragmatically unmarked.

A Tail constituent, on the other hand always forms a separate IU, and therefore should never be a necessary part of the syntax of the preceding clause. As it is an IU of itself, it is pragmatically more marked than PreMat. However, according to Scheppers, the tail is often only loosely attached to an anecdote as a whole.⁷⁴ The relevant segmentation criteria are of two types: those of what Scheppers calls appositions (cf. appositions in the overview given at the end of 2.2) and those about complex participial clauses (cf. participial clauses in the overview). Also when the postverbal element is clearly not presuppositional -when it provides new information- this means that the element should be analyzed as Tail.

An indefinite criterion that can distinguish between PreMat and Tail are whether or not there is a metrical indication for a breathing pause preceding the postverbal element in question. If this is the case it points in the direction of Tail.

When looking at postverbal words constituents, there are three options: Broad Focus, PreMat and Tail. Broad Focus and Tail share the feature that they should provide emphasized or new information, and can be differentiated between because in Broad Focus the postverbal element is an argument of the verb and therefore it is closely connected to the verb. Tail is more loosely attached to the clause or an element within the clause. Some Tails can also be seen as Narrator's IU's, but when they are in Tail position they will be treated in this chapter.

Now we know how the Tails have been identified, let's look at their content and form. This varies greatly, from single Noun Phrases to added adjectives and participles. What they all have in common is that they elaborate on something that is already said in the preceding clause.

In Appendix D3 all the Tails are listed together with how they are separated from their preceding clause and an attempt at PWO-analysis within them. This proved sometimes to work extraordinarily well and at other times failed utterly, resulting in some marked as 'not applicable'.

⁷⁴ Scheppers (2011): 305.

What is striking is that even in the cases that the PWO-model seems not applicable, there definitely is an element in the Tail that should have focus.

- (18) **ἐνθα** μαινάδες [E]
καθῆντ' _{clause} | ἔχουσαι χεῖρας ^h ἐν τερπνοῖς πόνοις _{tail} |
where the mainades
sat, having their hands in pleasurable chores.
(Bacch. 1052-53)

The section following it, v. 1054-57, gives examples of the chores the mainades busy themselves with. So, with regard of the flow of the larger discourse, the element ἐν τερπνοῖς πόνοις should have focal attention.

I will provide another example with explanation where the choice had to be made between labelling sentence-final constituents on the basis of metrical, syntactical and semantic arguments will be discussed hereafter to show how the distinction has been made and how assigning focus to elements in a Tail helps understand the flow of the discourse.

- (19) ὑψοῦ **δὲ** θάσσω _{SETTING} | ^P ὑψόθεν χαμαιριφῆς _{FSTOP} [E]
πίπτει _{VERB} πρὸς οὔδας _{PreMat} | ^P μυρίοις οἰμώγμασιν _{PreMat/TAIL} [e]
Πενθεύς _{PreMat/TAIL} | κακοῦ **γὰρ** ἐγγύς ὦν ἐμάνθανεν |
Sitting up high from high up onto the ground
he fell to the ground with countless cries
Pentheus; for he understood he was close to something bad.
(Bacchae 1111-13)

In the case above there are three clear postverbal elements in the first clause: πρὸς οὔδας, μυρίοις οἰμώγμασιν and Πενθεύς. The first one is presupposed material, as he obviously falls onto the ground and not onto something else. The second is a little less obvious, because it does not correspond to Scheppers' description of apposition necessarily fulfilling a syntactical function already fulfilled. I would argue that by the breathing pause in the p-caesura this element is set apart as a Tail anyway, for it cannot be considered presuppositional. This is because it provides new information. By opening a new IU there, Pentheus can be considered the Presupposed material of this IU, which makes sense as definitely he is presupposed otherwise the verb πίπτει would not be interpretable.

Seeing μυρίοις οἰμώγμασιν Πενθεύς as a separate IU also helps understand the larger flow of discourse, as following γὰρ-clause provides an explanation of Pentheus crying (the focus of the Tail) and not an explanation of Pentheus falling onto the ground (the focus of the clause).

But there are other problematic cases, showing that word order analysis is maybe not the way to deal with Tails.

(20) ἄλλ' ἐξεβρυχᾷτ' ^{clause} | ^P ὄμμ' ἀναστρέφων κύκλω ^{tail} |
κυρτῶν τε νῶτα ^{tail} | ^P κᾶς κέρασ παρεμβλέπων ^{tail} |
but kept bellowing loudly, rolling his eyes around;
and, arching his back and peering along his horns,
(*Hel.* 1557-58)

As can be seen in Appendix D3, the resulting PWO-analysis differed for the three tails, whereas on the basis of their content, you would expect the same functions: Topic for the three different body parts and Focus for the actions. This is not the order the Tails come in, which is probably the result of a wish for variation.

As can be seen in the appendix, apart from in the example above, Tails do not often have a Topic positions. This is logical, taking into account that they often form some elaboration on -which means they are about- an element in the main clause. This means that usually that something can be seen as the Topic of the Tail.

In (20) above, however, subtopics can be named, as parts of the bigger topic: the topic is the bull, but then subtopics could be different parts of the bull. The same can be said about the tail in (19):

(21) Μενέλεωσ δ' ἔχων ὄπλα ^{theme} |
ὅποι νοσοῖεν ^P ξύμμαχοι κατασκοπῶν ^{setting} |
ταύτη προσῆγε ^{clause} | ^P χειρὶ δεξιᾷ ξίφος ^{tail} |
But Menelaos, in full armour,
wherever he spied that his comrades were suffering,
there he would go, in his right hand a sword;
(*Hel.* 1606-08)

The Topic is introduced in 1606 as a separate Theme because he has been out of focus for a while. Menelaos remains the topic throughout the sentence, but a subtopic is specified in the Tail: his right hand. This puts Focus on the word ξίφος -sword. Even though from ἔχων ὄπλα in 1606 it can be derived that he is carrying a sword it is still a forceful word to put verse final. After this word, the narrative moves to the escape of the messenger -which obviously has to do with the threat posed by that sword.

Another type of subtopic with regard to another topic is when it refers to part of a group, as in the example below:

(22) ὀρθοὶ δ' ἀνῆξαν πάντες_{clause} |^h οἱ μὲν ἐν χεροῖν [E]

κορμούς ἔχοντες ναυτικούς_{tail} | οἱ δὲ ξίφη_{tail} |

They all leapt upright, some in their hands

Having oars, others with swords;

(*Hel.* 1600-01)

The topic remains to be πάντες (the Egyptian rowers), but two different sub-groups are identified by οἱ μὲν... οἱ δὲ with again the hands ἐν χεροῖν as sub-topic.

Yet another way of having Topic expressed in Tails is in cases of multiple Topics: when something is said about the relation between two (or possibly more) referents.⁷⁵ Consider the following case:

(23) ὧς κλῶν' ὄρειον^p ὁ ξένος χεροῖν ἄγων_{setting} |

ἔκαμπτεν ἐς γῆν_{clause} | ἔργματ' οὐχὶ θνητὰ δρῶν_{tail}

Thus the stranger with his hands taking the mountain-twig,

bowed it to the ground, doing a deed not mortal.

(*Bacch.* 1068-69)

In this case οὐχὶ θνητὰ δρῶν is about the stranger and his deed, so to the previous topic a topic is added. Similar is the added Topic in *Helen v.* 1548-49 and *Helen v.* 1618.

For making the distinction in postverbal material between presupposed material and tail constitutions, we have drawn from all the theoretical realms used throughout this thesis. We have seen that breathing pauses are often in line with the other criteria for marking something as Tail. Word order analysis within tails is not always functioning the way it normally functions, but a focal element could in all cases be identified on the basis of the flow of the larger discourse. Also, in most of the Tails it did seem to work, though the different PWO-analyses in (22) where one would expect the same structure is a strong counterargument for applying the PWO-model to Tails. However, it did not harshly deny the possibility as the resulting pragmatic positions still made sense. I think we have to allow for this kind of variation and interpret the irregularity as being there for the sake of variation.

⁷⁵ Matic (2003): 601.

3.6 The Narrator's IU's

It has been noted earlier that regulatory words, like ἐπεὶ in the start of the messenger stories, are never described in clause-based word order. These do not function on the level of the plot and the same goes for IU's that are added in the process of storytelling. We saw earlier how the word σοφώταθ' at the beginning of the messenger story about Helen was just part of a setting but that it should more rightly be analyzed as a separate IU that is a narrator's comment on what had happened.

We already saw the Tail πέλας παρόντα^h κού τεθνηκότα, which was allowed a separate IU and accompanying salience. In this paragraph I will consider the status of other such extracausal IU's that are in the story but outside of the plot, but that do not appear in Tail position, which is the usual position for such remarks.

(24) Ἕλληνες ἄνδρες |^p Μενέλεω ξυνέμποροι [e] |
προσῆλθον ἀκταῖς |^p ναυφθόροις ἡσθημένοι [E]
πέπλοισιν | εὐειδεῖς μὲν |^h ἀύχμηροὶ δ' ὄρᾱν |
The men of Hellas who had been fellow-voyagers of Menelaos
drew near the beach, clad in the rags
of shipwrecked men, handsome, but rough to look upon.

(Helen 1538-40)

In (24) Μενέλεω ξυνέμποροι can semantically be identified as extraplottal, for it denotes information that is at this point of the story not yet known to the messenger. In its placement within the sentence and verse, this is reflected by the fact that the element fills the entire colon from p-caesura to verse end setting it apart by breathing pauses, disconnecting it from Ἕλληνες ἄνδρες to which it syntactically is a modifier.

The word order within this non-clausal and extra-plottal IU can be described as Topic-Focus, as Menelaos is an accessible topic in the discourse and the IU focuses on the status of the Greek men. This does not mean that the Topic is switched, just that an extra topic is added: ξυνέμποροι is about the relation between the Greek men and Menelaos. Clausal word order analysis leaves no other option than describing it as a part of the topic Ἕλληνες ἄνδρες, thereby not being able to account for the order in which the two words appear.

An IU of the same kind we find in the following passage (with clause-based PWO-analysis shown):

(25) οἱ δ' ἐκβαλόντες δάκρυα ἠ ποιητῷ τρόπῳ_{FSTop}
 ἐς ναῦν_{FOCUS} ἐχώρουν_{VERB} Μενέλεω ποντίσματα
 φέροντες_{PreMat-}
And they, pouring out tears in a feigned manner
went onto the ship carrying sacrifices for Menelaos.
 (Helen 1547-49)

The messenger goes on to talk about how full the ship will be with all the people on it, which is in accordance with analyzing ἐς ναῦν as the focus of the sentence. However, this analysis makes ποιητῷ τρόπῳ an integral part of the topic and I do not agree with this, even though syntactically it is dependent of ἐκβαλόντες δάκρυα. Semantically, however, it is not even an integral part of the story but a comment added in the mediation from ‘what happens’ to ‘what is told’.

When applying PWO-analysis to each single IU, it leads to the following analysis:

οἱ δ' _{TOPIC} ἐκβαλόντες δάκρυα _{BF} ^h	Setting
ποιητῷ τρόπῳ _{FOCUS}	Narrator's IU
ἐς ναῦν _{FOCUS} ἐχώρουν _{VERB} ^p	Finite Clause
Μενέλεω ποντίσματα _{FOCUS} [E] φέροντες _{VERB}	Tail

This analysis results in a way more informative summary of the passage: ‘crying, fake.. **onto ship**.. sacrifices for Menelaos’ rather than just ‘onto ship’. This is a more accurate representation of what the messenger is trying to communicate to Theoklymenos. He is not only telling the facts, he is also commenting on it and preparing his audience for the outcome.

(24) and (25) were both cases in which the messenger added prospective elements to his story. For these, the focal attention that resulted from applying PWO-analysis to these IU's seemed very appropriate.

Another kind of mediation is that of comparison and metaphor. Due to their nature, they are never part of the story but added by a narrator to make the story more vivid. Both examples from the corpus come from *Bacchae* and are set apart only by breathing pauses brought about by the metre. Due to their nature, a comparison can never be cast away as presuppositional and should therefore be considered separately.

(26) αἶ δ' ἐκλιποῦσαι ποικίλ' ^{setting} | ^h ὡς πῶλοι ζυγά ^{narr-IU} | ⁷⁶
 βακχεῖον ἀντέκλαζον ^h ἀλλήλαις μέλος ^{clause} |
*and others, having left their beautifully made clothes, like foals their
 yokes, sang a Bacchic song, taking turns.*
 (Bacch. 1056-57)

(27) ἤξαν | πελείας ^p ὠκύτητ' οὐχ ἥσσονες |
 ποδῶν τρέχουσαι ^p συντόνοις δραμήμασι |
*they went with a swiftness not less than doves
 running with vehement steps of the feet,*
 (Bacch. 1090-91)

The comparison in (26) is elliptical: ἐκλιποῦσαι should be read a second time. As we do not know where to place it, this makes word order analysis virtually impossible, as it works around the verb. We can expect that the verb is placed between the two words of the comparison, thereby rendering πῶλοι the head and ζυγά presuppositional. This is in line with what should be the head of a comparison: that with which the topic is compared.

In (27) the PWO-model does not seem to work. First of all, there is no verbal head in it, so it is not possible to say there is any preverbal or postverbal slots. The word order itself seems highly associative; so much that even οὐχ ἥσσονες seems to be an afterthought to πελείας ὠκύτητ'.

The last IU that, according to me, should be marked a narrators IU that is not a clause nor a tail, is the following:

(28) ἀπεσπάραξεν ^p ὦμον ^{clause} | ^h οὐχ ὑπὸ σθένους ^{extra-IU} |
 ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς εὐμάρειαν ^h ἐπεδίδου χεροῖν ^{clause} |
*she tore his shoulder, not through strength,
 but the god endorsed her hands with ease.*
 (Bacchae 1127-1128)

οὐχ ὑπὸ σθένους is a narrator's IU because of two reasons: because what is stated in it is *not* the case in the story, it cannot be part of the story. Also, when not marking it as a separate IU, it would

⁷⁶ The comma after αἶ δ' that is in most text-editions is not necessary, as it is not distinctly needed for syntactical purposes, nor would IU-segmentation criteria suggest it. Therefore I would suggest not putting it there.

be assigned PreMat-position in a clausal analysis. However, it cannot be derived from the context. In addition to that, seeing it as PreMat disregards the contrast marked by οὐχ... ἄλλά.

A more appropriate analysis is to see the first IU as theme of the following two. In that way, two IU's are contrasted with each other and the narrator's IU is added to show contrast and induce suspense.

In this chapter, the IU's in which the narrator's mediation is voiced have been discussed. The messenger in *Helen* sneaks in many comments that hint at the later events, something that happens only once in *Bacchae*. The comments are set apart by breathing pauses that fit in the metre. We have seen that in a clausal word order analysis these comments are just parts of other pragmatic functions, but that does not make sense when thinking about their special semantical status. Most probably set apart by pronunciation the IU-based word order analysis is more true to their special status. Also for a more stylistic added IU as in (18) it was possible to apply word order analysis, which resulted in identifying the focal point that did fit in the main narrative.

4 Conclusion

Because in the existing literature about Ancient Greek Word Order attention is given to Intonation Units and the possibility of assigning focus within each of them, I have chosen to try this out. Dik warned against it, because of the possibility of over-colonization and inflation of the term *focus*, but did not propose a clear and workable alternative. Therefore, I have decided to try it out on the basis of the additions Allan did to the Pragmatic Word Order Modal. My question was whether it is possible to apply word order analysis to every Intonation Unit.

To answer this question, I have started with identifying Intonation Units in a corpus of two messenger texts. Using the syntactical criteria from Scheppers' *Colon Hypothesis* and comparing the resulting segments to the metrical breaks in the text, this resulted in a segmentation to which I could apply the labels from Allan's model: Theme, Setting, Clause, and Tail.

In addition to these four, the nature of the messenger stories invited me to name a fifth category: that of Narrator's IU's. They are of a different nature as they can occur at all places in a sentence – also as interruptions of a clause or behind themes or settings. Also, they are different because they are only loosely attached to the plot and have a different pragmatic status as such. They do not propel the plot, but they provide explanations or induce suspense.

Because the clauses are already the subject of the clausal-based word order model, they were not very interesting to look into. Therefore, every chapter dealt with one of the other four categories. I have looked at their function within the larger discourse, checked the legitimacy of assigning them the status of separate IU and tried to apply the Pragmatic Word Order model based on Dik, Allan, and Matic' to them. This meant that within each IU the following slots could be filled:

Setting - Topic { Focus - ConTop - PreMat
 \ Broad Focus

Of these only Focus needed to be filled, assuming that every Intonation Unit has a main reason to be uttered. For the slot of Verb, I have used any verbal head. Sometimes there was a case of ellipsis, which corrupted my attempt as you can never be sure where the ellipsed element can be 'thought into the text'.

For each of the categories, I will give a quick summary of my findings and then I will turn back to the initial research question: *Does the pragmatic word order-model of Ancient Greek apply not only to clauses but also to the separate Intonation Units that are added to the clause?*

Themes: We have seen that the themes in the messenger texts are indeed highly emphasized, newly introduced or re-introduced after a considerable episode about other referents. These last two correspond the maximum of 'one new idea constraint' or Lambrecht's maxim of not introducing and talking about a referent within the same utterance. With their status of being new in the discourse, they correspond to the definition of focus and should therefore indeed be attributed focus.

Settings: word order analysis can provide useful insight into what the most salient information is within a setting, but it should be realized that all settings are subordinate to clauses. In the cases of quite short Settings, assigning Focus to it did not seem in line with the definition of Focus, even though sometimes these short Settings were still set apart by clear syntactical segmentation criteria in addition to metrically identified breathing pauses.

Tails: Dik was very clear about the fact that Tail constituents should have focus, as this is exactly what sets them apart from PreMat: is the information new or is it presuppositional? In that way, the definition of Tails already covers for the occurrence of Focus within them. This proved right for the Tails in my test corpus as well. Also, though there were a few irregularities, applying the word order model added to this: it rightly identified that not the whole Tail has focus, but that a certain constituent within them has focus. From the length and difference in placement of participles within the Tails, it seemed that indeed the same PWO-model as in clauses governs word order in Tails.

Narrators' IU: these are mainly set apart by their special semantical status, but their boundaries mostly coincide with the metrical breaks. Because of their semantical status, the reasoning went the other way around with these IU's: because in the discourse a Focus position seemed to be needed, especially for the prospective elements, they have been identified as separate IU's and not integral parts of clauses or other IU's. It was possible to do so on the basis of the fact that a metrical break can be an indication of IU-break, as seen in 2.3.

Now we have seen what the Pragmatic Word Order Model has done for the different extraclausal IU-types that have been identified it is time to answer the question with yes.

Of course, a few remarks have to be made regarding this 'yes', as things are usually more complicated than a simple yes or no.

The first is that the PWO-model is not perfect. In the introduction, we saw that it does not succeed in describing word order in a satisfying way in all clauses, but only in a significant amount of clauses. This is not any different in the other IU's discussed above.

Also, something needs to be said about Focus, as this was the main reason for questioning the applicability of the model to all IU's as Dik said doing so would lead to overcolonization and inflation

of the term. This is indeed true, so Focus should be seen as more of a relative term: Focus is that which is the most important of the things at that moment considered. So, when zooming in to smaller units, subordinated Foci come to the surface.

We have seen that in many cases, especially for Tails and the Narrator's IU's, assigning Focus within them lead to a better understanding of the relation between IU's and therefore of the flow of discourse. Not assigning them Focus would lead to weird jumps from one thing to another. Considering this, these Foci should be viewed as being of comparable salience to the Foci in clauses.

The Foci in the preclausal ECC's in – Themes and Settings – are of a different type. This is because, by definition, Theme and Setting are introductory and provide the information needed to interpret the clause in the right way. So even though the word order model is successful in describing the variation found in these preclausal ECC's, the Focus position is only within that IU: on the level of the IU and not on the level of the discourse. On the level of the discourse, the Focus in a Theme has Topic function of what follows and the Focus in a Setting has a Frame setting function.

But taking that into account, it has proven possible to apply the Word Order Model on the IU's separately, after the overall of the sentence with its Theme, Setting, Clause and Tail have been identified.

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<p>ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰστόν_{clause} ^p ὁ δὲ πλάτην καθίστατο_{clause} †ταρσόν τε χειρὶ λευκά θ' ἰστί' εἰς ἓν ἦν⁷⁷ πηδάλιά τε ζεύγλαισι^h παρακαθίετο_{clause} </p>	1535		<p>one set up the mast, another set up the oars and the rudders were lowered by their cross-bars.</p>
<p>κάν τῷδε μόχθῳ_{setting} ^p τοῦτ' ἄρα σκοπούμενοι_{setting} Ἕλληνας ἄνδρες_{theme} ^p Μενέλεω ξυνέμποροι_{narr-IU} προσῆλθον ἀκταῖς_{clause} ^p ναυφθόροις ἡσθημένοι [E] πέπλοισιν_{tail} εὐειδεῖς μὲν ^h ἀύχημοι δ' ὄρα_{tail} </p>	1540	(11) (24)	<p>And during this labor, they watched this The men of Hellas who had been fellow-voyagers with Menelaos drew near to the beach, clad in the rags of shipwrecked men, handsome, but rough to look upon.</p>
<p>ἰδὼν δὲ νιν παρόντας_{setting} ^h Ἀτρέως γόνος [E] προσεῖπε_{clause} δόλιον οἶκτον^h ἐς μέσον φέρων_{tail} ὦ τλήμονες_{voc} πῶς_{regiu} ^p ἐκ τίνος νεώς ποτε [E] Ἀχαιίδος_{incomplete} θραύσαντες^h ἤκετε σκάφος_{clause}; ἄρ' Ἀτρέως παῖδ' ^p ὀλόμενον συνθάπτετε_{clause} ὄν Τυνδαρίς παῖς^p ἢ δ' ἀπόντα κενοταφεῖ_{clause} </p>	1545		<p>when he saw them approach the Son of Atreus spoke to them, presenting his deceitful mourning before all: “Unhappy sailors, how have you arrived? From the wreckage of what Achaean ship have you arrived? Are you here to help bury the dead son of Atreus, Who Tyndareos' daughter, while he is not there, is honoring with an empty grave?”</p>
<p>οἱ δ' ἐκβαλόντες δάκρυα_{setting} ^h ποιητῶ τρόπῳ_{narr-IU} </p>			<p>They wept in a feigned manner,</p>

⁷⁷ I will not pay attention to this corrupted verse, apart from the fact that its boundaries are at verse end.

πρόχειρον ὥσει† ⁷⁸ ^p σφάγια τῷ τεθνηκότι; _{tail}			at hand you will thrust†, the sacrifice to the dead man.”
οἱ δ’ ἐς κέλευσμά’ ἐλθόντες _{setting} ^h ἐξανήρπασαν [E] ταῦρον _{clause} φέροντές τ’ εἰσέθεντο σέλματα _{clause} μονάμπυκον δὲ Μενέλεως _{theme} ψήχων δέρην [E] μέτωπά τ’ _{setting} ἐξέπεισεν ^h ἐσβῆναι δόρου _{clause}	1565		Then they came at her summons, and caught up the bull and carried him on to the deck. And Menelaos stroked the horse on neck and brow, coaxing it to go aboard.
τέλος δ’ ἐπειδὴ _{regLU} ^p ναῦς τὰ πάντ’ ἐδέξατο _{clause} πλήσασα κλιμακτῆρας ^h εὐσφύρω ποδί _{setting} Ἑλένη καθέζετ’ ^p ἐν μέσοις ἐδωλίοις _{clause} ὁ τ’ οὐκέτ’ ὦν λόγοισι Μενέλεως πέλας _{ellipsed clause}	1570		When finally the ship was fully loaded, having climbed up the ladder with elegant step, Helen took her seat in the middle of the rowers' benches, and he was nearby, Menelaos who was called dead.
ἄλλοι δὲ τοίχους ^p δεξιούς λαιούς τ’ ἴσοι _{theme} ἀνὴρ παρ’ ἀνδρ’ ἔζονθ’ _{clause} ^M ὕφ’ εἵμασι ξίφη [E] λαθραῖ’ ἔχοντες _{tail} ^p ρόθιά τ’ ἐξεπίπλατο [E] βοῆς _{clause} κελευστοῦ φθέγμαθ’ _{theme} ^h ὡς ἠκούσαμεν _{clause} ἐπεὶ δὲ γαίας ἦμεν ^h οὔτ’ ἄγαν πρόσω [E]	1575	(5)	The rest, equally divided on the right and left sides sat down, man next to man, under their cloaks having concealed swords and the waves were filled with shouting as of the boatswain the words we heard. Now when we had put out from land, neither very far

⁷⁸ I will not pay attention to the corrupted clause, apart from the fact that its boundaries are at the caesurae.

<p>οὐτ' ἐγγύς_{clause} οὕτως ^p ἦρετ' ^h οἰάκων φύλαξ_{clause} ἐτ' _{regIU} ὣ ξέν' _{voc} ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν_{Vellipsed clause} ^h ἢ καλῶς ἔχει_{clause} [e] πλεύσωμεν;_{clause} ἀρχαὶ γὰρ νεὼς μέλουσι σοί_{clause} </p>	1580		<p>nor very near, this the helmsman asked, “Shall we sail yet further, stranger, or is this far enough to sail? For the command of this ship is yours.”</p>
<p>ὃ δ' εἶφ' _{clause} ἄλις μοι_{ellipsed clause} ^p δεξιᾷ δ' ἐλὼν ξίφος_{setting} ἐς πρῶραν εἶρπε_{clause} ^p κάπι ταυρείῳ σφαγῆ [E] σταθείς_{setting} νεκρῶν μὲν ^p οὐδενὸς μνήμην ἔχων_{setting} τέμνων δὲ λαϊμόν_{setting} ^p ἠύχετ' _{clause} ^h ὣ ναίων ἄλα_{voc} πόντιε Πόσειδον_{voc} ^p Νηρέως θ' ἀγναὶ κόραι_{voc} σώσατέ μ' ἐπ' ἀκτὰς Ναυπλίας_{clause} δάμαρτά τε [E] ἄσυλον ἐκ γῆς_{ellipsed clause} ^p αἵματος δ' ἀπορροαὶ [E] ἐς οἶδμ' ἐσηκόντιζον_{clause} ^h οὔριοι ξένω_{tail} </p>	1585		<p>And he answered, “Far enough for me.” Holding a sword in his right hand, he stepped into the prow; standing over the bull to slay it, with no mention of any dead man, he cut its throat and prayed: “O liver of the sea, mighty Poseidon and you holy daughters of Nereus, bring me safely to Nauplia’s shore and my wife to safety from the land”. Streams of blood, darted into the waves with fair wind for the stranger.</p>

<p>καί τις τόδ' εἶπε_{clause} ^p δόλιος ^h ἡ ναυκληρία_{ellipsed clause} πάλιν πλέωμεν_{clause} ^p δεξιὰν κέλευε σύ_{clause} σὺ δὲ στρέφ' οἴακ'_{clause} ^p ἐκ δὲ ^h ταυρείου φόνου [E] Ἄτρώως σταθεὶς παῖς_{setting} ^p ἀνεβόησε συμμάχους_{clause} τί μέλλετ'_{clause} ὦ γῆς ^p Ἑλλάδος λωτίσματα_{voc} σφάζειν_{inf} φονεύειν ^p βαρβάρους_{inf} νεὼς τ' ἄπο [E] ρίπτειν ἐς οἴδμα;_{inf} ^p ναυβάταις δὲ τοῖσι σοῖς [E] βοᾷ κελευστής ^p τὴν ἐναντίαν ὄπα_{clause} οὐκ εἶ_{clause} ὃ μὲν τις ^p λοῖσθον ^h ἀρεῖται δόρυ_{clause} ὃ δὲ ζύγ' ἄξας_{clause} ^p ὃ δ' ἀφελὼν σκαλμοῦ πλάτην_{clause} καθαίματώσει κρᾶτα ^h πολεμίων ξένων;_{clause} </p>	<p>1590 1595</p>	<p>(13)</p>	<p>And someone said, “There is treachery in this voyage; let us sail back again! You, give an order for the right oar, you, turn your rudder.” And from the bullslaying the son of Atreus standing up, he cried out to his comrades, “Why do you, the pick of Hellas, delay to slaughter and kill the barbarians and from the ship hurl them into the waves?” And to your rowers cried the boatswain the opposite command: don’t let them! Someone, raise the planks at the end, Someone break the benches, and someone from the locks snatch the oars Make bloody the heads of the foreign enemies!</p>
<p>ὀρθοὶ δ' ἀνήξαν πάντες_{clause} ^h οἱ μὲν ἐν χεροῖν [E] κορμούς ἔχοντες ναυτικούς_{tail} οἱ δὲ ξίφη_{tail} φόνω δὲ ναῦς ἐρρεῖτο_{clause} ^h παρακέλευσμα δ' ἦν_{clause} πρύμνηθεν Ἑλένης_{tail} ποῦ ^h τὸ Τρωικὸν κλέος; δείξατε πρὸς ἄνδρας ^p βαρβάρους_{clause} σπουδῆς δ' ὕπο [E]</p>	<p>1600</p>	<p>(22)</p>	<p>They all leapt upright, some in their hands Having oars, others with swords; and the ship ran with blood. There was cheering from the stern of Helen: : “Where is the fame you won in Troy? Show it against the barbarians!” In their eagerness,</p>

<p>ἔπιπτον_{clause} οἱ δ' ὠρθοῦντο_{clause} ^h τοὺς δὲ κειμένους_{theme} νεκροὺς ἂν εἶδες_{clause} ^p Μενέλεως δ' ἔχων ὄπλα_{theme} ὅποι νοσοῖεν ^p ξύμμαχοι κατασκοπῶν_{setting} ταύτη προσῆγε_{clause} ^p χειρὶ δεξιᾷ ξίφος_{tail} </p>	<p>1605</p>	<p>(8)</p> <p>(21)</p>	<p>some fell, some stood upright, others lying dead you would have seen. But Menelaos, in full armour, wherever he spied that his comrades were suffering, there he would go, in his right hand a sword;</p>
<p>ὥστ' ἐκκολυμβᾶν νᾶός ^h ἠρήμωσε δὲ [E] σῶν ναυβατῶν ἐρετμᾶ_{clause} ^h ἐπ' οἰάκων δὲ βᾶς_{setting} ἄνακτ' ἐς Ἑλλάδ' εἶπεν_{clause} ^h εὐθύνην δόρου_{inf} οἱ δ' ἰστὸν ἦρον_{clause} ^p οὐρῖαι δ' ἦκον πνοαί_{clause} βεβᾶσι δ' ἐκ γῆς_{clause} ^p διαφυγῶν δ' ἐγὼ φόνον_{setting} καθῆκ' ἐμαυτὸν ^p εἰς ἄλ' ^h ἄγκυραν πάρα_{clause} ἤδη δὲ κάμνονθ' _{setting} ^p ὀρμιατόνων μὲ τις [E] ἀνείλετ' _{clause} ἐς δὲ γαῖαν ^h ἐξέβησέ σοι_{clause} τάδ' ἀγγελοῦντα_{tail} ^p σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας_{theme} οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ^p χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς_{clause} </p>	<p>1610</p> <p>1615</p>	<p>(10)</p>	<p>and so we dived from the ship, and he cleared the benches of your rowers. From the rudders going he asked the helmsmen to Hellas to sail straight. So they set up the mast, and favouring breezes blew. They are gone from here. But I escaped death and let myself down by the anchor into the sea; and just as I was worn out, someone of the took me up, and put me out on land for you to bring this report. Than prudent distrust nothing is more useful to mankind</p>

αἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ^P θύρσον ἐκλελοιπότα ^{theme} κισσῶ κομήτην ^P αὔθις ἐξανέστεφον ^{clause} αἱ δ' ἐκλιποῦσαι ποικίλ' ^{setting} ^h ὡς πῶλοι ζυγά ^{narr-IU} ⁷⁹ βακχεῖον ἀντέκλαζον ^h ἀλλήλαις μέλος ^{clause}	1055	(26) (3)	For some of whose the thyrsos was weathered back the ivy on their weathered thyrsos they put, and others, having left their beautifully made clothes, like foals their yokes, sang a Bacchic song, taking turns.
Πενθεὺς δ' ὁ τλήμων ^{theme} ^P θῆλυν οὐχ ὀρῶν ὄχλον ^{setting} ἔλεξε τοιάδ' ^{clause} ^P ὦ ξέν' ^{voc} ^h οὗ μὲν ἔσταμεν ^{clause} οὐκ ἐξικνοῦμαι ^P μαινάδων ὄσσοις νόθων ^{clause} ὄχθων δ' ἐπ' ἀμβάς ^P ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα ^{setting} ἴδοιμ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ^P μαινάδων αἰσχροργίαν ^{clause}	1060	(15) (12)	But the poor Pentheus not seeing the group of women said this: 'Stranger, where we are standing now, I don't reach those notorious manaiides with my eyes; On the hills, climbed into a highnecked fir, I would be able to see the misbehaviours of the mainades well.
τούντεῦθεν ἦδη ^{regIU} ^P τοῦ ξένου τὸ θαῦμ' ὀρῶ ^{clause} λαβὼν γὰρ ἐλάτης ^P οὐράνιον ἄκρον κλάδον ^{setting} κατῆγεν ^{clause} ἦγεν ^P ἦγεν ἐς μέλαν πέδον ^{clause} κυκλοῦτο δ' ὥστε τόξον ^{clause} ^h ἢ κυρτὸς τροχὸς [E] τόρνῳ γραφόμενος ^{ellipsis} ^P περιφορὰν ἔλκει δρόμον ^{clause}	1065		And there finally I saw the miracle of the stranger; for taking of the fir the highest branch reaching into the sky down he bowed it, bowed, bowed to the black earth; it was bowed like a bow or a curved wheel on a turntable engraved around the edge he dragged the course.

⁷⁹ The comma after αἱ δ' that is in most text-editions is not necessary, as it is not distinctly needed for syntactical purposes, nor would IU-segmentation criteria suggest it. Therefore I would suggest not putting it there.

<p>ὤς κλῶν' ὄρειον ^ρ ὁ ξένος χεροῖν ἄγων_{setting} έκαμπτεν ἐς γῆν_{clause} ^ρ ἔργματ' οὐχὶ θνητὰ δρῶν_{tail} Πενθέα δ' ἰδρύσας ^ρ ἐλατίνων ὄζων ἔπι_{setting} ὀρθὸν μεθίει ^ρ διὰ χερῶν βλάστημ' ἄνω_{clause} ἀτρέμα_{tail} φυλάσσω μὴ ^ρ ἀναχαιτίσειέ νιν_{tail} ὀρθὴ δ' ἐς ὀρθὸν αἰθέρ' ^h ἐστηρίζετο_{clause} ἔχουσα νώτοις ^ρ δεσπότην ἐφήμενον_{tail} </p>	1070	(17) (23)	<p>Thus the stranger with his hands taking the mountain-twig, bowed it to the ground, doing a deed not mortal. And having placed Pentheus onto the fir-branches, he allowed it to be straight with his hands up to where it came from without trembling, taking care so that he would not shake him off, straight into the high sky it propped itself up, having on his back my master being seated.</p>
<p>ὤφθη δὲ μᾶλλον_{clause} ^ρ ἦ κατεῖδε μαινάδας_{clause} ὅσον γὰρ οὐπω δηλὸς ^h ἦν θάσσω ἄνω_{clause} καὶ τὸν ξένον μὲν ^ρ οὐκέτ' εἰσορᾶν παρῆν_{clause} ἐκ δ' αἰθέρος φωνή τις_{theme} ^h ὡς μὲν εἰκάσαι [E] Διόνυσος_{clause} ἀνεβόησεν_{clause} ^h ὦ νεάνιδες_{voc} ⁸⁰ ἄγω τὸν ὑμᾶς κάμει_{clause} ^h τὰμὰ τ' ὄργια [E] γέλων τιθέμενον_{clause} ^ρ ἀλλὰ τιμωρεῖσθέ νιν_{clause} </p>	1075 1080		<p>He was seen more than he could look at the mainades. For as soon as he was clearly seated up there, and no longer was it possible to see the stranger, and from the sky some voice, likely being Dionysus, called: “Oh young girls, I bring the one that ridicules you and me and my rites. Now, take vengeance upon him.”</p>

⁸⁰ This sentence is rather anacoluthic. When reading only verse 1080, then the nominative, Dionysus, is simply the subject of ἀνεβόησεν. However, the earlier subject was φωνή τις - some voice. Therefore, to uphold the structure of the sentence, a genitive is expected and not a nominative.

<p>καὶ ταῦθ' ἄμ' ἠγόρευε_{clause} ^h καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν [E] καὶ γαῖαν ἐστήριξε^h φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός_{clause} Σίγησε δ' αἰθήρ_{clause} ^p σῖγα δ' ἕλιμος νάπη [E] φύλλ' εἶχε_{clause} θηρῶν^{δ'}_{theme} ^p οὐκ ἄν^h ἤκουσας βοήν_{clause} </p>	1085		<p>And he spoke thus and to the sky and the ground darted a light of a holy fire. And the sky was silent, and the woody glen silently held its foils, and of the animals you heard not a call.</p>
<p>αἶ δ'_{theme} ὠσὶν ἠχὴν^p οὐ σαφῶς δεδεγμένα_{setting} ἔστησαν ὀρθαί_{clause} ^p καὶ διήνεγκαν κόρας_{clause} </p>		(16)	<p>And they with their ears not clearly having received the sound stood upright and swept their eyes around.</p>
<p>ὁδ' αὐθις ἐπεκέλευσεν_{clause} ^h ὡςδ' ἐγνώρισαν [E] σαφῆ κελευσμόν_{clause} ^p Βακχίου Κάδμου κόραι [E] ἦξαν_{clause} πελείας^p ὠκύτητ' οὐχ ἥσσονες_{narr-IU} ποδῶν τρέχουσαι^p συντόνοις δραμήμασι_{tail} μήτηρ Ἀγαυή_{tail} ^p σύγγοι θ' ὁμόσποροι_{tail} πᾶσαι τε βάκχαι_{tail} ^p διὰ δέ χειμάρρου νάπη_{tail} ἀγμῶν τ' ἐπήδων_{tail} ^p θεοῦ πνοαῖσιν ἐμμανεῖς_{tail} </p>	1090	(27)	<p>And he repeated the order: when they recognized clearly the order of Bacchios the daughters of Kadmos, they went swiftly not less than doves running with vehement steps of the feet, mother Agaue and her sisters of the same parents and all the Bacchae; and through the valley with its river and its steep cliffs, maddened by the god's breath.</p>
<p>ὡςδ' εἶδον ἐλάτη^p δεσπότην ἐφήμενον_{clause} πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῦ^p χερμάδας κραταιβόλους [E] ἔρριπτον_{clause} ἀντίπυργον^h ἐπιβᾶσαι πέτραν_{tail} </p>	1095		<p>And when they saw my master sitting in the fir, first at him pebbles with powerful throw they tossed, climbed onto a towering rock,</p>

<p>ὄζοισί τ' ἐλατίνοισιν^h ἠκοντίζετο_{clause} </p> <p>ἄλλαι δὲ θύρσους^p ἔϊσαν δι' αἰθέρος_{clause} </p> <p>Πενθέως στόχον δύστηνον_{tail} ^h ἄλλ' οὐκ ἦνυτον_{clause} </p>	1100		<p>and he was the goal of fir-branches thrown like javelins.</p> <p>and others threw their thyrsos through the air</p> <p>at Pentheus, the unfortunate aim; but they didn't succeed.</p>
<p>κρεῖσσον γὰρ ὕψος^p τῆς προθυμίας ἔχων_{setting} </p> <p>καθῆσθ' ὁ τλήμων_{clause} ^p ἀπορία λελημμένος_{tail} </p>			<p>For being beyond the height of their endeavours</p> <p>the poor man sat, taken by perplexity.</p>
<p>τέλος δὲ_{regIU} δρυῖνους^p συγκεραυνοῦσαι κλάδους_{setting} </p> <p>ρίζας ἀνεσπάρασσον^h ἀσιδήροις μοχλοῖς_{clause} </p> <p>ἐπεὶ δὲ μόχθων τέρματ'^h οὐκ ἐξήνυτον_{clause} </p> <p>ἔλεξ' Ἀγαύη_{clause} ^p Φέρε περιστάσαι κύκλω_{clause} </p> <p>πτόρθου λάβεσθε_{clause} ^p μαινάδες_{voc} τὸν ἀμβάτην [E]</p> <p>θῆρ'_{theme} ὡς ἔλωμεν_{clause} ^p μηδ' ἀπαγγείλη θεοῦ [E]</p> <p>χοροὺς κρυφαίους_{clause} ^p αἰ δὲ^h μυρίαν χέρα [E]</p> <p>προσέθεσαν ἐλάτη_{clause} ^h κάξανέσπασαν χθονός_{clause} </p>	1105	(6)	<p>Finally when like lightning they took out the oakbranches</p> <p>they tried to tear out the roots with their wooden levers.</p> <p>When the end of their toil they did not reach</p> <p>Agauē said: “Come on, standing in a circle,</p> <p>let's take a branch, mainades, so that we can seize</p> <p>the animal that climbed up, so that he will not tell others</p> <p>the secret dances of the god.” And they with countless hands</p> <p>reached towards the fir and eradicated it from the ground;</p>
<p>ὑψοῦ δὲ θάσσω_{setting} ^p ὑψόθεν χαμαιριφῆς [E]</p> <p>πίπτει πρὸς οὐδας_{clause} ^p μυρίοις οἰμώγμασιν </p> <p>Πενθεύς_{tail} κακοῦ γὰρ ἐγγύς^h ὦν ἐμάνθανεν_{clause} </p>		(19)	<p>Sitting up high, from high up onto the ground</p> <p>he fell to the ground with countless cries</p> <p>Pentheus; for he understood he was close to something bad.</p>

<p>πρώτη δὲ μήτηρ ^P ἤρξεν ἱερέα φόνου_{clause} καὶ προσπίτνει νιν_{clause} ^P ὃ δὲ μίτραν κόμης ἄπο [E] ἔρριψεν_{clause} ὣς νιν ^P γνωρίσασα_{setting} μὴ κτάνοι_{clause} τλήμων Ἀγαύη_{tail} ^P καὶ λέγει παρηίδος [E] ψαύων_{tail} Ἐγὼ τοι_{theme} ^P μήτηρ_{voc} ^h εἰμί παῖς σέθεν_{clause} Πενθείς_{tail} ὄν ἔτεκες ἐν δόμοις Ἐχίονος_{clause} οἴκτιρε δ'_{clause} ^ω μήτέρ με_{voc} ^h μηδὲ ταῖς ἐμαῖς [E] ἀμαρτίαισι ^P παῖδα σὸν κατακτάνης_{clause} </p>	<p>1115 1120</p>	<p>(14) (7)</p>	<p>First his mother started as a priestess the murder and attacked him. He ripped his headband off his hair so that she, recognizing him, would not kill him, the poor Agaue, and he said, her cheek touching: “I, mother, am the son from your womb, Pentheus, whom you gave birth to in the house of Echion. But pity me, mother, and don’t with my mistakes kill your son.”</p>
<p>ἡ δ' ἀφρόν ἐξιῖσα_{setting} ^h καὶ διαστρόφους [E] κόρας ἐλίσσουσ' _{setting} ^P οὐ φρονοῦσ' ἄ χρη φρονεῖν_{setting} ἐκ Βακχίου κατείχετ' _{clause} ^h οὐδ' ἔπειθέ νιν_{clause} λαβοῦσα δ' ὠλένης ^M ἀριστερὰν χέρα_{setting} πλευραῖσιν ἀντιβᾶσα ^h τοῦ δυσδαίμονος_{setting} ἀπεσπάραξεν ^P ὧμον_{clause} ^h οὐχ ὑπὸ σθένους_{narr-IU} ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς εὐμάρειαν ^h ἐπεδίδου χεροῖν_{clause} </p>	<p>1125</p>	<p>(28)</p>	<p>But she, bringing forth foam and rolling her furious eyes, not being in her right mind as she should be, she was controlled by Bacchios and he did not convince her. And when she had taken the left hand of his arm, grounding herself on the ribs of the unfortunate man, she tore his shoulder, not through strength, but the god endorsed her hands with ease.</p>
<p>Ἴνώ δὲ τάπι ^P θάτερ' ^h ἐξεργάζετο_{clause} </p>			<p>And Ino executed the same task on the other side,</p>

<p> $\rho\eta\gamma\nu\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha$ $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha\varsigma_{\text{tail}}$ P $\text{A}\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\eta$ τ' $\delta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ [E] $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\chi\epsilon$ $\beta\alpha\kappa\chi\tilde{\omega}\nu_{\text{clause}}$ P $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ h $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\sigma'$ $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\beta\omicron\eta_{\text{clause}}$ $\delta\acute{\omicron}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu_{\text{setting}}$ P $\delta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\chi\alpha\nu'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu_{\text{extaU}}$ $\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ δ' $\eta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\zeta\omicron\nu_{\text{clause}}$ P $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ δ' $_{\text{theme}}$ h $\tilde{\eta}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\nu_{\text{ellipsis}}$ $\tilde{\eta}$ δ' $\acute{\iota}\chi\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma$ P $\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma_{\text{ellipsis}}$ $\gamma\upsilon\mu\nu\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\nu\tau\omicron$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ [E] $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ $\sigma\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\omicron\tilde{\iota}\varsigma_{\text{clause}}$ P $\pi\tilde{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$ δ' $\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta_{\text{theme}}$ $\chi\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\epsilon\sigma\phi\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon$ h $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\alpha$ $\text{P}\epsilon\nu\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma_{\text{clause}}$ </p>	<p>1130</p> <p>1135</p>		<p>tearing off the flesh, and Autonoe and the entire group of Bacchae overpowered him; there was all together screaming, and he, moaning, as much as he had breath left, and they cheered. And one took his forearm, and one his foot in his boots and his ribs were laid bare by the tearing and all with blood on their hands threw around like a ball the flesh of Pentheus.</p>
<p> $\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha_{\text{clause}}$ h $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\omicron$ $\sigma\tilde{\upsilon}\phi\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ [E] $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma_{\text{tail/ellipsis}}$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ δ' $\tilde{\upsilon}\lambda\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\beta\alpha\theta\upsilon\zeta\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omega$ $\phi\acute{\omicron}\beta\eta_{\text{tail/ellipsis}}$ $\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ $\rho\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ $\zeta\eta\tau\eta\mu\alpha_{\text{tail}}$ h $\kappa\rho\tilde{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ δ' $\acute{\alpha}\theta\lambda\iota\omicron\nu_{\text{theme}}$ $\delta\acute{\omicron}\pi\epsilon\rho$ $\lambda\alpha\beta\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha$ P $\tau\upsilon\gamma\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\eta\tau\eta\rho$ $\chi\epsilon\rho\omicron\tilde{\iota}\nu_{\text{clause}}$ $\pi\eta\tilde{\iota}\xi\alpha\sigma'$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi'$ $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\nu$ $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\omicron\nu_{\text{setting}}$ h $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon\sigma\tilde{\tau}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon$ [E] $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$ $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma_{\text{clause}}$ P $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ $\text{K}\iota\theta\alpha\iota\rho\tilde{\omega}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\omicron_{\text{tail}}$ $\lambda\iota\pi\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}\sigma'$ $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ P $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\tilde{\iota}\sigma\iota$ $\mu\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\omega\nu_{\text{tail}}$ </p>	<p>1140</p>		<p>His body lies on the ground, a part under the hard rocks, a part in the deep scary foliage of the forest, not an easy search, and his miserable head, which his mother happened to have taken with her hands, after she has fixed it on the thyrsus-top like she carried that of a mountain-lion through the midst of the Kithairon, leaving her sisters in the dance of the Maenades.</p>

<p>χωρεῖ δέ_{clause} θήρα ^p δυσπότημω γαυρουμένη_{tail} τειχέων ἔσω τῶνδ' _{tail} ^p ἀνακαλοῦσα Βάκχιον_{tail} τὸν ξυγκύναγον _{tail} ^p τὸν ξυνεργάτην ἄγρας _{tail} τὸν καλλίνικον _{tail} ^p ᾧ δάκρυα νικηφορεῖ _{tail} </p>	1145	<p>She comes, proud of her ill-fated hunting-prey into these walls, loudly calling upon Bacchion her fellow hunter, her accomplice in the chase, the good victor, for whom she carries off tears as a prize.</p>
<p>ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τῆδ' ^p ἐκποδῶν τῆ ξυμφορᾶ [E] ἄπειμ' _{clause} Ἀγαύην ^p πρὶν μολεῖν πρὸς δώματα_{inf.clause} </p>		<p>Now I, away from this misfortune I will be gone, before Agaue reaches the house.</p>
<p>τὸ σωφρονεῖν δέ ^p καὶ σέβειν τὰ τῶν θεῶν [E] κάλλιστον_{ellipsed clause} οἶμαι δ' αὐτὸ ^h καὶ σοφώτατον_{clause} θνητοῖσιν εἶναι κτῆμα ^h τοῖσι χρωμένοις_{inf.clause} </p>	1150	<p>Well, soundness of mind and honouring the things of the gods are the most beautiful things. I think this also is the most wise possessions for humans that make use of it.</p>

Appendix C : Hyperbata

Helen 1539-40	προση̄λθον ἀκταῖς ναυφθόροις ἠσθημένοι [E] πέπλοισιν εὐειδεῖς μέν ἀύχμηροὶ δ' ὄραν <i>and they drew near to the beach, clad in the rags of shipwrecked men, handsome, but rough to look upon.</i>	MOD-ptc-HEAD
Helen 1543-44	ὦ τλήμονες πῶς ἐκ τίνος νεώς ποτε [E] Ἀχαιῖδος θραύσαντες ἤκετε σκάφος ; <i>Unhappy sailors, how and on what Achaean ship, after wrecking the ship have you arrived?</i>	HEAD-else-MOD HEAD-verb-Dependent
Helen 1591	ἐκ δὲ ^h ταυρείου φόνου [E] Ἄτρώως σταθεὶς παῖς <i>And from the bull slaying the son of Atreus standing up</i>	MOD-ptc-HEAD
Helen 1596	ὁ μὲν τις ^p λοῖσθον ^h ἀρεῖται δόρυ <i>someone, raise at the end the plank</i>	MOD-verb-HEAD
Helen 1601	οἱ μὲν ἐν χεροῖν [E] κορμούς ἔχοντες ναυτικούς οἱ δὲ ξίφη <i>some in their hands having oars (lit. nautical tree-trunks), others swords;</i>	HEAD -ptc- MOD
Helen 1612	οἱ δ' ἰστὸν ἦρον ^p οὔριαι δ' ἦκον πνοαί <i>they set up the mast and favouring breezes came</i>	MOD-verb-HEAD
Bacchae 1048	πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ποιηρὸν ἴζομεν νάπος <i>Then first we sat down in the grassy meadow</i>	MOD-verb-HEAD
Bacchae 1057	βακχεῖον ἀντέκλαζον ἀλλήλαις μέλος <i>they sang a bacchic song taking turns.</i>	MOD-verb-else-HEAD
Bacchae 1059	Πενθεὺς δ' ὁ τλήμων θῆλυν οὐχ ὄρων ὄχλον ἔλεξε τοιάδ' <i>But Pentheus the poor man, not seeing the group of women said the following: [...]</i>	MOD-verb-HEAD
Bacchae 1091	ποδῶν τρέχουσαι συντόνοις δραμήμασι <i>running with vehement steps of the feet</i>	MOD-verb-HEAD
Bacchae 1097	ἀντίπυργον ^h ἐπιβᾶσαι πέτραν <i>climbed onto a towering rock</i>	MOD-ptc-HEAD
Bacchae 1103	τέλος δὲ δρυῖνους ^p συγκεραυνοῦσαι κλάδους <i>Finally when like lightning they took out the oakbranches</i>	MOD-ptc-HEAD
Bacchae 1131	Αὐτονόη τ' ὄχλος τε πᾶς ἐπέϊχε βακχῶν <i>and Autonoe and the whole group of Bacchae attacked</i>	HEAD-verb-MOD
Bacchae 1141-42	ὡς ὄρεστέρου φέρει λέοντος <i>as though she carried that of a mountain lion</i>	MOD-verb-HEAD

Appendix D: ECC's

D1: Themes

Text and verse	Right boundary	Accessibility	PWO-analysis
ἡμῖν δ' (<i>Hel.</i> 1549)	p-caesura & μὲν & IU-overarching	Away from attention since v. 1537	New topic, possibly focus
τῶν ἐπεσβατῶν (<i>Hel.</i> 1550)	verse end & ὡς	New in embedded speech	New topic, possibly focus
ταύρειος δὲ πούς (<i>Hel.</i> 1555)	verse end & IU-overarching	Newly introduced	New topic, possibly focus
μονάμπυκον δὲ Μενέλεως (<i>Hel.</i> 1567)	IU-overarching & followed by setting	Horse is new part of same category, Menalaos is away from attention since v. 1544	Mainly overarching function and not presuppositional; double topic
ἄλλοι δὲ τοίχους δεξιούς λαιοῦς τ' ἴσοι (<i>Hel.</i> 1573)	Verse end	Very accessible	Topic-Focus possibly ellipsis
κελευστοῦ φθέγμαθ' (<i>Hel.</i> 1576)	h-caesura & ὡς	Newly introduced	Topic-Focus reading on through ὡς gives the same result
τοὺς δὲ κειμένους (<i>Hel.</i> 1605)	Verse end & ἄν	Attention shifts back and forth; very accessible (inferable from information in same verse)	Topic; emphasis for contrast and suspense.
Μενέλεως δ' ἔχων ὄπλα (<i>Hel.</i> 1606)	Verse end & ὅποι & IU-overarching	Away from attention since v. 1594	Topic-Broad Focus; not fitting
σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας (<i>Hel.</i> 1618)	Verse end	Newly introduced	New Topic, possibly focus
αἶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν θύρσον ἐκλελοιπότα (<i>Bacch.</i> 1054)	Verse end	New part of same category	Complicated: αὐτῶν θύρσον ἐκλελοιπότα is about αἶ => ellipsis?
Πενθεὺς δ' ὁ τλήμων (<i>Bacch.</i> 1058)	p-caesura g & IU-overarchin	first time separately introduced, first time said to be poor (prospective)	Topic-Focus
ἐκ δ' αἰθέρος φωνή τις (<i>Bacch.</i> 1079)	h-caesura & ὡς μὲν	Newly introduced	Topic-Focus => ellipsis?
τὸν ἀμβάτην θῆρ' (<i>Bacch.</i> 1109)	Moved verse end & ὡς	New in embedded speech	Topic, possibly focus
Ἐγώ τοι (<i>Bacch.</i> 1118)	p-caesura & vocative	Very accessible	Topic, possibly focus
θηρῶνδ' (<i>Bacch.</i> 1185)	p-caesura & ἄν	New part of same category	Topic, possibly focus

ἔφερε δ' (<i>Bacch.</i> 1133)	h-caesura & μὲν & IU-overarching	Newly introduced action	Possibly focus
κράτα δ' ἄθλιον (<i>Bacch.</i> 1139)	Verse end & ὅπερ	New part of same category	Topic-Focus

D2: Settings

Text and verse	Right boundary	PWO-analysis
λιποῦσα τούσδε βασιλείους δόμους (<i>Hel.</i> 1526)	Verse end	Broad Focus
κάν τῷδε μόχθῳ (<i>Hel.</i> 1537)	Particle ἄρα	No variation possible
τοῦτ' ἄρα σκοπούμενοι (<i>Hel.</i> 1537)	Verse end	Topic-Focus (no variation possible)
ιδῶν δέ νιν παρόντας (<i>Hel.</i> 1541)	h-caesura	Broad Focus
οἱ δ' ἐκβαλόντες δάκρυα (<i>Hel.</i> 1547)	h-caesura	Topic-Broad Focus
ἄρχειν γὰρ νεῶς ξένον κελεύσας (<i>Hel.</i> 1552-53)	p-caesura	Topic-Focus-Verb
οἱ δ' ἐς κέλευσμ' ἐλθόντες (<i>Hel.</i> 1565)	h-caesura	ECTop-Focus-Verb
ψήχων δέρην μέτωπά τ' (<i>Hel.</i> 1567-68)	Moved verse end	Broad Focus
πλήσασα κλιμακτῆρας εὐσφύρω ποδί (<i>Hel.</i> 1570)	Verse end	Broad Focus-PreMat
ἐκ δὲ ἠ ταυρείου φόνου Ἄτρεύς σταθεῖς παῖς (<i>Hel.</i> 1590-91)	p-caesura	Setting-Focus-Verb-PreMat
ὅποι νοσοῖεν ξύμμαχοι κατασκοπῶν (<i>Hel.</i> 1607)	Verse end	Topic-Focus-Verb
ἐπ' οἰάκων δὲ βᾶς (<i>Hel.</i> 1610)	Verse end	Focus-Verb
διαφυγῶν δ' ἐγὼ φόνον (<i>Hel.</i> 1614)	Verse end	Broad Focus-PreMat
ἤδη δὲ κάμνονθ' (<i>Hel.</i> 1616)	p-caesura & μέ	Focus
θεράπνας τῆσδε Θηβαίας χθονὸς λιπόντες (<i>Bacch.</i> 1043-44)	Moved verse end	Topic-Focus-Verb
αἱ δ' ἐκλιποῦσαι ποικίλ' (<i>Bacch.</i> 1056)	h-caesura	ECTop-Broad Focus
θῆλυν οὐχ ὀρῶν ὄχλον (<i>Bacch.</i> 1058)	Verse end	Focus-Verb-PreMat
ὄχθων δ' ἐπ' ἀμβὰς ἐς ἐλάτην ὑψαύχενα (<i>Bacch.</i> 1061)	Verse end	Focus-Verb-Tail
λαβῶν γὰρ ἐλάτης οὐράνιον ἄκρον κλάδον (<i>Bacch.</i> 1064)	Verse end	Broad Focus
ὥς κλῶν' ὄρειον ὁ ξένος χεροῖν ἄγων (<i>Bacch.</i> 1068)	Verse end	Topic-Topic-Focus-Verb
Πενθέα δ' ἰδρύσας ἐλατίνων ὄζων ἐπι (<i>Bacch.</i> 1070)	Verse end	Topic-Broad Focus
αἱ δ' ὥσιν ἠχὴν οὐ σαφῶς δεδεγμέναι	Verse end	ECTop-n/a-Focus-Verb

(<i>Bacch.</i> 1086)		
κρεῖσσον γὰρ ὕψος τῆς προθυμίας ἔχων (<i>Bacch.</i> 1101)	Verse end	Topic-Focus-Verb
δρυῖνους ῥ συγκεραυνοῦσαι κλάδους (<i>Bacch.</i> 1103)	Verse end	Focus-Verb-PreMat
ὕψοῦ δὲ θάσσω (<i>Bacch.</i> 1111)	p-caesura	Focus-verb
νιν ῥ γνωρίσασα (<i>Bacch.</i> 1116)	μή	Topic-Focus
ἦ δ' ἀφρόν ἐξεῖσα (<i>Bacch.</i> 1121)	h-caesura & καὶ	ECTop-Focus-Verb
καὶ διαστρόφους κόρας ἐλίσσοσ' (<i>Bacch.</i> 1121-1122)	p-caesura	Focus-Verb
οὐ φρονοῦσ' ἄ χρη φρονεῖν (<i>Bacch.</i> 1122)	Verse end	Broad Focus
λαβοῦσα δ' ὠλένης ἀριστερὰν χέρα (<i>Bacch.</i> 1125)	Verse end	Broad Focus
πλευραῖσιν ἀντιβᾶσα τοῦ δυσδαίμονος (<i>Bacch.</i> 1126)	Verse end	Focus-Verb-PreMat
ὃ μὲν στενάζων (<i>Bacch.</i> 1132)	p-caesura & ὅσον	Topic-Focus
πᾶσα δ' ἤματωμένα (<i>Bacch.</i> 1134)	Verse end	Topic-Focus
πήξασ' ἐπ' ἄκρον θύρσον (<i>Bacch.</i> 1141)	h-caesura & ὡς	Broad Focus

D3: Tails

Text and Verse		Left boundary	PWO-analysis
πέλας παρόντα κού τεθνηκότα (<i>Hel.</i> 1529)		Moved verse end	Focus-Verb+Focus
(<i>Hel.</i> 1532-33)	ζυγῶν τε πενήκοντα	Verse end & τε	Focus-ellipsed Verb
	κάρετμῶν μέτρα ἔχουσιν	Verse end & καί	Focus-Verb
ναυφθόροις ἠσθημένοι πέπλοισιν (<i>Hel.</i> 1539-40)		p-caesura	Focus-Verb-PreMat
(<i>Hel.</i> 1540)	εὐειδεῖς μὲν	Moved verse end & μὲν	Focus-ellipsed Verb
	αὐχμηροὶ δ' ὄραῖν	h-caesura & δ'	Focus-Verb
δόλιον οἶκτον ἐς μέσον φέρων (<i>Hel.</i> 1547)		Moved verse end	Focus-ConTop-Verb
Μενέλεω ποντίσματα φέροντες (<i>Hel.</i> 1548-49)		p-caesura	Topic-Focus-Verb
τοὺς σοὺς λόγους σῶζοντες (<i>Hel.</i> 1565)		Verse end	Focus-Verb
κουφίζοντα (<i>Hel.</i> 1555)		Moved verse end	Focus
ὄμμ' ἀναστρέφων κύκλω (<i>Hel.</i> 1557)		p-caesura	Topic-Focus-Verb
κυρτῶν τε νῶτα (<i>Hel.</i> 1557)		Verse end & τε	Broad Focus
κάς κέρας παρεμβλέπων (<i>Hel.</i> 1558)		p-caesura & καί	Topic-Focus
σφάγια τῷ τεθνηκότι (<i>Hel.</i> 1564)		p-caesura	Topic-Focus
ὕφ' εἵμασι ξίφη λαθραῖ' ἔχοντες (<i>Hel.</i> 1575)		Mittelcäsur	Setting-Focus-Verb
οὔριοι ξένω (<i>Hel.</i> 1588)		h-caesura	Focus
(<i>Hel.</i> 1600-01)	οἱ μὲν ἐν χεροῖν κορμούς ἔχοντες ναυτικούς	h-caesura & μὲν	Topic-Topic-Focus-Verb Topic-ellipsis-Focus-ellipsis
	οἱ δὲ ξίφη		
πρύμνηθεν Ἑλένης (<i>Hel.</i> 1603)		Verse end	Focus
χειρὶ δεξιᾷ ξίφος (<i>Hel.</i> 1608)		p-caesura	Topic-Focus
τάδ' ἀγγελοῦντα (<i>Hel.</i> 1618)		Verse end	Topic-Focus
Πενθεύς τε κἀγώ -...- ξένος θ' (<i>Bacch.</i> 1046-47)		Verse end & τε	Focus+Focus+Focus

οὐχ ὀρώμενοι (<i>Bacch.</i> 1050)		h-caesura	Focus
(Bacch. 1049-50)	τά τ' ἐκ ποδῶν σιγηλὰ	Verse end & τε	Topic-Focus-ellipsis
	καὶ γλώσσης ἄπο σῶζοντες	h-caesura & καὶ	Topic-ellipsis-Verb
(Bacch. 1051-52)	ὔδασι διάβροχον	Verse end	Focus
	πεύκαισι συσκιάζον	h-caesura	Focus
ἔχουσαι χεῖρας ἐν τερπνοῖς πόνοις (<i>Bacch.</i> 1053)		Moved verse end	n/a; ἐν τερπνοῖς πόνοις should be Focus
ἔργματ' οὐχὶ θνητὰ δρῶν (<i>Bacch.</i> 1069)		p-caesura	Topic-Focus-Verb
ἀτρέμα (<i>Bacch.</i> 1072)		Verse end with hiatus	Focus
φυλάσσω μὴ ἀναχαιτίσειέ νιν (<i>Bacch.</i> 1072)		Moved verse end	Broad Focus
ἔχουσα νῶτοις δεσπότην ἐφήμενον (<i>Bacch.</i> 1074)		Verse end	Broad Focus
(Bacch. 1091-94)	ποδῶν τρέχουσαι συντόνοις δραμήμασι	Verse end	n/a; συντόνοις δραμήμασι should be Focus
	μήτηρ Ἀγαύη	Verse end	Focus
	σύγγονοί θ' ὁμόσποροι	p-caesura & τε	Focus
	πᾶσαι τε βᾶκχαι	Verse end & τε	Focus
	διὰ χειμάρρου νάπης	p-caesura & δὲ	Focus
	ἀγμῶν τ' ἐπήδων	Verse end & τε	Focus
	θεοῦ πνοαῖσιν ἐμμανεῖς	p-caesura	Focus-Verb
ἀντίπυργον ἐπιβᾶσαι πέτραν (<i>Bacch.</i> 1097)		Moved verse end	Focus-Verb-PreMat
Πενθέως στόχον δύστηνον (<i>Bacch.</i> 1100)		Verse end	Focus
ἀπορία λελημμένος (<i>Bacch.</i> 1102)		p-caesura	Focus-Verb
μυρίοις οἰμώγμασιν Πενθεύς (<i>Bacch.</i> 1112-13)		p-caesura	Focus-PreMat
τλήμων Ἀγαύη (<i>Bacch.</i> 1117)		Verse end	Focus
παρηίδος ψαύων (<i>Bacch.</i> 1117-18)		Irregular break	Focus-Verb <i>metri causa</i>
Πενθεύς (<i>Bacch.</i> 1119)		Verse end	Focus

D4: Narrator's IU's

Text and verse	Function	Boundaries	PWO-analysis
σοφώταθ' (<i>Hel.</i> 1528)	Add irony	Left: verse end Right: none	Focus
ἄβρὸν πόδα τιθεῖσ' (<i>Hel.</i> 1528)	Add irony	Left: none Right: none	Focus-Verb
Μενέλεω ξυνέμποροι (<i>Hel.</i> 1537)	Prospective	Left: p-caesura Right: verse end	Topic-Focus
ποιητῶ τρόπῳ (<i>Hel.</i> 1547)	Prospective	Left: h-caesura Right: verse end	Focus
ὡς πῶλοι ζυγά (<i>Bacch.</i> 1056)	Metaphor	Left: h-caesura Right: verse end	Focus-ellips-PreMat
πελείας ῥώκυτότητ' οὐχ ἥσσονες (<i>Bacch.</i> 1090)	Metaphor	Left: moved verse end Right: verse end	n/a
οὐχ ὑπὸ σθένους (<i>Bacch.</i> 1127)	Induce suspense and contrast	Left: h-caesura Right: verse end	Focus