

## QUANTIFYING THE POSTPOSITIVE POSITION IN HOMER

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After Wackernagel's seminal article (1892) there has been a great deal of literature aiming to better define the postpositive position. Fraenkel (1933) showed that the particle *án* can occupy the second position within not only the sentence and clause but also smaller constituents, named *cola*. Building on Fraenkel, Dover (1960: 17) suggested that the position of postpositives may be determined by phonology, they following the first mobile word of a "word-group" recognizable "by the pauses of the voice which precede and follow it." A similar position has also been supported by Janse (1990; 2000), who defines the second position—be it within either the sentence or the clause or the colon—as second within the intonational unit (cf. also Taylor 1996). Marshall (1987), focusing on *án*, *aut-*, *m-*, and *tis*, tried to provide a more detailed account of postpositive placement by proposing that they, and probably many other postpositives, can usually occupy (i) the peninitial position within the sentence/clause or colon or be (ii) directly after, but rarely (iii) later than directly after, the verb or noun with which they are associated. Since the pattern verb-postpositive increases in post-Homeric Greek, Marshall hypothesizes that grammatical relationship may have been responsible for the deferment. Luraghi (1990) argues against such a stance, claiming that the deferment of pronominal enclitics is exploited for pragmatic purposes (see also Ruijgh 1990: 229–230).

What clearly emerges from the previous research is that postpositives are such a heterogeneous class of objects varying diachronically and sometimes synchronically that the exact quantification of their placement in any single author is a necessary prerequisite for a full understanding of their behavior. In the present article, therefore, we aim to present a detailed account of the placement of postpositives by searching Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* available at Perseus's Ancient Greek Dependency Treebank through TrEd. We provide the number of occurrences of postpositives with respect to their position in the sentence: these data are then interpreted in the light of the foregoing literature.

As an example, our data show that the particle *gár* mostly occurs in absolute second position. To these occurrences have to be added almost all those in absolute third position, for they almost always result from clustering of particles: i.e., *gár* is normally in absolute third position because the second position is already occupied by another postpositive (see Marshall 1987: 9). Of the very few remaining occurrences in third position, a small number are only apparent, being due to the presence of an initial quotation mark (e.g., "*ei gár ep' arêisin télos hēmetērēisi génoito*, Od. 17.496); some are of the type conjunction-word-*gár* (e.g., *all'ou gár tis prêksis egígneto myroménoisin*, Od. 10.202); some others show the order preposition-dependent-*gár* (e.g., *en moírēi gár pánta díikeo kai katéleksas*, Il. 19.186). These last two configurations are of theoretical importance: though differing from the cases of absolute second-position occurrence, they can be assimilated to them if one posits that the first two words may count as a single position by forming a phonological constituent. This is clearly suggested by some examples where the first word is an accentless prepositive, such as *en*. Moreover, there is good evidence that even accented prepositions and conjunctions, such as *katá* and *allá*, may have been prepositive and hence form a prosodic phrase with the

following word (Devine-Stephens 1994: 356–361). This is exactly in line with the above definition of second position as second within the intonational unit (Janse 1990; 2000).

The occurrences in a position after the third are about one seventh. They can all be related to the cases discussed above. For example, the presence of a vocative in initial position (and/or that of a punctuation mark) can very often determine the rightward deferment of *gàr*, as in *Atréidē, soì gár* [...], Il. 23.156: the vocative is extraclausal, and hence *gár* can be regarded as being in second position within its own clause/prosodic domain. Deferment of *gár* is instantiated by a great variety of cases: for example, in *álloisin dè taût' epitélleo, mē gár émoige* [...] (Il. 1.295), the particle clearly belongs to the second clause, within which *gár* is in second position. The particle *gár* is also often in a parenthetical clause, as in *allà Zeùs alápakse Kroníōn—éthele gár pou—hós* [...], Od. 17.424.

Our analysis suggests that *gár* can always be taken to be in second position within a prosodic phrase: its position varies on the basis of its scope being the sentence (absolute second position) or the clause (later than the absolute second position).

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