The Life Cycle of Adpositions

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Preface

Adpositions are used, universally, to mark the roles of nominal participants in the verbal clause, most commonly indirect object roles such as various locatives, allative, ablative, dative, benefactive, instrumental or associative. With the exception of Pidgins and early Creoles, all languages seem to have such markers which, like all grammatical morphemes, begin their diachronic life as lexical words – in this case either serial verbs or positional nouns. In many languages, however, adpositions also seem to have extended their diachronic life one step further, becoming verbal affixes.

The main focus of this book is the tail-end of the diachronic life-cycle of adpositions. That is, the process by which, having arisen first as nominal-attached prepositions or post-positions, they wind up attaching themselves to verbs. Our core puzzle is thus fairly transparent: How and why should morphemes that pertain functionally to nominals, and begin their diachronic life-cycle as nominal grammatical operators, wind up as verbal morphology?

While the core five chapters of this book focus on the rise of verb-attached prepositions in Homeric Greek, its theoretical perspective is broader, perched at the intersection of three closely intertwined core components of the study of human language: (a) the communicative function of grammar; (b) the balance between universality and cross-language diversity of grammars; and (c) the diachrony of grammatical constructions, how they mutate over time.

While paying well-deserved homage to the traditional Classical scholarship, this study is firmly wedded to the assumption, indeed presupposition, that Homeric Greek is just another natural language, spoken before written, designed as an instrument of communication, and subject to the same universal constraints as all human languages. And further, that those constraints – so-called language universals – express themselves most conspicuously in diachronic change.

Unlike the traditional Classical scholarship, which has relied primarily on the Comparative Method, this study is a methodological hybrid. In analyzing the synchronic variation and text distribution of prepositional constructions in Homeric Greek, it relies primarily on the theory-laden method of Internal

Reconstruction. But it also compares the Homeric data with matching historical data from other languages. Among those, English turns out to be of particular interest, first for being a syntactic mirror-image of Homeric Greek, and second because the very same diachronic process of attaching nominal prepositions to verbs is richly documented in successive written records, from Chaucer's Middle English to the present.

How do nominal case-markers become verbal affixes?

1.1 The functional-syntactic domain of adpositions

The natural functional domain of adpositions, thus also their natural syntactic association and eventual site of cliticization, is the nominal phrase. That is, they seem to, universally, mark the various case-roles of nominal participants in the verbal event clause. While adpositions can on occasion mark the functions of subject/agent (nominative, ergative) and object/patient (accusative, absolutive), they most commonly mark the case-roles – or types of participation – of various indirect objects (so-called 'obliques'). In this capacity, they are associated most typically with two well-known verb/clause types. The first depicts concrete intransitive states or events in which the adpositionally-marked indirect object is the *location* where the subject is, or the *source* or *goal* of the subject's motion, as in e.g.:[1]

(1) **Intransitive verbs of concrete location or motion**:
    a. She stayed **at** home
    b. They live **in** Tulsa
    c. They went **out of** town
    d. He ran **to** the store
    e. She comes **from** a small village
    f. They hiked **up** the slope
    g. He slid **down** the slope

The second verb/clause type depicts bi-transitive events in which the subject/agent causes the motion of a direct object, and the adpositionally-marked indirect object is then either the *source* or *goal* of the object's motion, as in e.g.:

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1. For a more extensive discussion of these verb types and their association with semantic and pragmatic case-roles, see Givón (2001, Chapter 3).

(2) **Bi-transitive verbs of concrete causation of motion**:
   a.   She put the book **on** the table
   b.   They left the horse **in** the barn
   c.   They sent him **to** the store
   d.   He removed the book **from** the shelf
   e.   She pulled him **out of** the house
   f.   They led them **up** a steep hill
   g.   She pushed him **down** the stairs
   h.   He deposited the package **at** the door

   In addition, each of the verb/clause types (1) and (2) above also has more abstract – or metaphorically extended – equivalents, respectively:

(3) **More abstract extensions of intransitive type (1)**:
   a.   He looked **at** her
   b.   She listened **to** him
   c.   They learned **from** books
   d.   She is **in** trouble
   e.   They are **at** war
   f.   She ran **into** some difficulties
   g.   They descended **into** oblivion

(4) **More abstract extensions of bi-transitive type (3)**:
   a.   She gave the book **to** her best friend
   b.   He heard it **from** his boss
   c.   They sold it **on** the internet **to** the highest bidder
   d.   She told her version **to** two cops
   e.   He embroiled them **in** no end of trouble
   f.   She talked him **out** of that nonsense
   g.   They led the company **out of** bankruptcy

   In verb/clause types (1), (2), (3), (4) above, the adpositionally-marked indirect objects are *obligatory* event participants. But adpositions can also mark the case-roles of *optional* participants, ones that are not constrained to particular verb types. Such optional participant roles are, most typically:

(5) **Optional participant case-roles**:
   a.   **Instrumental**: She cut the bread **with** a knife
   b.   **Associative**: She sang **with** her sister
   c.   **Benefactive**: They work **for** the city
   d.   **Manner**: He did it **in** a great hurry

The morpho-syntactic locus of adpositions may be either pre-nominal, as **prepositions**, or post-nominal, as **post-positions,** a distinction that is is often associated with 'basic' VO vs. OV word-order, respectively (Greenberg 1966).[2] As an example of post-positional marking of indirect-objects in an OV language, consider Ute (No. Uto-Aztecan):[3]

(6) **Post-positional case-marking in Ute**
  a. **Locative**:
      kani-**naagh** 'uni-'ni
      house-**in**   be-ɪᴍᴍ
      '(s/he) is **in(side)** the house'
  b. **Locative/allative**:
      kani-**naagh-tukh** yʉga-pʉga
      house-**in-to**   enter-ʀᴇᴍ
      '(s/he) went **into** the house'
  c. **Allative**:
      kani-**vaa-tukhwa̱** paghay-'way
      house-**at-go**   walk-ɪᴍᴍ
      '(s/he) is walking **to(ward)** the house'
  d. **Ablative**:
      kani-**vaa-tʉ-mana-kway** paghay-'way
      house-**at-ᴅɪʀ-leave-go**   walk-ɪᴍᴍ
      '(s/he) is walking **away from** the house'
  e. **Dative**:
      mamachi-**vaa-tʉ** pʉni'ni
      woman-**at-ᴅɪʀ**   look/ɪᴍᴍ
      '(s/he) is looking **at** the woman
  f. **Instrumental**:
      tuachi-'u moghoy'a-**m** nagha-pʉga
      child-the blanked-**with** cover-ʀᴇᴍ
      '(s/he) covered the child **with** a blanket

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2. Because of word-order change and different diachronic sources of case-marking adposition, Greenberg's (1966) word-order correlations are often less than perfect (Givón 1971). Thus, while Homeric Greek has highly flexible word-order, its old suffixal nominal case inflections and suffixal tense-aspect-modal system harken back to the older OV word-order of Indo-European (Lehmann 1969, 1974).

3. See Givón (2011, Chapter 4).

g. **Associative**:
tᴜgᴜvᴜ-**wa**   'ᴜ wéɵka-pᴜga
friend-**with**   3s work-REM
'(s/he) worked **with** her/his friend'

Like all bound grammatical morphemes over their diachronic life-cycle, adpositions eventually become de-stressed, shrink in size, and undergo assimilatory phonetic interactions with their host lexical stem as well as with adjacent bound morphemes. In the process, they become phonologically and semantically irregular 'inflections' on their host lexical stem. Eventually, they are zeroed out at the tail-end phase of their **de-grammaticalization**.[4] Such phonetic erosion and growing semantic incoherence can be seen, for example, in the history of the Indo-European suffixal case inflections, leading to their eventual replacement by new generations of case-marking adpositions. Thus, the complex interaction between the old nominal case suffixes of Homeric Greek and the new generation(s) of pre-nominal prepositions that 'govern' them is a classical example of such a cycle – indeed multiple cycles – of grammaticalization, de-grammaticalization and re-grammaticalization.[5]

1.2   **Locus of cliticization**

The morpho-syntactic locus of adpositions vis-a-vis their nominal lexical host, thus Greenberg's (1966) prediction of prepositions in VO languages vs. post-positions in OV languages, is mediated by the adposition's diachronic lexical source. Most commonly, adpositions arise from either **serial verbs** in a complex verb phrase, or from **positional nouns** in a complex noun phrase. Typical examples of serial verbs yielding prepositions in VO-ordered languages may be seen in the Niger-Congo family:[6]

(7) a. **Accusative 'take'**:   (Yatye)
iywi **awá** utsi iku
child **took** door shut
'the child shut the door'
(hist.: 'the child took the door and shut it')

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4. See Givón (1971, 1979/2019); Heine and Kuteva (2007); *inter alia*.

5. The old Indo-European nominal case inflections are the product of condensation of three adjacent nominal suffixes – case, number and gender-markers, a fact that contributed to their eventual irregularity and functional incoherence.

6. For further detail see Givón (1975).

    b. **Instrumental 'take':**   (Yatye)
        iywi **awá** otsi iku utsi
        child took stick shut door
        'the child shut the door **with** a stick'
        (hist.: 'the child took the stick and shut the door')

    c. **Allative 'go':**   (Efik)
        dúk móto ámi **ka** óbyo!
        take car   this **go** town
        'Take this car **to** town!'
        (hist.: 'take this car and go town!')

    d. **Allative 'come':**   (Yoruba)
        mo mu iwé **wá**   ilé
        1s took book **come** house
        'I brought the book **to** the house'
        (hist.: 'I took the book and came house')

    e. **Dative 'give':**   (Yatye)
        mo mú iwé wá   **fún** e
        1s took book come **give** 2s
        'I brought a book **to** you'
        (hist.: 'I took a book and came and gave you')

    f. **Benefactive 'help':**   (Yatye)
        mo **bá**   o mí iwé wá   ilé
        1s **helped** 2s take book come house
        'I brought a book home **for** you'
        (hist. 'I helped you and took a book and came home')

    Typical examples of serial verbs yielding post-positions in an OV Niger-Congo language, Ijo, may be seen in (Williamson 1965):

(8) **Accusative 'take':**
    a. erí yé   **aki**-ni   u-beé
       he thing **take**-ASP 3s-say
       'he told her/her a thing'
       (hist.: 'he took a thing and told her')

    b. **Instrumental 'take':**
       erí ogidi   **akí**-ní   indi pei-mí
       he machete **take**-ASP fish cut-ASP
       'He cut the fish **with** the machete'
       (hist.: 'He took the machete and cut the fish'

    c. **Allative 'go' and 'come':**
        erí amá **duo** you   **bo**-mí
        he town **go**   paddle **come**-ASP
        'he paddled **to** town'
        (hist.: 'he went to town paddling and came (there)')

    d. **Locative 'circle':**
        erí áru-bi   oki   **yoro**-mi
        he canoe-the swim **circle**-ASP
        'he swam **around** the canoe'
        (hist.: 'he swam the canoe and circled (it)'

    e. **Dative 'give':**
        eri opuru-mo áki   toboú **piri**-mi
        he fish-the   take boy   **give**-ASP
        'he gave the fish **to** the boy'
        (hist.: 'he took the fish and gave it to the boy')

    f. **Manner 'take':**
        erí aya   baraki **akí**-ni   dúma tun
        he new way   **take**-ASP song sing
        'he sang the song **in** a new way'
        (hist. 'he took a new way and sang the song')

    g. **Comitative 'join':**
        erí wo bina óweri **mo**   bo-mi
        he his kin   man   **join** come-ASP
        'he came **with** his kinsman'
        (hist. 'he joined his kinsman and came'

The other typical diachronic source of adposition are positional nouns, derived from either **body parts** or **location nouns** in a genitive modifier construction. Typically, such positional nouns augment extant adpositions to yield more complex location or motion senses. Over time, such combinations become grammaticalized as complex adposition. Typical examples from English, all at a relatively early diachronic stage, may be seen in:

(9) a. On **top** of the mountain
     b. In the **back** of the cupboard
     c. At the **foot** of the cliff
     d. In **front** of the house
     e. At the **bottom** of the gorge
     f. To the **head** of the line

Examples of various types of simplification and re-structuring in English may be seen in:

(10) a. **inside** the can
      b. **out** the window
      c. **under** the horizon
      d. **below** expectations
      e. **above** the clouds
      f. **aside** from that

The fact that positional nouns become pre-nominal prepositions in English has nothing to do, directly, with its VO syntax. Rather, it involves the post-nominal position of genitive modifiers vis-a-vis the head noun in the noun phrase. Via re-analysis, the genitive modifying noun becomes the new head noun, now preceded by the de-nominal preposition. In an OV language like Ute, where post-positions arise diachronically from either serial verbs or positional nouns, their post-nominal position is determined by both the OV syntax (for the serial-verb source) and the genitive-head order in the noun phrase (for the positional-noun source). In the examples below, the likely diachronic sources of the post-positions are indicated:[7]

(11) a. mamachi   ghani̱
          woman/GEN house
          'the woman's house'
      b. kani-**naagha̱-tukhw** yu̱ga-pu̱ga
          house/O-**enter-go**   enter-REM
          '(s/he) went **into** the house'
      c. kani-**vaa-tukhwa** paghay-'way
          house/O-**go-go**   walk-IMM
          '(s/he) is walking **toward** the house'
      d. kani-**vee-tu̱**   pu̱ni-'ni
          house/O-**go-go** see-IMM
          'he's looking **at/toward** the house'
      e. kani-**vaa-tu̱-mana-kway**   qháaru̱-pu̱ga
          house/GEN-**go-go-leave-go** run-REM
          '(s/he) ran **away from** the house'

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7. Givón (2011, Chapter 4). The accusative and genitive case suffixes have collapsed together in Ute (*ibid*., Chapter 5). For the reconstruction of monosyllabic post-position as erstwhile verbs, see again *ibid*., Chapter 5.

f. pəˈθqwatṳ tṳkaˈnapṳ-**tṳvwa-miy̲a-tukhw̲a** wíˈi̲-kya
   book table/O-**descend-go-go** fall-ANT
   'the book fell **off** the table'

g. kani qovaa-va ˈuni-ˈni
   house/GEN **face-go** be-IMM
   '(s/he) is **in front of** the house'

h. kani-**tṳṳra-va** ˈuni-ˈni
   house/GEN-**outside-go** be-IMM
   '(s/he) is **outside** the house'

i. kani **tṳragwaa-naagh̲a-tukhw̲a** yṳga-pṳga
   house/GEN **center-enter-go** enter-REM
   '(s/he) went **into** the **center of** the house'

j. kani **tugu-tukhw̲a** ˈura-ˈay
   house/GEN **sky-go** be-IMM
   '(it) is **on top of** the house'

Ute post-positions are thus a diachronic mixed bag, coming from either serial verbs or positional nouns. Among those, the longer verb stems still function as verbs, while the mono-syllabic ones can be reconstructed to erstwhile verbs.

1.3 Verb-attached adpositions

In the examples cited thus far, the case-role marking adpositions were invariably attached to **nominal** indirect objects, their presumed natural functional-syntactic domain. But in many languages case-role marking adpositions can also be associated with – or cliticized to – verbs. This is indeed the case in Homeric Greek and other Indo-European languages, as well as a more recent cycle in English. And it is also found in many other unrelated language families. So that a fairly obvious question must now be raised, one that will remain a leitmotif throughout this book: How do case-marking adpositions, whose functional-syntactic domain is typically nominal, wind up as verbal morphology? And further, what is natural about such a – presumably diachronic – process?

Before investigating possible diachronic pathways via which such a counter-intuitive development may take place, let us consider first a complex example from Akie, a So. Nilotic language from Tanzania (Koenig *et al.* 2020).[8] A strict VO-ordered language, Akie displays both pre-nominal prepositions and

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8. With the orthography and morphological glosses somewhat simplified.

verb-suffixed case-role markers, perhaps originally prepositions as well. The pre-nominal prepositions are rather limited in number, and are often semantically ambiguous, multi-functional or vague. Thus:

(12) **Nominal-attached prepositions**
    a. **Locative *nén***
        a taak-e   **nen** pesye nkáá ayen
        1s see-IMPF LOC day   GEN two
        'I see him in two days'
    b. **Locative *pa***
        pa   óseróo
        LOC wilderness
        'in the wilderness'
    c. **Asscoative *ai***
        ki ám-ììsyey **ai**   Nkúyaki
        1p eat-AP   **with** Nkúyaki
        'we eat (together) with Nkúyaki'
    d. **Instrumental *ai***
        a kee ng'éét-tai   korio **ai**   ng'otwee
        C RPA come.out-and C   **with** spears
        'then they came out with spears'
    e. **Instrumental *nen***
        till-e   pányee **nen** síílelee
        cut-IMPF meat   LOC knife
        'he cut the meat with a knife'
    f. **Benefactive *(i)nká***
        náá siing'ow **inká** óloishó
        REL be.good **for**   country
        'which is good for the country'

Two Akie prepositions are clearly of positional-noun origin, displaying the telltale sign of the genitive construction, as in:

(13) **Nominal-derived positional locatives**
    a. ká ching' **ari**   táá kaa
        NPA enter **inside** GEN home
        'he enter into the house' (lit. 'entered inside of the house')
    b. pút-en   **paráí** taa keeti!
        climb-IMP **on.top** GEN tree
        'climb on top of the tree!'

Akie also has case-marking morphemes suffixed to the verb, often ambiguous and sometimes co-existing or alternating with pre-nominal prepositions. Thus consider:

(14)   **Verb-suffixed adpositions**
    a.   ar-áá taak-**ēēn** láákwēē **paráí** taa kopuruēē
        PA-1s see-APL child   **top**   GEN hill
        'I've seen the child on top of the hill'
    b.   i   llúú-**eyyen** rúnkuu láákwēē
        2s hit-APL   club   child
        'you are hitting the child with the club'
    c.   i   llúú-e   **nen** rúnkuu láákwēē
        2s hit-IMPF **with** club   child
        'you are hitting the child with the club'
    d.   oo rú-ie-**n**   **nen** íyu kosi
        2p sleep-ASSOC LOC here
        'you-all sleep together in here'
    e.   ki-rá ál-**chi**   láákwēē amti
        1p-PA buy-BEN child   food
        'we bought food for the child'

Lastly, two verb-suffixed case-markers can be sometimes combined together, as in:

(15)   a.   a ng'útt-**in-eyyen** ng'úlēē weérii kuúmi
        1s spit-DAT-APL   saliva boys beer
        'I spit beer at the boys (for blessing)'
    b.   ki ng'álaan-**chin-toos**-ey
        1p talk-DAT-ASSOC-??
        'we talk to each other about it'

1.4   The typological-diachronic conundrum

Two separate considerations suggest that the association of adpositions with verbs, and their eventual pre- or post-verbal cliticization, is a secondary diachronic product of their original association with nominals. The first consideration concerns the **semantics** of verb-attached adpositions: With some exceptions due to gradual semantic change, verb-attached adpositions still code – overwhelmingly – the very same prototypical case-role functions of event-clause participants that they code as nominal adpositions: locative, directional, dative, benefactive, associative, instrumental, temporal or manner.

The second consideration involves the **cross-language distributional logic** of the two morpho-syntactic loci of adpositions, nominal vs. verbal. That is:

a. One can find many genetically unrelated and typologically diverse languages where adpositions are attached *only* to nominals (e.g. Hebrew, Spanish, Turkish, Japanese, Ute).
b. One can also find many languages where adpositions are attached to *both* nominals and verbs (Rama, Akie, English, Homeric Greek).
c. But one is hard pressed to find a language where adpositions are attached *only* to verbs.

The logic of this cross-language distribution is a well known **one-way conditional** association:

(16) **One way conditional association**:
"If adpositions in a language are found to be associated with verbs, they will also be associated with nouns; but not vice versa".

The one-way conditional association in (16) has a fairly obvious diachronic interpretation:

(17) **Diachronic interpretation of (12)**
"Adpositions are *first* associated with nominals, and only later with verbs".

If we couch the diachronic interpretation (17) of (16) as a scientific hypothesis, could we then look for **counter-examples** to (16) that would then falsify (17), as is done in normal science? Put another way, can we find a language, or languages, in which case-marking morphemes are attached **only to verbs** but not to nominals?

At least in principle, one could think of a natural exception to our conditional association (16) and diachronic hypothesis (17). It goes roughly like this:

(18) **Potential principled exception to (16), (17)**:
a. Suppose a language develops first nominal-attached adpositions.
b. Suppose it then goes on to develop verb-attached adpositions.
c. Suppose then, over time, it loses the older generation of – phonetically eroded and functionally incoherent – nominal-attached adpositions through run-of-the-mill **de-grammaticalization**.
d. But then it would still retain the diachronically younger and functionally more coherent verb-attached adpositions.

As Popper (1934/1959) noted, one could keep trying and failing repeatedly to falsify a hypothesis, practically *ad infinitum*. And the point where one decides to give up is in principle arbitrary. In the interest of trying, nonetheless, I will describe below two potential counter examples, each suggestive of the principled diachronic exception described in (18) above. The first potential counter-example of this type may be seen in the Campa Arawak languages of S. E. Peru. In these strict VSO-ordered languages, most case-role marking is done by verb suffixes. But a lone, semantically vague locative post-position can be attached to some nominal indirect objects. Let us consider first examples from Machiguenga. In the case of some nominal case-roles, only the verb can bear the marker, as in e.g. (Betty Snell, i.p.c.):

(19) a. **Associative I.O.:**
          o-mag-**imo**-ig-a-i   o-ishinto
          3f-sleep-**ASSOC**-PL-HAB-REAL 3f-daughter
          'she was living **with** her daughters'
      b. **Benefactive I.O.:**
          o-gi-**ako**-t-ak-e-ri   i-tineri
          3f-wait-**BEN**-EP-PERF-EP-3m 3m-son.in.law
          'she waited **for** her son-in-law'
      c. **Allative/dative I.O.:**
          o-m-p-**u**-t-e-na   no-shinto   kamona
          3f-IRR-give-**ALL**-EP-IRR-1 1s-daughter chonta.palm
          'my daughters may give **to** me chonta-palm'

In other instances, the sole, semantically-vague locative post-position *-ku* marks the *nominal* indirect object, with its exact sense augmented by the semantically-richer verb, as in:

(20) a. o-**a**-t-i   anta kaara-se-**ku**
          3f-**go.to**-EP-REAL there garbage-NC-**LOC**
          'she went **to** the garbage dump'
      b. o-**pok**-i   kaara-se-**ku**
          3f-**come.to**-R garbage-NC-**LOC**
          'she came **to** the garbage dump'
      c. no-m-**mag**-ak-e-tyo   anta kaara-se
          1-IRR-**sleep.at**-R-EP-EX there garbage-NC
          'I'll lived **at** the garbage dump'

In a closely-related language, Asheninka, a more complex situation is observed. One first finds an alternation between the single general locative

post-position *-ki* and the locative verb-suffix *-ant-*. The functional value of this alternation corresponds, roughly, to dative shifting (promotion to direct-object). So that in the variant with nominal post-position, the object is interpreted as either indefinite, non-referring or less topical. When the case-role marker is a verb-suffix, on the other hand, the object is interpreted as either definite, referring or more topical.[9] Thus consider (David Payne, i.p.c.):[10]

(21) a. i-saiki-i   mapi-**ki**
          3m-sit-R rock-**LOC**
          'he sat on a rock'
      b. i-saik-**ant**-a-ro   mapi
          3m-sit-**LOC**-R-3fo rock
          'he sat on the rock'
      c. i-ken-i   pito-tsi-**ki**
          3m-go.by-R canoe-ABS-**LOC**
          'he went by in a canoe'
      d. i-ken-**ant**-a-ro   pito-tsi
          3m-go.by-**LOC**-R-3fo canoe-ABS
          'he went by in the canoe'

While the Asheninka post-position *-ki*, like its equivalent *-ku* in Machiguenga, is semantically vague and under-specified, many intransitive location or motion verbs are semantically rich, and thus supplement the vague 'locative' sense of *-ki* – without the need for a verb suffix (such as *-ant* above). Thus:

(22) a. p-**iyaat**-a-i   pi-nampi-**ki**
          2-**go.to**-REG-R 2-village-**LOC**
          'you returned **to** your village'
      b. i-**pinkatharitz**-i   nampi-tsi-**ki**
          3m-**be.chief.at**-R village-ABS-**LOC**
          'he is the chief **in** the village'
      c. pi-**nky**-e   amaaatakomento-tsi-**ki**
          2-**go.in**-IRR river.boat-ABS-**LOC**
          '(you) went **into** the river-boat'

The same is also true with semantically-rich bi-transitive verbs that take indirect objects of location or motion and require no verb-suffix case-marking, as in:

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9. See Givón (1984). A similar situation is seen in KinyaRwanda, further below.

10. With the morphological glosses somewhat simplified.

(23) a. j-**ominkyag**-a-i-ro   i-panko-**ki**
          3m-**put.in**-REG-R-3fo 3m-house-LOC
          'he put it back **inside** his house'

      b. j-**an**-ak-e-ri   ir-otsitsi-te   towari-tapeshi-**ki**
          3m-**leave.in**-PFV-MOD-3mo 3m-dog-POS shrub-shade-LOC
          'he left his dog **in** the shade of the shrub'

      c. p-**oit**-e-na   pi-yowi-te-**ki**
          2-**give.drink.from**-IRR-1a 2-clay-pot-POS-LOC
          '(you) give me a drink **from** your clay-pot'

      d. j-**otyaant**-ak-e-ri   i-tomi i-panko-**ki**
          3m-**send.to**-PFV-MOD-3mo 3m-son i-house-LOC
          'he sent his son **to** his house'

With some bi-transitive verbs, however, an obligatory verb suffix marks the case-role of the indirect object, such as the ablative -*pitha*-:

(24) a. j-aa-**pithat**-ak-e-na-ri
          3m-take-**ABL**-PFV-MOD-1a-REL
          '(that) he took it away **from** me'

      b. i-kama-**pithat**-ak-e-ro
          3m-die-**ABL**-PFV-MOD-3fo
          'he died **on** her' ('departed **from** her')

      c. i-shiya-**pithat**-e-ri
          3m-run-**ABL**-IRR-3mo
          'he will run away **from** him'

Optional indirect-object roles are all marked by verb-suffixes. Thus, for example, the locative -*ant*- also marks the *instrumental* (as well as *time* and *purpose*), as in:

(25) a. j-otzirit-ak-e-ri
          3m-rub-PFV-MOD-3mo
          'he rubbed/massaged him'

      b. j-otzirit-**ant**-aka-ri   yeenka-ntsi
          3m-rub-**LOC**-PFV-3mo oil-ABS
          'he rubbed/massaged him **with** oil'

Another verb suffix, -*imo*-, marks the *associative*, sometime in combination with a *directional* verb suffix -*apaa*-, as in:

(26) a.   no-may-**imot**-e-mi   pi-panko-ki
           1-sleep-**ASSOC**-IRR-2o 2-house-LOC
           'I will sleep **with** y'all at your house'
      b.   i-katziy-**imot-apaa**-ak-e-ri
           3m-stand-**ASSOC-DIR**-PFV-MOD-3mo
           'he stood **with** him (having come this way)'

Another verb suffix, the 'applicative' -*ako*-, marks a group of more abstract case-roles, sometime in combination with directional verb suffixes, as in:

(27) a.   n-owashiret-**akot**-ak-a-ro
           1-be.sad-**APL**-PFV-R-3fo
           'I was sad about it'
      b.   j-amen-**akot-apa**-ak-e-ro
           3m-look-**APL-DIR**-PFV-MOD3fo
           'he looked over/toward it (the land)'
      c.   oiwara-**akot-an**-ak-a   i-kant-ak-e-ri
           spread-**APL-DIR**-PFV-R 3m-say-PFV-MOD-REL
           'what he said spread around (**from** there)'
      d.   i-ma-**akot-an**-ak-e-ro   i-yatsinka
           3m-sleep-**APL-DIR**-PFV-MOD-3fo 3m-pain
           'he fell asleep **in/away from** his pain'

Another verb suffix, -*went*-, marks the *benefactive* role, as well as 'because', again sometimes in combination with a directional suffix, as in:

(28) a.   i-pinkathari-**wentz**-i-ri nampit-a-ro-ri   kiri-shaari
           3m-be.chief-**BEN**-R-3m dwell-R-3fo-REL palm-river
           'he is chief **for** those who dwell on the palm-rive'
      b.   no-kimoshire-**wentz**-i-ri no-charine-paye
           1-be.happy-**BEN**-R-3mo 1-grandchild-PL
           'I am happy **because** of my grandchildren'
      c.   i-kiss-awakaa-**went-an**-ak-a-ro
           3m-be.angry-REC-**BEN-AWAY**-PFV-R-3fo
           'they were angry with each other **because** of it'

Lastly, David Payne (i.p.c) notes that in many instances, case-marking verb suffixes have fused with the verb semantically and lost their independent case-role sense, with the combination now appearing semantically arbitrary. Thus consider:

(29) a. **applicative -ako-**
et-ako- 'love' (e- 'begin')
thonk-ako- 'be poor' (thonk- 'finish')
awis-ako- 'be saved' (awis- 'pass')
kis-ako- 'defend' (kis- 'be angry')

b. **benefactive -went-**
anta-went- 'work fo' (ant- 'do')
aama-went 'take care of' (aama- 'beware')
nyaa-went- 'speak to' (ny- 'make noise')
aako-went- 'begin doing regularly' (ag- 'take')
pinako-went- 'pay for' (pina- 'have value')

c. **associative -imo-**
ook-imo- 'be pleasing to' (ook- 'abandon')
kantz-imo- 'be troubling to' (kant- 'say', 'do')

Such a situation of increased semantic arbitrariness has been noted in Germanic and Romance with prepositional prefixes on verbs (see English data further below as well as Chapter 7). Such semantic arbitrariness is indeed the tail-end stage in the diachrony of verb-attached adpositions (see English data below and in Chapter 7, as well as the discussion of Homeric Greek in Chapters 2–6).

There is a fairly straight-forward diachronic interpretation of the Campa Arawak distribution of case-marking morphemes described above, bearing in mind that Campa Arawak languages are currently rigid VSO ordered. First, both the post-nominal locus of the lone nominal post-position *-ku/-ki* and its semantically bleached meaning are consonant with older diachronic age, tagging *-ku/-ki* as the sole survivor of an earlier post-positional system, one that grammaticalized during a period of OV word-order.

In contrast, the post-verbal locus of the bulk of case-role markers, as well as their much richer and more specific semantics, are consonant with the current VO syntax, as well as with later grammaticalization. Taken together, the situation in Machiguenga and Asheninka is consonant with the suggestion that these languages developed nominal case-markers first, then shifted to verb-attached case-markers.

A second case that has been suggested as a potential counter-example to our typological/diachronic generalizations (16)/(17) is Kunbarlang, as Australian language (Kapitonov 2019). In this language, there are three nominal-associated prepositions, though only one of them is recognized as such by Kapitonov (2019). The first – 'true' – nominal preposition marks either sort-of-*associative*

or *instrumental* indirect objects, and can appear either pre-nominally or as a *verb* prefix. Thus:[11]

(30)   a.   **Associative, pre-nominal**:
kirdimarrk **walkki** waliman ka-rdulkarrwarribinj
man   **with**   axe   3s-be.tired
'the man **with** the axe is tired'

   b.   **Associative, verb-suffix**:
ngayi ngabbard ka-ngan-**walkki**-rnirdam
NC   father   3s-1so-**with**-placed
'my father placed it **with** me'

   c.   **Instrumental, pre-nominal**:
na-kudji monkey ka-jarrkrdam norno **walkki** kundulk
NC-one monkey 3s-lift/IMPF   snake **with**   stick
'a onkey is lifting the snake **with** a stick'

The second nominal preposition marks *dative/benefactive* indirect objects. However, it can be used only with pronouns, never with nouns. Thus consider:

(31)   **Dative/benefactive, pre-nominal**:
   a.   ninda Bill ka-bun-wuy **bi**-ngadju
DEM   Bill 3s-I've-PA   DAT-3sf/GEN
'Bill gave it to him **for** her'

   b.   ngayi nga-bareng-minj **bi**-rnungu
NC   1s-angry-IMPF   DAT-3sm/GEN
'I am angry **at** him'

   c.   nganj-lerrk-**walkki**-wonj   **bi**-rnungu   balanda
1s/FUT-word-**with**-return/NPA DAT-3sm/GEN white.fellow
'I'll translate **for** him, the white-fellow'

   d.   kukka ngorro   nga-ngunda **bi**-ngungudbe
3s/NC DEM/NC 1s-say/PA   DAT-2p/GEN
'that's what I said **to** y'all'

   e.   kadda-ngunjdje **bi**-ngaybu…
3p-say/NPA   DAT-1s/GEN
'they tell **to** me…'

Kunbarlang also has, at least in principle, a third nominal preposition, transparently derived from a positional noun in a genitive construction, as in:

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11. With the morphological glosses somewhat simplified.

(32)   Mary ka-rnay   nayi djurra korro kun-**bodme**-rungu nawalak
       M.   3s-see/PA NC paper DEM NC-**back**-3s/GEN   child
       'Mary found the book **behind** the child' (lit. 'his back, the child')

In addition to those nominal prepositions, a number of case-role markers appear as verb prefixes. Consider first the *dative/benefactive* in:

(33) a.   ka-ngan-**marnanj**-yawanj djurra
           3s-1s-**BEN**-seek/NPA   paper
           's/he is looking for a book **for** me'
      b.   kabarra-**marnanj**-ngunda that two mammam…
           3d-**BEN**-say/PA   that two mammam
           'those two mammam said **to** him…'
      c.   kadda-**marnanj**-borrkkidanj njunjuk
           3p-**BEN**-dance/PA   water
           'they danced **for** water'

In some cases, an alternation is possible between the *dative* nominal preposition *bi-* (marking only pronouns) and the *dative/benefactive* verbal prefix *-marnanj-*. Thus compare:

(34) a.   kadda-worrmeng **bi**-rnungu
           3p-kindle/PA   **DAT**-3s/GEN
           'they made fire **for** him'
      b.   ka-buddu-**marnanj**-worrmeng ngob
           3s-3po-**BEN**-kindle/PA   all
           'he made fire **for** all of them'
      c.   kunj   ka-bum **bi**-ngaybu   ngayi
           kangaroo 3s-kill/PA **DAT**-1s/GEN NC
           's/he killed a kangaroo **for** me'
      d.   kunj   ka-ngan-**marnanj**-bum ngayi
           kangaroo 3s-1so-**BEN**-kill/PA   NC
           's/he killed a kangaroo **for** me'
      e.   ka-ngun-**marnanj**-djarrang
           3s-2so-**BEN**-eat/PA
           's/he ate it **on** you' (= 'to your detriment')

As noted earlier above, the *associative/instrumental* nominal preposition *walkki* 'with' can also be used as a verbal prefix. Thus compare:

(35) a.   kadda-bu-djinj **walkki** rlama
           3p-hit-REFL/PA **with**   spear
           'they were fighting **with** spears'

b. ka-ngan-**balkki**-rnay kunbareng nayi djamun
 3s-1so-**ASSOC**-see/PA alcohol   NC policeman
 'the policeman saw me **with** alcohol'

c. ka-bun-djarrang nayi drum **walkki** nayi nguk-rnungu
 3s-3so-put/PA NC drum **with** NC intestine-3sGEN
 'we put a drum (on the fire) **with** its guts'

d. ka-buddu-**walkki**-baybum nayi nawalak
 3s-3po-**ASSOC**-leave/PA   NC child
 's/he left the child **with** them'

One question that one may ask is – how does a language deal with a wider range of case-roles, especially locative, motion, direction etc., when it has so few nominal and verb-attached case-marking morphemes? As it turns out, Kunbarlang supplies a cogent answer, one reminiscent of Talmy's (1970) observations: the verbs in such a language are semantically rich, incorporating many spatial notions of location, direction or motion. Thus compare:

(36) a. ka-bun-**yikalng**   karlurru
 3s-3so-**take.from**/PA cigarette
 's/he took a cigarette **from** him/her'

b. ninda nganj-ngun-**wunj** djurra
 DEM 1s/FUT-2so-**give.to** paper
 'I will give this book **to** you'

As was suggested by the Asheninka Example (29) above, the incorporation of case-marking adposition into the verb is, itself, a major mechanism used to enrich verbs with more specific case-role semantic features, just in case they fade away over time. This seesaw of semantic depletion and enrichment will remain one of the leimotifs of our investigation into the diachronic life-cycle of adpositions.

Is the pre-verb position of verb-attached case-markers in Kunbarlang consistent with a particular word-order type? The answer is that it is indeed consistent with an earlier OV order, a suggestion that will be taken up in the next section as well as in several subsequent chapters. In this sense, Kunbarlang is a syntactic mirror image of the VO-ordered Kampa Arawk languages discussed above.

Lastly, both the small size of the dative nominal preposition *bi-* in Kunbarlang and its restriction to pronouns suggest an older diachronic provenance. Which in turn suggests, albeit tentatively, that the nominal case-markers of Kunbarlang represent an older diachronic stage than its verb-attached case-markers.

1.5 Steps toward a diachrony

1.5.1 Overview

In the diachrony of grammar as in bio-evolution, suggesting that structure D is the diachronic **product** of structure A is a rather unsatisfying statement – even if true. The real task, and the fun, is in showing – and justifying on general grounds – the gradual step-by-step **process** by which A became B, then C, then D. Our task is thus not only to identify the diachronic source and product, but also to elucidate the process. And the fact that the steps appear discrete does not obviate the graduality of the process, since each discrete A-to-B step visible post-hoc to the linguist may involve more subtle intermediate variants in the synchronic usage of speakers.

In this section I will survey the use of originally-nominal adpositions as verb affixes in three unrelated languages, English, Kinya-Rwanda (Bantu) and Rama (Chibchan). In the process, possible mechanisms will be suggested by which nominal case-marking adpositions may wind up as verbal operators, or affixes. A fuller survey of the diachronic process in English, where historical textual evidence spanning ca. 500 years is available, will be deferred to Chapter 7. Homeric Greek is a pivotal case here, since the synchronic data reveal multiple usage variants. The text-distribution of such variants, in turn, afford us another perspective on a diachronic change that must have still been ongoing during Homeric times. What is more, while English furnishes evidence of how adpositions are becoming *verb suffixes* in a VO language, Homeric Greek, in a mirror image similar to Rama, furnishes suggestive evidence of how adpositions became *verb prefixes* in an OV language.

1.5.2 Post-verbal prepositions in English

Since the diachronic process by which English prepositions have become post-verbal 'particles' is surveyed in considerable detail in Chapter 7, further below, the facts will be sketched out here only briefly. English bears clear evidence of two distinct cycles of prepositions becoming verbal clitics. The older cycle, inherited from both the Germanic and Romance vocabulary of English, involves prepositions that have long ago become phonologically fused to the verb and semantically opaque. So that native speakers take them as unanalyzable part of the verbal word. Syntactically, the pre-verbal position of these old prefixes harkens back to the OV syntax of both Latin and Germanic (indeed, Indo-European; Lehmann 1969, 1974), thus similar to Homeric Greek. Common examples of such verbal prefixes in Latin-derived English verbs may be seen in:

(37)   **Romance prepositions prefixed to English verbs:**
       suggested concrete meaning of old verbal root

'close'	'hold'	'build'	'call'	'press'	'turn'
in-clude	ob-tain	con-struct	ex-claim	ex-press	in-vert
ex-clude	de-tain	de-struct	de-claim	im-press	ad-verse
pre-clude	re-tain	in-struct	re-claim	de-press	re-verse
con-clude	per-tain	ob-struct	pro-claim	re-press	con-vert
se-clude	con-tain	re-struct(ure)	ac-claim	com-press	tra-verse
oc-clude	at-tain		pro-claim	op-press	sub-vert
en-close	enter-tain		dis-claim	sup-press	extro-vert
dis-close	abs-tain				per-vert

(38)

'carry'	'bend'	'pull'	'breathe'	'form'	'throw'	'stand' (?)
com-port	ex-tend	ex-tract	in-spire	re-form	e(x)-ject	ex-cede
ex-port	in-tend	de-tract	ex-spire	in-form	in-ject	re-cede
im-port	con-tend	re-tract	re-spire	de-form	ob-ject	con-cede
de-port	dis-tend	con-tract	con-spire	con-form	re-ject	suc-cede
re-port	at-tend	at-tract	a(d)-spire		de-ject(ed)	pre-cede
sup-port		sub-tract	per-spire		pro-ject	inter-cede

Common examples of Germanic-derived pre-verbal prepositions in English may be seen in:

(39)   **Germanic prepositions English verbs**
   a.   **For(e)**: forget, forgive, forego, forlorn, forbid, forsake, foretell, fore-close, forecast, foredoom, forewarn, foreswear, forerunner, foresee, forestall,
   b.   **Over**: overcome, overload, overbearing, oversee, override, overlay, overpass, overtake, over-run, overwhelm
   c.   **In**: inbreed, inhale, input, income, inlay, instill, install, incur, inflict
   d.   **Out**: outgoing, outreach, outlier, outlive, output, outcast, outrank, outrun, outpour, outrage, outflow, outfit, outflank, outgrow, outlet, outlast, outlook, outplay, outreach, outset, outstanding, outwit
   e.   **Under**: understand, undergo, underlie, undergird, undermine, underbid, undercut, understate, underwrite, undertake, underline

More recently, English has been undergoing a similar cycle, placing its Germanic nominal prepositions in a *post-verbal* position, compatible with its current VO syntax. These post-verbal 'particles' still carry lexical stress and even allow some words or morphemes to intervene between them and the verb. What is more, many of them still carry their old semantic sense reminiscent of their pre-nominal case-marking use. This more recent cycle of pre-nominal-to-post-verbal **re-grammaticalization** has been taking place during a period of VO syntax. The post-verbal locus of these prepositions thus presumably reflects the post-verbal position of indirect objects in a VO language. Some simple illustrative examples may be seen in:

(40)   **Post-verbal English prepositions**:
    Simple intransitive:
    a.   The meeting broke **up** early
    b.   Her car broke **down** on the freeway
    c.   Her skin broke **out** in a rash
    d.   It all worked **out** just fine
    e.   They worked **out** regularly
    f.   She never woke **up**
    g.   Let him just shut **up**
    Intransitive with indirect object:
    h.   So finally he turns **up** in Las Vegas
    i.   They turned **in** for the night
    j.   They turned **out** in droves
    Transitive:
    k.   He worked **up** a sweat
    l.   She broke **up** their engagement
    m.   They broke him **in** gradually
    n.   He broke it **down** into chunks
    o.   She shut him **up**
    p.   They shut the plant **down**
    q.   We shut them **out** completely
    r.   He turned the water **off**
    s.   She turned **in** her report
    Bi-transitive:
    t.   He turned it **over** to her
    u.   They turned her **down** for the job
    v.   We'll make it **up** to you later
    w.   They've been hiding it **out** from her

If, as suggested above, adpositions begin their grammatical life as nominal operators marking the case-roles of indirect objects, how did English prepositions lose their indirect object to become stranded behind the verb? While the more detailed answer to this will be deferred till Chapter 7, several common syntactic processes, all used in highly specific discourse contexts, are known to involve the **zeroing-out** of objects, either direct or indirect. One of those is the **antipassive**, where objects are zeroed out because they are *predictable* from either their anaphoric or generic context.[12] Consider first zeroed-out direct-objects in:

(41) a. **Direct/active**: She drank her whiskey
      b. **Antipassive**: She drinks like a fish [= alcohol; generic]
      c. **Antipassive**: He pulled the seltzer out of the fridge and drank
          [= seltzer; anaphoric]
      d. **Direct/active**: She understood the question
      e. **Antipassive**: She's so smart, she always understands [= whatever;
          generic]
      f. **Antipassive**: She explained the puzzle, and he understood
          [= the puzzle; anaphoric]
      g. **Direct/active**: She read the memo
      h. **Antipassive**: She often reads in bed [= books, magazines; generic]
      i. **Antipassive**: It was a terrific novel, she kept reading [= the novel;
          anaphoric]

In the same vein, the zeroing-out of indirect object nominals may be due to their run-of-the-mill **anaphoric context**, leaving the preposition stranded post-verbally, as in:

(42) a. The hill was just ahead, all he needed to do was go **up** [= up the hill]
      b. She saw the room was empty, so she went **in** [= into the room]
      c. The door was open, so she went **out** [= out the door]
      d. She came to a low fence and leaned **over** [= over the fence]
      e. She crouched by the bed and looked **under** [= under the bed]
      f. We were at the house when she came **by** [= by the house]

The anaphoric context may be more constrained and **structurally governed**, as in the case of indirect-object REL-clauses:

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12. See Givón (2018, Chapter 7).

(43) a. the house she lives **in**
      b. the college he graduated **from**
      c. the school she goes **to**
      d. the river they swam **across**
      e. the woman he worked **for**
      f. the guys she socializes **with**

Lastly, the zeroing out of indirect objects in REL-clauses may also be due to **generic** predictability, as in:

(44) a. We need something to cut it **with** [= a sharp instrument]
      b. Some day we'll find out who she lives **with** [= a person]
      c. He needed to be treated, urgently, but I don't know who he went **to** [= a doctor]
      d. She was lost, didn't know where to cut **across** [= the road, the street, the field]

What I would like to suggest is that the zeroing out of the nominal indirect object in such innocuous contexts of contextual predictability, be they anaphoric or generic, must be part of the diachronic mechanism that left English prepositions stranded as 'particles' behind the verb. And since the indirect object in the VO-ordered English follows the verb, stranded prepositions in English, with their object zeroed out, are indeed expected to become *post-verbal* operators.

1.5.3 Post-verbal incorporation of prepositions in KinyaRwanda: Promotion to DO

KinyaRwanda, a Lake-Bantu VO language, has an 'applicative' system via which various indirect objects can be promoted to direct object, which in a Bantu language (as in English) is morphologically unmarked. Having lost their original nominal perch, the stranded prepositions then suffix themselves to the verb. Thus (Kimenyi 1976):

(45) **Dative-benefactive (obligastory promotion)**:
      a. ***DO = patient**:
          *Yohani y-ooher-eje ibaruwa **ku**-Maria
          John   3s-send-ASP letter   DAT-Mary
      b. **DO = dative-benefactive**:
          Yohani y-ooher-**er**-eje Maria ibaruwa
          John   3s-send-BEN-ASP   Mary   letter
          'John sent Mary a letter'

(46) **Allative 'to':**

    a. **DO = patient:**

       umugore y-ooher-eje   umubooyi **ku**-isoko

       woman   she-send-ASP cook   LOC-market

       'The woman sent the cook to the market'

    b. **DO = locative:**

       umugore y-ooher-eke-**ho** isoko   umubooyi[13]

       woman   3s-send-ASP-LOC market cook

       'The woman sent to the market the cook'

(47) **Locative 'in':**

    a. **DO = patient**

       umugore y-ooher-eje   umubooyi **mu**-isoko

       woman   she-send-ASP cook   LOC-market

       'The woman sent the cook into the market'

    b. **DO = locative:**

       umugore y-ooher-eke-**mo** isoko   umubooyi[14]

       woman   3s-send-ASP-LOC market cook

       'The woman sent into the market the cook'

(48) **Instrumental 'with':**

    a. **DO = patient:**

       umugabo ya-tem-eje igiti **n(i)**-umupaanga

       man   3s-cut-ASP tree INSTR-saw

       'The man cut the tree with a saw'

    b. **DO = instrument:**

       umugabo ya-tem-ej-**eesha**   umupaanga igiti

       man   3s-cut-ASP-INSTR saw   tree

       'The man used the saw to cut the tree'

(49) **Manner 'with':**

    a. **DO = patient:**

       Maria ya-tets-e   inkoko **n(a)**-agahiinda

       Mary 3s-cook-ASP chicken MANN-sorrow

       'Mary cooked the chicken with regret'

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13. The allative preposition *ku-* in KinyaRwanda undergoes lenition to *-hu* when suffixed to the verb, and the old Bantu relative suffix *-o* is then added, yielding the verb suffix *-ho*.

14. The locative preposition *mu-*, when suffixed to the verb, is followed by the old Bantu relative suffix *-o*, becoming *-mo*.

  b. **DO = manner**:
   Maria 3s-tek-**an**-ye agahiinda inkoko
   Mary she-cook-**MANN**-ASP sorrow chicken
   'Mary with regret cooked the chicken'

(50) **Associative 'with'**:
  a. **DO = patient**:
   umuhuungu ya-riimb-jye ururiimbi **na**-umugore
   boy   3s-sing-ASP song **ASSOC**-woman
   'The boy sang the song with the woman'
  b. **DO = associative**:
   umuhuungu ya-riimb-**an**-ye umugore ururiimbi
   boy   3s-sing-**ASSOC**-ASP woman song
   'The boy sang with the woman a song'

As one may note, in only two locative cases, (46) and (47), does the actual preposition (*ku-*, *mu-*, respectively) become suffixed to the verb, augmented with the vowel *-o*. In another, the associative (50), the verb suffix *-an-* is a historic reflex of the preposition *na-* 'with'.[15]

In sum, the mechanism involved in the migration of KinyaRwanda prepositions from their original pre-nominal perch to their post-verbal position is the process, mostly optional, of promotion to DO, a process associated with increased topicality of the erstwhile indirect object.[16]

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15. Most Bantu verb suffixes ('verb extensions') are historically derived from verbs (Givón 2015, Chapter 6). The reciprocal *-na* may or may not be an exception, being related to the preposition *na-* 'with', 'and'. Comparative Niger-Congo evidence nonetheless suggests that the preposition/conjunction *na-* 'with', 'and' was ultimately also verb-derived (Givón 2015, Chapter 6). The 'neutral' verb-final vowel *-a* is removed when the verb is 'extended' by various suffixes that do not themselves end with the vowel *-a*.

16. Direct objects, be they patients or 'promoted' non-patients, are often pronominalized or zeroed out in real communication, given their higher anaphoric topicality. Thus, 'she gave him the book' is much more common in English text than either 'she gave the man the book' or 'she gave the book to him'. For an discussion see Givón (1984).

1.5.4   **Pre-verbal incorporation of post-positions in Rama**

A situation that is typologically reminiscent of Homeric Greek may be seen in Rama, a mostly-SOV Chibchan language of Caribbean-coast Nicaragua, with morphologically unmarked subject and direct object, and indirect objects marked by post-positions. In some related Chibchan languages, indirect objects invariably follow the verb; that is, S-DO-V-IO.[17] In Rama, indirect objects can either precede or follow the verb, with the fronted position reminiscent, at least superficially, of promotion to direct-object.[18] In addition, the pre-verbal indirect object can shed its post-position, and then also become zeroed out. Whereby the post-position becomes a **verb prefix**. Consider first this process with dative indirect objects (Craig 1986; Craig and Hale 1987):

(51)   a.   **Post-verbal indirect object**:
          ngang an-tangi Juan-**ya**
          bed   3p-gave John-**DAT**
          'they gave the bed to John'

       b.   **Pre-verbal indirect object**:
          ngang Juan-**ya**   an-tangi
          bed   John-**DAT** 3p-gave
          'they gave John a bed'

       c.   **V-prefixed post-position (zero anaphoric direct)**:
          Rama **ya**-an-tangi
          Rama **DAT**-3p-gave
          'they gave (it) to some Rama person'

       d.   **V-prefixed post-position (zero anaphoric indirect object)**:
          ngang **ya**-an-tangi
          bed   **DAT**-3p-gave
          'they gave (him/her) a bed'

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17. For a discussion of the diachronic typology of word-order in the Chibchan and Misumalpan languages of Meso-America, see Givón (2015, Chapter 24).

18. See Givón (1984).

And similarly with the associative (Tibbits 1987a, 1987b):

(52) a. **Pre-verbal indirect object**:
       nah-**u**   an-siiku
       1s-**with** 3p-come
       'they came with me'
    b. **V-prefixed post-position**:
       sainsaina-dut **yu**-i-traali
       other-PL   **with**-3s-go
       'he went with the others'

And likewise with various locative indirect objects:

(53) a. **Post-verbal indirect object**:
       kiskis naing yu-i-siike   nguu-**ki**
       tongs DEM with-3s-bring house-**in**
       'he brings the tongs into the house'
    b. **Pre-verbal indirect object**:
       kiskis naing beg-**ki** sut apakuli
       tongs DEM bag-**in** we put
       'we put the tong in the bag'
    c. **V-prefixed post-position**:
       kiskis naing beg sut **ki**-apakuli
       tongs DEM bag we **in**-put
       'we put the tongs in a bag'
    d. **Post-verbal indirect object**:
       an-siiku ipang-**su**
       3p-come island-**to**
       'they come to the island'
    e. **Pre-verbal indirect object**:
       ipang-**su** an-siiku
       island-**to** 3p-come
       'they come to the island'
    f. **V-prefixed post-position (pronominal object)**:
       su-an-siiku
       to-3p-come
       'they come over (to here)'

Example (53f) above hints at the possibility that converting the erstwhile nominal post-positions into a verb prefix may be an **antipassive** device in Rama. However, the bulk of the Rama examples of syntactic variation between

noun-suffixed and verb-prefixed adpositions implicate, rather, **promotion to direct object**, as in KinyaRwanda. Support for this interpretation comes, first, from the text frequency distribution of the presumably 'promoted' construction with verb-prefixed adpositions, as compared to the post-verbal object-suffixed construction. Thus Tibbitts (1987b) compared the text frequency of various case-roles in the two constructions. The results are given in Table (54) below.

(54)   **Frequency distribution of Rama post-positions**:

Case	OBJ-suffixed		V-prefixed		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
dative	21	48.8	22	**51.2**	43	100.0
associative	36	31.6	78	**68.4**	114	100.0
LOC-in	33	**89.2**	4	10.8	37	100.0
LOC-to	90	**97.8**	2	2.2	92	100.0

In general, typically human indirect objects – dative, benefactive, associatives – tend to be more topical and thus more likely to be promoted to DO, so much so that in many languages (e.g. KinyaRwanda) such promotion is obligatorily. In contrast, non-human indirect objects (locatives, instrumental) tend to be less topical, and are seldom promoted to DO.[19]

   Tibbits (1987b) also compared the average **anaphoric distance** of the two syntactic constructions; that is, the distance in number of clauses backwards from the current occurrence to the last occurance of the referent in the preceding discourse. A referent with a lower AD value is, presumably, cognitively more *accessible*, thus more *topical*.[20] The results, while not fully consistent, again suggest that the morphologically unmarked pre-posed (OV) object, with its post-position prefixed to the verb, is more topical, thus likely to have been promoted to DO.[21]

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19. See again Givón (1984). The benefactive case in Rama is marked by a large, diachronically younger post-nominal word (*kama* or *king*) that cliticizes neither to the noun nor to the verb.

20. See Givón (ed. 1983; 2018).

21. For a discussion and cross-linguistic applicability of this measure, as well as the cataphoric persistence (CP) measure, see again Givón (ed. 1983; 2018).

(55) **Average anaphoric distance (AD) in # of clauses
back to the previous occurrence of the referent**

Case	OBJ-sufffixed	V-prefixed
dative	5.1	5.0
associative	8.5	1.9
instrument	10.2	3.7
LOC-'in'	12.9	1.0
LOC-'to'	10.8	6.5

Lastly, Tibbits (1987b) also measured the average **cataphoricic persistence** of the object in the two syntactic constructions; that is, the average number of times it was mentioned again in *following* discourse. A referent with a higher CP value is taken to be more important/topical in the discourse. The results, given in (56) below, again suggest that the pre-posed, morphologically-unmarked object, with its erstwhile post-position prefixed to the verb, is more topical.[22]

(56) **Cataphoric persistence of the object in the subsequent discourse**

Case	OBJ-suffixed	V-prefixed
dative	7.8	11.2
associative	2.6	11.8
instrument	1.1	7.5
LOC-'in'	0.5	1.1
LOC-'to'	1.3	3.0

Except for the puzzling distortion in the case of the dative in (55), Tibbitts' results suggest that prefixing of post-positions to the verb in Rama shares some of its functional characteristics with the promotion of indirect to direct objects ('dative shifting'), most likely then coupled with zeroing out of the contextually predictable object.

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22. See again Givón (ed. 1983; 2018).

1.6   Discussion

Our comparison of the functional distribution of adpositions in English, KinyaRwanda and Rama, while not definitive, is nonetheless suggestive. First, it suggests that the diachronic process of affixation of originally-nominal adpositions to verbs may proceed in three distinct steps:

a. **Source construction**: Adpositions begin their diachronic life as case-role markers attached to (or associated with) nominals.
b. **Intermediate stage**: In the appropriate discourse context of anaphoric or generic predictability, the nominal object is zeroed out, and the adposition become detached, stranded or 'free-floating'.
c. **Target construction**: The adposition then re-attaches itself to the remaining lexical word – the verb.

Our admittedly cursory survey here also suggests a clear syntactic-typological prediction:

- In a VO language, where indirect objects follow the verb (e.g. English, Kinya-Rwanda, Akie, Campa Arawak), stranded adpositions are more likely to become **post-verbal** clitics, thus eventually verb suffixes.
- In an OV language, where indirect objects precede the verb (e.g. Rama, Kunbarlang, Proto-Germanic, Prot-Romance), stranded adpositions are likely to become **pre-verbal** clitics, thus eventually verb prefixes.

The situation in English, where post-verbal prepositions ('particles') continue to bear strong lexical stress, further suggests that our intermediate stage (b) of stranded prepositions can last for quite a while, indeed centuries. The fact that English prepositions are typically de-stressed in their original pre-nominal position conforms to their being the diachronically-older construction.

In the next three Chapters (2, 3, 4) I will survey in considerable detail the functional-syntactic distribution of prepositions in Homeric Greek, where all three diachronic stages (a), (b) (c) are attested as synchronic variants. In the following two Chapters (5, 6) I will survey the functional-syntactic distribution of the so-called 'Augment' verb prefix *e-* in Homeric Greek, arriving at a startling, non-traditional conclusion – that the 'Augment' *e-* represents an older generation of pre-verbally-attached prepositions. Finally, in Chapter 7, I will come back to English, survey in more detail the relatively recent – Chaucer to the present – diachronic process by which English prepositions became post-verbal 'particles'.

Abbreviations of grammatical terms

ACC	accusative	O	object
ALL	allative	P	preposition
ASSOC	associative	PA	past
ASP	aspect	PL	plural
C	conjunction	PP	prepositional/post-positional
CAUS	causative		phrase
DAT	dative	REAL	realis (modality)
DEM	demonstrative	REF	referring or reflexive
DIR	directional	REM	remote/perfective (tense-aspect)
DO	direct object	RPA	remote past
EM	emphasis	S	subject
EX	exclusive	SUB	subordinator
FUT	future	V	verb
GEN	genitive	WH	WH-question
HAB	habitual	1s	first person singular
IMM	immediate (tense-aspect)	1so	first person singular object
IMP	imperative	1p	first person plural
INF	infinitive	2s	second person singular
IRR	irrealis	2so	second person singular object
LOC	locative	2p	second person plural
MANN	manner	3s	third person singular
MOD	modal	3so	third person singular object
NC	noun classifier	3sf	third person singular masculine
NEG	negative	3sm	third person singular feminine
NF	non-finite	s	singular
NOM	nominative	sf	singular feminine
NP	noun phrase	sm	singular masculine
NPA	near past	p	plural

Diachronic baseline:

Pre-nominal prepositions in Homeric Greek

2.1   Introduction

In this chapter I will survey the distribution of Homeric Greek prepositions in what I take to be their natural functional-syntactic slot – as case-markers attached to nominals. As suggested in the preceding chapter, this functional-syntactic slot is also the **diachronic baseline** from which Homeric Greek prepositions spread to two other syntactic environments; in order:

- unattached prepositions (so-called 'free standing adverbs'), with their nominal object zeroed out;
- verb-attached prepositions (so-called 'preverbs') following their re-grammaticalization.

In his *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, Monro (1891) defines prepositions as follows:

> "…Prepositions are words expressing some local relations, and capable of being used as prefixes in forming compound verbs…" (1891, p. 163)

Whether intending or not, such a definition may be taken to mean that the pre-verbal locus of prepositions in Homeric Greek is their primary syntactic position, and their pre-nominal one secondary.

Prof. Monro further notes that the Classical Greek grammarians considered the appearance of prepositions as independent words – here presumably lumping together their pre-nominal and unattached positions – as a quaint Homeric peculiarity, the product of **Tmesis** or 'severance' from the verb (root *-tm-* or *-tam-* 'cut'):

> "…This is the sense in which the word *Tmesis* was employed by the Greek grammarians, who looked at the peculiarities of Homer as deviations from later established usage, and accordingly regarded the independent place of the Preposition as a result of 'severance' of the Compound Verb. We may retain the term, provided we understand it

> to mean no more than the fact that two elements which formed a single
> word in later Greek were still separable in the language of Homer…"
> (*ibid.*, 164)

Prof. Monro thus takes for granted that the writing conventions of both
Homeric and Classical Greek, where pre-nominal prepositions are written
as independent words but pre-verbal prepositions are written as part of the
verb, represented a difference in real usage. From a diachronic perspective,
the very notion of 'severance' is of course utterly upside down – grammatical
morphemes begin their diachronic life as separate words, and only later cliticize
to other lexical stems, rather than the other way around.

In a more recent grammar of Classical Greek (van Emde Boas *et al.* 2019),
prepositions are defined first syntactically:

> "…Greek prepositions may be accompanied by (pro)nominal constit-
> uents in the genitive, dative or accusative. Together with this constitu-
> ent they form a **prepositional phrase**…These can be used to indicate
> spatial, temporal or more abstract relationships…" (p. 383; boldfacing
> added)

What follows is an exhaustive discussion of the highly unpredictable, excep-
tion-riddled usage of **suffixal case** of the nominal indirect object 'governed' by
the preposition, as well as of the equally unpredictable effect that the choice of
such nominal case may have on the exact meaning of the preposition. Both are
enduring features of all Classical Greek grammars, whether written by Classicist
or general linguists.[1] They are also classic examples of how earlier morpho-syn-
tactic regularity goes gradually wild and then wilder, as successive diachronic
changes pile one on top of the other – as the old system of suffixal case-mark-
ing was replaced, gradually and piecemeal, by the emerging new generation of
pre-nominal prepositions.

Pre-verbal prepositions, so-called 'preverbs', are discussed rather briefly in
van Emde Boas *et al.* (2019) under the heading of "Compound verbs formed
by prefixation":

> "…A very large number of compound verbs are formed by **prefixation**,
> i.e. by prefixing one or more prepositions (pre-verbs) to a simplex verb
> or a de-nominative verb…" (ibid., p. 276)

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1.   Two modern works, Luraghi (2003) and Zanchi (2019), contain an exten-
sive discussion of the semantics of Homeric Greek prepositions and how they
interact with the old suffixal nominal-case system.

The affixation of prepositions to verbs, even when such pre-verbal prepositions continue to maintain their case-marking function vis-a-vis a nominal indirect object in the clause, does not seem to the Classicists as a peculiar fact in need of explanation, diachronic or otherwise.

Unattached prepositions, the so-called 'free standing adverbs' associated with neither nominal objects nor verbs, are described by van Emde Boas *et al.* (2019) in two succinct lines:

> "…In compound verbs a post-positive particle (such as *te, de, men, wn* etc.) may separate the prefix from the verb…this is called **tmesis**…" (p. 304)

The authors thus take it for granted that the unattached preposition was earlier part of the verb and is *still* syntactically associated with it. The fact that in Homeric Greek such 'severed' prepositions may be separated from the verb not only by a 'post-positive particle' (or two) but also by one or more lexical words is somehow left unmentioned. As is the possibility that these 'severed' prepositions are a diachronically older construction than pre-verbal prepositions.

In A. Willi's *Origins of the Greek Verb* (2018), perhaps the most admirable book in the recent Classicist canon, the term 'preposition' is never used and is not found in the index. It is subsumed, rather, under the discussion of **compound verbs** and the 'Augment' (Chapter 7, Section 7.4., "Augmentation in compound verbs"), where prepositions ('preverbs') are discussed only in their pre-verbal capacity. No titled section is dedicated to either, nor to the possible relation – be it diachronic or functional – between pre-verbal and pre-nominal prepositions, or unattached ones ('free standing adverbs'). *Tmesis*, while listed in the index, is invisible in the text. However, Willi (2018) makes the following tantalizing observation about the potential interaction between the 'Augment' and 'preverbs':

> "…Another formal tendency of Homeric augmentation has been studied even earlier: (ii) verb forms with preverb [= preposition] are much more often augmented than forms without preverb…" (*ibid.*, p. 361; bracketed material added)[2]

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2. This observation is credited to Dottin (1894), and is listed among the multitude of possible hypotheses – functional, structural, historical-comparative – about what motivated the use of the pre-verbal 'Augment' vowel in Homeric Greek (and elsewhere in Indo-European). See further discussion in Chapter 5, below.

This interiguing coincidence, which most Classicist grammarians have chosen to ignore, will be re-examined in Chapters 5 and 6 below, when the functional distribution of the so-called 'Augment' vowel *e-* and its diachrony will be discussed.

This chapter together with the next two aim to investigate the diachronic process via which the initially pre-nominal prepositions of Homeric Greek wound up also appearing pre-verbally. The method I propose to pursue diverges radically from the Classicist obsession with Comparative Reconstruction of Indo-European proto forms, that is, the *Comparative Method* (CM). I will consider three types of synchronic usage data that are readily available in the Homeric text:

- synchronic variation of attested forms
- synchronic variation in the communicative use of forms
- quantitative text-distribution of both the variant synchronic forms and their use.

From such usage data, the step-by-step **process** of diachronic change, rather than remote proto-forms, is the goal of the reconstruction.

The method of *Internal Reconstruction* (IR) pursued here, and the theoretical approach that underlies it, are hardly novel, having been described and practiced by illustrious forebears such as F. Bopp, H. Paul, A. Meillet and O. Jespersen, *inter alia*.[3] One of its most salient features is that, unlike the Comparative Method, it relies heavily on **language universals** and on what is known about **typological diversity**, with data ranging widely outside the narrow confines of a single family. Within this approach, one can identify and then test hypotheses about the complex diachronic process via which Homeric prepositions became pre-verbal clitics, a process that must have been still ongoing during Homeric time.

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3.   For an extensive discussion, see Givón (2000).

2.2 Phonological and grammatical transciption: Caveats and apologia

The transcription system I have elected to use here needs to be explained and justified. In order:

a. **Letters of the alphabet**: My phonetic transcription of the Greek alphabet is relatively transparent, and in the main is akin to the one used by Luraghi (2003) and Zanchi (2019), albeit with a number of caveats that may not gain the approval of die-hard Classicists. I have used /ë/ for all text occurrences of /η/ (*eta*), glossing over the rather obvious fact that it co-varies, perhaps originally as an allophone, with both /ɑ/ (*alpha*) and /e/ (*epsilon*). In the same vein, I used /w/ for all occurrences of *omega*, disregarding the fact that in almost all instances it co-varies, perhaps originally as an allophone, with /o/ (*omicron*).

b. **Vowel elision**: The rule of vowel elision in the Homeric text is fairly transparent but not 100% consistent in its application. Essentially, the final vowel of a word is elided before a vowel-commencing word. To the extent possible, my transcription marks the elided vowels in parentheses (e.g. (-a), (-e), (-i) etc.). In most cases, the identity of the elided vowel is fairly obvious. In the relatively few cases where it was not, I apologize if my guesses missed the mark.

c. **Accents and other diacritics**: I have chosen to dispense with marking most of the diacritics, and in defense of this choice will defer to a modern expert:

> "…the invention of the Greek accentuation system dates back to the Hellenic period…..(3rd to 2nd Centuries BC), which means at least about five centuries after the Homeric period (8th Century BC)… Hellenistic philologists are likely to have projected their accentuation rules back onto the Greek of the Homeric period….the precise [phonetic] significance of acute, grave and circumflex diacritics remains in question…" (Zanchi 2019, p. 175)

In the case of the word-initial diacritic /ʕ/ that marks either a word-initial /h/ or some reconstructed ghost 'laryngeal' – a great obsession with 19th Century comparativists – I have elected to mark it as /h/ whenever feasible, noting all along that its use in Homeric writing is often inconsistent. The very existence of a real consonant there is challenged by the fact that it does not block the application of the vowel elision rule (see (b) above). While the Classicist grammarians spend an inordinate amount of descriptive ink on these diacritics and

their presumed significance for the Homeric meter (e.g. Monro 1891, Smyth 1920; van Emden Boas *et al.* 2019, Willi 2018, *inter alia*), these diachritics are largely irrelevant to the topic under discussion here.

d. **Hyphenation and word divisions**: My hyphenation practices are minimalist, splitting words internally only when morpheme identification and boundaries are reasonably clear, leastwise to me. The hyphenation between the first three pre-verbal morphemes – prepositions ('pre-verbs'), the 'Augment' vowel *e-*, and the reduplicated first syllable – are reasonably transparent. The problems of identifying morphemes and their boundaries, however, are much more acute with post-verbal morphology, where the decaying old tense-aspect-modality system has engenders an unholy mess, one that Classicists grammarians insist on interpreting a still-coherent, viable, rule-governed system. Since the tense-aspect system is largely irrelevant to the topic under discussion here, I have elected to largely ignore it here – with an exception made for the finite person-cum-number suffixes and the fairly regular non-finite (nominal-derived) suffixes. I have also recognized with hyphenation two more-recently-grammaticalized imperfective suffixes, both transparently derived from 'be'-like verbs: *-ont/-ant/-ent* and *-me(i)n*.

e. **Word status**: In Homeric Greek, many items that are probably unaccented clitics are still written as independent words, a practice reflecting the well-known conservatism of writing systems. In this connection, one may note Zanchi's (2019) observation concerning the 'syntactic freedom' of Homeric writing:

> "…Such syntactic freedom results in a great deal of uncertainty regarding both the morphological status (clitic vs. independent words) and the parts of speech [designation] of preverbs (free-standing adverbs), [nominal] adpositions, or preverbs proper…" (2019, pp. 174–175; bracketed material added)

For the purpose of this study, I have elected to hyphenate both the pre-verbal prepositions ('preverbs') and the nominal adpositions, be they prepositions or post-positions, in spite of the fact that pre-nominal prepositions are written as separate words in the Homeric text.

f. **Nominal case endings**: In the morphological glosses (transcription midline) of the Homeric text, I have elected to mark nominal case-ending only sparsely. As all Classical grammarians have noted, the 'government'

of nominal case by prepositions is an integral part of the formal grammar, as well as a contributor to the semantic subtleties of Homeric prepositions. However, both the highly decayed suffixal case system of Homeric Greek and its complex interaction with the prepositions represent, much like the tense-aspect system, the tail end of a grammaticalization cycle. At this terminal stage, where decayed old systems are being replaced by vigorous new ones, irregularity and unpredictability abound at both the phonological and semantic level.[4] For all these and other infractions, I offer my sincere apologies. *Mea maxima culpa*.

2.3 The Homeric text

The Homeric text I used in this study is the Loeb Classical Library bilingual edition of the Iliad, translated by A. T. Murray (1924). I chose this text primarily for the well-known fidelity of the Greek texts in the Loeb editions, as well as for the facing-page English translation. Alas, Murray's English rendition of Homer turns out to be one of the worst translation jobs I have ever encountered. His over-burdened 'elevated' vocabulary and choice of archaic grammar and style do justice neither to the original Homeric intent nor to Twentieth Century English. For my money, Murray's English version of Homer is a true monster of faux Classicism, and a disgrace to the publisher. It was thus a considerable struggle to try and decipher the oft-down-to-earth meaning of the Homeric text, not only the lexicon and grammar but also the coherence structure of the text. For the purpose of this chapter, all the instances of pre-nominal prepositions (and the few post-positions) in Books I, II of the Iliad were identified, and their distribution studied (see Appendix 1).

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4. See e.g. Luraghi (2003, pp. 328–33). In general, written language lags far behind the contemporary spoken usage, commonly rendering grammaticalized clitics, prefixes and suffixes as independent words, as well as preserving decayed, old systems that are on the way to de-grammaticalization and extinction in the spoken language. For discussion of these and other issues in grammaticalization, de-grammaticalization and re-grammaticalization, see Givón (1971, 1975, 2000), *inter alia*.

2.4   Pre-nominal prepositions in the Homeric text

2.4.1   Preamble

The 18 prepositions found in the Homeric text investigated here (Iliad, Books I, II) were (with their total occurrences in the pre-nominal position in our text given in parentheses): *ana-* (7), *kata-* (33), *en(i)-*(52), *ex-/-ek-* (29), *huper-* (4), *hupo-* (20), *eis-/es-/ei-* (24), *apo-* (17), *epi-* (50), *peri-* (12), *para-* (25), *pro(s)-/proti-* (17), *sun-* (18), *meta-* (13), *ama-* (8), *amfi-* (12), *dia-* (6), *anti(os)-* (1), for a total of **319** instances. The use of each preposition in its pre-nominal position is illustrated below with a number of fairly typical examples. Since some of the prepositions cover a considerable semantic range, their more concrete senses are assumed, on general grounds, to have been the older (Hopper and Traugott 1982; Heine and Kuteva 2007; *inter alia*). A more extensive discussion of the semantics of Homeric prepositions may be found in Luraghi (2003), Imbert (2008) and Zanchi (2019).[5]

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5.   The considerable semantic range covered by most Homeric prepositions is attributed in the Classicist grammatical literature, at least in part, to the their interaction with the suffixal case-marking of the nominal object 'governed' by the prepositions. This is a fascinating topic that begs for a diachronic interpretation and, eventually, theory-guided internal reconstruction. As noted in Chapter 1, case-marking adpositions arise from two universal diachronic sources, serial verbs and positional nouns. Thus, if an adposition begins its diachronic life as the serial verb 'take', a transitive verb that typically becomes an *accusative* or *instrumental* case-marker, its nominal object in a case-marking language will display the *accusative* case. If it begins its diachronic life as the serial verb 'give', which typically becomes a *dative/benefactive* case-marker, then its nominal object is likely to display the *dative/benefactive* case. While if it begins its diachronic life as the serial verb 'go', 'come', 'enter' or 'exit', its nominal object is most likely to display an *allative, ablative, ingressive* or *egressive* case, respectively. If, however, the preposition began its diachronic life as a positional noun in a genitive construction, as in e.g. 'on *top* of the mountain', 'at the *foot* of the cliff', 'in *front* of the house' etc., one would expect its object, the erstwhile genitive modifier, to be marked with the *genitive* case. Such general considerations can serve as guidelines – necessary but hardly sufficient – for universals-guided internal reconstruction.

2.4.2 **Examples of the use of individual pre-nominal prepositions**

a. *ana-* 'up', 'upward'

The use of *ana-* as *a stative locative* (non-motion, non-directional) case-marker may be seen in:

(1) nouson **ana**-straton wrs-e   kakën   (I.10)
plague **up**-camp   raise-3s evil/ACC
'he raised an evil plague **up/about** the camp'

(2) ta de ep(i)-wkhe-to këla   theoio   pantë **ana**-straton eurun
3p DE on-go-NF   shafts god/GEN all   **on**-camp   wide
Akhaiwn   (I.384)
Achaeans/GEN
'and the god's shafts went all **over /up** the wide Achaeans' camp'

(3) okhthës-an de **ana**-dwma Dios theoi Ouraniwnes   (I.570)
troubled-3s DE **up**-hall   Zeus gods Heavenly
'and the heavenly gods **up at** Zeus' palace were troubled'

However, a common pre-verbal use of *ana-* may suggest the directional sense of 'upward', as in:

(4) toisi de **an(a)**-ista-men-os met(a)-e-f-ë   podas wkus Akhilleus
3p DE **up**-stand-be-NF   with-to-speak-3s feet   swift Achilles
'then, standing up, swift-footed Achilles spoke to them'   (I.58)

b. *kata-* 'down', 'downward'

The more concrete directional or motion sense of *kata-* may be seen in:

(5) b-ë   de **kata**-Oulumpoio khwo-men-on kër   (I.44)
go-3s DE **down**-Olympus angry-be-NF   heart
'and he went **down to** Olympus angry at heart'

But many more abstract extended senses are also attested, as in:

(6) hëos ho t(a)-auta hwrmain-e **kata**-frena   kai **kata**-thumon
while 3s 3s-DEM/p ponder-3s **down**-mind and **down**-soul
'while he thus pondered these **in** (his) mind and **in** (his) soul' (I.193)

(7) kai makho-mën **kata**-em(e) auton ego   (I.271)
and fight-1s/be **down**-1s   DEM/s 1s
'and in fighting I (took part) **as** my own man'

Again, a common pre-verbal use suggests a more concrete directional sense, here with *kata*- followed by the 'Augment' *e*-:[6]

(8) kai hra paroi-th(e) autoio **kath(a)**-e-ze-to dakru khe-ont-os
     and HRA front-LOC DEM/s **down**-in-sit-NF tears   shed-be-NF
     'and (she) sat **down** before him as he was shedding tears'   (I.360)

c. *en(i)*- 'in', 'inside', extended to 'at'

Typical concrete stative uses of *en(i)*- may be seen in:

(9) stemmata ekh-wn **en**-khersin hekë-bolon Apollwnos   (I.14)
     fillets   have-NF **in**-hands   far-striking Apollo/GEN
     'holding **in** (his) hand the fillets of far-striking Apollo'

(10) prin   min kai gëras ep(i)-e-is-in   hëmeterw **eni**-oikw,
     before MIN and old.age on-to-come-NF 1p   **in**-house
     en-Argei   (I.29/30)
     in-Argos
     'before old age comes up to her **in** our house, **in** Argos'

A more abstract extended sense, most likely due to the abstract nominalized object ('honor'), may be seen in:

(11) epei ou   po-th(e) homoiës **em**-more timës skëptoukhos basileus
     then NEG WH-TE equal   **in**-portion honor sceptered   king
     'for the sceptered king (is) never equal **in** (his) apportioned honor'

                                                                       (I.278)

The more dynamic motion sense of 'into' in (12) below is probably due to the directional sense of the verb itself (-*ag*- 'lead to', 'bring to'), further augmented here by the locative post-position -*de* 'to':[7]

(12) tën de di(a)-e-pratho-men te kai ëgo-men **en**-tha-**de** panta (I.367)
     3sf DE through-ex-sack1p TE and bring-1p **in**-3s-**to**   all
     'and we sacked it completely and brought all (the spoils) **into** here'

---

6. As I will suggest in Chapter 6, further below, this may be a case where the older sense of the 'augment' *e*- as *en*- 'in/at', thus 'sit at', is supplemented by the directional *kata*- 'downward', yielding the combined sense of 'down at'.

7. Two directional post-positions, -*the(n)* 'from' and -*de* to', are used throughout the Homeric text, following either nouns or pronouns. Their alternation with the prepositions *apo*- 'from' and *eis*- 'to', respectively, is unpredictable.

d. ***ex-/ek-* 'out(of)', 'from', extended to agentive 'by'**

Typical examples of the concrete sense of *ex-/ek- as* 'out', 'from' or 'away from' may be seen in:

(13) e-lke-to   d(e) **ek**-koleoio   mega xifos   (I.194)
ex-draw-NF DE   **ex**-sheath/GEN big   sword
'drawing his big sword **out of** its sheath'

(14) kai men toisin ego meth(a)-omile-on **ek**-Pulos e-lth-wn   (I.269)
and MEN 3p   1s   with-gather-NF   **ex**-Pylos to-come-NF
'with those (men) I met together when I came (here) **from** Pylos'

Augmentation of the dynamic motion sense of *ex-* by a locative post-position, as in (12) above, may be seen here with -*the(n)* 'from', as in:

(15) touto gar **ex-eme-then** ge met(a)-athanatoisi megiston tekmwr
DEM/s FOR **ex**-1s-**from**   EM with-immortals   best   end
'for this is, **from** me among the immortals, the best sign'   (I.525/26)

A more abstract sense extension to the agentive 'by' may be seen in:

(16) Trwessi de këde ef(i)-ë-pt-ai   **ek**-Dios   (II.69)
Trojans DE woes over-to-hang-IRR **ex**-Zeus
'and woes should hang over the Trojans **by/from/because of** Zeus'

e. ***eis-, es-, ei-* 'to'**

The sense of concrete motion imparted by this preposition may be seen first with intransitive motion verbs, where it sometimes mirrors the use of the post-position -*de* 'to':

(17) hë de Oulumpon-**de** be-bëk-ei, domat(a) **es**-aigo.khoio Dios (I. 221)
3sf DE Olympus-**to**   CV-go-3s home   **to**-aegis.carry Zeus
'and she took off **to** Olympus, **to** the home of aegis-bearing Zeus'

(18) autar Odusseus **es**-Khrusën ikan-en   (I.431)
C   Odysseus **to**-Chryse   come-3s
'then Odysseus came **to** Chryse'

With the same dynamic motion sense, this preposition is also used with bi-transitive transfer verbs, as in:

(19) ag-ein   th(e) hierën hecatombën **es**-Khrusën   (I.99)
lead-INF TE   sacred hecatombs   **to**-Chryse
'and leading/taking a sacred hecatomb **to** Chryse'

Given a proper context, both the object ('sea' in (20) below) and the verb ('launch') may impart the added sense of 'in', thus:[8]

(20) nun d(e) ag-e   nëa melainan e-russo-men-en   **eis**-hala
      now DE   come-IMP, ship black   in-launch-1p/IRR-?? **to**-sea
      dian   (I.141)
      bright
      'but come now, let us launch the black ship **into** the bright sea'

And a more abstract sense of direction or purpose may be imparted in the appropriate context, perhaps by a more abstract nominalized object (here 'battle' or 'fighting'), as in:

(21) ou-te   po-t(e) **es**-polemon ama-law   thwrëkhthën-ai   (I.226)
      NEG-TE WH-TE **to**-battle   with-host arm-IRR
      'never arm yourself in any way **for/to** battle with the hosts'

f. *apo-* 'from', 'away from'

The more concrete and no doubt older *ablative* motion sense of *apo-* may be seen in:

(22) hë men epei-ta eis-ala al-to   batheian **ap(o)**-aiglë-ent-os
      3sf MEN then-3s to-sea leap-NF deep   **from**-gleam-be-NF
      Olumpou   (I.532)
      Olympus
      'then she leaped into the deep sea **from** gleaming Olympus'

This concrete sense of motion is just as apparent with bi-transitive transfer verbs, as in:

(23) hrips-e podos te-tag-on   **apo**-bëlou   se-spesioio   (I.591)
      catch-3s foot   CV-throw-NF **from**-threshold CV-rot(?)/GEN
      'he caught (my) foot, pitching (me) **off/from** the threshold of heaven'

And similarly in (24) below, where *apo-* marks *both* the noun and the verb. Such double marking may represent a transitional stage in the transfer of prepositions from the nominal indirect object to the verb:

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8. In this case, the verb *e-ruso-* 'launch into', with the 'augment' *e-* interpreted as originally *en-* 'in', further contributes to the sense of *eis-* as 'into'.

(24) gluku nektar **apo**-krëtëros **af(o)**-uss-on   (I.598)
      sweet nectar **from**-bowl   **from**-draw-NF
      'drawing sweet nectar **from/out of** the bowl'

Lastly, a slightly more abstract sense of *apo-* may be seen in:

(25) alla **apo**-thumou mallon emoi est-ai,   (I.563)
      but **from**-heart   more   1s   be-IRR
      'but (it) will be **further from** my heart',

g. *epi-* 'on', 'upon', 'over'

The presumably older more concrete sense of *epi-* is probably the static
'on'/'upon', as in:

(26) e-klanx-an de ara oistoi **ep(i)**-wmwn khwo-men-oio   (I.46)
      ex-rattle-3p DE ARA arrows **on**-shoulder angry-be-NF/GEN
      'and the arrows rattled out **on** (his) shoulder in his anger'

(27) ei po-te   toi khari-ent-o **epi**-neon e-reps-a   (I.39)
      if WH-TE 2s please-be-NF **on**-shrine to-roof-NF
      'if ever, pleasing you, I have put a roof **over/on** a shrine '

(28) kartistoi dë keinoi **epi**-khthoniwn traf-en   andrwn   (I.266)
      strongest DE REF   **on**-earth/GEN reared-3p men
      'they were the mightiest of (all) men reared **upon** the earth'

But more abstract senses of *epi-* abound, perhaps presaging a similar polysemy
in its pre-verbal use, as in:

(29) krateron de **epi**-muthon e-tell-e   (I.25)
      strong   DE **on**-words   to-order-3s
      'and he commanded (him) **with** stern words'

(30) ai ken pws e-thelë-sin   **epi**-Trwesin arëx-ai   (I.408)
      if KEN WH to-want-NF/PL **on**-Trojans help-IRR
      'and wish that he might somehow (give) help (**to**) the Trojans'

An extension toward the more directional sense 'to', perhaps presaging the
common *allative* use in the Classical dialect, may be seen in:

(31) Pëleidës men **epi**-klisias kai nëas eisas   ë-i-e   (I. 306)
      Peleides MEN **on**-huts   and ships equal(?) to-go-3s
      'then the son of Peleus went **to** (his) hut and shapely ships'

h. *peri-* 'over', 'above', 'about', 'around'

The more concrete sense of *peri-* may be seen in:

(32) alla ho-de anër e-thel-ei   **peri**-pantwn em-men-ai allwn
      but 3s-DE man to-want-3s/HAB **over**-all   in-be-IRR others
      'but this man wants to be **above/over** all others'   (I.287)

(33) knisë de ouranon ik-en   helisso-men-ë **peri**-kapnw   (I.317)
      fat   DE heaven come-3s swirl-be-NF   **over**-smoke
      'and (the smell of) the fat went up to heaven, swirling **over** the smoke'

A more extended locative sense of 'around' or 'about' may be seen:

(34) toi de wka thew hierën hekatombën hexeiës e-stës-an
      3p DE fast gods holy   hecatombs   ordered to-stand-3p
      eu-dmëton **peri**-bwmon   (I.448)
      VER-built   **around**-altar
      'and they quickly set the gods' holy hecatombs in order **around** the
      well-built altar'

And more abstract extensions may also be seen:

(35) aipsa toi haima kelainon e-hrwes-ei   **peri**-douri   (I.303)
      fast 2s blood dark   ex-flow-3s/IRR **over**-spear
      'your dark blood will flow out quickly **about** (my) spear'

(36) nun de ama t(e) wku-moros kai oizuros **peri**-panton
      now DE with TE fast-death   and sorrow **over**-all
      e-ple-o   (I.417)
      to-order-2s/IRR
      'but now you are doomed to quick death and sorrow **above** all'

(37) ou   men formiggos **peri**-kalleos, hën ekh(-e) Apollwn   (I.603)
      NEG MEN lyre   **over**-beautiful 3sf hold-3s Apollo
      'nor (did they lack) the beautiful lyre, which Apollo held'

Lastly, one may find *peri-* combined with another preposition to yield a
temporal sense, a doubling up that is much more common in the pre-verbal
slot (see Chapter 3). That is:

(38) hemeis d(e) **amphi-peri**-krënën   hierous kata-bwmous e-rdo-men
      1p   DE **about-around**-spring holy   down-altars to-offer-1p
      '**round about** spring we offered (sacrifice) on the sacred altars'(II.305)

i. *para-* 'by', 'next to', 'near'

Most of the examples of *para-* in our Homeric text involve the no-doubt older, more concrete locative sense of 'by', 'near' or 'next to', as in:

(39) më se, geron,   koilësin ego **para**-nëusi ki-khei-w   (I.26)
      NEG 2s old.man hollow 1s **by**-ships   CV-find-1s
      'let me not, old man, find you **by** the hollow ships'

(40) tw de a-e-k-ont-e   bat-ën **para**-thin(a) halos a-trugetoio
      3d DE NEG-to-??-be-NF go-3p **by**-shores sea NEG-rest/GEN
      'and the two went reluctantly **by** the shore of the restless sea'   (I.327)

A possible shift to the still-concrete sense of 'with', perhaps prompted here by the verb, may be seen in:

(41) prin   ti-(e)na **par(a)**-Trwwn alokhw kata-koimesen-ai
      before WH-one **by**-Trojans/GEN wives   down-lie.to.sleep-IRR
      'before he had laid down **with** some of the Trojan wives'   (II.355)

And a less common shift to a more abstract *agentive* sense of 'by' or 'from' may be seen in:

(42) **par(a)**-Dios aigio-khoio sun-angelië   elegeinë   (II.787)
      by-Zeus   aegis-bear   with-message reproaching
      '(sent) **by** Zeus the aegis-bearer with a reproachful message'

j. *pro(s)-* 'in front of', 'before', 'toward', 'to', extended to 'through/by/with'

The no-doubt older and more concrete locative sense of *pros-* may be seen in:

(43) tw de autw marturoi est-wn **pros** te thewn makarwn   (I.338)
      3d DE DEM/s witnesses be-NF **before** TE gods   blessed
      'let those two be witnesses to this **before** the blessed gods'

And likewise in the three consecutive occurrences in:

(44) oi te themistas **pros**-Dios   airua-tai, **pros** te thnëtwn
      3p TE customs   **before**-Zeus guard-IRR **before** TE mortal
      anthrwpwn,   (I.238/9)
      men
      'they who may guard(?) the customs **before** Zeus, and **before** mortal men,
           kai **pros**-tou basilëos apëneos,   (I.340)
           and **before**-3s king   ruthless
           and **before** the ruthless king'

An extension to the dynamic *allative* sense 'to' can be seen in (45) below, in this case perhaps induced by the 'augmented' motion verb 'go',[9] where *pros-* alternates with the old *allative* case-ending on Zeus:

(45)   Dii   terpi-keraunw e-i-mi,   autë   **pros**-Olumpon agannifon
       Zeus/ALL throw-bolts   to-go-1s DEM/s **to**-Olympus   snowy
       'I will go **to** Zeus the bolt-thrower, **to** (that) snowy Olympus' (I.419/20)

A more abstract extension, in the context of a manner adverb, may be seen in:

(46)   ë men moi **pro**-phrwn   epesin kai khersin arëz-ein   (I.77)
       C MEN me **to**-heart/ACC words and hands   defend-INF
       'to defend me **with** stout-hearted words and hands'

k.   *dia-* 'through'

The more concrete and no-doubt older motion sense of *dia-*, not very frequent in its pre-nominal position, may be seen in:

(47)   hos id-on Hëfaistos   **dia**-dwmata poi-pnu-ont-a   (I.600)
       as   see-NF Hephaestos **through**-hall CV-breathe-be-NF
       'as they saw Hephaestos huffing **through** the palace'

(48)   apo-khalkou thespesioio aiglë pam-fanows-a **dia**-aitheros ouranon
       from-bronze dazzling   glare all-seen-NF   **through**-sky heaven
       ik-e   (II.457/8)
       come-3s
       'and the dazzling all-visible glare of their bronze came **through** the sky
       unto the heavens'

A more abstract temporal sense may be seen in:

(49)   theios moi en-(h)upnion ë-lth-en Oneiros ambrosiën **dia**-nukta;
       god   1s in-sleep   to-come Dream   ambrosial **through**-night
       'the god Dream came to me in my sleep **through** the ambrosial night'
                                                                   (II.56/7)

Further abstraction in the context of a manner adverb may be seen in:

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9. I have interpreted the 'Augment' *e-* here as originally *eis-/es-/ei-* 'to'; see discussion in Chapter 5, below.

(50) Trwesi te kai Danaoisi **dia**-krateras   husminias   (II.40)
      Trojans TE and Danaans **through**-strong fights
      '(and he aimed to bring woes) upon the Trojans and Danaans **through**
      stubborn fights'

And further abstraction yet may be seen in:

(51) oi Hrodon amf(i)-e-nem-ont-o **dia**-trikha   kosmes-ent-es
      3p Rhodes about-in-live-be-NF **through**-three assemble-be-NF/PL
      'and those who dwelled about Rhodes were divided **into** three' (II.655)

I.   *meta-* 'with', 'among', 'about'

The presumably older, more concrete sense of *meta-* was probably the locative 'among', thus subsuming a plural object, as in:

(52) kai ta men eu dass-ant-o **meta**-sfisin   uies Akhaiwn   (I.368)
      and 3s MEN VER give-be-NF **among**-REF/p sons Achaeans/GEN
      'and the sons of the Achaeans distributed it fairly **among** themselves'

(53) hosson egw **meta**-pasin a-timotatë   theos e-imi   (I.516)
      3s/like 1s **among**-all NEG-honored.most god   be-1s
      'how **among** all I am the least honored god'

This concrete sense, initially with a plural object, extends easily to the *associative*
'with', as in:

(54) hë de Oulumpon-de be-bëk-ei… **meta**-daimonas allous;   (I. 221/2)
      3sf DE Olympus-to CV-go-3s   **with**-gods   others
      'and she took off to Olympus… (to join) **with** the other gods'

(55) Zeus gar ex-Wkeanon **met(a)**-amumonas Aithiopëas khthizos
      Zeus FOR ex-Ocean   **with**-blameless   Ethiopians yesterday
      e-b-ë   (I.423)
      ex-go-3s
      'for Zeus went away yesterday from (the) Ocean **with** the blameless
      Ethiopians'

Another extension, still concrete and with the implicit plural object, is just
as natural:

(56) kai to-te epeita an(a)-ag-ont-o **meta**-straton euron Akhaiwn
      and 3s-TE then up-lead-be-NF **with**-camp   wide Achaeans/GEN
      'they set sail ('led up') **about** the wide camp of the Achaeans'   (I.478)

And extension to a more abstract sense may be see in the context of temporal adverb, as in:

(57)   alla te kai **met(a)**-opis-then ekh-ei   koton   (I.82)
       but TE and **with**-later-from   have-3s/HAB resentment
       'yet later on he bears malice'

m. *sun-* 'with' (associative)

One finds the use of *sun-* 'with' first with plural human indirect objects, thus as an *associative* marker, as in:

(58)   ou-te   kholon ien-ai **sun**-aristëssin Akhaiwn,   (I.227)
       NEG-TE anger   go-IRR **with**-best/PL Acheans/GEN
       'nor (would you) go on ambush **with** the best of the Achaeans'

With inanimate objects, the sense may veer toward the *instrumental*, as in:

(59)   oika-de i-men   **sun**-nëusi korwnisin,   (I.170)
       home-to go-1p/IRR **with** boats beaked
       '(so that) we go home **with** (our) beaked ships'

And the two senses, *associative* and *instrumental*, are not kept apart in the somewhat peculiar conjunction reduction in:

(60)   oika-de i-wn **sun**-nëusi   te sës kai sois hetaroisi   (I.179)
       home-to go-NF **with**-ship/PL TE 2s and 2s   associates
       'go home **with** your ships and your associates'

The plurality of the object seems to extend, on occasion, to the sense of 'among' or 'together', as in:

(61)   soi koilës para-nëusi bareias keiras ep(i)-ois-ei   **sum**-pantwn
       2s hollow by-ships   heavy   hands on-lay-3s/IRR **with**-all
       Danawn   (I.89)
       Danaans
       '(no one) by the hollow ships will lay heavy hands on you **among** all the Danaans'

(62)   ë po-te   Akhilleos po-thë ixe-tai   uias Akhaion **sum**-pantas
       C WH-TE Achilles   WH-TE long.for-IRR sons Achaeans **with**-all
       '(when) some day the sons of the Achaeans all **together** will long for Achilles'   (I. 240)

n. *ama-* 'with'

The most consistent use of *ama-* as an *associative* marker may be seen in:

(63) hë de a-e-kous-a   **ama**-toisi gunë   ki-en   (I.348)
      3sf DE NEG-to-want(?)-NF **with**-3p   woman come-3s
      'and she, the woman, reluctant, came **with** them'

(64) autwn ë-de hippou,   oi **am(a)**-Atreidësin ep(i)-ont-o
      DEM/p C-DE horses/GEN 3p **with**-Atreidae   on/follow-be-NF
      'they and (the) horses, who followed **with** the sons of Atreus' (II.762)

An extended usage almost akin to the conjunction 'and' may be seen in:

(65) Zeus de e-on pros-dwma, theon de **ama**-pantes an(a)-e-st-an
      Zeus DE go-NF to-house   gods DE **with**-all   up-in-stand-3p
      'and Zeus went to (his) house, **with** all the Gods standing up together'
                                                                               (I.533)

And an extension toward a *directional* or even *manner* sense may be seen in:

(66) ou-de ti   hoi-de noës-ai   **ama**-prossw kai opissw   (I.343)
      NEG-de WH 3s-DE think-IRR **with**-before and behind
      'and would not think either for**ward** or back**ward**'

o. *amfi(s)-* 'about', 'around', 'near', extended to 'with'

The more concrete and no doubt older *locative* sense of *amfi(s)-* may be seen
in:

(67) tous de kata-prumnas te kai **amf(i)**-hala e-ls-ai   Akhaious
      3p   DE down-sterns   TE and **about**-sea in-pen-IRR Achaeans
      'may he pen the Achaeans down by the sterns (of their boats) **about** the
      sea'   (I.409)

(68) ou   gar et(i) **amphis**-Olumpia dwmata ekh-ont-es   athanatoi
      NEG FOR SUB **about**-Olympus   homes have-be-NF/PL immortals
      fraz-ont-ai   (II.30)
      argue-be-NF/PL
      'for the immortals who have homes **about** Olympus are no longer
      arguing'

The doubling of *amfi-* with *peri-* 'around' seems to reinforce the older *loca-
tive*-to-*temporal* sense:

(69)   hemeis d(e) **amfi-peri**-krënën   hierous kata-bwmous e-rdo-men
       1p   DE **about-around**-spring holy   down-altars to-offer-1p
       'it was **round about** spring that we offered upon the sacred altars' (II.305)

A more abstract extension imparts a sense of *manner* adverb, as in:

(70)   mëneos de mega frenes **amfi**-melainai mi-mpl-ant-o   (I.103)
       rage   DE big   heart **with**-black   CV-full-be-NF
       '(with) his great heart full **of/with** black rage',

And the use of both the concrete and abstract senses in the same clause may
be seen in:

(71)   hidrws-ei   men teu telamwn **amfi**-stëthesfin aspidos
       wet-3s/IRR MEN 2p baldric **about**-chests   shield/GEN
       amfi-brwtës,   (II.388)
       about-mortals/GEN
       'let the baldric of the shields **over** your chests be wet **with** (the sweat of)
       mortal men'

p.   *hupo-* 'under', extended to agentive 'by'

The more concrete and no doubt older sense of *hupo-*, 'under' can be seen in:

(72)   possi d(e) **hupo**-liparoisin e-dësa-to   kala pedila   (II.44)
       feet   DE **under**-shining to-bind-NF fair sandals
       'and **under** his shining feet he had bound (his) fair sandals'

(73)   kalë   **hupo**-platanistw, ho-then hre-en aglaon hudwr   (II.307)
       good **under**-plane.tree 3s-from flow-3p bright waters
       '**under** a fair plane tree, from where bright waters flow'

An extension to a directional motion sense of 'down to' can also be seen, per-
haps conditioned by the motion-verb context, as in:

(74)   hossoi am(a)-Atreidës **hupo**-Ilion ë-lth-wn   (II.249)
       3p   with-Atreides **under**-Ilios to-come-NF
       'those who came **down to** Ilios with the son of Atreus'

And a more abstract extension, to agent-of-passive-, may be seen in:

(75)   eu-te   an polloi **huph(o)**-Hectoros andro-fonoio thnësk-ont-es
       VER-TE AN many **under**-Hector   man-slaying die-be-NF/PL
       pi-ptw-si   (I.242)
       CV-fall-NF/PL
       'and verily many shall fall dead **under** man-slaying Hector'

(76) amfi de nëes smerdaleon koa-bës-an ausant-wn **hup(o)**-Akhaiwn
about DE boats wondrous   echo-go-3s shout-NF **under**-Achaeans
'and about them the boats resounded wondrously at the shouting **of/by**
the Achaeans'   (II.333/4)

q. *huper-* 'above', 'over'

Of the four instances of *huper-* in our counted text (Iliad, Books I, II), only
one displayed the more concrete, presumably older, sense of 'above' or 'over',
as in:

(77) st-ë   d(e) ara **huper**-kefalën Nëlëio   uii e-oik-ws   (II.20)
stand-3s DE   ARA **above**-head   Neleus/GEN son to-be.like-NF
'and he stood **over/above** his head in the likeness of the son of Neleus'

Other instances display fairly plausible abstract extensions, as in:

(78) uios **huper**-thumoio Korwnou   Kaineidao   (II.746)
son **above**-heart/GEN Coronus/GEN, Caenus/GEN
'son of **high**-hearted Coronus, son of Caenus'

(79) en-tha ken Argeioisin **huper**-mora nost-os   e-tukhth-e   (II.155)
in-3s KEN Argives   **above**-part return-NF to-make-3p
'then the Argives would have succeeded in making (their) return home
above and beyond the ordained'

While a more abstract extension yet may be seen in:

(80) hierën hekatombën hrex-ai   **huper**-Danawn   (I.444)
sacred hecatombs   offer-IRR **above**-Danaans
'to offer sacred hecatombs **on behalf of** the Danaans'

r. *anti(os)-* 'against', 'facing', 'across from'

Only a single occurrence of *anti-* as a pre-nominal preposition was found
in our 2-books counted text:

(81) oi te ëpeiron   exh-on ë-de **anti**-perai   e-nem-ont-o (II.635)
3s TE mainland have-NF C-DE **against**-islands in-live-be-NF
'and those who held the mainland and lived **across** the islands'

2.5 **Quantitative text distribution**

2.5.1 **Functional-syntactic distribution of pre-nominal preposition**

We can take it for granted, perhaps by definition, that pre-nominal prepositions in the Homeric text are used to mark the case-role of event participants, here various indirect objects. It is nonetheless of some interest to see how these preposition-marked indirect objects distribute in the three main functional-syntactic classes discussed in Chapter 1, above:

a. intransitive verbs with an obligatory indirect object (whether concrete or abstract)
b. bi-transitive verbs with an obligatory indirect object (whether concrete or abstract)
c. optional indirect objects regardless of verb-type

The text-locations of all instances of these three categories in Book I of the Iliad are given in Appendix 3. Examples of the three categories are given below.

a. **Pre-nominal prepositions used with intransitive verbs with an obligatory indirect object (either concrete or abstract)**

Typical examples of this category, first with concrete locative indirect objects, may be seen in:

(82) b-ë   d(e) a-ke-wn   **para** thi-(e)na polu-floisboio thalassën,
go-3s DE   NEG-talk(?)-NF **by**   WH-one very-noisy/GEN sea
'so he went, silent, **by** the much-resounding sea'   (I.34)

(83) b-ë   de **kata**-Oulumpoio khwo-men-on kër   (I.44)
go-3s DE **down**-Olympus angry-be-NF   heart
'and he went **down to** Olympus (being) angry at heart'

(84) kai men toisin ego meth(a)-omile-on **ek**-Pulos e-lth-wn   (I.269)
and MEN 3p   1s   with-meet-NF   **ex**-Pylos ex-come-NF
'with those (men) I met together when I came **from** Pylos'

(85) kai gar t(e) ona   **ek**-Dios est-in   (I.63)
and FOR TE dreams **ex**-Zeus be-NF/PL
'for dreams are **from** Zeus'

(86) mëneos de mega frenes **amfi**-melainai mi-mpl-ant-o   (I.103)
rage   DE big   heart **with**-black   CV-full-be-NF
'and his heart was full **of/with** black rage'

(87) tou kai **apo**-glwssës melitws glukiwn   hre-en aud-ë   (I.249)
    3s   and **from**-tongue sweet   honney/of flow-3s speak-NF
    '**from** his tongue flowed speech sweeter than honey'

More abstract senses of the prepositions may be seen in:

(88) horo-wn **epi**-oinopa ponton   (I.350)
    look-NF **on**-wine   sea
    'looking **upon** the wine-red sea'

(89) ai ken pws e-thelë-sin   **epi**-Trwesin arëx-ai   (I.408)
    if KEN WH to-want-NF/PL **on**-Trojans help-IRR
    'and wish that he might somehow help (**to**) the Trojans'

(90) se filën per   eous-an **en**-ofthalmoisin   (I.587)
    2s dear THO be-NF   **in**-eyes
    'though you are dear **to/in** my eyes'

b. **Prenominal prepositions used with di-transitive verbs**
   with an obligatory indirect object (either concrete or abstract)

Typical examples of this category, first with concrete locative indirect objects, may be seen in:

(91) nouson **ana**-straton wrs-e   kakën   (I.10)
    plague **up**-camp   raise-3s evil
    '(he) raised an evil plague **about/up** the camp'

(92) stemmata ekh-wn **en**-khersin hekë-bolon Apollwnos   (I.14)
    fillets   have-NF **in**-hands   far-strikeing Apollo/GEN
    'holding **in** hand the fillets of far-striking Apollo'

(93) më se, geron,   koilësin ego **para**-nëusi ki-khei-w   (I.26)
    NEG 2s old.man hollow 1s **by**-ships   CV-find-1s
    'let me not, old man, find you **by** the hollow ships'

(94) tw gar **epi**-fresi thëk-e thea   leukw-lenos Hërë   (I.55)
    3s FOR **on**-heart put-3s goddess white-armed Hera
    'for the white-armed goddess Hera put it **in/upon** his heart'

(95) nëa melainan e-russo-men-en   **eis**-hala dian   (I.141)
    ship black   in-launch-1p/IRR-?? **to**-sea   bright
    'let us launch the black ship **into** the bright sea'

More abstract senses of the prepositions may be seen in:

(96) wkh(a) hekaton-kheiron kalesas-a **es**-makron Olympon   (I.402)
      fast   hundred-hand   call-NF **to**-high   Olympus
      'when you called quickly the one with hundred hands **to** high Olympus'

(97) t(a)-ofra d(e) epi-Trwesi tith-ei kratos,   (I.509)
      3s-SUB   DE   on-Trojans put-2s power
      'so far you have conferred strength **upon** the Trojans'

c. **Pre-nominal prepositions used with optional indirect objects regardless of verb-type**

Many optional indirect objects in the Homeric text are run-of-the-mill concrete locatives, as in:

(98) prin   min kai gëras ep(i)-e-is-in   hëmeterw **eni**-oikw,
      before MIN and old.age on-to-come-NF 1p   **in**-house
      en-Argei   (I.129/30)
      in-Argos
      'before old age comes upon her **in** our house, **in** Argos'

(99) emeu zw-(o)nt-os kai **epi**-khthoni derko-men-oio   (I.88)
      1s   live-be-NF and **on**-earth   sight.power-be-GEN
      'while I am alive and have power of sight **on** (this) earth'

(100) kai nun **en**-Danaoisi theo-prope-wn   agoreu-eis   (I.109)
       and now **in**-Danaans god-prophesy(?)-NF declaim-2s
       'and now **in** (the midst of) the Danaans, you declaim, prophesizing'

Others express diverse optional roles, such as *purpose* and *associative* in:

(101) ou-te   po-t(i) **es**-polemon **ama**-law thwrëkhthën-ai   (I.226)
       NEG-TE WH-WH **to**-battle   **with**-host arm.self-IRR
       '(you) never arm yourself **for** battle **with** the hosts'

Or *instrumental*, as in:

(102) oika-de i-men   **sun**-nëusi korwnisin   (I.170)
       home-to go-1p/IRR **with** boats beaked
       'that we go home **with** (our) beaked ships'

Or *manner* adverb, as in:

(103) krateron de **epi**-muthon e-tell-e   (I.25)
       strong   DE **on**-words   to-order-3s
       'and commanded him **with** stern words'

Or *temporal* adverb, as in:

(104) hos to-te men **pro**-pan ëelion **kata**-dunt-a   dain-unt-(o)   (I.601)
       so 3s-TE MEN **for**-all sun   **down**-sink-NF dine-be-NF
       'and so **for** the whole day **till** sunset they kept feasting'

For the sake of later comparison with pre-verbal and detached prepositions, the quantified distribution of prepositional phrases in our three functional-syntactic classes is given in Table (105) below, counting all text examples in Book I of the Iliad.

(105) **Quantified text distribution of pre-nominal prepositions
       in the three functional-syntactic classes** (Iliad, Book I)

Class	N	%
a. intransitive	53	34.7
b. bi-transitive	35	22.8
c. optional	64	42.5
total:	152	100.0

2.5.2 Pre-verbal (OV) vs. post-verbal (VO) prepositional phrases

It was suggested earlier (Chapter 1) that the position of the adpositionally-marked indirect object vis-a-vis the verb – OV vs. VO – determines the position of **detached adpositions** after their nominal object has been zeroed out, and thus also the **cliticization position**--pre-verbal vs. post-verbal, respectively – of adpositions on the verb. Typical examples of pre-verbal (OV) indirect objects in our Homeric text are:

(106) kai men toisin ego meth(a)-omile-on **ek**-Pulos e-lth-wn   (I.269)
       and MEN 3p   1s   with-meet-NF   **ex**-Pylos ex-come-NF
       'with those (men) I met together when I came **from** Pylos'

(107) ë men moi **pro**-phrwn   epesin kai khersin arëz-ein   (I.77)
       C MEN me **to**-heart/ACC words and hands   defend-INF
       'to defend me **with** stout-hearted words and hands'

(108) kai gar t(e) ona   **ek**-Dios est-in   (I.63)
       and FOR TE   dreams **ex**-Zeus be-NF/PL
       'for dreams are **from** Zeus'

(109) mëneos de mega frenes **amfi**-melainai mi-mpl-ant-o   (I.103)
       rage   DE big   heart **with**-black   CV-full-be-NF
       'and his heart was full **of/with** black rage'

(110) tou kai **apo**-glwssës melitws glukiwn hre-en aud-ë   (I.249)
       3s   and **from**-tongue sweet   honey/of flow-3s speak-NF
       '**from** his tongue flowed speech sweeter than honey'

Typical examples of post-verbal (VO) indirect objects may be seen in:

(111) b-ë   de **kata**-Oulumpoio khwo-men-on kër   (I.44)
       go-3s DE **down**-Olympus angry-be-NF   heart
       'and he went **down to** Olympus angry at heart'

(112) horo-wn **epi**-oinopa ponton   (I.350)
       look-NF **on-wine** sea
       'looking **upon** the wine-red sea'

(113) nëa melainan e-russo-men-en   **eis**-hala dian   (I.141)
       ship black   in-launch-1p/IRR-?? **to**-sea   bright
       'let us launch the black ship **into** the bright sea'

(114) hierën hekatombën hrex-ai   **huper**-Danawn   (I.444)
       sacred hecatombs offer-IRR **above**-Danaans
       'to offer sacred hecatombs **on behalf of** the Danaans'

The quantified text distribution of the two orders of indirect objects in Book I of the Iliad is given in Table (115) below.

(115) **OV vs. VO order of preposition-marked indirect object**
       (Text: Iliad, Book I)

Order	N	%
OV	83	54.9
VO	68	45.1
total	151	100.0

While Homeric Greek word-order is highly flexible, it is easily reconstructible, like Indo-European in general, to an earlier SOV order (Lehmann 1969, 1984; Givón 1979, Chapter 7). More to the point, it is not known to what extent the word-order in the written Homeric dialect, and the ca. 55% of pre-verbal (OV) indirect objects, reflects word-order in the contemporary spoken language. Since the advent of the pre-verbal cliticization of prepositions is, most likely, considerably older than the written Homeric dialect, the frequency of

the OV order in *earlier* times, most likely even higher, was more relevant to the emergence of the pre-verbal prepositions seen in Homeric Greek. At the very least, then, the ca. 55% OV order of preposition-marked indirect objects in the Homeric text is compatible with the suggested correlation between OV order and pre-verbal cliticization of preposition, once their nominal object has been zeroed out.

2.5.3 Text frequency of nominal-attached vs. verb-attached prepositions

For the sake of later comparison with verb-attached and free-floating – detached – prepositions in Homeric Greek, it would be of some interest, lastly, to compare the overall text frequency of the pre-nominal vs. pre-verbal prepositions. Studying such a distribution has obvious bearing on one fundamental question we will eventually need to answer:

> "What is the relative **functional load** of the two prepositional constructions in marking the case-role of clause participants in Homeric Greek – the presumably older pre-nominal construction, and its pre-verbal presumed diachronic derivative?"

For this purpose, all text occurrences of the two constructions in Books I, II of the Iliad were counted. The occurrence of two or three prepositions on the same verb was counted as a single instance, though in some cases each of those prepositions no doubt pertains to a different indirect object in the clause. Detached ('free adverbial') prepositions were not counted here, and will be dealt with in Chapter 4, below. Lastly, pre-verbal prepositions were counted regardless of whether they did or did not precede the so-called 'Augment' *e-*, a construction that will be discussed in Chapters 5, 6 below.[10]

The text distribution of pre-nominal vs. pre-verbal prepositions is given in Table (116) below.

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10. In the first 6 books of the Iliad, there were **686** instances of pre-verbal prepositions that did *not* precede the 'augment' *e-*. Of those, **35** involved *two* prepositions prefixed to the same verb, and **11** involved *three*. The total number of prepositions preceding *e-* in the same 6 books was **396**.

(116) **Text distribution of pre-nominal vs. pre-verbal prepositions in the Homeric text** (Text: Books I, II of Iliad)

Syntactic context	N	%
Pre-nominal:	**342**	45.4
Pre verbal alone:	276	
Pre-verbal preceding *e*-:	136	
Total pre-verbal:	**412**	54.6
Total:	**754**	100.0

While this distribution is incomplete, in that it counts neither detached prepositions nor the 'Augment' *e*- by itself, it suggests that *if* pre-verbal Homeric prepositions performed the *same* case-marking functions as their pre-nominal equivalents, they certainly began to claim a **greater functional load** by the time the Homeric text was put to parchment.

2.6   Summary

If pre-nominal case-marking prepositions are indeed the diachronic precursor of pre-verbal prepositions in Homeric Greek, as all general functional and typological considerations seem to suggest, then the data surveyed in this chapter set up both a qualitative and a quantitative baseline for a subsequent comparison with pre-verbal prepositions (Chapter 3), detached ('free adverbial') prepositions (Chapter 4), and the so-called 'Augment' vowel *e*- (Chapters 5, 6). What is important to note, in particular, is that preposition-marked indirect objects in the Homeric text are distributed – at the level of 100% (see Table (105) above) – in the three functional-syntactic categories that form the universal context of nominal case-marking adpositions in other languages (Chapter 1). Homeric Greek appears, so far, to be a typical human language.

Lastly, the higher prevalence of the pre-verbal (OV) order of indirect objects in the Homeric text is certainly compatible with such nominal indirect objects being the diachronic source construction, first of detached ('free adverbial') prepositions, and then in due course of pre-verbal prepositions ('pre-verbs').

Abbreviations of grammatical terms

ACC	accusative	P	preposition
ALL	allative	PL	plural
ASSOC	associative	PP	prepositional/postpositional
ASP	aspect		(phrase)
C	conjunction	REF	referring/reflexive
CAUS	causative	S	subject
CV	reduplicate first syllable	SUB	subordinator
DAT	dative	THO	though
DEM	demonstrative	V	verb
DO	direct object	VC	reduplicate first syllable
EM	emphasis	VER	intensifier
FOR	because	WH	WH-question
FUT	future	1s	first person singular
GEN	genitive	1p	first person plural
HAB	habitual	2s	second person singular
IMP	imperative	2p	second person plural
INF	infinitive	3s	thirst person singular
IRR	irrealis	3fs	third person singular masculine
LOC	locative	3 ms	third person singular feminine
MANN	manner	s	singular
NEG	negative	sf	singular feminine
NF	non-finite	sm	singular masculine
NOM	nominative	p	plural
O	object		

Appendix 1. Text locations of pre-nominal preposition
(Books I, II of Iliad)

ana- 'up', 'upward'
I.10, 53, 384, 570, **II.**36, II.250, II.575 [**7**]
kata- 'down', 'downward'
I.44, 136, 193, 271, 286, 409, 413, 422, 429, 484, 487, 555, **II.**3, 47, 99. 130, 163, 167, 211, 214, 345, 362, 398, 409, 427, 438, 439, 470, 560, 668, 699, 779, 803 [**33**]
en(i)- 'in(side)', 'into'
I.14, 30, 82, 109, 155, 235, 237, 251, 278, 297, 367(!), 376(!),396, 397, 433, 441, 446, 520, 566, 585, 587, **II.**19, 137, 142, 161, 175, 177, 202, 226, 237, 274, 301, 397(**en-tha 'there/then'**), 417, 454, 461, 462(**en-tha 'there/then'**), 467, 473, 483, 549, 551, 610, 661, 688, 719, 721, 766, 771, 782, 821 [**50**]

ex-/ek- 'out(side)', 'out of', from'
I.63, 194, 223, 268, 269, 270, 525, 534, 580, II.32, 41, 69, 131, 146, 197, 230, 273, 557,
    525, 654, 659, 690, 744, 748, 849, 852, 857, 862, 877 [**29**]

eis-, es-, ei- 'to', 'toward' (dynamic/motion)
I.99, 141, 221, 226, 314, 366, 402, 431, 435, 490, 491, 532, II.9, 92, 126, 140, 158, 174,
    303, 454, 464, 667, 752, 832 [**24**]

apo- 'from', 'away from'
I.98, 249, 529, 532, 541, 563, 591, 598, II.162, 178, 233, 287, 292, 457, 464, 659, 755 [**17**]

epi- 'on', 'over', onto', 'to'
I.25, 39, 46, 55, 88, 126, 219, 266, 272, 306, 326, 350(!), 350(!), 371, 382, 408, 437, 440,
    461, 462, 485, 509, 536, 559, II.6, 89, 159, 168, 218, 263, 308, 353, 381, 394, 424,
    472, 523, 526, 553, 613, 616, 643, 665, 687, 765, 788, 797, 808 [=**50**]

peri- 'about', 'around', 'over' (static)
I.287, 303, 317, 417, 448, 603, 607, II.305, 416, 750, 757, 831 [**48**]

peri- 'about', 'around', 'over'
I.287, 303, 317, 417, 448, 603, 607, II.305, 416, 750, 757, 812, 831[**13**]

para- 'by, 'next to', 'near'
I.26, 34, 89, 174, 305, 316, 327, 344, 347, 358, 415, 463, II.54, 297, 355, 392, 522, 596,
    604, 711, 725, 773, 775, 787 [**24**]

pro(s)-, proti- 'before', 'in front of' > 'toward', 'to' > 'through/by/with'
I.77, 150, 160, 238, 338, 339, 340, 420, 494, 533, 543, 601, 609, II.59, 493, 588, 801(**proti-**)
    [**17**]

dia- 'through'
I.72, 600, II.40, 57, 458, 655 [**6**]

meta- 'with', 'among', 'about' (pl. object)
I.82, 221/2, 368, 423, 478, 503, 516, 525, 550, 553, II.267, 376, 673 [**13**]

sun- 'with'
I.89, 170, 179, 183, 227, 240, 325, 389, II.74, 140, 187, 218, 236, 293, 339, 372, 567, 787 [**18**]

ama- 'with'
I.343, 348, 495, 533, II.577, 745, 762, 822 [**8**]

amfi- 'about', 'around', 'near', 'with' (manner ADV)
I.103, 409, II.30, 67, 305 (**x2!!**), 388, 417, 428, 533, 544, 751, 782 [**12**]

hupo- 'below', 'under'
I.148, 242, II.44, 216, 245, 249, 307, 334(**by-PAS**), 374(**by-PAS**), 492, 505, 603, 673,
    728(**by**), 742(**by**), 784, 820, 860(**by-PAS**), 866, 874(**by-PAS**) [**20**]

huper- 'above', 'over'
I.444, II.20, 155, 746 [**4**

anti(o)- 'facing', 'in front of'
II.635 [**1**]

Appendix 2. **Text locations for pre-nominal preposition**
(Books I, II of Iliad)

I.   10, 14, 25, 26, 29/30, 34, 39, 44, 46, 53, 55, 63, 71/72, 77, 82, 82, 88, 89, 89, 98, 99,
103, 109, 136, 141, 148, 150, 155, 159, 170, 174, 179, 183,193, 193 194, 219, 221,
221/22, 223, 226, 226, 227, 235, 237, 238, 240, 242, 249, 251, 266, 268, 269, 270,
271, 272, 278, 286, 287, 297, 303, 305, 306, 314, 316, 317, 325, 326, 327, 343, 344,
347, 348, 350, 349, 350, 358, 358, 366, 367, 370/ 71, 382, 384, 389, 389, 396, 397,
402, 408, 409, 409, 413, 415, 417, 419/20, 423, 423, 423, 431, 433, 435, 435, 437,
440, 441, 444, 446, 448, 461, 462, 463, 478, 484, 485, 485, 487, 490, 490/ 91, 494,
495, 503, 509, 516, 520, 525, 525, 529, 532, 532, 533, 533, 534, 536, 541, 543, 550,
553, 555, 559, 563, 566, 570, 580, 584, 585, 587, 592, 598, 600, 601, 601, 602/03,
607, 607, 609 [**151**]

II.   3, 6, 9, 19, 20, 30, 32, 36, 40, 41, 44, 47, 54, 57, 59, 67, 69, 74, 89, 92, 99, 126, 130,
131, 137, 140, 140, 142, 146, 155, 158, 159, 161, 162, 163, 167, 168, 174, 175, 177,
178, 187, 197, 202, 211, 214, 216, 218, 218, 226, 230, 233, 236, 237, 245, 249, 250,
263, 267, 273, 274, 287, 292, 293, 297, 301, 303, 305, 305, 307, 308, 334, 339, 345,
353, 355, 362, 372, 374, 376, 381, 388, 392, 397, 398, 409, 416, 417, 417, 424, 427,
438, 439, 454, 454, 457, 458, 460, 461, 462, 464, 464, 467, 472, 473, 492, 493, 494,
505, 522, 523, 525, 526, 533, 533, 544, 557, 567, 575, 483, 549, 551, 577, 588, 596,
603, 604, 610, 613, 616, 635, 643, 654, 655, 659, 659, 665, 667, 668, 673, 673, 687,
688, 690, 699, 711, 719, 721, 725, 728, 742, 744, 745, 746, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752,
752, 755, 757, 762, 765, 766, 771, 773, 775, 779, 782, 782, 784, 787, 787, 788, 797,
801, 803, 808, 812, 820, 821, 822, 831, 832, 849, 852, 857, 862, 866, 874, 877 [**192**]

Appendix 3. **Text locations for the functional-syntactic categories of preposition-marked indirect objects**
(Text: Iliad, book I)

a.   **Intransitive verb with obligatory IO:**
I. 34, 39, 44, 46, 53, 63, 103, 136, 174, 221, 221, 249, 269, 270, 272, 287, 306, 317,
327, 347, 350, 349/50, 358, 358, 366, 370/71, 384, 408 (**abst.**), 413, 415, 419/20, 423,
431, 437, 478, 484, 487, 490, 490/91, 494, 529, 532, 532, 533, 536, 541, 563, 566, 470,
587 (**abst.**), 592, 600, 602/03, 609 [**54**]

b.   **Bi-transitive verb with obligatory IO:**
I. 10, 14, 26, 55, 71, 82, 98, 98, 141, 159/60, 193, 193, 194, 219, 235, 297, 314, 367,
368, 382, 389, 402 (**abst.**), 409, 433, 435, 440, 441, 448, 461, 463, 485, 509 (**abst.**),
580, 584/85, 598 [**35**]

c. **Optional IO (any verb type)**:

I. 25(mann.), 29/30, 30, 71/72, 77, 82, 88, 89, 89, 109, 148, 150(mann.), 155, 170(instr.), 179, 183(assoc.), 221/22(assoc.), 223, 226, 227, 237, 238, 240, 242, 251, 266, 268 (mann.), 271, 278, 286, 303, 305, 316, 325 (assoc.), 326 (mann./instr.), 343 (mann.), 344, 348 (assoc.), 389, 396, 397, 409, 417 (mann.adv.), 423 (assoc.), 423 (purp.), 435 (instr.), 444 (abstr.), 462, 495, 503, 516, 520, 523, 525 (abstr.), 533, 534, 543 (mann. av.), 550 (mann.adv.), 553 (mann.), 555, 559, 601 (tm. adv.), 601 (tm. adv.), 607 (mann.), 607 (mann.) [**63**] **Total: 152**

Diachronic target:
Pre-verbal prepositions in Homeric Greek

3.1 Preamble

In the preceding chapter we surveyed the functional and syntactic distribution of pre-nominal prepositions in Homeric Greek, the presumed diachronic source construction of pre-verbal prepositions (so-called 'preverbs'). We noted first that all general theoretical considerations suggest that the original functional niche of case-marking adpositions is, transparently, nominal; and that the functional-syntactic distribution of pre-nominal prepositions in the Homeric text fully conforms to such a premise. We also noted that the high frequency of pre-verbal (OV-ordered) preposition-marked indirect objects in the Homeric text, a frequency that was probably much higher in the earlier precursor(s) of the Homeric dialect, conforms to the pre-verbal position of verb-attached prepositions in Homeric Greek, as in other Indo-European languages.

In this chapter we turn to investigate the diachronic target construction in the diachronic life cycle of adpositions, the pre-verbal prepositions ('preverbs') of Homeric Greek. Given what we noted in the preceding chapter about the rather transparent case-marking function of Homeric pre-nominal prepositions, and given their near-obligatory occurence in the well-known contexts where indirect objects of various semantic roles tend to appear, we have thus set the base-line for comparing the functional-syntactic distribution of pre-nominal vs. pre-verbal preposition. When such a comparison is done, we will be in a better position to understand the process of diachronic change, in function as well as structure.

3.2 Functional-syntactic categories

For the purpose of this section, all instances of pre-verbal prepositions in Books I, II of the Iliad were identified, and their semantic and syntactic behavior then studied. The complete list of their text locations, is given in Appendix 1. The semantic/syntactic behavior of pre-verbal prepositions was divided into four categories, ranked in terms of the assumed order of diachronic change,

with text locations in the first 6 books of the Iliad given in Appendix 2. The four categories are:

a. **Nominal indirect object overtly present in the clause**: The nominal indirect object whose case-role is marked by the pre-verbal preposition is overtly present in the same clause or in the directly preceding clause. The pre-verbal preposition is semantically transparent, and its semantic case-role corresponds closely to that found in its pre-nominal counterpart (Chapter 2). This category of pre-verbal prepositions thus involves a relatively superficial change from the pre-nominal source construction, with the preposition having switched from its – diachronically original – pre-nominal locus to its terminal pre-verbal one.

b. **Nominal indirect object not overtly present in the clause, but still anaphorically or generically accessible:** The nominal indirect object has been zeroed out, but is contextually accessible, either generically within the same clause or anaphorically in the directly preceding clause(s). And the pre-verbal preposition marks the same semantic case-role as in (a) above.

c. **Nominal indirect object not overtly present, and not contextually accessible; but there is still a transparent semantic association of preposition and verb**: The semantic value of the preposition is still transparent, and is fairly close to its sense in the pre-nominal construction. But the preposition is semantically absorbed to the verb, which is most commonly an intransitive location or motion verb.

d. **Semantic arbitrariness**: The preposition does not reflect its original pre-nominal sense any more, so that its use has now become semantically arbitrary. The presence or absence of a nominal indirect object in the clause is unpredictable and irrelevant.

As suggested above, the order of the categories (a) through (d) above is intended to reflect the gradual diachronic drift of the semantic and syntactic patterns, with category (d) being the terminal point in which the preposition is **semantically fused** to the verb, and where the overt presence or absence of a nominal indirect-object is irrelevant. This suggested continuum, inferred from the synchronic distribution of the variants in the Homeric Greek text, turns out to correspond closely to the stage-wise diachronic rise of post-verbal prepositions in English (Chapter 7).

In the main, instances of our first two syntactic/semantic categories tend to involve verbs that typically take indirect objects, falling into the by-now-familiar three syntactic categories noted for pre-nominal preposition (Chapter 2):

- **intransitive verbs of location or motion** ('be at/in', 'go to' 'come from') or their more abstract equivalents ('look at', 'listen to', 'hear from')
- **bi-transitive verbs of transfer** ('put x in', 'take x away/out', 'insert x into') or their more abstract equivalents ('give x to', 'ask x from', 'show x to')
- **optional case-roles**, such as locative, instrumental, associative, benefactive or manner, regardless of verb-type.

The use of the various pre-verbal prepositions in their clausal context in Homeric Greek is illustrated below with fairly representative example from our Homeric text.

a. *ana-*

A very common instance in our Homeric text, belonging to category (c) above, shows no nominal indirect object present, while the preposition, now meaning 'upward' is incorporated into the meaning of the intransitive motion verb:

(1) toisi de **an(a)**-ista-men-os met(a)-e-f-ë   podas wkus Akhilleus
     3p   DE **up**-stand-be-NF with-to-speak-3s feet   swift Achilles
     'then, standing **up**, swift-footed Achilles spoke to them'   (I.58)

The next example represents the tail-end category (d), where a nominal object is present, but the sense of the preposition is semantically arbitrary, and certainly not predictable from the meaning of the preposition in its original pre-nominal context:

(2) eu-kho-men-os Danaoisi theo.propias **ana**-fain-eis   (I.87)
     VER-pray-be-NF Danaeans god.oracles   **up**-say-2s
     'pray and pronounce oracles **to** the Danaans'

The same semantically unpredictable use of *ana-*, thus category (d), may be seen in (3) below, where an object of the verb 'order' is technically present. This contrasts with the syntactically and semantically coherent use of the other pre-verbal preposition, *apo-* 'from', prefixed to a verb created from the noun *luma* 'impurities', thus our category (c):

(3) laous   de Atreidës **apo**-lumaines-thai **an(a)**-wg-en,   (I.313)
     hosts/GEN DE Atreides **from**-impurity-IRR **up**-order-3s
     'and the son of Atreus ordered the hosts **to** rid themselves **of** impurities'

b. *kata-*

Example (4) below exposes some of the indeterminancy involved in making categorial assignment here, with a possible overlap between categories (b) and (c). The sense of 'down' is certainly part of the meaning of 'swallow', thus suggesting our category (c). But 'swallow' also carries, on generic grounds, an implicit sense of a generically-predictable zeroed-out object ('down his stomach'), thus our category (b).

(4) ei per gar te kholon ge kai aut(o)-ëmar **kata**-pe-ps-e
     if THO FOR TE anger EM and this-day   **down**-CV-swallow-3s
     'for even if he swallowed **down** his anger today'   (I.81)

The sense of 'down' is incorporated into the meaning of the intransitive motion verb 'sit' in (5) below, thus our category (c):

(5) ëmos de Hëelios **kat(a)**-(h)ed-u   (I.475)
     when DE Sun   **down**-sit-NF
     'then when the sun went **down**'

And likewise in the even more typical (6) below:

(6) kai hra akeousa **kath(a)**-ës-to[1]   (I.569)
     and HRA silent   **down**-sit-NF
     'and (she) sat **down** in silence'

In (7) below, the object 'head' is implicit and generically predictable in 'nod/ bow down', suggesting again an overlap between our categories (b) and (c):

(7) nëmetres men dë moi **hupo**-skhe-o   **kata**-neus-on,   (I.514)
     truthfully MEN DE 1s **under**-vow-IMP **down**-nod-NF
     'promise this to me and bow your head **down** (in affirmation)'

c. *en(i)-*

An example close enough to our category (a) may be seen in (8) below, with the nominal object still present and the sense of 'in(side)' or 'among' fairly transparent:

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1.   The verb stem for 'sit' exhibits considerable variation between *-az-*, *-ez-*, *-es-* or *-(h)ed-*.

(8) alla ouk Atraeidë Agamemnoni **en**-dan-e   thumw   (I.378)
     but NEG Atreides Agamemnon **in**-please-3s soul
     'but (this) did not please Atreides Agamemnon **in** his heart/soul'

And likewise:

(9) a-sbest-os   d(e) ar(a) **en**-wr-to gelws   makaroisi
     NEG-quench-NF DE   ARA **in**-rise-NF laughter blessed/PL
     theoisin   (I.599)
     gods/ACC
     'then unquenchable laughter arose **among** the blessed gods'

A zeroed-out object, thus our category (b), may be seen in (10) below, with
the object 'in place' generically inferred in context:

(10) boulo-m(ai) egw laon soon **em**-men-ai ë ap(o)-oles-thai   (I.117)
     want-1s   1s hosts safe **in**-stay-IRR C from-die-IRR
     'I myself would prefer that the hosts stayed safe (**in** place) rather than
     perish'

Total semantic arbitrariness, thus our category (d), may be seen in both (11)
and (12) below:

(11) ho de Atreidën   **en**-ariz-oi^2 (I.191)
     3s DE Atreus'.son **in**-kill-3s/IRR
     'and (he should) slay the son of Atreus'

(12) hos ekhe-wn **em**-pe-fuui-a kai e-ire-to deuteron autis
     3s hold-NF **in**-CV-cling-NF and to-ask second   DEM/3sm
     'holding him (and) clinging (he) again asked'   (I.513)

d. *ex-/ek-*

A fairly transparent directional motion use of *ek-*, with the object overtly
present as the pronoun 'him', thus our category (a), may be seen in (13) below:

(13) ho d(e) idnwth-ë, thaleron de hoi **ek**-pes-e dakru   (II.266)
     3s DE   cower-NF big   DE 3s **ex**-fall-3p tears
     'and he cowered down, and big tears fell **out** of him'

---

2. A verbal root *-ariz-* is not listed in Cunliffe's (1924) lexicon, perhaps an
indication that it never appeared without the preposition *en-*, which is syn-
chronically rather arbitrary.

And likewise, perhaps still category (a):

(14) Pëleidë,   pantwn **ek**-paglotat(-a)   andrwn   (I.146)
      Peleus'.son all/GEN **ex**-violent.most-NF men/GEN
      'the son of Peleus, the most violent **out of** all men'

In the next example, the zeroed-out object is either anaphorically predictable ('the hut'), thus category (b), or the directional sense 'out' may have been incorporated into the bi-trantitive verb, thus category (c):

(15) alla ag-e,   dio-genes Patroklees, **ex**-ag-e   kourën   (I.337)
      but come-IMP god-born Patroclus **ex**-lead-IMP girl/ACC
      'but come, Zeus-born Patroclus, bring the girl **out** (of the hut)'

e. *e(i)s-/ei-*

The pre-verbal use of *eis-* covers a broad semantic range. In (16) below, the sense is close enough to the original *allative* 'to', and the object is present, thus our category (a). But the object ('arms') is still marked by a pre-nominal preposition, albeit a different one, *epi-* 'on':

(16) **epi**-teukhea d(e) **es**-seu-ont-o   (II.808)
      on-arms   DE **to**-rush-be-NF
      'and (they) rushed **to** arms'

A relatively minor semantic shift in (17) below leaves the *allative* sense of *ei(s)-* nearly intact, perhaps still in our category (a), with the object ('scepter') overtly present:

(17) **ei**-le-to   de skëptron   patrwion   (II.46)
      to-grab-NF DE scepter/ACC father/GEN/ACC
      'and he grabbed **at/toward** his father's scepter'

In the next example, the object is clearly present but the allative sense of 'to' is somewhat eroded:

(18) pauros de oi **ei**-pe-to   laos   (II.675)
      few   DE 3s **to**-follow-NF host
      '(only) a few people followed (**after**) him'

In some cases, there seems to be a shift from the *allative* to a *purpose* use, pertaining the verbal complement, a widely observed shift (viz. English, Chapter 7), as in:

(19) osse de oi puri lampeto-wnt-i **ei**-kt-ën   (I.104)
     eyes DE 3p fire shine-be-NF   **to**-kill-NF/ACC
     'his eyes blazing fire (aiming) **to** kill'

(20) khalepoi toi   **es**-ont(-o) alokhw per eous-a   (I.546)
     hard/PL 2s/DAT **to**-be-NF wife   THO be-NF
     'they will be hard for you **to** know, though you be my wife'

In other instances, the *allative* sense of *eis-* may be elaborated by combining with another pre-verbal preposition, as in the (21) below, still a fairly transparent usage, thus our category (a):

(21) parthenos aidoië, huper-oiwn   **eis-ana**-bas-a   (II.514)
     maiden   honored above-alone(?) **to-up**-go-NF
     'an honored maiden, when she went **up to** her upper (chamber?)'

f. *apo-*

A totally transparent use of *apo-*, marking both the nominal object and the verb, thus our category (a), may be seen in (22) below, perhaps an early stage of our diachronic drift:

(22) gluku nektar **apo**-krëtëros **af(o)**-uss-on   (I.598)
     sweet nectar **from**-bowl   **from**-draw-NF
     'drawing sweet nectar **from** the bowl'

A semantically fairly transparent example, with the zeroed-out object predictable from the generic context, thus category (b), may be seen in:

(23) alla kakws **af(o)**-i-ei   (I.25)
     but bad   **from**-go/send-3s
     'but he sent him **away** (**from** there) harshly'

Another instance of a zeroed-out object, predictable from the anaphoric context and thus our category (b), may be seen in:

(24) aps **apo**-nostes-ein   ei ken thanaton ge fugoi-men   (I.60)
     back **from**-return-INF if KEN death/ACC EM flee-1p/IRR
     'to return (empty handed) **from** (the battle) even if we escape death'

The *ablative* sense of *apo-* is just about faded away in the next two examples, to the point where their use seems sychronically arbitrary, thus our category (d). Though supplementation with the semantically more transparent *ei(s)-* in (25) may have repaired the usage somewhat:

(25) **ap(o)-ei**-lës-w   de toi hw-de   (I.181)
      from-to-warn-1s DE 2s SO-DE
      'I am warning (**to**) you thus'

(26) boulo-m(ai) egw laon soon em-men-ai ë **ap(o)**-oles-thai   (I.117)
      want-1s   1s   hosts safe in-stay-IRR C **from**-die-IRR
      'I myself would prefer that the hosts stayed safe (**in** place) rather than
      perish'

Finally, the frequent formulaic triple combination below is commonly used
for 'answer', 'respond', where 'to' is perhaps historically justified as pointing to
the *dative* recipient, 'from' a bit less so as perhaps pointing to the source/speaker,
while 'with' is rather opaque:

(27) ton de **ap(o)-am(a)-ei**-bo-men-os pros-e-ph-ë podas wkus
      3s DE **from-with-to**-answer-be-NF to-to-say-3s feet   fast
      Akhilleus: (I.84)
      Achilles
      'then responding **to** him, swift-footed Achilles said'

g. *epi-*

A fairly transparent use *epi-*, with the nominal object present in the clause,
thus our category (a), may be seen in (28) below, with the more stative sense of
'on' augmented by the motion verb 'go':

(28) ourëas men proton **ep(i)**-wkhe-to   (I.50)
      mules MEN first   **on**-go-NF
      'first he pounced **upon** the mules'

And likewise with a bi-transitive cause-motion verb:

(29) autar epei-ta autoisi belos   ekhe-peukes   **ef(i)**-i-eis
      but   then-3s DEM/p missives have-piercing/PL **on**-go/send-3s
      ball(-e)   (I.51)
      throw-3s
      'but then he let-fly piercing missives **upon** them'

A wide range of extended directional *allative* uses are also attested with the
object overtly present, thus again our category (a), as in:

(30) histon   **ep(i)**-oikho-men-ën   (I.31)
      loom/ACC **on**-walk-be-3s
      'as she walks **about** the loom'

And the *allative* sense can also be reinforced by combining *epi-* with *e(i)s-*, as in:

(31) feug-e   mal(a), ei toi   thumos **ep(i)-es**-su-tai   (I.173)
     flee-IMP more   if 2s/DAT heart   **on-to**-order-IRR
     'go ahead, flee, if your heart may so orders (**upon**) you'

(32) w moi,   an-aideiën **epi-ei**-men-e, kerdale.fron   (I.149)
     oh 1s/DAT NEG-shame **on-to**-stay-NF crafty.mind
     'oh me, you persist **in/toward** shamelessness, crafty-minded one'

Lastly, one can also find cases where the object is zeroed out and predictable from the anaphoric context, thus our category (b), as in:

(33) ou-te   ar(a) ho ge eu-khwles **epi**-me-mfe-tai   (I.93)
     NEG-TE ARA 3s EM VER-vows **on**-CV-blame-IRR
     'it is not for (our) strong vows that he may (put the) blame **upon** (us)'

h. *peri-*

A semantically transparent use of the pre-verbal *peri-*, with the object overtly present, thus our category (a), may be seen in an intransitive clause in:

(34) alla su, ei dunass-ai ge, **peri**-skhe-o   paidos heoio   (I.393)
     but 2s if can-IRR   EM **about**-watch-IMP boy   2s/GEN
     'but you, if you at all can, watch **over** your boy'

Semantic incorporation of the prepositional sense into the intransitive verb, thus our category (c), may be seen in:

(35) hemin d(e) einatos est-i **peri**-trope-wn eni-autos   (II.295)
     1p   DE   ninth be-NF **about**-turn-NF in-DEM/s
     '(but) for us it is the turning **around** of the ninth (year) in this'

And a semantically arbitrary use of *peri-*, thus category (d), may be seen in (36) below, with the pre-nominal preposition *eni-* 'in' not much help:

(36) **peri**-tello-men-wn   **eni**-autwn,   (II.551)
     about-make.pass-be-NF **in**-DEM/p
     '**in order to** make thing turn out **in** their (favor)'

i. *para-*

A fairly transparent locative sense of *para-*, 'by' or 'next to', with the object overtly present thus our category (a), may be seen in:

(37) autar ho mënie   neusi **parë**-men-os wku-poroiosi   (I.488)
      but   3s wrathful boats **by**-stay-NF   swift-traveling/PL
      'but he in his wrath remained **by** the fast-sailing ships'

The object may also be zeroed out due to its anaphoric predictability (here in the preceding clause), thus our category (b), as in:

(38) ton de aganois epeessin e-rëtusask-e, **para**-st-as   (II.189)
      3s DE gentle words   ex-restrain-3s **by**-stand-NF
      'and he restrained him with gentle words, standing **by** (him)'

A semantic shift to a directional – *dative* or *benefactive* – sense is common, as in – still in our category (a):

(39) kai po-te toi   tris   tossa   **par(a)**-esse-tai aglaa   dwra
      and WH-TE 2s/DAT three such/PL **by**-be-IRR   glorious gifts
      'then thrice as many such glorious gifts will be yours (= **for** you)'(I.213)

(40) mëtri   de egw **para**-fë-mi   (I.576)
      mother/DAT DE 1s   **by**-speak-1s
      'so I shall speak **to** (advise) my mother'

But a semantically arbitrary use of *para-*, thus our category (d), is also seen, as in:

(41) me se **par(a)**-eip-ë arguro.peza Thetis   (I.555)
      NEG 2s **by**-say-NF   silver.foot   Thetis
      'lest silver-footed Thetis may beguile you'

j. *pro(s)-*

A concrete *allative* use of *pro(s)-* with a bi-transitive verb may be seen in (42) below, where the object is overtly present, thus our category (a), and is also marked by the old *allative* case ending:

(42) pola de ifthimous psykhas Aidi   **pro**-iaps-en herwwn
      many DE valiant   souls   Hades/ALL **to**-send-3s warriors/GEN
      '(and) sent many valiant souls of warriors **to** Hades'   (I.3)

Such reinforcement by the old nominal case suffix is common when its meaning is still reasonably transparent, as is often the case with the *allative/dative* suffix.

A common formulaic use of *pro(s)-* as a *dative*, a common shift from the older *allative* sense, may be seen in (43) below, with the object zeroed and predictable from the anaphoric context, thus our category (b):

(43) kai min fones-as epea   ptero-ent-a **pros**-ëud-a: (I.201)
      and MIN speak-NF words wing-be-NF **to**-speak-NF
      'then speaking, he said winged words (**to** her)'

But the semantic shift may be greater, with the object still overtly present, thus still our category (a):

(44) kai gar hra Klutaimnëstrës **pro**-be-boul-a   kouridiës alokhou
      and FOR HRA Clytemnestra   **for**-CV-want-NF wedded   wife
      'because I prefer (her) **to/over** Clytemnestra, my wedded wife' (I. 113)

A dative-like sense, with a zeroed-out anaphoric object, thus our category (b), may be seen in:

(45) touneka oi **pro**-theou-sin oneidea muthësas-thai?   (I.291)
      CAUS   3p **to**-make-PL   abuses speak-IRR
      'do they thus let (him) speak utter nonsense?'

And an equally plausible shift to *benefactive* may be also seen, reinforced here by the causative *eineka* ('because of', 'for the sake of'), with the object present, thus perhaps still our category (a):

(46) ho sfwi **pro**-i-ei   Brisëidos   eineka kourës   (I.336)
      3s REF   **for**-go/send-3s Brises/GEN CAUS   girl
      'who sent you **for the sake of** the girl, Brises' daughter'

Lastly, semantic incorporation of the preposition into the verb, thus perhaps our category (c), may be seen in:

(47) autar epei hra eu-x-ant-o   kai oulokhutas **pro**-bal-ont-o
      C   then HRA VER-pray-be-NF and barley   **to**-throw-be-NF
      'then when they had prayed and cast **forth** (the) barley (grain)' (I.458)

k. *dia-*

The semantically transparent use of the pre-verbal *dia-* with the object overtly present, thus our category (a), may be seen in (48) below. However, the sense of the following *epi-* is less than transparent:

(48) hws ho ge koiranewn **di(a)-ep(i)**-(i)-e   straton   (II.207)
      so 3s EM masterful **through-on**-go-3s   camp/ACC
      'so (saying), he went masterfully **through** the camp'

Semantic incorporation of the preposition into the verb, thus our category (c), may be seen in (49) below, where the sense of the added *ana-* is synchronically rather arbitrary:

(49)   **en** d(e) hoi ëtor   stëthessin lasioisin **di(a)-an(a)**-dikh-a
       in DE   3s   heart breast   shaggy **through-up**-two-NF
       mermëriz-en   (I.189)
       murmured-3s
       'and in his shaggy breast his heart, divided **through**, murmured'

A fairly predictable combination of *dia-* with *e(i)s-*, with the object overtly present, thus our category (a), may be seen in (50) below, with further semantic contribution, perhaps, from the detached preposition *sun-*:

(50)   **sun** të paifassous-a **di(a)-es**-su-to   laon Akhaiwn   (II.450)
       with TE dazzle-NF   **through-to**-rush-NF hosts Achaeans
       'dazzling, rushing **through** the hosts of the Achaeans'

And a more arbitrary sense of the preposition, perhaps already semantic incorporated into the verb and thus our category (c), may be seen in:

(51)   Lurnesson   **dia**-porthes-as   kai teikhea Thëbës   (II.691)
       Lyrnessus/ACC **through**-ruin-NF and walls   Thebes/GEN
       'having (thoroughly) wasted Lyrnessus and the walls of Thebes'

l.   *meta-*

A fairly predictable use of the pre-verbal *meta-* 'with'/'among' with the object overtly present, thus category (a), may be seen in:

(52)   kai men toisin   ego **meth(a)**-omile-on ek-Pulos e-lth-wn
       and MEN 3p/ACC 1s **with**-meet-NF   ex-Pylos ex-come-NF
       'and **with** those (men) I met when I came from Pylos'   (I.269)

A slight semantic shift to 'together' may be seen in (53), (54) below, where the object is zeroed out but inferred from the anaphoric context, thus our category (b):

(53)   all(a) ë toi men t(a)-auta   **meta**-fraso-me-tha   (I.140)
       but   C 3p MEN 3p-DEM/p **with**-tell-1p-FUT
       'but as for these things, let us reckon them **together**'

(54) oi de histon stës-ant-o   ana th(e) histia leuka
      3p DE mast stand/CAUS-be-NF up TE   sails white
      met(a)-ass-an   (I.480)
      with-spread-3p
      'so raising the mast, they spread up white sails **together**'

The meaning may shift in other directions, in (55) below with a object still present as a REL-pronoun, thus our category (a):

(55) twn ou ti **meta**-treps-ë ou-de   alegiz-eis   (I.160)
      3p NEG WH **with**-turn-NF NEG-DE concern-2s
      '**to** which you pay no heed, nor concern yourself **with**'

And the object may be zeroed out but predictable from the anaphoric context, thus our category (b), as in:

(56) ou   gar pauswle ge **met(a)**-esse-tai   (II.386)
      NEG FOR pause   EM **with**-be-IRR
      'for there should be no pausing **among** (us)'

m. *sun-*

The semantically transparent, presumably older *associative* sense of *sun-*, with the object overtly present and thus our category (a), may be seen in:

(57) su de **sun**-the-w   kai moi   omoss-on   (I.76)
      2s DE **with**-think-IMP and 1s/DAT swear-NF
      'but you do reflect and swear **to/with** me'

(58) ho-ti hoi   **sum**-frasa-to boulas arguro-pezas Thetis,   (I.538)
      3s-WH 3s/DAT **with**-talk-NF counsel silver-foot   Thetis
      'how silver-footed Thetis took counsel **with** him'

A subtle semantic shift to joint inanimate participants, both subject and object, may be seen in:

(59) ou-de   ho ge Pëneiw **sum**-misge-tai argur.odinë   (II.753)
      NEG-DE 3s EM Peneius **with**-mix-IRR silver.waves
      'yet it would not mix its silver-waves **with** the Peneius (river)'

A more pronounced semantic shift to an *instrumental* sense may be seen in (60) below, with the zeroed-out object ('rope'?) predictable on generic grounds from the verb 'tie', thus our category (b):

(60) ho-ppo-te min **xun**-des-ai   Olumpioi ë-thel-on alloi   (I.399)
3s-WH-TE MIN **with**-tie-NF/PL Olympians to-want-NF others
'when the other Olympians wanted to put him **in/with** (bonds)'

Lastly, a shift to the sense of 'together', reminiscent of *meta-*, may be seen in (61) below, with the preposition semantically incorporated into the verb, thus our category (c), although the object ('them') is still present, perhaps still our category (a):

(61) tous ho ge **sun**-kales-as, pukinën artune-to   boulën   (II.55)
3p   3s GE **with**-call-NF cunning contrive-NF plan
'and having called them **together**, he contrived a cunning plan'

n. *ama-*

Of the four instances of pre-verbal *ama-* in our counted text, none reflects the presumed *associative* sense attested in the pre-nominal use of *ama-* (Chapter 2). Three involve the frozen formulaic use in 'answer', 'respond', thus our category (d), combined there with the perhaps semantically more transparent *ei(s)-*, as in:

(62) ton de **am(a)**-**ei**-be-to   anax andrwn Agamemnwn   (I.172)
3s   DE **with-to**-answer-NF king men/GEN Agamemnon
'then Agamemnon king of men answered him'

(63) ton de ara hupo-blëd-en **ëm(a)**-**ei**-be-to dios   Akhilleus
3s   DE ARA under-throw-3s **with-to**-reply-NF godly Achilles
'(then) godly Achilles interrupt him and answered'   (I. 292)

The fourth may still reflect the plural object sense of 'together', seen in *meta-* and *sun-* above, thus perhaps our category (c):

(64) më-d(e) eti dëron   **am(a)**-ballw-me-tha ergon   (II.436)
NEG-DE SUB long.time **with**-throw-1p-FUT work
'let us not **together** put off the work much longer'

o. *amfi-*

The concrete locative sense of 'about', 'over' or 'around' is well preserved in all the seven instances of the pre-verbal *amfi-* in our counted text, with the object overtly present in some, thus our category (a), as in:

(65) kluth-i   meu, arguro-tox(a?) hos Khrusën   **amfi**-be-bëk-as
hear-IMP 1s   silver-bowed 3s Chryse/ACC **about**-CV-go-NF
'hear me, silver-bow (bearer) who goes/stands **over** Chryse'   (I.37)

(66) oi te Anemoreian kai Huampolin **amfi**-nem-ont-o (II.521)
3p TE Anemoreia and Hyampolis/ACC **around**-dwell-be-NF
'and those who dwelled **around** Anemoreia and Hyampolis'

(67) khlainan t(e) ë-de khitona, ta t(e) aidw **amfi**-kalupt-ei;
cloak TE C-DE tunic 3p TE shame **about**-cover-3s/HAB
'your cloak and tunic too that cover **over** your nakedness' (II. 262)

The locative sense is still transparent when the object is zeroed out in an anaphorically-predictable context, thus our category (b), as in:

(68) mëter d(e) **amfi**-pota-to (II.315)
mother DE **about**-flutter-NF
'and the mother fluttered **about** (the nest)'

p. *hupo-*

The presumably older locative sense of *hupo-* 'under', 'beneath' is still transparent in some instances of its pre-verbal use, with the object overtly present, thus our category (a), with the verb imparting a *motion* sense, as in:

(69) bwmou **hup(o)**-aiz-as (II.310)
altar **under**-dart-NF
'darting **beneath** the altar'

A directional sense may also be added by combining *hupo-* with *ei(s)-* 'to', as in (70) below, with both subject and object implicit/anaphoric, thus our category (b), as in:

(70) **hup(o)-ei**-rekh-on Hëfaistoio (II.426)
under-to-do-NF Hephaestus/GEN
'(they) held (them) **down to** (the fire) of Hephaestus'

Finally, the sense of *hupo-* may become synchronically arbitrary or frozen, thus our category (d), as in:

(71) ton de ara **hupo**-blëd-en ëm(a)-ei-be-to dios Akhilleus
3s DE ARA **under**-throw-3s with-to-reply-NF godly Achilles
'(then) godly Achilles interrupt him and answered' (I. 292)

(72) ei te pseudos **hupo**-skhe-is, ei ti kai ou-ki (II.349)
if TE false **under**-vow-3s if WH and NEG-KI
'whether he vowed falsely, or perhaps not'

q. *huper-*

The two lone instances of pre-verbal *huper-* 'above' in our counted text are semantically fairly transparent but syntactically marginal, with no sense of an object participant, thus perhaps our category (c):

(73) hës **huper**-opliës-e takh(a) an po-te thumon oless-ë   (I.205)
     3sf **above**-scorn-NF fast   AN WH-TE soul   die-NF
     'it is (because of) his arrogance that his soul may soon die'

(74) autw pou Dii mell-ei **huper**-men-ei filon ein-ai   (II.116)
     DEM/s WH Zeus must-3s **above**-stay-3s pleasure be-IRR
     'this must be the pleasure of Zeus the **over**-powerful'

r. *anti(o)-*

This marginal member of the preposition class is perhaps still evolving from an adverbial meaning 'facing', 'opposing', with only two pre-verbal instances in our counted text. In both, an object is overtly present. In the first, the preposition is semantically less transparent, thus marginally in our category (a). In the second, it is semantically more transparent, thus perhaps again in our category (a):

(75) histon ep(i)-oikho-men-ën kai emon lekhos **antio**-ws-an
     loom/ACC on-walk-be-3s   and 1s   bed   **facing**-meet-3p
     'as she walks about the loom and shares my bed'   (I.31)

(76) argaleos gar Olumpios **anti**-feres-thai   (I.589)
     hard   FOR Olympian **face**-carry-IRR
     'for the Olympian is hard go **against**'

3.3 Quantitative text distribution

3.3.1 Text distribution of pre-nominal vs. pre-verbal prepositions

It is of interest, first, to compare the general text distribution of individual prepositions in their pre-nominal vs. pre-verbal positions, in order to assess the extent to which their functional load had shifted from its original nominal case-marking function to its evolving – diachronically later – function as a pre-verbal operator. The quantitative distribution of both categories in Books I, II of the Iliad are given in Table (77) below.

(77) **Comparative text distribution of pre-nominal
vs. pre-verbal prepositions**

Preposition	Pre-nominal		Pre-verbal		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
ana-	7	26.9	19	**73.1**	26	100.0
kata-	34	**70.8**	14	29.2	48	100.0
en(i)-	52	**69.3**	23	31.7	75	100.0
ex-/ek-	29	61.7	18	38.3	47	100.0
e(is)-/ei-	24	75.0	8	25.0	32	100.0
apo-	17	29.8	40	**70.2**	57	100.0
epi-	50	51.5	47	48.5	97	100.0
peri-	13	**72.2**	5	27.8	18	100.0
para-	24	**77.4**	7	22.6	31	100.0
pro(s)-	14	45.1	17	**54.9**	31	100.0
dia-	6	46.1	7	**53.9**	13	100.0
meta-	13	**68.4**	6	31.6	19	100.0
sun-	18	**72.0**	7	28.0	25	100.0
ama-	8	**72.7**	4	27.3	12	100.0
amphi-	13	**61.9**	7	38.1	21	100.0
hupo-	20	**76.9**	6	23.1	26	100.0
huper-	4	**66.6**	2	33.4	6	100.0
anti(o)-	1	50.0	2	50.0	2	100.0
total:	347	**59.2**	239	**40.8**	586	100.0

As can be seen, there is a wide variation among the 18 prepositions studied, with many retaining a substantial portion of their – presumably original – pre-nominal use, while a few appearing more frequently in their pre-verbal position. How this variation correlates with semantic/syntactic factors is not yet clear. Overall, the distribution is ca. **60% pre-nominal (older stage)** vs. **40% pre-verbal (later stage)**. Whether such a distribution suggests that the change is still ongoing during Homeric times or has arrived at its terminal equilibrium point is not easy to assess.

One may note, however, that a major portion of the data was not counted here – the pre-verbal prepositions preceding the 'Augment' vowel *e-*. Those will be discussed in Chapter 5, below, where the usage frequency figures given in (77) above will be re-computed, and may suggest a more advanced point along the diachronic continuum – given that the text-frequency of pre-verbal prepositions will be readjusted upward.

3.3.2   Text distribution of the semantic/syntactic types of pre-verbal prepositions

Another way of assessing the gradual progression of the diachronic change studied here is by observing the text distribution of the four functional-syntactic categories of pre-verbal prepositions in our text. The four categories are, recall:

a. **Object overtly present in the clause**: The nominal indirect object associated with the preposition is overtly present in the same clause or in the directly preceding clause; the pre-verbal preposition is semantically transparent, and signals the same semantic case-role as in its pre-nominal counterpart.
b. **Object zeroed-out but contextually accessible:** The nominal indirect object is not overtly present, but is still accessibly from either the anaphoric or generic context. And the pre-verbal preposition marks the same semantic case-role as in (a) above.
c. **Semantic incorporation of preposition into the verb**: The nominal indirect object is zeroed out as in (b), but is *not* anaphorically or generically accessible. However, the semantic value of the preposition is still transparent, and is fairly close to its original pre-nominal sense. The preposition is thus semantically incorporated into the verb.
d. **Semantic arbitrariness of the preposition**: The preposition does not reflect its original pre-nominal sense, and has become semantically arbitrary. The presence or absence of a nominal indirect object is unpredictable and irrelevant.

The text distribution of the four semantic/syntactic categories of pre-verbal prepositions are given in Table (78) below, with the text instances listed in Appendix 2, below. The counted text consists of Books I, II, III, IV, V, VI of the Iliad.

(78)   **Quantitative text distribution of functional-syntactic categories of pre-verbal prepositions**

Category	N	%
a.	353	50.9
b.	97	14.0
c.	102	**14.7**
d.	141	**20.4**
total:	693	100.0

If one were to accept the hypothesis that our four semantic/syntactic categories (a) through (d) represent a **diachronic continuum** in the change from pre-nominal to pre-verbal prepositions, then the distribution in Table (78) above suggests that ca. **65%** of the use of pre-verbal prepositions in the Homeric text – categories (a) and (b) combined – is still fairly close to the original – pre-nominal – **point of origin**. In these two categories, the semantic range of the preposition is still fairly close to its pre-nominal case-marking use, and the nominal indirect object is either overtly present, or contextually accessible from the anaphoric or generic context. A much smaller portion of the sample, the ca. **20%** of category (d), have arrived at or near the **terminal point** of our suggested diachronic continuum, with both the semantics and the syntax of the usage now largely arbitrary, with the preposition thus fully merged with the verb. A smaller yet portion of the sample, lastly, the ca. **15%**, in category (c), presumably represent a **transition stage**, where the semantic value of the pre-nominal preposition is still reflected in the compound verb, but the syntax has already changed.

3.4   Interim summary

The quantitative distribution in (77) and (78) above are, of course, subject to the same caveat noted above – that our count did not include pre-verbal prepositions that precede the 'Augment' vowel *e-*. The impact of those instances on our understanding of the overall diachronic process will be assessed in Chapters 5, 6 below.

While fully comparable distributional data are not available for Rama (Chapter 1), Homeric Greek, with ca. **20%** of its prepositional population at or near the end-point stage of our proposed diachronic continuum, seems to be nearer the end point of the continuum than Rama. That endpoint, characterized by semantic fusion of the preposition to the verb and a corresponding

re-alignment of clausal syntax, may be seen in the old pre-verbal prepositions found in modern Romance and Germanic languages. It will be discussed further in Chapter 7, below.

Abbreviations of grammatical terms

ACC	accusative	P	preposition
ALL	allative	PL	plural
ASSOC	associative	PP	prepositional/postpositional
ASP	aspect		(phrase)
C	conjunction	REF	referring/reflexive
CAUS	causative	S	subject
CV	reduplicate first syllable	SUB	subordinator
DAT	dative	THO	though
DEM	demonstrative	V	verb
DO	direct object	VC	reduplicate first syllable
EM	emphasis	VER	intensifier
FOR	because	WH	WH-question
FUT	future	1s	first person singular
GEN	genitive	1p	first person plural
HAB	habitual	2s	second person singular
IMP	imperative	2p	second person plural
INF	infinitive	3s	thirst person singular
IRR	irrealis	3sf	third person singular masculine
LOC	locative	3sm	third person singular feminine
MANN	manner	s	singular
NEG	negative	sf	singular feminine
NF	non-finite	sm	singular masculine
NOM	nominative	p	plural
O	object		

Appendix 1.   **Text locations of pre-verbal preposition**
(Iliad, books I, II)

ana-
I. 58, 87, 191, 236, 305, 387, 450, 478, 584, 586, 611; II. 27, 34, 276, 380, 398, 694 [**19**]
kata-
I. 81, 475, 514, 524, 527, 569, 582, 592, 601; II. 191, 233, 350, 355, 41 [**14**]
en(i)-
I. 24, 33, 117, 191, 378, 513, 534, 599; II. 42, 80, 215, 245, 248, 436, 490, 496, 499, 526,
    572, 591, 605, 719 (-N, -V), 783 [**23**]
ex-/ek-
I. 19, 146, 164, 337, 363, 451, 518; II. 113, 133, 227, 266, 286, 288, 357, 432, 480, 483,
    483, 600, 806 [**18**]
e(i)s-/ei-
I. 104, 181, 546; II. 46, 215, 514, 675, 808 [**8**]
apo-
I. 25, 35, 48, 60, 84, 97, 117, 128, 130(**x3**), 134, 161, 181(**x2**), 182, 215(**x3**), 230, 268,
    285(**x3**), 313, 314, 379, 422, 430, 515, 522, 526, 560(**x3**), 598(?); II. 113, 120, 161,
    177, 269, 288, 361, 369 (**x3**), 391 (**x2**), 702, 772, 877 [**40**]
epi-
I. 31, 50, 51, 65, 89, 93, 149, 173, 218, 265, 295, 335, 376, 383, 388(**x2**), 455, 464, 471,
    515, 526, 534, 565, 569; II. 10, 25, 62, 109, 143, 198, 225, 229, 259, 275(**x2**), 282,
    335, 354(**x2**), 359, 409, 427, 455, 611, 668, 754, 802, 850 [**47**]
peri-
I. 295, 393, 466; II. 295, 551 [**5**]
para-
I. 213, 488, 555, 579; II.189, 244, 485 [**7**]
pro(s)-
I. 113, 201, 291, 336, 458, 539; II. 7, 238, 251, 396, 421, 463(**x2**), 464, 555 [**14**]
dia-
I. 189; II. 126, 207, 450, 473, 474, 691 [**7**]
meta-
I. 140, 160, 269, 480; II. 386, 481 [**6**]
sun-
I. 176, 399, 538, 540; II. 55, 382, 753 [**7**]
ama-
I. 172, 292, 604; II. 436 [**4**]
amfi-
I. 37, 451; II. 262, 315, 521, 525, 574 [**7**]
hupo-
I. 292, 514; II. 310, 312, 349, 426 [**6**]
huper-
I.205, II. 116 [**2**]
anti(o)-
I. 31, 589 [**2**]

Appendix 2.   **Text locations of the four semantic/syntactic categories of pre-verbal prepositions**
(text: Iliad, books I, II, III, IV, V, VI)

a.   **Nominal argument is overtly present in the same or directly-preceding clause; semantics of preposition similar to the pre-nominal pattern**

I: 19, 24, 31, 31, 33, 37, 48(x2), 50, 65, 76, 84(x3), 89, 97, 113, 126, 129, 130(x3), 134, 161, 164, 172(x2), 173(x2), 182(x2), 182, 191, 213, 215(x3), 216, 218, 230, 269, 275, 285(x3), 291, 292(x2), 295, 313, 314, 335, 336, 378, 393, 422, 430, 451, 455, 465, 469, 471, 478, 480, 483, 488, 513, 529, 538, 539, 540, 555, 560(x3), 565, 569, 576, 582, 598(!), 599, 604(x2)

II: 10, 25, 27, 46, 55, 62, 64, 113, 133, 143, 189, 198, 207, 215, 225, 229(?), 234, 238, 244, 248, 251, 249, 262, 266, 275(?), 282, 310, 312, 335, 354(x2), 369(x3), 391, 396, 410, 414, 426, 436, 450, 455(?), 464, 474, 480, 481, 483, 483, 484, 485, 490, 496, 499, 514, 521, 525, 531, 572, 574, 591, 605, 675(?), 691, 702, 719, 753, 754, 772, 802, 808, 850, 877

III: 19, 42, 46 59, 64, 69, 89, 165, 177, 191, 196, 199(x2), 199, 228(x2), 249(?), 252, 265, 269(?), 295, 344, 348, 350, 359, 363, 369, 370, 399, 418, 432, 437(x2), 448, 453(?), 458

IV: 4, 5(x2), 50(x2), 62(x2), 64, 66, 71, 88, 94, 107, 108, 126, 133, 156, 177, 183, 188(x3), 190, 217, 218, 230, 249, 256, 284, 308, 312, 317(x2), 342, 356, 369, 412, 423, 444, 446, 463, 463, 471, 475, 508, 532

V: 2,18, 21, 22(x2), 30, 35, 36(**N-be**), 39, 46, 47, 56, 105, 119, 127, 142, 149, 155, 157, 183, 192(**rel**), 203, 204(!), 212, 215, 221, 222, 227, 234, 235, 242, 247, 255, 263, 269, 284, 306, 323, 328, 330, 332, 336, 337, 375(x2), 381(x2), 389, 418, 422, 423, 432, 433, 438, 445, 454, 479, 492, 514, 516, 567, 570, 591, 597, 632, 636, 662, 685, 698, 700, 713, 725, 726, 736, 750, 764(x3), 765, 772, 774, 793, 807, 808, 814(x3), 816, 824, 825(x2), 848, 860, 861, 870, 871, 878, 879, 884, 902, 902

VI: 39, 53, 57(x2), 60(x2), 75, 87, 96, 99, 100, 120, 128, 136, 144, 163, 208, 214, 230(x3), 235(x2), 244, 263(x2), 277, 285, 291, 296(x2), 321, 328, 336, 337, 343, 346, 355, 359(x2), 361, 388(x2), 388, 393, 399, 405, 409, 412, 419, 435, 458, 475, 487, 493, 499, 507, 508, 520

b.   **Nominal argument is implicit, as either anaphoric or generic zero in the same or directly-preceding clause(s); semantics of preposition similar to the pre-nominal pattern**

I: 25, 35(x2), 51, 58, 60, 117, 149(x2), 171, 201, 285(x3), 337, 363, 376, 379, 466, 522, 526, 593

II: 7, 113, 146, 226, 228, 269, 288, 316, 361, 382, 421, 475, 485, 555, 600, 611, 619, 783(**rel**),806

III: 7, 16, 39, 62, 65, 171(x2), 213, 285, 313, 378, 447, 459

IV: 10, 24, 29, 41(**rel**), 79, 142, 192, 203, 212, 229, 233, 272, 274, 326, 337, 394, 426, 486, 520, 523, 527

V: 12, 20, 44, 123, 139, 192, 223, 238, 288, 297, 335, 515, 526, 598, 620, 622, 682, 716, 728, 836 [**total: 20**]

VI: 17(x2), 85, 149, 251, 332(x3), 363(x2), 379, 618

c. **Fairly transparent semantic presence of the preposition in the (intransitive) verb; presence of indirect object unpredictable**
I: 81, 104, 189, 236, 247, 305, 312, 313, 383, 387, 450, 459, 475, 514, 515, 524, 527, 534, 569, 584, 586, 592, 592, 601

II: 109, 191, 276, 288, 295, 315, 350, 355, 357, 398, 429, 432, 463(x2), 493, 685, 694

III: 84, 98, 102, 106, 107, 166, 209, 216, 275, 277, 277, 281, 342, 346, 355, 362, 379, 394, 415, 419, 426

IV: 9, 53, 112, 133, 149, 170, 224, 263, 332, 340, 426, 450

V: 15, 26, 90/91, 98, 107, 109, 167, 174, 254, 254, 294, 343, 476, 489, 499, 508, 643, 720, 720, 751

VI: 83, 185, 148, 182, 194, 202, 257, 296, 360, 480, 494

d. **Tail-end of change: semantically & syntactically unpredictable**
I: 25(x2), 87, 117, 128, 140, 160, 201, 268, 287, 353, 464, 466, 480, 514, 515, 518, 550, 555

II: 34, 116, 120(?), 126, 161, 177, 215, 233, 245, 286, 286, 349, 359, 380, 386, 409, 427, 436, 475, 526, 551, 668

III: 12, 44(viz. **40, 41!**), 125, 207(x2),210(x2), 212, 215, 220, 243, 322, 338, 355, 379, 450

IV: 6, 32, 40, 42, 47, 253, 287, 300, 305, 374, 404, 488(x2), 494, 51

V: 43, 59, 60, 104, 138, 142, 150, 151(x2), 155, 164, 168, 240, 285, 311, 319, 329, 382, 388, 402, 425, 436, 481, 502, 505, 623, 633, 648, 675, 677, 697, 702, 716, 751, 758, 761, 794, 803, 816, 383, 886, 892, 899, 901, 903

VI: 20, 26, 30(x2), 36(x2), 61, 68, 81, 93, 115, 128, 170, 223, 265, 274, 322, 334, 340, 353, 364, 409, 410, 439, 439, 444, 444, 456, 488, 489, 491, 495, 502

Detached ('severed') prepositions in Homeric Greek

4.1 Recapitulation

In the preceding two chapters we investigated the functional and syntactic distribution of Homeric Greek prepositions, focusing on the presumed diachronic source and the diachronic target constructions; respectively:

- nominal-attached, thus pre-nominal prepositions
- verb-attached, thus pre-verbal prepositions

But our diachronic hypothesis about the life-cycle of adpositions, presented originally in Chapter 1 and suggested by data from multiple languages, also assumed an intermediate stage, where the preposition-marked nominal indirect object is zeroed out in contexts of anaphoric or generic predictability. Whereby the preposition becomes detached ('stranded'), and eventually cliticizes to the verb.

In Chapter 3, we set up four categories on a diachronic continuum in an attempt to assess the functional-syntactic behavior of pre-verbal prepositions, our suggested target diachronic stage. The four categories were, in diachronic order:

a. **Nominal indirect object still overtly present in the same clause as the detached preposition**, which still seems to mark its semantic case-role. And that semantic role corresponds closely to that found in the preposition's pre-nominal use (Chapter 2).

b. **Nominal indirect object is not overtly present in the same clause, but is anaphorically or generically predictable in context**. The detached preposition still marks the semantic case-role of the zeroed-out nominal object, as in (a) above.

c. **Nominal indirect object is neither overtly present in the clause nor contextually accessible**, but the semantic value of the preposition is still transparent and fairly close to its original sense in the pre-nominal construction. The preposition is semantically incorporated into the verb.

d. **Semantic arbitrariness**: The preposition does not reflect the original sense of its pre-nominal use, and has become semantically arbitrary.

We will begin the discussion here by surveying some typical examples of detached prepositions in the Homeric text, noting some of their main structural and semantic features.

4.2 Detached prepositions: A preliminary survey

Detached prepositions in Homeric Greek, those so-called 'free adverbials' that were traditionally assumed to be the product of *Tmesis* ('severance'), display a tantalizingly similar syntactic/semantic behavior as the pre-posed post-positions of Rama (Chapter 1). Most often, they are stranded somewhere before the verb but not adjacent to it, and often rather early in the clause. In that rather peculiar syntactic position, they are most commonly followed by one or more of the **second-position particles** (Monro 1891, Chapter 8).[1] In some instances, the indirect object nominal to which the detached preposition seems semantically relevant – that is, whose case-role it still marks – is overtly present in the clause, and thus can be counted in our functional-syntactic pattern (a) above; as in e.g.:

(1) **en d(e)** hoi ëtor stëthessin lasioisin **di(a)**-an(a)-dikh-a
     in DE 3s heart breast   shaggy **through**-up-divide-NF
     mermëriz-en   (I.163)
     murmured-3s
     'and **in** his shaggy breast his heart, divided **through**, murmured'

While the detached preposition *en* 'in' in (1) clearly pertains to 'his shaggy breast', it is not adjacent to it. In comparison, the pre-verbal *dia-* 'through' is semantically incorporated into the verb 'divide' and pertains to no discernible indirect object. While *ana-* 'up', closer to the verb stem and thus most likely diachronically older,[2] seems semantically arbitrary.

Consider next (2) below, where a pronoun intervenes between the detached preposition *ex-* 'from' and the particle *de*, and where *ex-* is semantically relevant to an implicit, zeroed-out time adverbial, thus our category (b) above; while the pre-verbal *dia-* 'through' seems semantically arbitrary.

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1.   While Monro and other Classical grammarians strive valiantly to extract maximal regularity in the use of the 'particles', their use of the 'particles' in the Homeric text is subject to a great amount of variation and unpredictability.

2.   All other things being equal, affixes closer to the lexical word-stem are assumed to have cliticized earlier (Givón 1971, 2000). The semantic arbitrariness of *ana-* also suggest older diachronic age.

(2) **ex** ou **de** ta prota **dia**-stët-ën   ëris-ant-e   (I.6)
     ex 3s **DE** 3s first **through**-stand-3p figh-be-NF
     '**from** (the time) when they first stood **apart** fighting'

   Consider next the chain of clauses beginning with (3) below, all with de-
tached prepositions. In (3), the nominal object of both detached prepositions,
'the ship', is implicit from the directly-preceding narrative context as 'on board
of the ship', thus our category (b):

(3) **en d(e)** eretas epitëdes   agairo-men, **es d(e)** hecatombën
     in DE rowers sufficient/PL gather-1p/IRR **to DE** hecatombs
     theio-men   (I.142)
     put-1p/IRR
     'and let's gather **in** (the ship) fine rowers, and put the hecatomb **into**
     (the ship)'

The same implicit object, 'the boat', is also the implicit object of *ana* 'on' in (4):

(4) **an(a) d(e)** autën Khrusëida   kalli-parënon bëso-men
     up   **DE** DEM/sf Chyses'.daughter fair-cheeked go/CAUS-1p/IRR
     'and let us put **upon** (the boat) Chryses' fair-cheeked daughter' (I.143)

While the implicit object of *eis-* 'to' in (5) seems to be 'the others on board':

(5) **eis de** tis arkhos   anër boulë-for-os   est-w   (I.144)
     to **DE** WH commander man councel-bear-NF be-3s/IRR
     'and let whoever may be in command give counsel **to** (the others on
     board)'

In all of these instances, the sense of the detached preposition is fairly close to
its original sense as a nominal case-role marker (Chapter 2).
   The zeroed-out object of the detached preposition may also involve a
REL-clause anaphora, as in (6) below. This is also an example of a detached
preposition that is *not* followed by a second-position 'particle':

(6) kai de moi geras autos af(o)-aireses-thai ap(o)-eil-eis
     and DE me prize DEM from-take-IRR   from-threaten-2s
     'and you threaten to take away my own prize
                            hw **epi** polla mogës-a   (I.161/62)
                            3s **over** much toil-NF
                            over which (I) have toiled so much'

Consider next a more complex case, where the preposition *ana-* 'up(ward)', here not followed by a 'particle', directly precedes the nominal object 'scepter', and thus appears on the surface to be an example of the pre-nominal – rather than detached – preposition:

(7) khrusew **ana** skëptrw, kai lisse-to pantas Akhaious   (I.15)
     gold   **up** scepter and pray-NF all   Achaeans
     'and (holding **up**) a golden scepter as he prayed to all the Achaeans'

But *ana* 'up' here is not semantically relevant to the adjacent nominal object, 'scepter', but rather to the verb *ekh-wn* 'holding up' in the preceding clause (I.14), where 'scepter' is the *direct* object, thus our semantically-coherent category (c). What is more, the semantic incorporation of *ana-* 'up' into the verb 'pray' is near-formulaic, indicating either the upward direction of prayer, or of the object – in this case 'scepter' – being held up during prayer. That formulaic use of 'pray up' is seen in (8) below, with no nominal object present:

(8) te-tlath-i,   mëter emë, kai **ana**-skhe-o këdo-men-ë per
     CV-cheer-IMP mother 1s   and **up**-pray-IMP grieve-be-NF THO
     'cheer up, my mother, and pray **up** even though grieving'   (I.586)

In the same vein, consider the detached preposition *kata-* 'down' in a clause-initial position in:

(9) ë toi ho ge hws eip-on,   **kat(a) ar(a)** e-ze-to,   (I.68)
     C 3s 3s EM SO speak-NF **down ARA** in-sit-NF
     'having spoken this, he sat **down**'

Such use of a detached preposition fully parallels the near-formulaic pre-verbal incorporation of *kata-* into the same verb 'sit', as in:

(10) kai hra a-keous-a   **kath(a)**-ës-to   (I.569)
     and HRA NEG-voice-NF **down**-sit-NF
     'and (she) sat **down** in silence'

As in the case of pre-verbal prepositions (Chapter 3), the sense of prepositions that are semantically incorporated into the verb, our category (c), may drift gradually into arbitrariness, thus our category (d). Such semantic arbitrariness can also be found, albeit less frequently, in detached prepositions. In this context, consider (11) below:

(11) e-ze-to   epei-t(a) ap(o)-an(a)-euth-e newn **meta de** ion
      ex-sit-NF then-3p from-up-apart-3s boats **with** DE arrow
      e-ëk-e   (I.48)
      ex-shoot-3s
      'then he sat away from the ships (and) shot **out** (**with**) an arrow'

The sense of 'out', 'off', 'away from', implicit in 'shoot' in (11) above, is perhaps still echoed by the phonologically-eroded 'Augment' *e-* – presumed to have originally been *ex-* (see Chapters 5, 6 below). But the detached preposition *meta-* 'with'/'among'/'about' is semantically nigh arbitrary,[3] thus our category (d).

In some instances, the detached preposition is not only fronted, but nearly adjacent to the verb – except for the second-position 'particle'. Thus consider (12), (13) below, both clear instances of our syntactic/semantic category (b), with a zeroed-out but anaphorically predictable nominal object:

(12) ë-lth-e   d(e) Athënë ourano-then, **pro gar** ë-k-e   thea
      ex-come-3s DE   Athena heaven-from **to**   FOR to-send-3s goddess
      leuko-lënos Hërë   (I.195)
      white-arm   Hera
      'Athena came from heaven, for the white-armed goddess Hera sent her
      to (heaven)'

(13) thambëth-en d(e) Akhileus, **meta de** e-trape-to   (I.199)
      wonder-3s   DE   Achilles, **about** DE ex-turn-NF
      'and Achilles wondered, and turned **about** (himself)'

One may consider such near adjacency of the preposition to the verb as a *late stage* in the eventual pre-verbal incorporation of prepositions.

A fairly coherent sequence of two detached prepositions can be seen in (14) below, where the first one, *ek-* 'out', is semantically incorporated into the verb 'speak out', thus our category (c); while the zeroed-out object of *epi-* 'over' is still anaphorically predictable from the immediate context, thus our category (b):

(14) alla **ek** toi   e-re-w   kai **epi** megan orkon omou-mai
      but **ex** 2s/DAT to-speak-1s/FUT and **on** great   oath   swear-1s
      'but I shall speak **out** to you, and swear a great oath **over** (what I spoke)'
                                                                   (I.233)

---

3. Except perhaps in an 'instrumental' sense, more commonly associated with *sun* 'with'.

In many instances, the detached preposition precedes a verb that is already augmented by *e-*, as in (12), (13) and (14) above. A complex case of that type may be seen in (15) below, where the sense of 'off'/'from' is presumably imparted by the 'Augment' *e-* itself, assumed to have been *ex-*. While the detached *peri* 'about' supplements the verb with the sense of 'all over':

(15) **peri   gar   hr(a)** he khalkos e-leps-e   (I.236)
      about FOR HRA 3s bronze ex-strip-3s
      'for the bronze had stripped it **off** all **over**'

This semantic interaction between the 'Augment' *e-* and the stranded preposition is, most likely, a diachronic precursor of the common pattern of augmenting the meaning of the phonologically eroded *e-* with new pre-verbal prepositions (see Chapters 5, 6, below).

The detached preposition *peri* 'about' in (16) below appears first pre-nominally, where it pertains semantically to the overtly-present object, 'the Danaans' council', thus our category (a). In the next clause, *peri-* appears pre-verbally, presumably pertaining to an implicit 'here', thus our category (b):

(16) oi **peri   men** boulën Danawn,   **peri   de** est-e makhesth-ai
      3p **about MEN** council Danaans/GEN **about DE** be-3p fight-NF/PL
      '(you two) **around** the Danaans' council, who are fighting **around** (here)'
                                                                    (I. 258)

Lastly, in a few cases the detached preposition appears directly in front of the verb without an intervening 'particle', perhaps a inconsistency in the Homeric writing. However, the preposition is semantically relevant to an anaphorically zeroed-out object, thus our category (b):

(17) oi hoi pros-then **ama** traf-en   ë-de e-gen-ont-o   en-Pulw
      3p 3s before-LOC **with** raised(?)-3p C-DE to-born-be-NF in-Pylo
      ëgatheë   (I.251)
      sacred
      'who before that were reared **with** (him), having been born in sacred Pylos'

4.3   Pre-verbal vs. post-verbal detached prepositions

As noted in Chapter 1 above, one intriguing syntactic construction found in Rama, and suggested as an intermediate diachronic stage between nominal-attached and verb-attached adpositions, is a clause with a *detached post-position*; shorn of its nominal indirect object and stranded before the verb – but cliticized

neither to a nominal object nor to the verb. In Rama, as we noted, this construction was perhaps the product of two well-known syntactic processes:

- The fronting of more topical indirect objects, perhaps akin to 'dative shifting'.[4]
- Zeroing out of the fronted object in a context of anaphoric or generic predictability.

It would thus be of interest to see the text frequency distribution of detached prepositions in the Homeric text – pre-verbal vs. post-verbal. On typological grounds, recall, one would predict the predominance of the OV order, since prepositions eventually attach pre-verbally.

In all the examples of detached prepositions cited above, the preposition *preceded* the verb (OV). As it turns out, only in a remarkably few examples in the Homeric text does a detached preposition follow the verb (VO); and those examples are all problematic. Thus, for example, in (18), (19), (20) below, the detached preposition, marked by the conjunctive 'particle' *te*, precede a nominal and clearly marks its case-role:

(18) Pëleidës men epi-klisias kai nëas eisas ë-i-e
Peleides MEN on-huts   and ships equal to-go-3s
'and the son of Peleus went then to (his) hut and shapely ships
                        sun te Menoitiadë kai hois hetaroisin
                        with TE Menoetius   and 3s/PL companions
                        with Menoetius and his companions'
                                            (I.306/7)

(19) tw de autw   marturoi est-wn **pros**   **te** thewn makarwn
3d DE DEM/s witnesses be-NF **before** TE gods   blessed
'let them two be witnesses to this **before** the blessed gods
                    pros   **te** thnëtwn anthrwpwn (I.338/9)
                    before TE mortal   men
                    and **before** mortal men'

(20) ei sfoin ta-de panta puthoia-to marna-men-oiin   (I.257)
if REF 3p-DE all   hear-NF   fight-be-NF/PL
'if they had all heard these (tales of) your fighting
                  oi **peri**   **men** boulën Danawn   (I. 258)
                  3p **about** MEN council Danaans/GEN
                  around the Danaans' council'

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4. See Givón (1984).

In one example, the clause is verbless and separated by a comma from the preceding clause that contains the relevant – anaphorically-predictable – pronoun:

(21)   en-tha kath(a)-e-ud-e   ana-b-as, **para de** khruso-thronos Hërë.
        in-3s down-to-sleep(?)-3s up-go-NF **by** **DE** gold-throne   Hera
        'he went to sleep down there, with golden-throned Hera **beside** (him)'
                                                                    (I.611)

Lastly, in a few instances, the detached preposition appears in a *verbless* clause, as in (21) above. However, the detached preposition appears before a nominal object, and indeed marks its case-role, as in:

(22)   ou   **(a)ma gar** Apollwna Dii-filon, hw te su Kalkhan
        NEG **with** **FOR** Apollo   Zeus-dear 3s TE 2s Calchas
        'for no one, **by** Apollo dear-to-Zeus, to whom you Chalcas
                        eu-kho-men-os Danaoisi theo.propias ana-fain-eis
                        VER-pray-be-NF Danaeans god.oracles   up-say-2s
                        pray and pronounce oracles to the Danaans'
                                                                    (I.86/7)

The text location of all detached prepositions in the first 6 books of the Iliad are listed in Appendix 1, below. The text location of pre-verbal (OV) vs. post-verbal (VO) detached prepositions in the Book I of the Iliad are listed in Appendix 2. The quantitative text distribution of the two orders in Book I of the Iliad is given in Table (23) below, compared with the OV vs. VO order of nominal indirect objects (see Chapter 2).

(23)   **Pre-verbal vs. post-verbal position of detached prepositions
        as compared to nominal indirect objects** (Iliad Book I)

	Detached prepositions		Nominal IO	
Order	N	%	N	%
pre-verb	47	**92.1**	83	**54.9**
post-verb	4	7.9	68	45.1
total:	51	100.0	151	100.0

The comparison is indeed striking. The order of nominal indirect object vis-a-vis the verb is already biased – at ca. 55% pre-verbal (OV) order. With detached prepositions, the percentage of pre-verbal position goes exponentially higher, to ca. **92%**; and given the problem with the post-verbal (VO) position, the percentage is probably higher. Detached prepositions in the Homeric text

are thus poised – even more than preposition-marked nominal indirect object – in the right syntactic position to become pre-verbal clitics. All that is still missing is the zeroing out of their nominal indirect object in contexts of anaphoric or generic predictability.

4.4   Quantitative text distribution of functional-syntactic patterns of detached prepositions

In Chapter 3, above, we investigated the functional-syntactic distribution of pre-verbal prepositions, trying to determine how many of them still retained the functional and syntactic **coherence** displayed in their pre-nominal position, the diachronic source construction. We recognized four semantic/syntactic patterns, recapitulated once again below, and suggested that they represented a diachronic continuum in the life-cycle of Homeric prepositions. That is:

a. **Object is overtly present in the clause**: The nominal indirect object is overtly present in the same clause or in the directly preceding clause; the pre-verbal preposition is semantically transparent, and its semantic case-role matches closely that of its pre-nominal counterpart.

b. **Object is zeroed out but predictable from context**: The nominal indirect object is not overtly present, but is predictable from either the anaphoric or generic context. The pre-verbal preposition still marks the same indirect-object case-role as in its pre-nominal use (a) above.

c. **Transparent semantic association of preposition and verb**: The nominal indirect object is zeroed out as in (b) above, and is not accessible from the anaphoric or generic context. But the semantic value of the preposition is still coherent, and is fairly close to its original pre-nominal sense. The preposition is thus semantically incorporated into the – mostly-intransitive location or motion – verb.

d. **Semantic arbitrariness**: The preposition does not reflect its original pre-nominal meaning, and has become semantically arbitrary. The presence or absence of a nominal indirect object is unpredictable and irrelevant.

The first two patterns, (a) and (b), are both semantically and syntactically coherent, corresponding fully to the pre-nominal diachronic source construction. In the third (c), the old *semantic sense* of the preposition is still retained, but it does not any more pertain to a nominal indirect object. In the fourth pattern (d), both the semantics and the syntax have been restructured. Representative examples of the four patterns in clauses with detached prepositions are given in order below.

Consider first examples of **pattern (a)**, in which both semantics and syntax correspond to the presumably older pattern of pre-nominal prepositions.

(24) **ek de** ag-ag-e   klisin Brisëida kalli-parëon   (I.346)
      ex DE VC-lead-3s hut   Briseida fair-cheek
      '(and he) led fair-cheeked Briseida **out of** the hut'

(25) **amfi d(e) ara** wmoisin bale-to   xifos arguro-ëlon   (II.45)
      about DE ARA shoulders throw-NF sword silver-stud
      'and **about** his shoulder he threw his silver-studded sword'

A syntactic sub-pattern of this category is found when the indirect object is present as a *fronted pronoun* – followed by the detached preposition. Ten of those are found in near-succession in a rather formulaic section of the text, where Homer digresses from the action narrative to list those who accompanied sons of Atreus to Ilios, as in:

(26) toisi **d(e) ama** tessarakonta melainai nëes ep(i)-ont-o   (II.524)
      3p   **DE with** forty   black/PL ships on-be-NF
      'and **with them** came forty black ships'

(27) toisi **d(e) am(a)** Eurualos tritatos ki-en,   iso-theos fws,   (II.565)
      3p   **DE with** Euryalus third   come-3s like-god man
      'and with them came third Euryalus, godlike warrior',

Representative examples of our functional-syntactic **pattern (b)**, in which the indirect object is zeroed out but is accessible from the anaphoric or generic context, may be seen in multiple examples below, with the first one showing pattern (a) above followed directly with pattern (b):

(28) oi **peri men** boulën Danawn,   **peri de** est-e   makhesth-ai
      3p **about MEN** council Danaans/GEN **about DE** be-3p(?) fight-NF/PL
      '(you two) **around** the Dannans' council, who are fighting **about** (here)'
                                                              (I. 258)

(29) **en d(e)** eretas epitëdes agairo-men, **es d(e)** hecatombën
      in DE   rowers sufficient gather-1p/IRR **to DE**   hecatomps
      theio-men   (I.142)
      take-1p/IRR
      'and let's gather **in** (the ship) enough rowers, and take the hecatomb **to** (there too)'

(30) **an(a) d(e)** autën Khrusëida   kalli-parënon bëso-men (I.143)
      up   DE   DEM/sf Chyses'.daughter fair-cheeked go/CAUS-1p/IRR
      'and let us put **upon** (it, the ship) Chryses' fair-cheeked daughter'

(31) **ek de** e-l-on   Atreidë Khrusëida kalli-parëon   (I.369)
      ex DE ex-take-NF Atreides Chyseida   fair-cheek
      'but they took **from** (me) fair-cheeked Chryseida for the son of Atreus'

(32) **pro gar** ë-k-e   thea   leuko-lënos Hërë   (I.195)
      to   **FOR** to-send-3s goddess white-arm   Hera
      'for the white-armed goddess Hera sent (her) **to** (there)'

(33) **pro** me ep(i)-e-mps-en anax andrwn   Agamemnwn   (I.442)
      forth 1s on-to-send-3s king men/GEN Agamemnon
      'Agamemnon, king of men, has sent me **over/to** (here)'

On occasion, the anaphora involves a REL-clauses structure, as in:

(34) hw **epi** polla mogës-a   (I.162)
      3s   **over** much toil-NF
      '(the prize) **over** which I toiled so much'

Another REL-clause example involves the preposition *entos*, a larger 'adverbial' version of *en-* 'in', which directly precedes the verb without an intervening 'particle', with the preposition here semantically relevant to 'the strong Hellespont':

(35) hossous Hellesponto agarroos **entos** e-erge-ei;   (II.845)
      3s/like Hellespont   strong   **in**   in-work-3s/HAB
      'such as the strong Hellespont encloses **in** (it)'

And the zeroed-out indirect object can be present as a pronoun, with no particle following the detached preposition, which is thus directly adjacent to the verb:[5]

(36) oi **hoi** pros-then   **ama** traf-en   (I.251)
      3p **3s** before-from **with** raised(?)-3p
      '(they) who before that were reared **with him**'

Representative examples of our **pattern (c)**, where the semantics of the preposition is still fairly intact but the syntax has been disrupted, can be seen below, with the first example showing pattern (c) first, followed directly by pattern (b):

(37) alla **ek** toi   e-re-w   kai **epi** megan   orkon
      but **ex** 2s/DAT to-speak-1s/FUT and **over** great/ACC oath/ACC
      omou-mai   (I.233)
      swear-1s
      'but I shall speak **out** to you, and swear a great oath **over** (it)'

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5.   Given the great variability of the Homeric writing system, this example could very well be one of a pre-verbal preposition. At the very least, this pattern must be the direct diachronic precursor of cliticization of prepositions to the verb.

(38) ë toi ho ge hws eip-on, **kat(a) ar(a)** e-ze-to   (I.68)
      C 3s 3s EM SO speak-NF **down** ARA in-sit-NF
      'having thus spoken to him, he **sat down**'

(39) alla **ek** toi   e-re-w   (I. 204)
      but **ex** 2s/DAT to-tell-1s
      'but I will **speak out** to you about it'

(40) oi de histon stës-ant-o   **ana th(e)** histia leuka met(a)-ass-an
      3p DE mast stand-be-NF **up** TE   sails white with-spread-3p
      'and raising the mast, they **spread up** white sails'   (I.480)

(41) **kata de** prumnësi e-dës-an   (I.436)
      down DE stern.cables to-tie-3p
      'they tied **down** the stern cables'

Lastly, examples of our **pattern (d)**, the most arbitrary both semantically and syntactically, may be in:

(42) khrusew **ana** skëptrw kai lisse-to pantas Akhaious   (I.15)
      gold   **up** scepter and pray-NF all   Achaeans
      'and a golden scepter as he **prayed up** to all the Achaeans'

(43) e-ze-to   epei-t(a) ap(o)-an(a)-euth-e newn **meta de** ion
      ex-sit-NF then-3p from-up-??-3s   boats **with** DE arrow
      e-ëk-e[6]   (I.48)
      ex-shoot-3s
      'then he sat away from the ships (and) **shot out** an arrow'

(44) ei de po-te **es ge** mian bouleuso-men   (II.379)
      if DE WH-TE **to** EM one counsel-1p/IRR
      'so if some day we may be (= arrive) **at** one counsel'

The quantitative distribution of the four functional-syntactic patterns of detached prepositions in our Homeric text is given in Table (45) below, counting all instances in Books I, II of the Iliad, (see text loci in Appendix 3 below). The text distribution of the four patterns in **pre-verbal preposition**, the presumed end-point of our diachronic continuum, is added for comparison (see Chapter 3).

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6. The directional sense of 'shot *out*' here may have something to do with the old sense of the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* as *ex-*, rather than to the detached preposition *meta* 'with' itself.

(45) **Quantitative text distribution of the functional-syntactic patterns
of detached vs. pre-verbal prepositions** (Books I, II of Iliad)

	Detached		Pre-verbal
Pattern	**N**	**%**	**%**
a.	42	**41.7**	**50.9**
b.	40	**38.8**	**14.0**
c.	16	15.5	14.7
d.	5	**4.0**	**20.4**
Total:	103	100.0	100.0

Text distribution patterns are not always easy to interpret, given that they
are – and rightfully so – embedded in specific theoretical questions one would
like to ask, or hypotheses one entertains in response to these questions. Our
question, or puzzle, recall, has been: "How do prepositions, whose natural func-
tional domain is marking the case-role of nominal indirect objects, wind up
affixed to verbs?" The hypothesis suggested at the outset was that in Homeric
Greek, clauses with detached ('severed') prepositions served as an intermedi-
ate – **diachronic bridge**--construction between the diachronically older stage
of pre-nominal prepositions and the terminal stage of pre-verbal prepositions.

The text-frequency data in Table (45), while not proving the hypothesis,
are fully compatible with it.[7] Patterns (a) and (b) taken together, the ones cor-
responding to the diachronic source construction of prepositionally-marked
nominal indirect objects, take ca **80%** of the sample in our proposed interme-
diate stage of clauses with detached prepositions, but only ca. **65%** of the final
stage of clauses with pre-verbal prepositions. In contrast, pattern (d), where the
semantics of the preposition has become arbitrary, register only **4%** of the pop-
ulation of our presumed intermediate diachronic stage of clauses with detached
prepositions, but **20%** of the presumed final stage of clauses with pre-verbal
prepositions.[8]

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7. In the logic or methodology of science, one never proves a hypothesis. At
best, one fails to falsify it (Popper 1934/1959).

8. Whether a relatively low text frequency of intermediate construction is a
general feature of multi-stage grammaticalization is yet to me determined.

Lastly, the text-frequency data in (44) also conforms with the well-known observation that grammaticalization most commonly involves **de-semantization**, that is, increased arbitrariness of meanings (Hopper and Traugott 1982; Heine *et al.* 1991; Bybee *et al.* 1994; Heine and Kuteva 2007).

4.5　Detached prepositions and second-position 'particles'

As noted above, detached prepositions in Homeric Greek are often followed by one or two of the second-position 'particles'. While those 'particles' are most commonly written as separate words, there is little doubt that they were clitics on the preceding word or morpheme. And in fact, the most common ones, *de* and *te* are often written as the second part of a bi-syllabic word. The question that naturally comes up here is, do these particles hint at the communicative function of detached prepositions?

On general grounds, the typical second-position locus of the 'particles' in the Homeric Greek clause clearly suggests that they partake in the grammar of clause chaining. However, the topic is much too complex and thus outside the scope of this chapter. In Monro's (1891) extensive chapter on the use of the 'particles', the majority of them are described as imparting the sense of either surprising new information, contrast, counter-expectation, emphasis, or thematic or referential discontinuity. This is indeed a familiar cluster of related functions in the grammar of clause chaining,[9] suggesting that the discourse context for fronting detached prepositions whose nominal object has been zeroed out may involve, somewhat incongruously, *both* **referential predictability** of the nominal object – hence the zeroing out, but still some other **informational unpredictability** in the clause – hence the fronting and attached particles.

While a comprehensive analysis of the discourse function of the second-position 'particles' is outside the scope of the discussion here, it would still be of interest to determine the text frequency of the detached prepositions that are marked by the 'particles', as against those who appear without them. For this purpose, the 47 clauses in Book I of the Iliad counted in Table (23) above as having pre-verbal detached prepositions[10] were divided into those coming with vs. without a following 'particle'. The results are listed in Table (46) below.

9.　For a relevant discussion of the grammar of clause chaining see Givón (2020, Chapter 7).

10.　As noted earlier above, the status of 4 clauses with post-verbal detached preposition was doubtful.

(46) **Text distribution of detached preposition with or without second-position particles**

Category	N	%
with particle	34	**72.3**
without particle	13	27.7
total:	47	100.0

One way of interpreting this distribution is that the original construction for detached prepositions was fronting them in the context of some contrast, emphasis or discontinuity, thus the use of the 'particles'. And that the smaller fraction without the 'particles' represent a later diachronic stage, where the detached prepositions lost their earlier communicative function and were now poised to cliticize in front of the verb.

4.6 Overall functional load of the various prepositional constructions

If detached prepositions constitute an intermediate diachronic stage between the original pre-nominal pattern and the terminal pre-verbal one, it would be of interest to compare the overall text distribution of all three prepositional constructions in the Homeric text. Table (47) below summarizes this comparative distribution in Books I, II of the Iliad.

(47) **Text distribution of detached vs. pre-verbal prepositions**

Category	N	%
pre-nominal	333	40.8
detached	105	**12.8**
pre-verbal alone	236	
pre-verbal plus 'Augment' *e-*	141	
total pre-verbal:	377	46.4
total:	815	100.0

It is again not altogether clear how this text distribution should be interpreted. In terms of gross functional load, the two terminal points in the diachronic continuum taken together, pre-nominal and pre-verbal prepositions, share the bulk of the functional load of prepositions in verbal clauses – **87.2%**.

Our presumed intermediate stage, detached ('severed') preposition, comprises a relatively small portion of the sample – **12.8%**. If one accepts that the diachronic change under discussion here – the rise of pre-verbal from pre-nominal prepositions – was still ongoing during the period when Homeric Greek was spoken, then perhaps the text distribution in (47) make sense. Our proposed intermediate stage – detached ('severed') prepositions – represents a temporary way station, where prepositions pass on their way from a stable original stage to a stable terminal stage.

4.7   Discussion

In this chapter as well as in the preceding two, I attempted to approach Homeric Greek as just another natural – indeed spoken – language, whose considerable synchronic variation, as Bill Labov used to remind us, hints at either ongoing diachronic change, or at traces of past changes.[11] The Homeric Greek data suggest that the migration of prepositions from their presumably original nominal case-marking locus to their pre-verbal site proceeded in three syntactic steps:

i.   **Initial**: pre-nominal prepositions marking pre-verbal (OV) indirect objects
ii. **Intermediate**: detached prepositions whose nominal indirect object has been zeroed out in contexts of anaphoric or generic predictability
iii. **Final**: pre-verbal clitics ('preverbs')

The Homeric data further suggest that, in parallel with the syntactic re-positioning of prepositions, a 4-stage semantic realignment also took place, comprising four recognizable diachronic stages:

i.   **Initial**: The preposition marks nominal case-roles, as in the original pre-nominal construction (i).
ii. **Intermediate-i**: The nominal object of the preposition is zeroed-out, leaving the preposition detached or 'stranded' (ii), while still marking nominal case-roles
iii. **Intermediate-ii**: The preposition is re-attached to the verb, with a still-coherent semantic association with the verb, fairly close to its original case-marking sense.
iv. **Final**: The pre-verbal preposition's association to the verb becomes, gradually, semantically arbitrary.

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11. For the general theoretical perspective underlying this approach, see again Givón (1971, 1979/2019, 2000).

In general outline, these two diachronic observations – or hypotheses – conform to what was noted in Rama (Chapter 1), a more conservative OV language. In this connection, the text distribution of the OV vs. VO order for both nominal indirect objects and detached prepositions in the Homeric text is indeed striking:

- Preposition-marked nominal indirect objects, our presumed diachronic source construction, appear pre-verbally (OV) at the level of ca. **55%** in the Homeric text.
- Detached prepositions, the intermediate stage and thus the immediate pre-cursors of pre-verbal prepositions, appear pre-verbally (OV) at the level of over **90%** the Homeric text.

As noted in Chapter 1, the two main syntactic conditions for the rise of pre-verbal prepositions in an OV language like pre-Homeric Greek are:

- zeroing out of the nominal object; and
- pre-verbal position of the detached ('severed') preposition

Both conditions are satisfied in the Homeric text.

There remains the thorny issue of the Homeric writing system, and to what extent it reflects the exact word status of grammatical operators (cf. Zanchi 2019), including prepositions: Are they independent stress-bearing words, or are they unstressed clitics attached to lexical words such as nouns, verbs or adjectives? The Homeric writing system renders prepositions as independent words when they appear pre-nominally, presumably the oldest construction, as well as when they are detached ('severed'), our presumed intermediate diahronic stage. In contrast, pre-verbal prepositions, presumably the youngest stage on our diachronic continuum, are written as part of the verbal word. Since in the diachrony of grammar – all other things being equal – younger constructions tend to show less cliticization (or co-lexicalization) of would-be morphemes than older constructions, the puzzle of the Homeric writing system is real. It may call into question to what extent the Homeric writing conventions, codified 5–6 centuries after Homer, reflect the facts of the spoken Homeric language.[12]

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12. In general, written language is more conservative than spoken language, and thus tends to represent older stages of the language. Thus in English, prepositions and articles, on the one hand, and anaphoric pronouns and verbal auxiliaries, on the other, are still written as independent words. This is in spite of the fact that by criteria of lexical stress, adjacency and word intonation contours – all pertaining to the spoken language – they are already clitics on nominals or verbs, respectively.

Abbreviations of grammatical terms

ACC	accusative	P	preposition
ALL	allative	PL	plural
ASSOC	associative	PP	prepositional/postpositional
ASP	aspect		(phrase)
C	conjunction	REF	referring/reflexive
CAUS	causative	S	subject
CV	reduplicate first syllable	SUB	subordinator
DAT	dative	THO	though
DEM	demonstrative	V	verb
DO	direct object	VC	reduplicate first syllable
EM	emphasis	VER	intensifier
FOR	because	WH	WH-question
FUT	future	1s	first person singular
GEN	genitive	1p	first person plural
HAB	habitual	2s	second person singular
IMP	imperative	2p	second person plural
INF	infinitive	3s	thirst person singular
IRR	irrealis	3sf	third person singular masculine
LOC	locative	3sm	third person singular feminine
MANN	manner	s	singular
NEG	negative	sf	singular feminine
NF	non-finite	sm	singular masculine
NOM	nominative	p	plural
O	object		

Appendix 1.   Text locations of detached prepositions
(Text: Iliad, books I, II, III, IV, V, VI)

I.6, I.15, I.48, I.68., I.86, I.101, I.142, I.142, I.143, I.144, I.156/7, I.162, I.188, I.195, I.199, I.204, I.208, I.233, I.233, I.236, I.251 (**!!-prox**), I.252, I.258, I.258, I.307, I.309, I.309, I.310, I.311, I.328, I.338, I.339, I.346, I.369, I.417, I.424, I.436, I.436, I.437, I.438, I.439, I.442, I.460, I.462, I.465, I.475, I.480, I.481, I.482, I.486, I.493, I.572, I.578/9, I.611 [**54**]

II.19, II.39/40, II.43, II.45, II.76, II.91(**PP**), II.93, II.95, II.100, II.208, II.148, II.154, II.156, II.183, II.256, II.261, II.278, II.279, II.281, II.310, II.317, II.326, II.333, II.379, II.389, II.413, II.413, II.423, II.446/7, II.450, II.465/6, II.477, II.524(**PP**), II.534, II.545(**PP**), II.556(**PP**), II.565(**PP**), II.568(**PP**), II.578, II.588, II.630(**PP**), II.637(**PP**), II.644(**PP**), II.692, II.710(**PP**), II.737(**PP**), II.747(**PP**), II.759(**PP**), II.809, II.845, II.54 [**51**]

III.34, III.44(**PP**), III.91, III.113, III.135, III.142, III.143, III.261, III.261, III.262, III.268, III.292, III.294, III.311, III.311, III.312, III.325, III.339, III.357, III.363, III.367, III.382, III.384, III.398, III.440, III.461, III.2 [**27**]

IV.63, IV.79, IV.90, IV.116, IV.135, IV.138(**x2**), IV.157, IV.161, IV.161, IV.173, IV.201, IV.211, IV.218, IV.221, IV.257, IV.269, IV.274, IV.279, IV.328, IV.330, IV.366, IV.367, IV.375, IV.421, IV.425, IV.431, IV.447, IV.447, IV.460, IV.497, IV.505, IV.525, IV.529, IV.538 [**35**]

V.41, V.57, V.81, V.99, V.101, V.112, V.125, V.147, V.178, V.194, V.207, V.214, V.264, V.281(**x2**), V.283, V.292, V.299, V.307, V.310, V.314, V.317, V.346, V.347(**PP**), V.369, V.372, V.401(**PP**), V.405(**PP**), V.416, V.451, V.465, V.466, V.505, V.506, V.538(**x2**), V.548, V.566, V.582, V.591, V.599, V.602/3(**x2**), V.608, V.691, V.694, V.696, V.697, V.709, V.729, V.730, V.731, V.738, V.739, V.740(**x3!!!**), V.741, V.745, V.776, V.798, V.809, V.852, V.858, V.859, V.865, V.869 [**66**]

VI.10, VI.43, VI.117, VI.238, VI.253, VI.318, VI.320, VI.323, VI.357(**PP**), VI.375, VI.381, VI.389, VI.399, VI.406, VI.406, VI.415, VI.416, VI.419, VI.419, VI.459, VI.464, VI.471, VI.509, VI.511 [**24**]

Appendix 2. Text locations of pre-verbal (OV) vs. post-verbal (VO) detached prepositions (Text: Book I of Iliad)

Pre-verbal: 6,15, 48, 68, 101, 142, 142, 144, 162, 188/89, 195, 199, 204, 208, 233, 233, 236, 251, 252, 258, 309, 309, 310, 311, 328, 346, 369, 417, 424, 436, 436, 437, 438, 439, 442, 460, 462, 465, 475, 480, 481, 482, 486, 493, 572, 578/79 [**46**]
Post-verbal: 306/7, 338, 339, 611 [**4**]

Appendix 3. Text locations of functionalsyntactic classes of detached prepositions (Text: Iliad, books I, II)

a. **Coherent both semantically & syntactically; IO overtly present as NP or PRO**
I. 162, 188, 251, 258, 307, 309, 328, 338, 339, **346**, 417, **436, 437, 438, 439**, 460, 481, 482, 542; **II.** 39/40, 45, 91, 93, 154, 156, 208, 310, 389, 423, 465/6, **524, 534, 545, 556, 630, 637, 644, 710, 737, 747**, 759, 857 [**42**]
b. **Coherent both semantically & syntactically; IO zeroed out, anaphoric or implicit**
I. 6, 86, **142, 142, 143, 144**, 156/7, 195, 199, 208, 233, 252, 258, **309, 310, 311, 369**, 424, 442, 462, 465, 475, 486, 611; **II.** 19, 43, 95, 148, 183, 261, 279, 333, **413, 413**, 446/7, **477**, 578, 588, 809 [**39**]
c. **Semantically coherent, P absorbed into verb meaning; no overt IO**
I. 15, 68, 101, 204, 233, 480, 493, 578/9; **II.** 76, 100, 256, **278, 281, 317, 326**, 692, 845 [**17**]
d. **Semantically and syntactically arbitrary**
I. 48, 236; **II.** 379, 450 [**4**]

CHAPTER 5

The pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* in Homeric Greek as an earlier cycle of pre-verbal prepositions

5.1   Introduction

In the preceding three chapters I suggested that the synchronic distribution of prepositional constructions in Homeric Greek suggests a diachronic pathway via which nominal-marking prepositions became, over time, prefixed to the verb. I also noted that the data of Homeric Greek conform rather well with what is known about verb-attached prepositions in other – typologically diverse and genetically unrelated – languages (Chapter 1). I also issued a promissory note that must now be redeemed, suggesting that the verb-prefixed vowel *e-*, the so-called 'Augment' prefixed to many Homeric Greek verbs, represents an earlier cycle of prepositions becoming prefixed to the verb.

In his *Grammar of the Homeric Dialect*, Monro (1891) introduces the 'Augment' as follows:

> "…the Augment takes two forms, the *Syllabic* and the *Temporal*. The Syllabic Augment is the prefix *ε-*, and it is used for stems beginning with a consonant. The Temporal Augment is a simple lengthening of the initial vowel of the stem…." (1891, p. 60)

On the following page, one finds another tantalizing reference to the presence of the 'Augment' in contexts preceding a missing ghost consonant, the notorious *Digamma*.[1] By and large, the 'Augment' *e-* is treated by Monro as, primarily, a **historical phonological** entity.

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1.   One of the reconstructed *laryngeals* that have plagued comparative Indo-European linguistics from its very inception, and about which I shall remain resolutely silent. Except to say that in its unconstrained proliferation of ghost consonants, the Laryngeal Theory resembles, eerily, Murray Gel-Mann's String Theory of complexity in physics, with its unconstrained proliferating dimensions. Whereby one may as well recall C.S. Peirce old observation that a theory that purports to explain everything most likely explains nothing.

While Prof. Monro does not assign the 'Augment' an explicit functional/semantic value, in the Appendix (*ibid*., p. 402) he alludes to an article by *Mr. Arthur Plat* where it is suggested that the augmented verb form is used more commonly in some semantic sub-context of the *aorist* tense but not in others.

In a more recent, comprehensive grammar of Classical Greek (van Emde Boas *et al.* 2019) one finds a fairly similar description in the section titled "Augments and Reduplication":

> "…Secondary indicatives (imperfect, aorist indicative, pluperfect) normally include an **augment**, which immediately precedes the stem. The form of the augment is determined by the initial sound of the stem…. If the stem begins with a **consonant**, the augment takes the form of the vowel *ε*-… In stems beginning with a **vowel**, the augment has the form of the lengthened initial vowel…" *(ibid*., pp. 121–122)

What one finds next, again, is a mixed bag of conditioning contexts for 'augmentation':

- It appears only in some tense-aspects but not others.
- It appears as *e*- before consonants but never as any other vowel or consonant.
- It appears as lengthening of the first vowel in vowel-commencing stems

In what is, to my mind, the most admirable Classicist account of the Homeric verb, Willi (2018) – in a section titled "The augment in Homer" (pp. 358–376) – enumerates first the factors that have been proposed over the years as conditioning contexts for the 'optional' appearance of the 'Augment' before verbs, casting them as "augmentation tendencies":

- **Wackernagel's 'optionality', meter and poetic license**: "…the Homeric augment is optional…not every aorist or imperfect indicative features the prefix…this optionality gave the epic singer a certain flexibility in adapting verbal forms to his meter… by using unaugmented past-tense forms the poet would simply have preserved a more archaeic stage of the language…" (*ibid*., p. 359)
- **Wackernagel's Wortumfang**: "…as a rule, preterits never appear unaugmented if, without the augment, a short vocalic monosyllable would arise…" (*ibid*. p. 359)
- **Dottin's (1894) compound verb observation**: "…verb forms with preverb [= preposition] are much more often augmented than forms without preverb…" (*ibid*., p. 361; bracketed material added)

- **Blumenthal's mix of semantics (aorist-types) and comparative Indo-European**: "…Blumenthal observed that the ratio of augmentation:non-augmentation is greater in the case of s-aorists (1:1.6) than strong aorists (1:2.8)… Blumenthal proposed to explain the divergence between stem types with the fact that "the sigmatic aorist, though widely diffused, is a relatively late I.E. formation" whose full development might have been "roughly contemporaneous with that of the early stages of attachment of the augment"…" (*ibid*., p. 363)
- **The iterative (aspect) in ske/o-**: "…The many Homeric past iteratives with the suffix *ske-/o-* are almost without exception unaugmented (leaving aside the special case of *efaske* to lexicalized *faskw*)…" (ibid. p. 365)
- **Derwitt's rule**: "…Finally, there is a fifth augmentation tendency that appears to be formally determined, although there are again deeper functional reasons behind it…the combination of an unaugmented form + *de* or other conjunctive particle (type *noëse de* 'and (s)he noticed') is much more common in epic than that of augmented form + *de* (type *eklupse de* 'and (s)he hid'): in the whole narrative of the *Iliad* there are only sixteen sure examples of *de* standing after the syllabically augmented aorist. After the unaugmented syllabic aorist, *de* is normal…" (*ibid*, p. 366)

In the next section, titled "Functional tendencies", Willi (2018) lists the following:

- **Old epic poetry**: "…It has already been mentioned (7.3) that the so-called 'gnomic aorist' shows a special behaviour with regard to augmentation. As Platt observed, "the general rule is that the gnomic aorist in old Epic poetry takes the augment". Importantly, this holds not only for the aorist in gnomes in the strict sense…but also for (timeless) aorists in similies…" (*ibid*., p. 368)
- **The aorist as perfect**: "…Another interesting feature was also noticed by Platt [1891], for whom the "perfect aorist" is "the aorist used where we in English use a perfect": "the rule upon the whole is that the perfect aorist takes the augment"…" (*ibid*, p. 369)
- **The aorist in negative contexts:** "…More recently Bakker has pointed out that "aorists in negative contexts tend to disfavor the augment…" (*ibid*., p. 370)
- **Formulaic introduction of direct speech and meter**: "…Bakker has also studied the practice of augmentation in the (largely formulaic) introductions of direct speech. Once again there is no absolute rule…However, it remains remarkable that 45.0% of verb forms in Iliadic speech introductions metrically require the augment, whereas only 16.7% rule it out…" (*ibid*., pp. 370–371).

- **Narrative vs. direct-quoted speech**: In an observation attributed to Koch (1868), Willi notes: "…narrative passages in epic and passages consisting of character speech substantially differ with regard to augmentation…" (*ibid.*, p. 371)

Lastly, in a section titled "Theories on the origin of the augment", Willi (2018, p. 376) lists, mercifully, only three:

- **A proximate deictic suffix**, attributed to Bakker (2001): "…(the) verbal augment originally was a deictic suffix marking an event as 'near' with respect to the speaker's present and immediate situation…" (*ibid*, p. 376)
- **A sentence connector**, attributed to Watkins (1963): "…the augment is a sentence connective used with injunctive forms…in function of continuous narrative", i.e. more or less '(and) then'…" (*ibid.*, p. 377).
- **An emphatic particle**, "…Another alternative…first mooted by Bréal [1900], has been to see in the augment an 'emphatic' particle and connected with the Greek *η* 'indeed' and the Vedic *ā* 'indeed, certainly', from PIE *(h)ē…*" (*ibid.*, p. 378)

To the innocent ear of a general linguist, the lush array of interpretation, explanation and exception-prone conditioning factors surveyed above – phonological, semantic, syntactic, metric, stylistic and comparative/historical – spells a near-certain cognitive chaos to the language learner and a great theoretical bafflement to the linguist. This is especially jarring when interesting, obvious questions are hinted at but never quite placed on the table:

- Why Dottin's tantalizing correlation between the 'augment' and pre-verbal prepositions?
- Why the short vowel *e-* rather than any other vowel or consonant?
- Where do short, unstressed, monosyllabic grammatical morphemes come from – except as inheritance from a related **proto* language across vast temporal chasms?
- Above all – where, in all this grand multi-factored array, is a hypothesis about a step-by-step diachronic rise of grammatical forms from competing synchronic variants?

To a diachronically, functionally and typologically oriented grammarian, synchronic 'rules' that come with a long list of exceptions, and are governed by multiple *kinds* of conditioning context (phonological, semantic, syntactic, poetic, comparative), strongly hint at the *absence* of any rule. Such presumed

rules are, manifestly, **eroded past regularities**, the footprints of multiple successive changes during which a variety of factors have conspired to erode the grammar's older regularities. Children learning a natural – spoken – language would balk at such 'rules' and reject them as incoherent dead weight. Such 'rules' subvert the very notion of the regularity of form-function correlations in human language.[2]

The strategy I propose to pursue in this – admittedly revisionist – chapter is to show, with multiple text-derived examples, and with an assessment of their quantitative distribution in the Homeric text, that the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* is indeed *etymological* in the most obvious sense of the word. Namely, that it reflects a rather mundane **phonological reduction** of three high frequency monosyllabic VC- Homeric Greek prepositions: *en-* 'in/at', *ex/ek-* 'out/from', and *e(i)s-* 'to'. In support of this phonologically-most-plausible conjecture I will show that the **verbal-clausal contexts** in which the 'Augment' *e-* is found are highly predictable, with the vast majority involving clauses with verbs of location, motion or direction that, in most languages, take adposition-marked indirect objects.[3] And further, that, those indirect objects, whether overtly-present or zeroed out in anaphoric or generic contexts, are of the type that take either the *locative* preposition 'in/at', the *allative* 'to', or the *ablative* 'out/from'.

The verbal-clausal contexts implicated here involve two well-known verb classes, already discussed in the preceding chapters:

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2.   This problem will rear its ugly head, with a vengeance, if the incredible irregularity of the old, eroded tense-aspect-modality system of Homeric Greek is ever confronted head on. It also brings us to a familiar territory, where the intellectual habits of the two approaches to language diachrony – the *comparative method* and *internal reconstruction*, part company. And while the difference between the two is often considered to be 'merely' methodological, it is in fact profoundly theoretical (Greenberg 2000, Givón 2000).

3.   See extensive discussion in Chapter 1, above, of these characteristic contexts of case-marking adpositions. In the present context, I will take it for granted that the post-nominal case endings of Indo-European and other languages began their diachronic life as case-marking post-positions. In Indo-European, they represent a merger – condensation – with at least two other types of morphemes, noun classifiers ('gender') and number.

a.   **Intransitive location or motion verbs** with *locative, allative* or *ablative* indirect objects, such as 'be in/at', 'go to/from/out of', 'come to/from/out/in'; or more abstract derivatives such as the *dative/allative* in 'look at', 'talk to', 'listen to' or the *ablative* in 'hear from'.

b.   **Bi-transitive transfer verbs** with a similar range of *locative, allative* or *ablative* indirect objects, such as 'bring x to/from', 'take x to/from', 'put x at/in/out', 'lead x to/from/in/out'; or their more abstract derivatives such as the *dative/benefactive* in 'give x to', 'tell x to', the *ablative* in 'receive x from' or 'hear x from'.[4]

c.   **A residue of plausible diachronic derivatives** of verbs in categories (a) or (b) above.

What I propose to do, then, is match the phonological plausibility of the unstressed prepositions *en-*, *ek-/ex-* and *e(i)s-* becoming reduced to the single vowel *e-* with a parallel functional-syntactic plausibility.

Given the presence of a second, more recent, cycle of prepositions becoming verb prefixes in Homeric Greek (Chapters 2, 3, 4 above), two added facts militate for the 'augment' *e-* being the product an *earlier* diachronic cycle of pre-verbal attachment of prepositions:[5]

● its much reduced phonological size to an unstressed single vowel;
● its position closer to the verb stem.

Similar functional-syntactic distributional facts, involving the instances where the 'augment' *e-* is preceded by one or more prepositions, will be discussed in Chapter 6, below.

5.2   Clausal/verbal contexts for the use of the pre-verbal 'Augment' e-

I will begin by discussing the instances of the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* that fit into the two major verbal/clausal contexts (a) and (b) above. A discussion of the residue (c) will follow. To this end, all instances of the 'Augment' *e-* in Book

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4.   The four most common optional clause participants, *instrumental, associative, benefactive* and *manner*, are not restricted to any particular verb class; though they are obviously constrained by coherent clause-level semantic factors.

5.   For a discussion of these two universal features of grammaticalization in the rise of bound morphology, see Givón (1971, 2000).

I of the Iliad were identified and categorized, with the suggested older value of *e-* as either *en-*, *ex/ek-* or *e(i)s-* provided in each case, as part of the hypothesis. In addition, I also note the instances where the phonologically-eroded *e-* is being supplemented by an adposition somewhere in the same clause: either a pre-nominal **preposition** (PRE), a post-nominal **post-position** (POST), or a detached preposition (DET). At whatever syntactic locus, these added markers that co-exist with the 'Augment' *e-* seem to serve two complementary functions:

- **recapitulating** the original sense of the old preposition, now eroded to the ambiguous *e-*;
- **augmenting** the old preposition with added semantic value.

Such augmentation is similar to what we see when more than one preposition appears before the verb.

5.2.1 Intransitive verbs with an indirect object

5.2.1.1 Overtly present indirect object

Consider first Example (1) below, where the suggested old value of *e-* as 'to' is augmented by the pre-nominal preposition *epi-* 'on', yielding the more complex meaning 'onto':

(1) ho gar **ë**-lth-e   thoas **epi**-nëas Akhaiwn   **PRE** (I.12)
    3s FOR **to**-come-3s swift **on**-ships Achaeans
    'for he had come **onto** the swift ships of the Achaeans'

In (2) below, next, the presumed old *e(i)s-* 'to' is used to mark the semantic value of the dative in 'listen to':

(2) kai **e**-peithe-to muthw   (I.33)
    and **to**-listen-NF word
    'and (he) listened **to** (his) words'

And likewise in 'say to' (3) and 'listen to' (4):

(3) **e**-fa-tho   ho geraios Apollwni   anakti,   (I.35/6)
    to-say-NF 3s old.man Apollo/DAT king/DAT
    '(and) the old man said **to** king Apollo'

(4) tou d(e) **e**-klu-e   Phoibus Apollwn   (I.43)
    3s DE   **to**-hear-3s Phoebus Apollo
    'and Phoebus Apollo heard/listened **to** him'

In (5) below, the assumption that *e-* was originally *ex-* 'out'/'from' is based on the semantics of 'sound out' or 'rattle out', with the pre-nominal *epi-* 'on' then augmenting the original sense 'out':

(5) **e**-klanx-an de ara oistoi **ep(i)**-wmwn   **PRE** (I.46)
     ex-rattle-3P DE ARA arrows **on**-shoulder
     'and the arrows rattled **out on** (his) shoulder'

In (6) below, next, the interpretation of *e-* as originally *ex-* 'away from' is supported by the recapitulation with *apo-* 'from' on the second verb, although *e-* could have also been *en-* 'in'/'at'; in which case we have an augmentation rather than a recapitulation:

(6) **e**-ze-to   epei-t(a) **ap(o)**-an(a)-euth-e newn   (I.48)
     ex-sit-NF then-3P **from**-up-far-3s   boats
     'then he sat far **away from** the ships'[6]

In (7) and (8), next, the transparent semantics of the motion verbs 'go' and 'come' presumably require no further recapitulation:

(7) ho moi geras **e**-rkhe-tai allë   (I. 120)
     3s 1s   prize **to**-go-IRR other
     '(that) my prize is going **to** another'

(8) ë odon   **e**-lthe-men-ai ë andrasin ifi makhes-thai?   (I.151)
     or journey **to**-come-be-IRR or men   by fight-IRR
     'either to come **onto** a journey or fight with warriors?'

In (9), next, the presumed old sense of the 'Augment' as 'to' could have just as easily been 'in'/'at'. The pre-nominal *en-* in 'in Phtia' thus either recapitulates or augments the eroded old *e-*:

(9) ou-de   po-te **en**-Fthië eri-bwlaki bwti-aneirë kapron
     NEG-DE WH-TE **in**-Phthia deep-soil nurse-men grain
     e-dëlës-ant-o   **PRE** (I.155)
     to-lay.waste-be-NF
     'nor have they in any way laid waste **to** the grain in deep-soiled men-nursing Phthia'

---

6. This example may be spurious. Cunliffe (1924/1963) lists *an(a)-eu-the(n)* as a locative adverb meaning 'away from', so that in this example *apo-* 'from' recapitulates the post-position *-the(n)* 'from'.

In (10), the pre-nominal *epi-* 'on' clearly augments the presumed old pre-verbal *allative* as *e(i)s-* 'to':

(10) egw d(e) oligon te filon te **e**-rkho-m(ai) ekh-on **epi**-nëas,
      1s   DE   little   TE dear TE **to**-go-1s   have-NF **on**-ship
      'while I go **onto** my ship carrying little, yet dear to me'   PRE (I.167)

What makes the next example interesting is the use of the *allative* post-position *-de* 'to' on the indirect object nominal to recapitulate the presumed 'to' sense of the old 'augment' *e-*:

(11) nun de **e**-i-mi   Fthiën-**de**   POST (I.169)
      now DE **to**-go-1s Phthia-**to**
      'now I will go back **to** Phthia'

No such recapitulation is seen in (12) below, where the *directional* sense of 'grab onto' is apparently sufficient:

(12) xanthës de komës **e**-l-e   Pëleiwna,   (I.197)
      blond   DE hair   **to**-take-3s Peleus'.son
      'and (she) grabbed **onto** the son of Peleus' blond hair'

In (13), next, the other locative post-position *-then* 'from' is used to reca-pitulate the presumed sense of the old *e-* as *ex-* 'out/from':

(13) **e**-lth-on   ego pausous-a teon menos, ai ke pithë-ai,
      ex-come-NF 1s stop-NF   2s   anger   if KE listen-IRR
      ourano-**then**,   POST (I.207)
      heaven-**from**
      'I have come **from** heaven to stop your anger, if you but listen'

The sense 'from' imparted by the post-position *-then* is not as clear in (14), next, where the interpretation of *e-* as *en-* 'in' relies on the common meaning of *en-* as 'among' (see Chapter 2):

(14) Atreidë d(e) heterw-**then** **e**-mën-ie   POST (I.247)
      Atreides DE friends-**from** **in**-stay-3s
      'and the son of Atreus remained **among** his friends'

The recapitulation of the eroded 'augment' *e-* by pre-nominal prepositions in the next three examples is fairly transparent:

(15) ë-de **e**-gen-ont-o   **en**-Pulw ëgatheë,   PRE (I.251)
      C-DE **in**-born-be-NF **in**-Pylos sacred
      'having been born **in** sacred Pylos'

(16)   kai men toisin ego meth(a)-omile-on **ek**-Pulos **e**-lth-wn, **PRE** (I.269)
       and MEN 3P   1s   with-meet-NF   **ex**-Pylos **ex**-come-NF
       'with those (men) I met together when I came **from** Pylos'

(17)   Pëleidës men **epi**-klisias kai nëas eisas   ë-i-e   **PRE** (I. 306)
       Peleides MEN **on**-huts   and ships equal(?)/PL **to**-go-3s
       'and the son of Peleus went then **to** (his) hut and shapely(?) ships'

Likewise, the *allative* interpretation of *e-* below as *e(i)s-* 'to' is uncontroversial,
given the verb 'go':

(18)   **e**-rkhesth-on klisiën Pëlëiadew Akhilëos   (I.322)
       to-go-NF   hut   Peleiades Achiles
       'go **to** the hut of Peleiades Achiles'

    In the next example, the detached preposition *para* 'by', 'next to' is used to
augment the presumed sense of the eroded 'augment' *e-* as *en-* 'in/at'. Thus:[7]

(19)   ton de eur-on **para** te klisië kai nëi melainë ë-men-on
       3s DE find-NF **by** TE hut   and ship black   **in**-stay-NF
       'and finding him staying **by/at** his hut and black ship'   **DET** (I.329)

    Another example of a fairly transparent interpretation of the old *e-* as *e(i)s-*
'to' may be seen in (20) below, with the *dative* sense fairly dictated by the verb
'listen':

(20)   tou de **e**-klu-e   pontia mëtër   (I.357)
       3s DE **to**-hear-3s queen mother
       'and his queenly mother listened **to** him'

    In the next two examples, the presumed sense of the old 'Augment' *eis-* re-
capitulated (21) or augmented (22) by the preposition:

(21)   ë-men-e   **en**-benthessin halos para-patri geronti   **PRE** (I.358)
       in-stay-3s **in**-deep   sea by-father old
       'as she stayed **in** the deep sea by her old father'

(22)   Khrusës de auth(o)… **e**-lth-e   toas **epi**-neës   **PRE** (I.370)
       Chryses DE DEM   **to**-come-3s fast **on**-ships
       'then Chryses himself… came **onto** the fast ships'

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7.   This interpretation of *en-* as either 'in' or 'at' will be discussed in more detail
later on, in relation to the verbal form *e-ont-a* 'being'.

While in the next two, the old sense of *e-* is augmented by a post-position:

(23) tën de neon klisië-**then** e-b-an   kërukes ag-ont-es   **POST** (I.391)
3SF DE new hut-**from** **ex**-go-3P heralds lead-be-NF/PL
'while the heralds have gone **from** (my) hut taking away the new one'

(24) **e**-lthous-(o) Oulumpon-**de** Dia lis-ai   **POST** (I.394)
to-come-IMP Olympus-**to** Zeus pray-IRR
'and come **to** Olympus and pray to Zeus'

In the next example, with a more abstract *dative*, the interpretation of the eroded old *e-* as *ex-* 'out/from' is not altogether firm:[8]

(25) ina pantes **e**-paur-wnt-ai basilëos   (I.410)
SUB all   **ex**-???-be-IRR king
'so that they may all benefit **from** (their) king'

The general pattern of distribution of verbs 'augmented' by *e-* into the two suggested verb classes remains fairly consistent, with augmentation by a preposition in (26), recapitulation in (27), and neither augmentation nor recapitulation in (28) and (29):

(26) ai-th(i) ofel-es **para**-nëusin a-dakrut-os kai a-pëm-wn
if-WH hope-2s **by**-ships   NEG-tear-NF and NEG-grief-NF
ë-sth-ai   **PRE** (I.415)
in-stand-IRR
'if you had only stood tearless and grief-less **by/at** the boats'

(27) Zeus gar **ex**-Wkeanon met(a)-amumonas Aithiopëas khthizos
Zeus FOR **ex**-Ocean   with-blameless   Ethiopians yesterday
e-b-ë   **PRE** (I.423)
ex-go-3s
'for Zeus went yesterday **from** (the) Ocean with the blameless Ethiopians'

(28) Dii   terpi-keraunw **e**-i-mi   (I.419)
Zeus/DAT throw-bolts   **to**-go-1s
'I will go **to** Zeus the bolt-thrower'

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8. Cunliffe (1924/1963) lists neither *paur-* nor *e-paur-* as verbs, though *pauros* is listed as the quantifier 'few'. If one conjectures a negative sense of *ex-* 'out of/ from' (viz. 'out of money' = 'have no money'), then *ex-* with 'be few' may yield 'be many', then be perhaps extended to 'increase', 'profit' or 'benefit'; though this is admittedly rather speculative.

(29)   kai to-te epeita toi **e-i-mi**   Dios poti khalko-bates   dw
         and 3s-TE then   3s **to**-go-1s Zeus ??   bronze-threshold house
         'and I will then go **to** Zeus' bronze-threshold house'   (I.426)

In the next two examples, the interpretation of *e-* as *ex-* 'out/from' is supported plausibly by the semantics of 'hear from':

(30)   ë-dë men po-te   emeu paros **e-klu-es**   eu-xa-men-oio   (I.453
         C-DE MEN WH-TE 1s   early **ex**-hear-2s VER-pray-be-NF/GEN
         'even when you heard (**from**) me praying earlier on')

(31)   tou de **e-klu-e**   Foibos   Apollwn   (I.457)
         3s   DE **ex**-hear-3s Phoebus Apollo
         'and Phoebus Apollo heard (**from**) him'

Next, the pre-nominal preposition *kata-* 'down' augments the suggested *allative* 'to' sense of the old *e-*:

(32)   hë d(e) **e-the-en**   **kata**-kuma   **PRE** (I.483)
         3SF DE   **to**-put/set-3s **down**-waves
         'and she set (herself) **down to** the waves'

In (33), next, the interpretation of *e-* as originally *e(i)s-* 'to' is consonant with the *allative* sense of 'come to'. While its interpretation as *ex-* 'from' in (34) is consonant with the *ablative* sense of 'ask of/from'. And its interpretation as *e(i)s-* 'to' in (35) is consonant with the dative sense of 'say to':

(33)   hos wku.morwtatos   allwn **e-plet-o**;   (I.505)
         3s   quick.death.most others **to**-come.to.be-NF
         'who is doomed **to** a death quickest than all others'

(34)   kai **e-ire-to**   deuteron autis   (I.513)
         and **ex**-ask-NF second   DEM/s
         'and again (she) asked (**from/of**) him'

(35)   ho te m(e) ex-thodopës-ai **e-fës-eis** Hërë   (I.518)
         3s TE 1s   ex-strive(?)-IRR **to**-say-2s Hera
         'what you say **to** me (tell me), to contend with Hera'

Next, the interpretation of *e-* as *e(i)s-* 'to' is consonant with the *allative* sense of 'go', recapitulated in (36) by the post-position *-de* 'to' and in (37) by the preposition *pros-* 'to/toward':

(36)   oi men ka-kkei-ont-es   **e-b-an**   oikon-**de** hekastos **POST** (I.606)
         3P MEN CV-rest-be-NF/PL **to**-go-3p house-**to** each
         'they each went **to** the house to rest'

(37) Zeus de **pros**-hon lekhos **ë**-(i)-i   **PRE** (I.609)
      Zeus DE **to**-3s   couch **to**-go-NF
      'and Zeus went **to** his couch'

What this sample of consecutively occurring instances of the pre-verbal 'augment' *e-* in the Homeric text illustrates, I would like to suggest, is first the great **predictability** of the first verbal/clausal contexts where this verbal prefix appears – in intransitive clauses with verbs that, typically, take locative, allative, ablative or dative indirect objects. This conspicuous semantic-syntactic distribution of the 'Augment' *e-* is further underscored by the fact that of the **37** instances of intransitive clauses surveyed thus far, **5** involved 'come' and **10** involve 'go'. That is, an astounding **40%** of the sample is taken by just these two most-common motion verbs.[9]

Our survey also reveals another apparent regularity: Of the 37 intransitive clauses inspected thus far, the 10 that involve *dative* indirect objects show not a single case of either recapitulation or augmentation by an adposition, be it pre-nominal, post-nominal or detached. Which begs for two alternative – or perhaps complementary – interpretations:

- The semantics of the verbs that take dative indirect objects is transparent enough to signal the 'to' or 'from' interpretation of the old 'Augment' *e-* in spite of its erosion and ambiguity.
- The dative case-ending on the indirect object, be it nominal or pronominal, is still reasonably transparent in Homeric Greek.[10]

5.2.1.2 **Indirect object zeroed-out in anaphoric or generic contexts**

The verbal/clausal context surveyed in this section involves the very same intransitive verbs that take, typically, locative, allative, ablative or dative indirect objects, as above. However, the nominal object here is left unexpressed, due to its anaphoric or generic predictability in context. The entire set of these instances, found consecutively in Book I of the Iliad, is listed in order below.

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9. In addition, 1 example involved 'sit', 1 'stand' and 3 'stay'/'remain' (-*men*), all typical location verbs.

10. In his discussion of how prepositions 'govern' the case-ending of the indirect-object nominals, Monro (1891, p. 165) lists a whole range of variation that includes the accusative, locative, instrumental, dative and ablative-genitive. A similar list may be found in Zanchi (2019). This synchronically less-than-predictable variation must be memorized for specific verbs, and makes sense only in the context of the diachronic life-cycle of each preposition.

(38) hws **e**-fa-to,   ed-deis(-e) d(e) ho geron   (I.33)
     so **to**-say-NF in-fear-3s DE 3s old.man
     'so he said **to** (him), and the old man became fearful'

(39) hws **e**-fa-to   eu-kho-men-os   (I.43)
     so **to**-say-NF VER-pray-be-NF
     'so (he) said **to** (him), praying'

(40) ho d(e) **ë**-i-e   nukti e-oik-ws   (I.47)
     3s DE **to**-go-3s night to-resemble-NF
     'he went **to** (there) resembling the night'

(41) ho-ti tosson **e**-khosa-to Foibos Apollwn   (I.64)
     3s-WH 3s/much **to**-angry-NF Phoebus Apollo
     'why Phoebus Apollo is so angry **at** (us)'

(42) ë toi ho ge hws eip-on, **kat(a)** ar(a) **e**-ze-to   DET (I.68)
     C 3s 3s EM so speak-NF **down** ARA **in**-sit-NF
     'having thus spoken, he sat **down at/in** (there)'

(43) **kat(a)** ar(a) **e**-ze-to   DET (I.101)
     down ARA **in**-sit-NF
     '(he) sat **down at/in** (there)'

(44) ou   gar egw Trowwn enek(a) **ë**-luth-on   aikhmëtawn   (I.152)
     NEG FOR 1s Trojans sake   **to**-come-NF spear.men
     'for I have not come **to** (here) because of the Trojan spear-men'

(45) **e**-lth-e   d(e) Athenë   (I.194)
     to-come-3s DE Athene
     '(and) Athene came down **to** (there)'

(46) thambëth-en d(e) Akhileus, **meta** de **e**-trape-to   DET (I.199)
     wonder-3s DE Achilles, **about** DE **ex**-turn-NF
     'and Achilles wondered, and turned **away from/about** (him)'

(47) ti-p(o)- te aut(o), aigio-khoio Dios tekos, **ei**-le-louth-as? (I.202)[11]
     WH-WH-TE DEM/s aegis-bearing Zeus child **to**-CV-come-NF
     'why, child of aegis-bearing Zeus, do you yourself come again **to** (here)?'

(48) hos ke theois epi-peithë-tai, mala te **e**-klu-on   autou   (I.218)
     3s KE gods on-obey-IRR more TE **to**-hear-NF DEM/P(?)
     'whoever obeys the gods, **to** (him) they listen more'

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11. The striking thing about this example is that the 'Augment' *e*- appears here
as *ei*-, a common phonological reduction of *eis*-, precisely in a context – 'come
to', where *e*- can only be plausible interpreted be as *eis*- 'to'.

(49) **e**-aze-to t(e) autos   (I.246)
     in-sit-NF TE DEM/S
     '(then) he himself sat down **in/at** (there)'

(50) aipsa toi haima kelainon **e**-hrwes-ei   (I.303)
     fast 2s blood dark   **ex**-flow-3s/IRR
     'your dark blood will flow quickly **out of** (the wound)'

(51) **ana** de Khrusëida kalli.parëon **e**-is-en ag-wn   **DET** (I.310)
     up DE Chryseida fair.cheek   **to**-go-3s lead-NF
     'leading the fair-cheeked daughter of Chryses to go **up to** (there)'

(52) **en** de arkhos **e**-b-ë   polu-mëtis Odusseus   **DET** (I.311)
     en DE leader **to**-go-3s many-plans Odysseus
     'and **in/to** (there) went as leader many-wiled Odysseus'

(53) egw de ken autos **e**-lw-mai   I.324)
     1s   DE KEN DEM/S **to**-go-1s/FUT
     'I myself will go **to** (there)'

(54) autar Akhilleus dakrus-as hetarwn   afar   **e**-ze-to   (I.349)
     but   Achilles   tears-NF companions away(?) **in**-sit-NF
     'but Achilles, tearful, sat **in/at** (there) apart from his comrades'

(55) alla su ton ge **e**-lthous-a, thea   (I.401)
     but 2s 3s   EM **to**-come-NF goddess
     'but you coming over **to** (here), goddess'

(56) ws **e**-fa-to   eu-kho-men-os   (I.457)
     so **to**-say-NF VER-pray-be-NF
     'so he said (**to** him), praying'

(57) autar epei **kata**-mër(o?) **e**-ka-ë   **PRE** (I.464)
     but   when **down**-thigh **ex**-burn-3P
     'but after the thigh pieces had burned **down/out** (to the bottom)'

(58) kai **epi** knepas **ë**-lth-e,   **DET** (I.475)
     and **on** dark   **to**-come-3P
     'and darkness came **onto** (the earth)'

(59) eur-en de euru-opa Kronidën pater **ë**-men-on   (I.498)
     find-3s DE wide-voice Cronides father **in**-stay-NF others
     'and there he found the wide-voiced father, son-of-Cronos,
     staying **in/at** (there)'

(60) alla a-këon   dën **ë**-st-o   (I.512)
     but NEG-sound 3s(?) **in**-stand-NF
     'but (he) stood silent **in/at** (there)'

(61) all(a) antioi **e**-st-an   apantes   (I.535)
but   face/PL **in**-stand-3P all
'but they all stood **in/at** (there) facing (him)'

(62) poion   ton muthon **e**-eip-es!   (I.552)
WH/ACC 3s word   **to**-say-2s
'what words do you say **to** (me)!'

(63) hos **e**-fa-to   (I.568)
3s   **to**-say-NF
'he spoke **to** (her)'

(64) hos ar(a) **e**-f-ë   (I.584)
3s   ARA **to**-speak-3s
'he spoke **to** (them)'

The occurrence of the 'Augment' *e-* in all the examples above involves the same, rather typical intransitive verbs that take a locative, allative, ablative or dative indirect object, with the zeroed-out object being contextually predictable on anaphoric or generic grounds. Of the total of 27 consecutive instances in our text, 4 involved the verb 'come', 4 'go', 3 'sit', 2 'stand' and 1 'stay'/'remain' (*-men*). That is, 14/27 or **51%** of the sample involves the most common intransitive verbs of location or motion. And again, none of the more abstract *dative* indirect objects required any recapitulation or augmentation by prepositions. The semantics of the verb, or the still-vigorous dative case-marking on the nominal object, seems to be enough.

5.2.2 Bi-transitive transfer verbs

The samples, comprising of all the clauses with bi-transitive verbs 'augmented' by *e-* found in Book I of the Iliad, will be again divided into two sub-groups: those with overtly present indirect object, be it nominal or pronominal, and those with the object zeroed-out in anaphoric or generic contexts. These bi-transitive clauses involve, first, typical concrete verbs of *transfer*, where the direct object is moved to or from the indirect object; and second, bi-transitive verbs with more abstract *dative* or *benefactive* indirect objects, and where the direct object may also be more abstract – speech, information or attitude. Since the examples are sufficiently transparent, they will be listed consecutively without comment, unless something about them is particularly striking or unpredictable.

5.2.2.1 **Overtly expressed indirect object**

(65) ë   muri   Akhaiois   alge **e**-thëk-e   (I.2)
3SF thousands Achaeans/DAT woes **to**-bring-3s
'that brought countless woes **upon/to** the Achaeans'

(66) ei po-te toi khari-ent-o **epi**-neon **e**-reps-a   **PRE** (I.39)
if WH-TE 2s please-be-NF **on**-shrine **to**-cover(?)-NF
'if I ever, pleasing you, put a roof **over/onto** a shrine'

(67) toi kata-piona mëri(a) **e**-kë-a   taurwn ë-d(e) aigwn   (I.40)
2s down-fat   pieces **to**-burn-NF bulls/GEN C-DE   goats
'I burned **for** you fat pieces of bulls or goats'

(68) autar emoi geras autikh(a) **e**-toimasa-t(e)   (I.118)
but   1s   prize immed. **to**-prepare-2P/IMP
'but you prepare a prize **for** me forthwith'

(69) nëa melainan **e**-russo-men-en   **eis**-hala dian   **PRE** (I.141)
ship black   **in**-launch-1P/IRR-?? **to**-sea   bright
'let us launch the black ship **into** the bright sea'

(70) theos pou soi   to ge **e**-dok-en;   (I.178)
god   WH 2s/DAT 3s EM **to**-give-3s
'some god has (surely) given it **to** you'

(71) ë ho ge fasganon oxu **e**-russa-men-os **para**-merou   **PRE** (I. 190)
if 1s EM sword   sharp **ex**-draw-be-NF **by**-thigh
'whether to be drawing his sharp sword **from** his thigh'

(72) **e**-lke-to d(e) **ek**-koleoio   mega xifos   **PRE** (I.194)
ex-pull-NF DE **ex**-sheath/GEN big   sword
'(and) drawing his big sword **out of** its sheath'

In the next example, the detached preposition *ek* 'out/'from', while preceding a dative pronoun, does not pertain to it semantically. Rather, it augments the eroded 'augment' *e*-, interpret here as *e(i)s*- 'to', presumably intended to mark the dative indirect object of 'tell to'. The detached *ek*, on the other hand, more likely pertains to the anaphoric *direct* object ('from/about it'). Thus:

(73) alla **ek** toi   **e**-re-w   **DET** (I. 204)
but **ex** 2s/DAT **to**-tell-1s
'but I will tell (**to**) you **from/about** (it)'

The next batch of examples are again fairly transparent, the first involving REL-clause anaphora:

(74) skëptoukhos basileus, hw te Zeus kudos **e**-dwk-en   (I.279)
      sceptered   king   3s TE Zeus glory **to**-give-3s
      'a sceptered king, **to** whom Zeus has granted glory'

(75) allo   de toi **e**-re-w   (I.297)
      other DE 2s **to**-tell-1S/FUT
      'and another thing I will tell (**to**) you'

(76) ë-k-e   d(e) **ep(i)**-Argeioisi kako belos   **PRE** (I.382)
      to-send-3s DE **on**-Argives   bad shaft
      'so he sent an evil shaft **upon** the Argives'

(77) tous de **kata**-prumnas te kai amf(i)-hala **e**-ls-ai   Akhaious
      3P   DE **down**-sterns TE and about-sea **in**-pen-IRR Achaeans
      'but the Achaeans may he pen them **down in** the sterns (of their boats)
      about the sea'   **PRE** (I.409)

(78) nun de **ama** t(e) wku-moros kai oizuros peri-panton
      now DE **with** TE fast-death and sorrow on-all
      e-ple-o   **DET** (I.417)
      to-consigned-2S/IRR
      'but now you may be doomed **to/with** quick death and sorrow above all'

(79) touto **de** toi   e-reous-a epos   (I.419)
      3P   **DE** 2S/DAT **to**-tell-NF word
      'to tell (**to**) you these words'

(80) hos nun Argeirosi polustona këde(a) **e**-fëk-en   (I.445)
      3s now Argives   many.so woes   **to**-bring-3s
      'who has now brought so many woes **upon/to** the Argives'

(81) toi de wka thew hierën hekatombën hexeiës **e**-stës-an
      3P DE fast gods holy   hecatombs in.order **to**-stand-3P
      eu-dmëton **peri**-bwmon   **PRE** (I.448)
      VER-built **about**-altar
      'and they then quickly set the gods' holy hecatombs in order **to/about**
      the well-built altar'

(82) nëa men oi ge melainan **ep(i)**-ëpeiroio **e**-russ-an   **PRE** (I.485)
      ship MEN 3P EM black   **on**-shore   **to**-pull-3P
      'they pulled the black ship **onto** the shore'

(83) dexiterë d(e) ar(a) **hup(o)**-antherewnos **e**-lous-a   **PRE** (I.501)
right   DE ARA **under**-chin   **to**-grab-NF
'while with her right grabbing him **under/to** the chin'

(84) ho-te ken toi a-aptous   kheiras **e**-fei-w   (I.567)
3S-TE KEN 2s NEG-resist hands **to**-put-1s
'when I put (my) irresistible hands **upon/to** you'

(85) **en** de theoisi   kolown **e**-launet-on   **DET** (I.575)
in DE gods/DAT strife   **to**-set(?)-NF
'setting strife **among/to** the gods'

(86) paidos **e**-dexa-to   kheiri kupellon   (I.596)
son   **ex**-receive-NF hand cup
'she took the cup in her hand **from** her son'

(87) ti-(e)na mantin **e**-reio-men   ë hierëa   (I.62)
WH-one seer/ACC **ex**-ask-1P/IRR or priest
'let us ask (this question) **from/of** some seer or priest'

Of the **23** examples listed above, one is hard-pressed to point out to a single case where the interpretation of the 'augment' *e*- as either *en*- 'in/at', *ex*- 'out/from', or *e(i)s*- 'to' is in any way controversial – given the semantics of the relevant verbs. And as in the case of the intransitive verbs discussed above, not a single instance of the more abstract *dative* or *benefactive* objects involves either recapitulation or augmentation of the eroded *e*- by an adposition, be it pre-nominal, post-nominal or detached.

5.2.2.2 Zeroed-out indirect object

The zeroed out indirect objects seen below are all predictable from their context, be it anaphoric or generic. The same familiar group of bi-transitive verbs, or their more abstract *dative/benefactive* equivalents, are involved here, and the interpretation of the old 'Augment' *e*- as either *e(i)s*- 'to', *ex/ek*- 'out/from' or *en*- 'in/at' is fairly transparent from the meaning of the verb. In order:

(88) **meta** de ion   **e**-ëk-e,   **DET** (I.48)
with DE arrow **ex**-shoot-3s
'(and) he shot an arrow **out/from** (there)'

(89) tounek(a) ar(a) alge **e**-dok-en   heka.bolos   (I.96)
reason   ARA woe **to**-give-3s far.striking
'for this reason he who strikes afar had given woes **to** (them)'

(90) ego de ken auto **e**-lw-mai   (I.137)
       1s   DE KEN DEM/s **ex**-take-1s/FUT
       'I myself will take it **from** (them)'

(91) ax-w   **e**-l-wn   (I.138)
       grab-1s **ex**-take-NF
       'I (will) grab and take it **from** (them)'

(92) **pro** de m(e) ë-k-e   thea   leukw-pis Hërë   **DET** (I.208)
       to   DE 1s   **to**-send-3s goddess white-arm Hera
       'the white-armed goddess Hera sent me **to** (here)'

(93) më-de xifos **e**-lke-w   kheiri   (I. 210)
       NEG-DE sword **ex**-draw-IMP hand
       '(and) let not your hand draw the sword **out of** (the scabbard)'

(94) ou-de ana-thëlës-ei,   **peri** gar hr(a) he khalkos **e**-leps-e
       NEG-DE up-grow-3s/IRR **about** FOR HRA 3s bronze **ex**-strip-3s
       'nor shall it grow (leaf), for the bronze had stripped it **off** (the tree)'
                                                               DET (I.236)

(95) kata-moiran **e**-eip-es   (I.286)
       down-duly   **to**-speak-2s
       'you have duly spoken the truth **to** (us)'

(96) kheiros **e**-l-ont-o   age-men   Brisëida kalli.parëon;   (I. 323)
       hands   **to**-take-be-NF lead-2s/IMP Briseida fair.cheek
       'and taking fair-cheeked Briseida **to** (here), lead her by the hand'

Of the two instances of the dative in (97) below, the first 'Augment' *e-* could be easily interpreted as *eis-* 'to', recapitulated by the detached preposition *pro* 'to/for'; while the second is just as easily interpreted as *ex-* 'out/from', given the semantics of 'ask':

(97) ou-de ti   min **pros** e-fwne-on, ou-de   **e**-re-ont-o   **DET** (I.332)
       NEG-DE WH MIN **to**   **to**-speak-NF NEG-DE **ex**-ask-be-NF
       'and he himself neither spoke any (words) **to** (them), nor asked (questions) **from** (them)'

And further:

(98) **e**-l-wn   gar ekh-ei geras   (I.356)
       ex-take-NF FOR have-3s prize
       'for he has taken **from** (me) and kept (my) prize'

(99) epos   te **e**-fa-to   (I.361)
      words TE **to**-say-NF
      'and (she) said words **to** (him)'

(100) Khrusës de auth(o) hiereus hekatë-bolou Apollwnos **e**-lth-e (I.370)
      Chryses DE DEM   priest far-striking Apollo   **to**-come-3s
      'then Chryses, the priest of far-striking Apollo, came **to** (there)'

(101) ou-de   t(e) **e**-dës-an   (I.406)
      NEG-DE TE   **to**-bind-3P
      'and they did not bind (him) **to** (there)'

(102) **ek** de eunas   **e**-bal-on,   **kata** de prumnësi **e**-dës-an
      ex DE anchor.stones **ex**-throw-NF **down** DE stern.cables **to**-tie-3P
      'then casting out the anchor stones **out of** (the boat), they tied **down**
      the stern cables **to** (their proper place)'   **DET (x2)** (I.436)

(103) au-**e**-rus-an men prota…. kai **e**-deir-an   (I.459)
      ?-**ex**-draw-3P MEN first   and **ex**-cut.troat-3P
      'first they drew back (the victims' heads) **of/from** (their body)… and
      then cut (their throats) **off/from** (their body)'

The verb *-kalups-* in (104) below is most commonly translated as 'cover
(with)'. But the augmentation with the detached preposition *kata* 'down' may
suggest a fairly common semantic alternative, 'pull down/over'. Thus:

(104) **kata** te knisë **e**-kalups-an diptukha   **DET** (I.460)
      down TE fat(?) **to**-cover-3P double
      'and they covered down (**on** them) with a double (layer) of fat'

And lastly:

(105) **e**-lw-(o)n gar ekh-ei geras, autos apouras   (I.507)
      ex-take-NF FOR hold-3s prize DEM/s arrogant
      'for he has taken **from** (me) and kept (my) prize, in his arrogance'

Before going on to inspect the residue of instances in which the identity of
the phonologically-eroded 'Augment' *e-* is less transparent, or is in some way
problematic, it would be useful to tabulate the quantitative distribution of the
relatively transparent example discussed above – as against the less obvious
residue inspected further below. The figures are given in Table (106) below.

(106) **Quantitative distribution of the verbal/clausal contexts
where the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* is found** (Iliad, book I)

Category	N	%
intransitive, overt IO:	37	
intransitive, zeroed-out IO:	30	
subtotal:	67	
bi-transitive, overt IO:	23	
bi-transitive, zeroed-out IO:	21	
subtotal	44	
	111	**71.6%**
residue:	44	28.4%
total:	155	100.0

The text distribution tabulated in (106) is indeed striking: **71.6%** of the instances of the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* in the Homeric text inspected here appear to be entirely predicted from their verbal-clausal context. That context involves the two familiar – indeed ubiquitous – groups of verbs that, universally, take adpositionally-marked indirect objects (see Chapter 1). The **28.4%** residue still needs to be analyzed, and explained in a principled way. But a hypothesis – in the domain of diachrony of grammar – that is supported at the level of ca. 70% of text frequency is, in my experience, rather striking; especially when one considered the proposed alternatives.

5.2.3 **The residue**

The status of counter-examples in science, and how damaging – or fatal – they may be to the validity of a hypothesis, has an ancient provenance.[12] In pre-biological sciences such as chemistry or physics, where populations – atoms, molecules – commonly display extreme uniformity, a single counter-example is often all that is needed to falsify a hypothesis. In the study of biologically-based phenomena, on the other hand, where gradual change in phylogeny, ontogeny, maturation, growth or learning is the very essence of the phenomenon,

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12. For a review of these issues in the philosophy of science, especially of the central role of falsificatory counter-examples in the growth and mutation of scientific hypotheses, see Givón (2020, Chapter 8).

intra-population and intra-individual **behavioral variation** is an integral part of the mechanism of change. In such developmental domains, the methodological status of a **recalcitrant minority** of variants is rather different, and this is especially true in the study of language change.

In proposing to interpret counter-examples – apparent exceptions – as but more complex multi-factored instances that 'prove the rule', I am all too mindful of the eternal pitfall of blurring the difference between *explaining* and *explaining away*. The difference is, unfortunately, not absolute, but rather is subject to considerable gradation. All one can really do then is cite support from what is known about syntactic, functional and diachronic universals, and then rank the would-be counter-examples according some criteria of *likelihood*. To this end, I will divide the 44 instances I consider to be our less transparent residue into a number of sub-categories, discussing first the larger groups of instances where compatibility with our central hypothesis appears more likely.

a. **Verbal complements of the modal-aspectual verb 'want'**

The use of directional *allative* adpositions to mark the non-finite verbal complements of modal-aspectual verbs is widely attested in many unrelated languages, as in:

(107) a. **English (Germanic):**
           I want **to** eat
       b. **Bemba (Bantu):**
           n-dee-fwaaya **uku**-lia
           1s-PROG-want **to**-eat
           'I want to eat'
       c. **Hebrew (Semitic):**
           ani rots-e   **le**-'ekhol
           1s want-SM **to**-eat
           'I want to eat'

A well-known typological alternative involves marking the complement verb with an *irrealis* marker, with the verb being either finite or non-finite. Thus compare:[13]

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13. For a cross-linguistic discussion of verbal complement patterns and their diachrony see Givón (2001, Chapter 12), Heine and Kuteva (2007), Givón (2009, Chapter 4).

(108)   a.   **Ute (Uto-Aztecan, non-finite):**
            tʉka-**vaa**-chi-n 'ásti-'i
            eat-**IRR**-NOM-1s want-IMM
            'I want to to eat'

       b.   **Palestinian Arabic (Semitic, finite):**
            'ana bɨdd-i   'ɨ-shrɨb
            1s   want-1s **1s/IRR**-drink
            'I want to drink'

Within the context of our hypothesis about the prepositional origin of the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-*, it is useful to point out that *both* patterns of complementation are found in Homeric Greek. Thus, in the very same verbal clause in the Iliad, one may find the more current use of a Ute-like non-finite *irrealis* suffix *-ai/-tai-/-thai* marking the complement verb, coexisting with the 'Augment' *e-* prefixed to the main verb 'want'. The latter, I suggest, may be interpreted as an eroded *e(i)s-* 'to', as in Examples (109)–(114) below:

(109)   ounek(a) egw kourës Khrusëidos agla apoina ouk **e**-thel-on
        because 1s   girl   Cryses/GEN good ransom NEG **to**-want-NF
        dexas-**thai**   (I.111)
        accept-**IRR**
        'because I would not want **to** accept glorious ransom for Cryses' girl'

(110)   alla kai hws **e**-thel-w   do-men-**ai** palin   (I.116)
        but and so **to**-want-1s give-be-**IRR** all(?)
        'but even so I would rather want **to** give her (back)'

(111)   më-te   su, Pëleidë, **e**-thel-(w)   **e**-rize-men-**ai** basilëi antibën
        NEG-TE 2s Peleides **to**-want-IMP **to**-fight-be-**IRR** king   oppose
        'and don't you, son of Peleus, want to contend against the king'
                                                          (I.277)[14]

(112)   alla ho-de anër **e**-thel-ei   peri-pantwn em-men-**ai** allwn   (I.287)
        but 3s-DE man **to**-want-3s over-all   in-be-**IRR**   others
        'but this man wants to be above all others'

(113)   ai ken pws **e**-thelë-sin   epi-Trwesin arëx-**ai**   (I.408)
        if KEN WH **to**-want-NF/PL on-Trojans help-**IRR**
        'and (you-all) wish that he may somehow help the Trojans'

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14. The 'Augment' *e-* is found here not only on the main verb 'want', but also on the complement verb 'fight', which is also marked with the irrealis suffix *-ai*.

(114) ou-de   tis **e**-tl-ë   mein-**ai** ep(i)-e-rkho-men-on   (I. 534)
       NEG-DE WH **to**-dare(?)-3s stay-IRR on-to-come-be-NF
       'non of them dared to wait for his arrival'

Only in one instance in our sample do we find a different pattern, with the complement verb marked with the *infinitive* suffix, a fairly common alternation with the irrealis *-ai/-tai/-thai* in the Iliad. That is:

(115) panton men krate-**ein** **e**-thel-ei   (I.288)
       all   MEN rule-INF **to**-want-3s
       'he wants **to** rule all'

b. **Verbal complements of manipulation verbs**
    The use of *allative* adpositions to mark complements of verbs of causation and manipulation is just as wide-spread cross-linguistically as its use with complements of modal-aspectual verbs. Indeed, the same languages that use the *allative* 'to' to mark the complements of modal-aspectual verbs tend to use it to also mark the complements of – at least some – manipulation verbs, often alternating with *irrealis* marking. Thus compare:[15]

(116) a. **English (non-finite 'to'):**
           I told him **to** leave
       b. **English (finite, irrealis):**
           I told him that he **should** leave
       c. **Bemba (non finite 'to')**
           n-aa-mu-konkomeshya **uku**-ya
           1s-PA-3s-force   **to**-go
           'I forced him to leave'
       d. **Bemba (finite, subjunctive):**
           n-aa-mu-ebele a-y-**e**
           1s-PA-3s-tell   3s-go-SUBJ
           'I told him that he should leave'
       e. **Hebrew (non-finite, 'to'):**
           'ani hikhrah-ti 'ot-o   **la**-'azov
           1s   tell/PA-1s ACC-3SM **to**-leave
           'I forced him to leave'

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15. The alternation between finite and non-finite V-complement forms falls within the more complex scale of complementation (Givón 2001, Chapter 12).

    f.   **Hebrew (finite, irrealis):**
'ani 'amar-ti   l-o   she-**ya**-'azov
1s   tell/PA-1SM   to-1s SUB-**3SM/IRR**-leave
'I told him that he should leave'

It is thus not all that surprising to see verbs of causation and manipulation in Homeric Greek display the 'Augment' *e-*, interpreted here as 'to', as in:

(117)   krateron de epi-muthon **e**-tell-e   (I.25)
         strong   DE on-words   **to**-order-3s
         '(and) commanded him (**to** do it) with stern words'

(118)   Dios   d(e) **e**-teleie-to   boul-ë   (I.5)
         Zeus/GEN DE   **to**-cause-NF/PASS plan-NF
         'bringing Zeus' plan **to** come about'

(119)   ethslon de ou-te   ti po eip-as   epos, ou-t(e)
         good   DE NEG-TE WH WH speak-NF word NEG-TE
         e-teless-as   (I.108)
         to-bring.about-2s
         'you have never spoken a good word, nor brought (any) **to** pass'

(120)   ei de min aikhmëtën **e**-thes-an   theoi aien e-ont-es   (I.290)
         if DE MIN spear.man **to**-make-3P gods ever in-be-NF/PL
         'if the Gods who are forever made him (**to** be) a warrior'

(121)   megan   de **e**-le-liz-en   Olumpon   (I.530)
         much/ACC DE **to**-CV-shake-3s Olympus/ACC
         'and he caused great Olympus **to** shake'

Other causative-like clauses that display the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* do not use a causative verb but still express a causative meaning, as in:

(122)   më m(e) **e**-rethiz-e   (I.32)
         NEG 1s   **to**-anger-IMP
         'do not anger me' (= cause me **to** be angry)

(123)   ho te ariston Akhaiwn   ou-de-n **e**-tis-as   (I.244)
         3s TE best/ACC Achaeans/GEN NEG-DE-? **to**-honor-NF
         'for having dishonored the best of the Achaeans'
                                  (= caused them **to** not be honored)

(124)   nun de ou-de me tutthon **e**-tis-en,   (I.354)
         now DE NEG-DE 1s a.little **to**-honor-3s
         'but now he doesn't honor me even a little' (= cause **to** be honored)

(125) ho t(-e) ariston   Akhaiwn ou-de-n   **e**-tis-en   (I.412)
      3s TE   best/ACC Achaeans NEG-DE-? **to**-honor-3P
      'that he did not honor the best of the Achaeans' (= cause **to** be honored)

(126) tën s(u) oi-w   kata-neus-ai **e**-të-tum-on   hos Akhileë
      3SF 2s   think-1s down-bow-IRR **to**-CV-honor-NF 3SM Achilles
      timës-ës   (I.558)
      honor-2s
      'to her, I think, you bowed your head (promising) to honor Achilles'
      (= cause **to** be honored)

Lastly, negative causative verbs often take the *ablative* 'from'/'out' to mark their verbal complement ('prevent from', 'talk out of'); so that the pre-verbal *e-* in (127) below may perhaps be interpreted as an eroded *ex-* 'out'/'from':

(127) ëe kholon paus-eien **e**-rëtus-eie   te thumon   (I.192)
      or wrath stop-INF **ex**-curb-3s/IRR TE spirit
      'or to stop his wrath and curb out his spirit'

c. **The verbs 'know' or 'see'**

The verbs 'know' and 'see' take direct objects in most nominative/accusative languages. But their object is not an affected patient, and may be interpreted semantically as having a directional *allative* sense. It is thus of some interest that quite a few instances of the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* in our sample involve either the verb *-gn-'* 'know' or *-id-* 'know'/'see', as in:

(128) autar ho **e**-gn-w   ës-in eni-fresi fwnës-en te   (I.333)
      but   3s **to**-know-NF be-NF in-heart speak-3s TE
      'but knowing in his heart, he spoke'

(129) autika d(e) **e**-gn-w   Pallad(a) Atheniën   (I.200)
      immed. DE **to**-know-NF Pallas   Athene
      'and immediately (he) recognized Pallas Athene'

(130) ofr(a) eu-**e**-id-ës   hosson   feretros ei-mi thesen   (I.185)
      SUB   VER-**to**-know-2s 3s/much better   be-1s 2s
      'so that you may know how much better I am than you'

(131) to de toi   kër **e**-ide-tai   ein-ai   (I.228)
      3s DE 2s/DAT death **to**-seem-IRR be-IRR
      'which may seem to you to be like death(?)'

(132) tw de **ë**-(i)d-ë duo men geneai   meropwn anthrwpwn
3s DE **to**-see-3s two MEN generations mortal   men
e-fthiath-e   (I.250)
ex-die-NF
'he who had seen two generations of mortal men die out'

(133) ina **e**-ido-men   amphw   (I.363)
SUB **to**-see/know-1P/IRR both
'so that we may both see/know'

(134) ammi mantis eu-**e**-id-ws   agoreu-e   (I.385)
1P/DAT seer   VER-**to**-see-NF declare-3s
'and the far-seeing seer announced to us'

(135) ou-te   theos proteros ton ge **e**-ise-tai,   ou-de   anthrwpwn
NEG-TE god   before   2s   EM **to**-know-IRR NEG-DE man
'neither God will know before you, nor man'   (I.548)

d. **The verb 'be in/at'**

Like many other languages, Homeric Greek has a large set of 'be' verbs, some old, phonologically eroded and semantically bleached, others younger, others younger yet and in the process of grammaticalizing as aspectual suffixes on the verb. One of the latter, *-ont-* (var.*-ent-/-ant-*) is of some interest here. When it appears as a main verb, almost invariably in a non-finite form, it almost always displays the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-*. What is more, in such a context it also serves as a glaring counter-example to the 'Augment' rule – that *e-* appears only before verbs beginning with a consonant. In the first example below (136), the main verb is actually another 'be' verb, *-gen-* 'become', 'emerge', 'be born', semantically more bleached here:

(136) oi d(e) epei oun ëgerth-en   hom-ëgere-es
3P DE   then OUN assemble-3P together-gather-NF/PL
e-gen-ont-o   (I.57)
in-be-be-NF
'then when they assembled and were gathered (**in** there) together'

The reason why the presence of *e-* before 'be' verbs may be natural here, even with 'be' verbs that are semantically bleached to the point where they cannot carry any locative sense (viz. the Spanish *ser*), is because semantically bleached 'be' verbs tend to come diachronically from locational 'be' verbs, such as 'stand', 'sit', 'lie' or 'stay' (Heine *et al.* 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993; Heine and Kuteva 2007). My interpretation of the persistent appearance of the 'Augment' *e-* before *-ont-* 'be' thus depends on the universal-prompted supposition that

the now-bleached *-ont-* must have been earlier a *locational* 'be', much like the Spanish *estar*. And that the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* must have been originally *en-* 'in'/'at'.[16] Thus consider:

(137) hos ë-dë ta te **e**-ont-a   ta te esso-men-a pro   te **e**-ont-a,
       3s C-DE 3P TE **to**-be-NF 3P TE be-be-NF   before TE **to**-be-NF
       'of what is (there) and what will be (there) and what has been (there)
       before'   (I.70)

(138) ei de min aikhmëtën e-thes-an   theoi aien **e**-ont-es   (I.290)
       if DE MIN spear.man to-make-3P gods ever **in**-be-NF/PL
       'if the Gods that are (here/there) forever made him a warrior'

(139) kai to-te dë pros-Olumpun iss-an theoi aien **e**-ont-es   (I.494)
       and 3s-TE DE to-Olympus   go-3P gods ever **in**-be-NF/PL
       'the Gods who are (here/there) forever went to Olympus'

(140) mëter, epei m(e) e-tek-es   ge minunthaidion per **e**-ont-a
       mother then 1s   ex-bear-2s EM little.time(?)   THO **in**-be-NF
       'Mother, since you bore me, if it be for but a short time'   (I.352)

(141) aiei toi filon   est-in emeu apo-nosfin **e**-ont-a   (I.541)
       ever 2s pleasure be-NF 1s   from-REF **in**-be-NF
       'it has always been your pleasure to be aloof from me'

The next – and last – example involves another semantically (and phonologically) bleached 'be' verb, where the same argument can be made that the prefix *e-* is a trace of the verb's earlier locative meaning, interpreted here as originally *en-* 'in'/'at':

(142) më   nu(n) toiou khraismw-sin hosoi theoi **e**-is-(ai)   (I.566)
       NEG now 2s   favor-NF/PL   3P   gods **in**-be-IRR
       'lest the gods may not be favorable to you now'

e. **Final recalcitrant residue**
    The last batch of instances in our sample represent a grab-bag to which a more systematic explanation should not be attempted, although individual diachronic hypotheses may suggest themselves in almost each case.

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16. The semantically less specific spatial preposition 'at' is often derived from the more specific 'to' or 'in', a fairly mundane instance of semantic bleaching. Thus the Hebrew locative preposition *b-* can mean either 'in' or 'at'; much like the French *allative a* 'to' can also mean 'at'. Likewise, the Ute bleached general locative *-pa* 'at' was probably the *allative -va*, originally the verb 'go'.

(143) ho d(e) ë-i-e   nukti **e-oik-ws**   (I.47)
       3s DE to-go-3s night **to**-resemble-NF
       'he came (there) resembling (**to**) the night'

(144) tw de ë-(i)d-ë duo men geneai   meropwn anthrwpwn
       3s DE to-see-3s two MEN generations mortal   men
       e-fthiath-e   (I.250)
       ex-die-NF
       'he who had seen two generations of mortal men die **out**'

(145) kratistoi men es-an kai kratistois **e-makh-ont-o**   (I.267)
       mightiest MEN be-3P and mightiest **in**-fight-be-NF
       'they were the mightiest and fought **among** the mightiest'

(146) më-te   su, Pëleidë, e-thel-(w) **e-rize-men-ai** basilëi antibën
       NEG-TE 2s Peleides to-want-IMP **in**-fight-be-IRR king   oppose
       'and don't you, son of Peleus, propose to contend **with/among** the
       king'   (I.277)

(147) teknon emin, ti   nu(n) se **e-tref-on**   (I.414)
       child   1s   WH now 2s **to**-rear-NF
       'my child, why now did I rear you (**to** older age)?'

(148) mëter, epei m(e) e-tek-es   ge minunthaidion per **e-ont-a**
       mother then 1s   ex-bear-2s EM little.time(?) THO **in**-be-NF
       'Mother, since you bore me, if to be (**in/at** here) for but a short time'
                                                            (I.352)

(149) ë-dë men po-te   emeu paros **e-klu-es**   eu-xa-men-oio (I.453)
       C-DE MEN WH-TE 1s   before **ex**-hear-2s VER-pray-be-NF
       'even when you heard (**from**) me praying earlier on'

(150) ou-de   ti   thumos **e-deue-to** daitos eisës   (I.468)
       NEG-DE WH heart   **ex**-lack-NF feast equal
       'and their hearts didn't lack/miss any (**of/from**) the equal feast'

(151) ou-de   ti   thumos **e-deue-to** daitos eisës   (I.602)
       NEG-DE WH heart   **ex**-lack-NF feast equal
       'and their hearts didn't lack/miss any (**of/from**) the equal feast'

5.3 Discussion

The diachrony of grammar, be it of syntactic constructions or of their atten-
dant morphology, follows a well-known life-cycle of regularity or predictability.
At the early stages of its grammaticalization, a novel construction competes for
usage space with the main well-established construction that already occupies

the intended **functional niche**, as well as with other potential contenders vying for the same niche. What is more, the novel construction still functions, **ambiguously**, in both its old and new niche. This engenders a considerable amount of **usage variation**, thus great unpredictability in the use of the emerging construction.

During the mid-life of its diachronic cycle, the new construction has taken over its intended slot in terms of **usage frequency**. This is when it is, both functionally and phonologically, most coherent, when it displays its maximal regularity or predictability, and the least amount of variation.

Lastly, when a construction is nearing the tail end of its diachronic life cycle, it is phonologically eroded and functionally less and less predictable. This is when its usage frequency gets gradually reduced, since it is on its way to being replaced by new contenders that are, both phonologically and functionally, more coherent, regular and predictable.

The pre-verbal 'Augment' *e*- of Homeric Greek exhibits all the signs of being at the tail end of its diachronic life cycle. It is phonologically eroded to a single unstressed vowel. Its pre-verbal occurrence or lack thereof is less than fully predictable. Its semantic contribution to the verbal word is not always transparent. And to top it all off, it faces growing competition from a new generation of prepositions that are crowding in to recapitulate, augment or replace it. Speakers would be sorely tempted to consider this unstressed pre-verbal vowel as just **part of the verb stem**. But by calling it 'Augment' and assigning it multiple and oft-conflicting conditioning contexts one accomplishes relatively little. What is more, one then ignores some of the most relevant facts:

- **Syntactic/semantic distribution**: The 'Augment' appears in coherent and well known verbal/clausal contexts in **71%** of its occurrences in the Homeric text. Of the residue of 44 instances in our sample, only 9 are hard to explain systematically. If one accepts that as a reasonable interpretation, then **146/155**, or **94.1%** of all occurrences of the 'Augment' in our sampled Homeric text conform to our hypothesis.
- **Semantic interaction of the 'Augment' with full-fledged prepositions**, be they pre-nominals, detached ('severed') or pre-verbal. Such interaction seems, rather consistently, to either recapitulate or enrich and augment (no pun intended) the old semantic sense of the eroded *e*-.
- **Dottin's (1894) old intuition** concerning the correlation or interaction of the 'Augment' with the pre-verbal prepositions ('preverbs') that directly precede it.

Last but not least, the hypothesis presented here, brash and unprecedented as it may seem, suggests a natural **explanatory context** within which the elusive 'Augment' *e-* may be interpreted – in a down-to-earth diachronic perspective. What is more, the hypothesis gives a coherent semantic/syntactic account of **71%** – or **94%**, take your pick – of the instances of the 'Augment' in the Homeric text. Such a distribution does not *seem* accidental, random, or incoherent. And all other things being equal, it is much preferable to the plethora of traditional accounts summarized by Willi (2018).

Even if our hypothesis turns out to be ultimately wrong, something one can never rule out, the explanatory imperative of the investigation remains. Or, to quote Karl Popper:

> "…The game of science is, in principle, without end. He who decides one day that scientific statements do not call for any further tests, and that they can be regarded as finally verified, retires from the game…" (*The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, 1934/1959)

But the game goes on.

Abbreviations of grammatical terms

ACC	accusative		IRR	irrealis
ALL	allative		LOC	locative
ASSOC	associative		MANN	manner
ASP	aspect		NEG	negative
C	conjunction		NF	non-finite
CAUS	causative		NOM	nominative
CV	reduplicate first syllable		O	object
DAT	dative		P	preposition
DEM	demonstrative		PA	past
DO	direct object		PL	plural
EM	emphasis		PP	prepositional/postpositional (phrase)
FOR	because			
FUT	future		PROG	progressive
GEN	genitive		REF	referring/reflexive
HAB	habitual		S	subject
IMM	immediate		SUBJ	subjunctive
IMP	imperative		SUB	subordinator
INF	infinitive		THO	though

v	verb	3sf	third person singular
vc	reduplicate first syllable		masculine
ver	intensifier	3sm	third person singular
wh	wh-question		feminine
1s	first person singular	s	singular
1p	first person plural	sf	singular feminine
2s	second person singular	sm	singular masculine
2p	second person plural	p	plural
3s	thirst person singular		

Appendix 1. **Text loci of verbs prefixed by the 'Augment' *e*-** (Books I,II,III,IV,V,IV of Iliad)

I.2, I.5, I.12, I.25, I.32, I.33, I.33, I.35, I.39, I.40, I.43, I.43, I.46, I.47. I.47, I.48, I.48, I.57, I.62, I.64, I.68, I.70, I.70, I.96, I.101, I.108, I.111, I.116, I.118, I.120, I.133, I.137, I.138, I.141, I.151, I.152, I.155, I.167, I.169, I.178, I.185, I.190, I.192, I.194, I.194, I.195, I.197, I.199, I.200, I.202, I.204, I.207, I.208, I.210, I.218, I.228, I.236, I.244, I.246, I.247, I.250, I.250, I.251, I.267, I.269, I.277, I.277, I.279, I.286, I.287, I.288, I.290, I.297, I.303, I.306, I.310, I.311, I.322, I.323, I.324, I.329, I.332, I.133, I.349, I.352, I.352, I.354, I.356, I.357, I.358, I.361, I.363, I.370, I.382, I.385, I.391, I.394, I.401, I.406, I.408, I.409, I.410, I.412, I.414, I.415, I.417, I.419, I.419, I.423, I.426, I.436, I.436, I.445, I.448, I.453, I.457, I.457, I.459, I.460, I.464, I.468, I.475, I.483, I.485, I.494, I.498, I.501, I.505, I.507, I.512, I.513, I.518, I.530, I.534, I.535, I.541, I.548, I.552, I.558, I.562, I.566, I.567, I.568, I.575, I.584, I.596, I.602, I.606, I.609

II.10, II.12, II.19, II.20, II.22, II.27, II.29, II.35, II.36, II.39, II.41, II.42, II.44, II.47, II.49, II.52, II.56, II.58, II.59, II.64, II.66, II.97, II.99, II.99, II.100, II.106, II.112, II.119, II.123, II.125, II.127, II.132, II.152, II.155, II.156, II.164, II.165, II.166, II.169, II.179, II.180, II.185, II.187, II.189, II.194, II.199, II.211, II.211, II.212, II.214, II.216, II.228, II.237, II.240, II.247, II.247, II.249, II.265, II.268, II.272, II.274, II.275, II.280, II.284, II.294, II.302, II.305, II.308, II.309, II.314, II.316, II.317, II.318, II.319, II.320, II.320, II.324, II.326, II.332, II.333, II.343, II.351, II.357, II.373, II.375, II.381, II.381, II.386, II.387, II.391, II.394, II.395, II.399, II.400, II.408, II.419, II.422, II.422, II.428, II.429, II.429, II.431. II.440, II.441, II.444, II.457, II.567, II.470, II.480, II.484, II.492, II.504, II.516, II.522, II.530, II.531, II.534, II.538, II.555, II.571, II.578, II.583, II.584, II.593, II.602, II.611, II.615, II.617, II.633, II.635, II.637, II.639, II.643, II.652, II.667, II.673, II.681, II.682, II.686, II.692, II.694, II.700, II.701, II.709, II.711, II.716, II.719, II.723, II.724, II.728, II.733, II.738, II.743, II.750, II.751, II.764, II.776, II.786, II.794/5, II.800, II.800, II.807, II.809, II.823, II.824, II.827, II.831, II.832, II.845, II.859, II.860, II.874, II.875

VI.6, VI.9, VI.13, VI.16, VI.18, VI.19, VI.28, VI.37, VI.40, V.43 VI.45, VI.51, VI.52, VI.61, VI.66, VI. 80, VI.94, VI.102, VI.105, VI.106, VI.106, VI.109, VI.110, VI.126, VI.128(**ei-!!**), VI.131, VI.139, VI.139, VI.141, VI.145, VI.150, VI.153, VI.156, VI.158, VI.159, VI.165, VI.165, VI.170, VI.175, VI.176, VI.179, VI.188, VI.196, VI.199, VI.205, VI.206, VI.210, VI.217, VI.223, VI.229, VI.239, VI.251, VI.252, VI.253, VI.256, VI.269, VI.275, VI.279, VI.282, VI.286, VI.290, VI.295, VI.295, VI.300, VI.302, VI.304, VI.309/310, VI.311, VI.314, VI.316, VI.333, VI.334, VI.336, VI.354, VI.362, VI.364, VI.365, VI.377, VI.381, VI.386, VI.393, VI.393, VI.394, VI.396, VI.403, VI.407, VI.410, VI.416, VI.426, VI.431, VI.434, VI.435, VI.438, VI.438(**?**), VI.465, VI.468, VI.471, VI.472, VI.482, VI.484, VI.485, VI.501, VI.513, VI.515, VI.515, VI.519, VI.519, VI.523, VI.528

The pre-verbal 'Augment' *e*- in Homeric Greek when preceded by prepositions

6.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter I suggested that the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e*- in Homeric Greek represents an **earlier cycle** of cliticization of prepositions in front of the verb, noting that this hypothesis is supported by the rather coherent distribution of 'augmented' verbs in the classes of verbal clauses that, universally, take adposition-marked indirect objects. This distribution predicted, at the level of at least **71%** and possibly as high as **94%**, the occurrence of 'augmented' verbs in the Homeric text. I also suggested that the plethora of multi-factored accounts of the 'augment' offered in the traditional Classicist literature, admirably recounted by Willi (2018), in no way came close to offering a coherent alternative explanation, be it synchronic or diachronic.

In this chapter I will further test the hypothesis by investigating an additional data set, that of verbs where the 'Augment' vowel *e*- is preceded by one or more prepositions. The position of the 'Augment' closer to the verb stem, its reduced phonological size and the growing arbitrariness of its meaning all suggest earlier grammaticalization.[1]

The phonological collapse of the three prepositions in the early cliticization cycle into the single vowel *e*- resulted in a three-way ambiguity of *en*- 'in/at', *ex/ek*- 'out/from' and *eis*- 'to'. The second cycle, with prepositions cliticizing in front of already-'augmented' verbs, may have been prompted by the need to either *recapitulate* or *augment* the semantic value of the three collapsed prepositions.

6.2 Functional-syntactic context

When verbs with the 'Augment' *e*- are preceded by one or more prepositions, they are typically found in the very same verbal-clausal contexts as verbs 'augmented' by *e*- alone (Chapter 5):

1.　See Givón 1971, 2000.

- intransitive verbs that take locative, allative, ablative or more abstract indirect objects
- bi-transitive verbs that take locative, allative, ablative or more abstract indirect objects
- clauses with optional locative, instrumental, associative or benefactive indirect objects regardless of verb type
- a relatively small residue due to further diachronic change.

In the following sections, we will survey in order all the instances of such constructions found in Books I, II and III of the Iliad.

6.2.1 Intransitive verbal clause with indirect objects

6.2.1.1 Concrete location or motion verbs

Consider first clauses with the verb 'stand' (-*st*-), where the presumed original value of *e*- as *en*- 'in/at'[2] is augmented by *ana*- 'up' or *efi*- 'on':

(1) toisi d(e) **an(a)**-e-st-e   Kalkhas Thestoridës   (I. 69)
     3P   DE   **up**-in-stand-3s Calchas Thestor's.son
     'and among them stood **up** Calchas son of Thestor'

(2) toisi de **an(a)**-e-st-ë   euru kreiwn Agamemnwn akhnu-men-os
     3P   DE   **up**-in-stand-3s wide ruler   Agamemnon angry-be-NF
     'then among them stood **up** angry wide-ruling Agamemnon'   (I.102)

(3) ho-t(i) **ef(i)**-ë-sth-a   kelain.efei Krwniwni oïë   en-athanatoisin
     3s-WH **on**-in-standNF dark.clouds Kronos.son alone in-immortals
     'that you alone among the immortals stood **up** (there)'   (I.397)

(4) theon de ama-pantes **an(a)**-e-st-an   (I.533)
     gods DE with-all   **up**-to-stand-3P
     'and the Gods all stood **up** together'

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2. The general locative 'at' often arises from the more specific *allative* 'to' or *inclusive* 'in'. One of the best illustrations for the extension of *en*- 'in' to the more neutral locative 'at' is the high-frequency in the Homeric text use of *en-tha*, lit. 'in-it', meaning 'there' and eventually 'then'; as in:

      en-tha kath(a)-e-ud-e   ana-b-as   (I.611)
      in-3s   down-in-sleep-3s up-go-NF
      'going to sleep down (**in/at**) there'

On occasion, one finds the eroded *e-* augmented by *ana-* 'up' together with another preposition, or even two, as in:

(5) oi d(e) **ep(i)-an(a)**-e-stës-an peith-ont-o poimeni lawn   (II.85)
     3P DE **on-up**-in-stand-3P   obey-be-NF shepherd host/GEN
     'and they stood **up**, obeying the shepherd of the hosts'

(6) smwdix d(e) aimateossa meta-frenou **ex-hup(o)-an(a)**-e-st-e   (II.267)
     weal   DE bloody   with-spirit(?) **ex-under-up**-in-stand-3s
     skëptrou hupo-khruseou
     scepter   under-golden
     'and a bloody weal stood **out up from under** the golden scepter'

Likewise, *hupo-* 'under', *apo-* 'away from', or *para-* 'by' can augment the eroded *e-* all by themselves, as in in (7), (8) and (9) below, in mundane standing situations:

(7) hën per **hup(o)**-e-st-an   (II.286)
     3SF THO **under**-in-stand-3s
     'though they stood **under** (there)'

(8) hws d(e) ho-te tis   drakonta id-wn palinorsos **ap(o)**-e-st-ë (III.33)
     as DE 3s-TE WH snake   see-NF glades   **from**-ex-stand-3s
     'and he stood back **away from** (it) like one seeing a glades snake'

(9) touneka dë nun deuro dolo-froneous-a **par(a)**-e-st-ës   (III.405)
     CAUS   DE now there guile-carry-NF   **by**-in-stand-NF
     'because of this you are now standing **by** there so guileful'

Consider next the verb 'sit', where the eroded 'Augment' *e-* presumably stood for *en-* 'in/at', and is often augmented by *kata-* 'down', as in:

(10) kai hra paroi-th(e) autoio **kath(a)**-e-ze-to   (I.360)
     and HRA front-from DEM/s **down**-in-sit-NF
     'and (she) sat **down** before him'

(11) hos hra   para-Krwniwni **kath(a)**-e-ze-to   (I.405)
     3s HRA by-Cronos'.son **down**-in-sit-NF
     '(for) he sat **down** by the son of Cronos'

(12) kai hra paroi-the   autoio **kath(a)**-e-ze-to   (I.500)
     and HRA before-LOC DEM/s **down**-in-sit-NF
     'so she sat **down** before him'

(13) hos ho men en-tha **kath(a)**-e-ze-to epi-thronou   (I.536)
     so   3s MEN in-3s   **down**-in-sit-NF on-throne/GEN
     'thus he sat **down** there on his throne'

The augmenting preposition can also be *para-* 'by', 'next to' or *epi-* on', as in:

(14) ëerië gar soi ge **par(a)**-e-ze-to kai lab-e gounwn (I.557)
      dawn FOR 2s EM **by**-in-sit-NF and hold-3s knees
      'for in the (early) dawn she sat **by** you and held you knees'

(15) twn nun min mnësas-a **par(a)**-e-ze-o lab-e gounwn (I.407)
      3s now MIN remember-NF **by**-in-sit-IMP hold-IMP knees
      'you now remind him this, sit **by** him and hold (his) knees'

(16) tettigesin e-oikot-es, oi te kath(a)-hulën dendrew **ef(i)**-e-zo-men-oi
      cicadas to-like-PL 3P TE down-forest tree **on**-in-sit-be-NF/PL
      'like cicadas, who sit down **on** a forest tree' (III.151)

In one exceptional case, the 'Augment' *e-* appears to be sandwiched between two full-fledged prepositions, further highlighting the claim that it is a bleached older preposition:

(17) ourous t(e) **ex-e-kath(a)**-air-on (II.153)
      launch.ways TE **ex-ex-down**-sit(?)-NF
      'and sitting **down away from** the launc-ways'

Next, consider the motion verb(s) 'go'. It is frequently used with the 'Augment' *e-*, which presumably stands for either the *allative e(i)s-* 'to' or the *ablative ex-* 'from', and may be recapitulated or augmented by various prepositions, as in:

(18) hws ara fones-as **ap(o)**-e-bese-to (I.428)
      SO ARA speak-NF **from**-ex-go-NF
      'so speaking, she went **away from** (there)'

(19) ëerië d(e) **an(a)**-e-b-ë megan ouranon Oulumpon te (I.497)
      morning DE **up**-to-go-3s big mount/sky Olympus TE
      'and in early morning went **up to** high-sky Olympus'

(20) hws ara fwnes-as **ap(o)**-e-bese-to (II.35)
      SO ARA speak-NF **from**-ex-go-NF
      'having thus spoken, he (Dream) went **away** (**from** there)'

(21) ëos men hra thea **pros**-e-bëse-to makron Olumpon, (II.48)
      Dawn MEN HRA goddess **to**-to-go-NF great Olympus
      'now the goddess Dawn went up **to** high Olympus'

(22) hos t(e) oiwn mega pwu **di(a)**-e-rkhe-tai argennawn
      3s TE alone great flock(?) **through**-in-walk-IRR white (sheep)
      'that is pacing alone **among** a great flock of white sheep' (III.198)

Likewise with the verb(s) 'come', where the eroded 'Augment' *e-* must have been originally either the *allative e(i)s-* 'to' or the *ablative ex-* 'from', recapitulated or augmented by various prepositions, as in:

(23) hws oun deina pelwpa theon **eis**-e-lth(-e) hekatombas (II.321)
as OUN dread portent gods **to**-to-come hecatombs
'so has the dread portent come (crashing) **onto** the hecatombs of the gods'

(24) ë-de kai Frygiën **eis**-ë-luth-on ampel-oessan (III.184)
C-DE and Phrygian/GEN **to**-to-come-NF much-wine
'and having come **to** the wine-blessed Phrygia'

(25) thewn d(e) **apo**-e-ik-e keleuthou (III.406)
gods DE **from**-ex-come-IMP calls
'but stay **away from** the gods' command'

(26) karpalimws de **an(a)**-e-d-u poliës halos ëu-te omikhle (I.359)
immediate DE **up**-ex-rise-NF gray sea VER-TE mist
'and she immediately came **up/out of** the gray sea like the very mist'

(27) autar epei **kat(a)**-e-d-u lampon faos ëelioio (I.605)
but then **down**-ex-come-NF light bright sun/GEN
'but then when the bright light of the sun had come **down**'

The same general pattern of fairly transparent recapitulation or augmentation of the old sense of the 'Augment' *e-* is evident with the many other, less-frequent, location or motion verbs, all fitting snugly into the same general intransitive syntactic frame, as in:

(28) oi men epei-t(a) ana-bant-es **ep(i)**-e-pleit-on hugra keleutha (I.312)
3P MEN then-3s up-go-NF/PL **on**-to-sail-NF water path
'then they went up sailing **over** the watery path'

(29) toi d(e) al-alë-tw nëas **ep(i)**-e-sseu-ont-o (II.149)
3sp DE VC-shout-NF ships **on**-to-rush-be-NF
'and shouting, they rushed over **onto** the ships'

(30) oi d(e) agorën-de autis **ep(i)**-e-ssou-ont-o (II.208)
3P DE agora-to DEM/PL **on**-to-hurry-be-NF
'and they themselves hurried noisily **onto** the agora'

(31) alla su men nun nëusi **par(a)**-ë-men-os wku-poroisi (I.421)
but 2s MEN now ships **by**-in-stay-NF fast-moving/PL
'but you do stay on **by** the fast-moving ships'

(32) all(a) hë ge **an(a)**-e-dusse-to kuma thalassës   (I.496)
but   3SF EM **up**-ex-rise-NF   waves sea/GEN
'but she rose **up** out of the waves of the sea'

(33) tw g(e) hws boules-ant-e, **di(a)**-e-tmag-en   (I.531)
3d EM so   consult-be-NF **through**-ex-cut-3P
'thus the two of them, having consulted, parted company **from**
(each other)'

(34) Trwessi de këde **ef(i)**-e-pt-ai   (II.15)
Trojans DE woes **on**-to-hang-IRR
'and woes may hang **onto** the Trojans'

(35) Trwessi de këde **ef(i)**-ë-pt-ai   ek-Dios   (II.32)
Trojans DE woe **on**-to-hang-IRR ex-Zeus
'and woes may hang **onto** the Trojans by (the will of) Zeus'

(36) Trwessi de këde **ef(i)**-ë-pt-ai   ek-Dios   (II.69)
Trojans DE woes **on**-to-hang-IRR/PL ex-Zeus
'and woes may hang **onto** the Trojans by (the will of) Zeus'

(37) en-tha **kath(a)**-e-ud-e   ana-b-as   (I.611)
in-3s **down**-in-sleep-3s up-go-NF
'going up to sleep **down** there'

(38) thein de min **amf(i)**-e-khu-t(o) omfë   (II.41)
godly DE MIN **about**-in-ring-NF ears
'with a divine (voice) ringing **about in** his ears'

Another case of two prepositions doubling before the 'Augment' *e-* may be
seen in (39) below, with one of them presumably recapitulating the original
en- 'in/at', while the other augmenting it with *epi-* 'on':

(39) psednë d(e) **ep(i)**-**en**-e-noth-e lakhnë   (II.219)
thin(?) DE **on**-**in**-in-grow-3s stubble
'and the stubble grew thin **on in/at** (there)'

Next, consider the near-formulaic use of various preposition to augment
'live in/at':

(40) oi te Laan eikh-on ë-de Oitulon **amf(i)**-e-nem-ont-o,   (II.585)
3s TE Laas have-NF C-DE Oetylus **about**-in-live-be-NF
'and (those) who held Laas and lived **about/in** Oetylus',

(41) hos po-te Doulikhion-de **ap(o)**-e-nassa-to   (II.629)
3P WH-TE Dulichium-LOC **from**-ex-live-NF
'the one who later on lived **away from/out of** Dulichium'

(42) ë-de oi Samon **amf(i)**-e-nem-ont-o,   (II.634)
      C-DE 3P Samos about-in-dwell-be-NF
      'and those who lived **about/in** Samos'

(43) alloi   th(e) oi Krëtën hekatom-polin **amf(i)**-e-nem-ont-o   (II.649)
      others TE   3P Cretans hundred-cities **about**-in-dwell-be-NF
      'and all the others dwelled **about/in** Crete of the hundred cities'

(44) oi Hrodon   **amf(i)**-e-nem-ont-o dia-trikha   kosmes-ent-es
      3P Rhodians **about**-in-live-be-NF through-three marshal-be-NF/PL
      'now those who dwelled **about/in** Rhodes divided into three' (II.655)

(45) oi d(e) ara   Perkwtën kai Praktion **amf(i)**-e-nem-ont-o   (II.835)
      3S DE   ARA Percote   and Practius **around**-in-live-be-NF
      'and those who lived **about/in** Percote and Practius'

(46) oi hra Kutwron ekh-on kai Sësamon **amf(i)**-e-nem-ont-o
      3P HRA Cytorus have-NF and Sesamon **about**-in-dwell-be-NF
      'they hold Cytorus and live **about/in** Sesamon'   (II.853)

Many other examples of verbs with assorted locative or directional indirect objects may be seen below, with the presumed old senses of the 'Augment' *e-* augmented by various prepositions:

(47) hippoi de para-armasin oisin   hekastos lwton
      horses DE by-chariots   alone/PL each   lotus
      ep(i)-e-pto-men-oi   (II.775)
      on-to-chew-be-BF/PL
      'and the horses, each standing by its own car, were chewing **on/to** lotus'

(48) gaia d(e) **hup(o)**-e-stenakhiz-e   (II.781)
      earth DE   **under**-to-groan-3s
      'and the earth groaned **under** (their feet)'

(49) mala d(e) wka **di(a)**-e-prës-on   pedioi   (II.785)
      much DE   fast **through**-to-hurry-NF plain
      '(as they were) hurrying (**to** their eestination) **through** the plain'

(50) ë men dë mala polla makhas **eis**-ë-loth-on   andrwn   (II.798)
      C MEN DE more many battles **to**-in-enter(?)-NF men/GEN
      'many times (before) have I intervened **into** such battles of men'

(51) en-tha to-te Trwes(i) te **di(a)**-e-krith-en   ë-d(e) epikouroi
      in-3s 3s-TE Trojans TE **through**-ex-split-3P C-DE allies
      'right there the Trojans and the allies separated **from** (each other)'
                                                            (II.815)

(52) mala d(e) wka **di(a)**-e-pres-on   pedioio   (III.14)
more DE fast **through**-to-hurry-NF plain/GEN
'and they pressed onward quickly **through/across** the plain'

(53) **kat(a)**-ë-fei-ën   de soi   auto   (III.51)
down-to-downcast-3P DE 2s/DAT DEM/s
'and you yourself (your spirits) cast **down** in shame'

(54) aps(o) d(e) **an(a)**-e-khores-en   (III.35)
back   DE **up**-ex-go-3s
'and he pulls back **up from** (there)'

(55) tw d(e) **ep(i)**-e-toxaz-ont-o   karë komo-wnt-es Akaioi   (III.79)
3s DE **on**-to-aim.bow-be-NF long hair-be-NF   Achaeans
'but the long-haired Achaeans kept aiming (their bows) **on/at** him'

(56) ois d(e) ho geron **met(a)**-e-ës-in   (III.109)
3s DE 3s old **with**-in-be-NF
'but whatever an old man partakes **with/in**'

(57) ois d(e) ho geron **met(a)**-e-ës-in,   (III.109)
3s DE 3s old **with**-in-be-NF
'but whatever the old man took part **in/with**'

(58) khwron men prwton **di(a)**-e-metre-on   (III.315)
ground MEN first   **through**-to-measure-NF
'first measuring **through** the ground'

(59) **an(a)**-e-gnamfth-ë de hoi aikhmë   (III.348)
up-ex-bounce-3s DE 3s point
'but his (bronze) point bounced **up off** (the shield)'

(60) keinë de trufaleia **am(a)**-e-spe-to   kheiri pakheïë   (III.376)
REF   DE helmet **with**-ex-come.out-NF hands strong
'and the helmet came **off** (the head) in his strong hands'

(61) ou   gar pw po-te   m(e) hw-de g(e) erws frenas
NEG FOR WH WH-TE 1s   3s-DE EM desire heart
amf(i)-e-kalups-en   (III.442)
about-to-cover-3s
'for never has any such desire come **over** my heart'

6.2.1.2 **Intransitive verbs with more abstract indirect objects**

The 'Augment' *e-*, recapitulated or augmented by prepositions, is found just as frequently in clauses with abstract indirect objects. Consider first the near formulaic use of the verbs 'speak to' or 'say to' when augmented by *meta-* 'with':

(62) toisi   de an(a)-ista-men-os **met(a)**-e-f-ë   podas wkus Akhilleus
      3P/DAT DE up-stand-be-NF   **with**-to-speak-3s feet   swift Achilles
      'then, rising, swift-footed Achilles spoke **with/to** them'   (I.58)

(63) ho sfin eu-frone-wn   agoresë-to **met(a)**-e-eip-en   (I.73)
      3s REF VER-intend-NF address-NF **with**-to-speak-3s
      'then he addressed their gathering with good intent and spoke **with/to**
      (them)'

(64) ho sfin eu-froneron agorësa-to kai **met(a)**-e-eip-en   (I. 253)
      3s REF VER-intent   address-NF and **with**-to-say-3s
      'he addressed (their gathering) with good intent and spoke **with/to**
      (them)'

(65) ho sfin eu-frone-wn   agorësa-to kai **met(a)**-e-eip-en   (II.78)
      3s REF VER-intend-NF address-NF and **with**-to-say-3s
      'and with good intent he addressed them) and said **with/to** (them)'

(66) ho sfin eu-fronewn agorësa-to kai **met(a)**-e-eip-e   (II.283)
      3s REF VER-intent speak-NF and **with**-to-say-3s
      'and he addressed them with good intent and spoke **with/to** (them)'

(67) toisi de kai **met(a)**-e-eip-e Gerënios hippota Nestwr   (II.336)
      3P   DE and **with**-to-speak-3s Gerenian horseman Nestor
      'then Nestor the Gerenian Horseman spoke **with/to** them'

(68) toisin d(e) eu-kho-men-os **met(a)**-e-f-e   kreiwn Agamemnwn
      3P   DE   VER-pray-be-NF **with**-to-say-3s king   Agamemnon
      'and king Agamemnon, praying, spoke **with/to** them'   (II.411)

(69) toisi de kai **met(a)**-e-eip-e boën   agathos Menelaos   (III.96)
      3P   DE and **with**-to-speak-3s war.cry good   Menelaus
      'then good-at-the-war-cry Menelaus spoke **with/to** them'

(70) toisi de kai **met(a)**-e-eip-en anax andrwn Agamemnwn (III.455)
      3P   DE and **with**-to-say-3P king men?GEN Agamemnon
      'then king-of-men Agamemnon spoke **with/to** them'

   Consider next the equally formulaic use of the preposition *pro(s)*- 'to', 'to-
ward' to recapitulate the presumed sense 'to' of *e-* in verbs of speaking or saying:

(71) ton de ap(o)-am(a)-ei-bo-men-os **pros**-e-f-ë   podas   (I.84)
      him DE from-with-to-answer-be-NF **to**-to-say-3s feet
      wkus Akhilleus:
      fast Achilles
      '(then) responding to him, swift-footed Achilles said **to** (him)'

(72) ton de ap(o)-am(a)-ei-bo-men-os **pros**-e-f-ë   kreiwn   (I.130)
      3s DE from-with-to-answe-be-NF **for**-to-say-3s lord
      Agamemnwn
      Agamemnon
      'Then answering him, Lord Agamemnon said **to** (him)'

(73) Kalkhanta protista kak(o) osso-men-os **pros**-e-eip-e   (I.105)
      Calchas   foremost bad   look-be-NF **to**-to-speak-3s
      'and looking most evil, he spoke first **to** Calchas'

(74) to de ara hup(o)-oda id-wn **pros**-e-f-ë   podas wkus Akhilleus
      3s DE ARA under-brow see-NF **to**-to-speak-3s swift feet Achilles
      'then, looking from under his brows, swift-footed Achilles spoke **to**
      (him)'   (I.148)

(75) ton de aute   **pros**-e-eip-e thea   leukw-lenos Athënë   (I.206)
      3s DE DEM/SF **to**-to-say-3s goddess white-eye   Athena
      '(and) the white-eyed goddess Athena, said **to** (him)'

(76) Peleidës   de ex-autis atraptepois epeessin Atreidën
      Peleus.son DE ex-DEM/s violent   words   Atreus'.son
      pros-e-eip-e,   (I.223)
      to-to-say-3s
      'then the son of Peleus himself said violent words **to** the son of Atreus'

(77) ton d(e) ap(o)-am(a)-ei-bo-men-os **pros**-e-f-e   kreiwn
      3s DE from-with-to-reply-be-NF **to**-to-say-3s lord
      Agamemnwn: (I.285)
      Agamemnon
      'then answering him, lord Agamemnon said **to** (him)'

(78) alla ho ge Talthubion te kai Eurybatën **pros**-e-eip-e   (I.320/1)
      but 3s EM Talthybius TE and Eurybatus **to**-to-speak-3s
      'but he spoke **to** Talthybius and Eurybates'

(79) tën de baru stenakhwn **pros**-e-f-ë   podas wkus Akhilleus
      3SF DE deep heart   **to**-to-speak-3s feet fast Achilles
      'then from deep in his hear fast-footed Achilles spoke **to** her' (I.364)

(80) patri   filw en-khersi tis-ei kai min **pros**-e-eip-en   (I.441)
      father/ALL dear in-hand   put-3s and MIN **to**-to-say-3s
      'and he put her in her dear father's arms and said **to** (him)'

(81) lisso-men-ë **pros**-e-eip-e Dia Kroniwna   anakta'   (I.502)
      pray-be-a/NF **to**-to-speak-3s Zeus Cronos/GEN king
      'and praying, he spoke **to** king Zeus son of Cronos'

(82) tën de ou ti **pros**-e-f-ë nefelë-gereta Zeus (I.511)
 3SF DE NEG WH **to**-to-say-3s cloud.gatherer Zeus
 'but cloud-gathering Zeus said nothing **to** her'

(83) tën de mega okhthes-as **pros**-e-f-ë nefelë-gereta Zeus (I.517)
 3SF DE much troubled-NF **to**-to-speak-3s cloud-shaker Zeus
 'then, much troubled, cloud-shaker Zeus spoke **to** her'

(84) depas amphi-kupellon mëtri filë en-kheiri tith-ei kai min
 cup with-double/ACC mother dear in-hand put-3s and MIN
 pros-e-eip-e (I.584/5)
 to-to-say-3s
 'he put the double cup in his dear mother's hand and spoke **to** (her)'

(85) ankhou d(e) ista-men-ë **pros**-e-f-ë glauk.wpis Athënë: (II.172)
 near DE stand-be-NF **to**-to-say-3s bright-eyed Athena
 'then standing near (him), bright-eyed Athena said **to** (him)'

(86) tw min e-eisa-men-os **pros**-e-fone-e theios Oneiros (II.22)
 3s MIN to-equal-be-NF **to**-to-speak-3s god Dream
 'and likening himself to him, the god of Dream spoke **to** (them)'

(87) ton d(e) ap(o)-am(a)-ei-bo-men-os **pros**-e-f-ë kreiwn
 3s DE from-with-to-reply-be-NF **to**-to-say-3s ruler
 Agamemnwn (II.369)
 Agamemnon
 '(then) king Agememnon, replying to him, spoke **to** (him)'

(88) ou-de ti min **pros**-e-fwne-on (I.332)
 NEG-DE WH MIN **to**-to-speak-NF
 'and he himself didn't speak at all **to** (them)'

(89) tën de ap(o)-am(a)-ei-bo-men-os **pros**-e-f-ë podas wkus
 3SF DE from-with-to-answer-be-NF **to**-to-say-3s feet swift
 Akhilleus (I.215)
 Achilles
 'responding, swift-footed Achilles then said **to** (her)'

(90) ankhou d(e) ista-men-ë **pros**-e-f-ë podas wkeas Iris (II.790)
 near DE stand-be-NF **to**-to-speak-3s feet fast Iris
 'and standing near (him), swift-footed Iris spokes **to** (them)'

(91) tw min e-eirë-men-ë **pros**-e-f-ë podas wkea Iris (I.794/5)
 3s MIN to-liken-be-NF **to**-to-speak-3s feet fast Iris
 'then likening herself to him, swift-footed Iris spoke **to** (him)'

(92) ankhou d(e) ista-men-ë **pros**-e-f-ë podas wkas Iris (III.129)
near DE stand-be-NF **to**-speak-3s feet fast Iris
'then standing near (her), swift-footed Iris spoke **to** (her)'

(93) grëi de min eikuia palai-genei **pros**-e-eip-en (III.386)
old.woman DE MIN likeness(?) old-born **to**-to-speak-3s
'and she spoke **to** her in the likeness of an ancient lady'

(94) të min e-eisa-men-ë **pros**-e-fwne-e di(a) Afroditë: (III.389)
3SF MIN in/to-like-be-NF **to**-to-speak-3s godly Aphrodita
'and in her likeness godly Aphrodita spoke **to** (her)'

(95) tën de kholwsa-men-ë **pros**-e-fwne-e di(a) Afroditë: (III.413)
3SF DE angry-be-NF **to**-to-speak-3s godly Aphrodite
'then godly Aphrodite spoke **to** her angrily'

(96) tën de Paris muthoisin am(a)-ei-bo-men-os **pros**-e-eip-e: (III.437)
2SF DE Paris words with-to-answer-NF **to**-to-say-3s
'then Paris, answering her with words, said **to** (her)'

For contrast, consider the augmentation of *e-*, presumably 'to' again, with *ex-* 'out':

(97) hw- de gar **ex**-e-re-w, to de kai teles-men-on est-ai
as-DE FOR **ex**-to-speak-1s 3s DE and make.pass-be-NF be-IRR
'for just as I shall speak **out**, it shall come to pass' (I.212)

Consider next the formulaic augmentation of the presumed 'to' sense of *e-* by *ama-* 'with' in the verb 'answer/reply'. What is striking in the three examples below is how the more common *ei-* 'to', as in (87), (89) above, is fully reduced here to *e-*, again underscoring our hypothesis:[3]

(98) ton de **am(a)**-e-bei-to pod-arkes dios Akhilleus:' (I. 121)
3s DE **with**-to-answer-NF foot-swift godly Achilles
'then swift-footed godly Achilles replied **to** him'

(99) ton de **ëm(a)**-e-bei-to epei-ta Thetis (I.413)
3s DE **with**-to-reply-NF then-3s Thetis
'then Thetis replied **to** him'

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3. The more common augmentation of 'to' *ei-/e-* in 'answer', with both *apo-* 'from' and *ama-* 'with', still needs to be explained in terms of the semantic history of this rather frequent verb in the Homeric text.

(100)   ton de **ëm(a)**-e-bei-to   epeita bo-wpis potnia Hërë   (I.551)
        3s   DE **with**-to-reply-NF then   oxeyed   queen Hera
        'then ox-eyed queen Hera replied **to** him'

Consider, lastly, the augmentations by various prepositions of the presumed 'to', 'from' or 'in' senses of *e-*, used with other more abstract verbs, with the contribution of the preposition becoming, on occasion, semantically opaque:[4]

(101)   ei dë soi pan ergon **hup(o)**-e-izo-mai   (I.294)
        if DE 2s all work **under**-to-yield-1s/FUT
        'if I were to yield **to** you in all matters'

(102)   Patroklos de filw **ep(i)**-e-peith-e hetairw   (I.345)
        Patroclus DE dear **on**-to-listen-3s comrade
        'and Patroclus listened **to** his dear comrade'

(103)   ton kai **hup(o)**-e-d(e)-deis-an makares theoi   (I.406)
        3s and **under**-ex-CV-fear-3P blessed gods
        'and the blessed gods were afraid **of/from** him'

(104)   pasin de **met(a)**-e-prep-en   hërwessin,   (II.579)
        all   DE **with**-in-surpass(?)-3s warriors
        'he was pre-eminent **among/in** all the warriors'

(105)   hës **ep(i)**-e-pith(o)-men   (II.341)
        3pf **on**-in-believe-1P
        'the one **on/in** which we trust'

6.2.2 **Bi-transitive verbs**

The clausal context surveyed in this section pertains, as in Chapter 5 above, to bi-transitive verbs of transfer that involve, at their concrete prototype, a subject/agent causing an direct object/patient to change to, from, into or out of some location – the indirect object. The examples are sufficiently transparent and will be listed in order, with the preposition either augmenting or recapitulating the presumed old sense of the 'Augment' *e-*. The semantic contribution of the added preposition is sometime more transparent and sometime less so.

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4. Cunliffe's (1924/1963) *Lexicon* often does not give the sense of verbal roots, or even 'augmented' stems, but rather of the whole verbal word, 'Augment' and preposition included.

(106)   tis t(e) ara sfwe thewn   eridi **xun**-e-ёk-e   makhes-thai
        WH TE ARA REF gods/GEN quarrel **with**-to-bring-3s fight-IRR
        'who of the contesting(?) gods then brought them (there) **together** to
        fight?'   (I.8)

(107)   tox(a) wmoisin ekh-wn **amf(i)**-e-refe-a   te faretren   (I.45)
        bow   shoulders hold-NF **about**-to-cover-NF TE quiver
        'carrying the bow on his shoulders and the quiver covered-**over**'

(108)   alla ta men poliwn   **ex**-e-prazo-men   (I. 125)
        but 3P MEN cities-ACC **ex**-ex-take-1P
        'but that which we took **from** the cities'

(109)   alla ta men poliwn   **ex**-e-patho-men   (I.127)
        but 3P MEN cities/ACC **ex**-ex-sack-1P
        'but that which we took **from** the cities'

(110)   twn ouk an ti   fero-is   **an(a)**-e-l-on   (I.301)
        3s   NEG AN WH carry-2s **up**-ex-take-NF
        'you may not carry and take **up/away** any of it'

(111)   Atreidёs de ara nea thoёn   hala-de **pro**-e-russ-en   (I.308)
        Atreides DE ARA ship fast/ACC sea-LOC **to**-in-launch(?)-3s
        'while the son of Atreus launched a swift ship **into** the sea'

(112)   ou-d(e) Agamemnwn lёg(-e)   eridos tё prwton **ep(i)**-ё-peilёs-(e)
        NEG-DE Agamemnon leave-3s strife 3s before **on**-to-threaten-3s
        Akhilёi   (I.319)
        Achilles/DAT
        'and Agamenon did not let go of the strife **with** which he had earlier
        threatened Achiles'

(113)   **hup(o)**-e-lusa-o   desmwn   (I.401)
        under-ex-loose-IMP bond/ACC
        'and release him **from** his bonds'

(114)   tёn de eis-hormon **pro**-e-res-an eretmois   (I.435)
        3SF DE to-anchorage **to**-to-row-3P oars
        'then they rowed her with oars **to** the anchorage place'

(115)   kouroi krёtёras **ep(i)**-e-steps-ant-o potoio   (I.470)
        youths bowls   **on**-in-pour-be-NF drink/GEN
        'the youth poured (fresh) drinks **into** their bowls'

(116)   Zeus me megas Kronidёs   atё **en**-e-dёs-e   bareiё skhetlios
        Zeus 1s great Chronos'-son bad **in**-in-trap-3s deep   obstinate
        'Zeus the great son of Chronos trapped me **in** deep obstinacy' (II.111)

(117) kai sfin thespesion plouton **kat(a)**-e-kheu-e Kroniwn'   (II.670)
and REF godly   wealth **down**-to-pour-3s Cronos/GEN
'and the son of Cronos poured stupendous wealth **down upon** them'

(118) Brisëidos ëu-komoio, tën ek-Lurnëssou **ex**-e-ile-to   (II.690)
Briseis   VER-haired 3SF ex-Lyrnessus **ex**-ex-take-NF
'the fair-haired Briseis' (daughter), whom he had taken **away from** Lyrnessus'

(119) nëpios, ou-de   ti   oi to g(e) **ep(i)**-ë-pkes-e lugron olethron,
fool   NEG-DE WH 3s 3s EM **on**-ex-push-3s woeful death
'fool, it did not ward off woeful death **from** him'   (II.873)

(120) Trwwn **an(a)**-e-erg-e falangas   (III.77)
Trojans **up**-ex-work-3s battalions
'he separated(?) the Trojan battalions **from** (the Achaean)'

(121) teukhea t(e) **ex**-e-du-ont-o   (III.114)
arms   TE **ex**-ex-take(?)-be-NF
'taking their arms **off** (their shoulders)'

(122) ta men **kat(a)**-e-th-ent-o   epi-gaië   (III.114)
3P MEN **down**-to-put-be-NF on-ground
'(and) putting them **down** on the ground'

(123) di-plaka porfureën, poleas d(e) **en**-e-pass-en aethlous'   (III.126)
two-fold purple   many DE **in**-in-???-3s contests
'two-fold purple, **into** which she embroidered (the) many battles'

(124) kai tous men **kat(a)**-e-thëk-en epi-khthonos   (III.293)
and 3P   MEN **down**-to-put-3s on-ground
'then he put them **down** on the ground'

(125) pros-then **af(o)**-e-i-e   khalkeon enkhos   (III.317)
first-LOC **from**-ex-go-3s bronze   spear
'(a bronze helmet, which) he would first leave **away from** his bronze spear'

(126) theoisi de kheiras **an(a)**-e-skh-on   (III.318)
gods   DE hands **up**-to-raise-NF
'raising their hand **up to** the gods'

(127) ton d(e) **ex**-ë-rpaz(-e) Afrodïtë   hreia   (III.380)
3s   DE **ex**-ex-snatch-3s Aphrodite flowing
'but Aphrodite pulled him **off/out of** (there) easily'

(128) ou-de **ap(o)**-e-lus-e   thugatra kai   (I.95)
NEG-DE **from**-ex-free-3s daughter
'neither did he free (his) daughter **from** (jail)'

(129) kai ouk **ap(o)**-e-dexa-t(o) apoina   (I.95)
       and NEG **from**-ex-accept-NF ransom
       'nor (did he) accept a ransom **from** (the jailer)'

(130) w Khrusë, pro-me **ep(i)**-e-mps-en anax andrwn Agamemnwn
       oh Chryses to-1s **on**-to-send-3s king men/GEN Agamemnon
       'oh Chryses, Agamemnon king of men has sent me **onto** (here)'(I.442)

(131) epeita kai oulokhutas **an(a)**-e-l-ont-o   (I.449)
       then   and barley   **up**-ex-take-be-NF
       'then (they) took the barley grain **up from** (there)'

(132) mërous t(e) **ex**-e-tam-on   (I.460)
       thighs TE **ex**-ex-cut-NF
       'then cutting the thighs **off from** (the body)'

(133) kai oulokhutas **an(a)**-e-l-ont-o   (II.410)
       and barley-grain up-ex-take-be-NF
       ' and (they) picked the barley grain **up from** (there)'

(134) thea   **kat(a)**-e-thek-e ferous-a   (III.425)
       goddess **down**-in-put-3s carry-NF
       'and carrying it, the goddess put it **down** (there)'

(135) eme de glukus hupnos **an(a)**-ë-k-en   (II.71)
       1s   DE sweet sleep **up**-ex-let.go-3s
       'and sweet sleep then let go **of/from** me'

(136) en-tha ho tous e-leein-a   **kat(a)**-e-sth-ie   (II.314)
       then   3s 3P to-pity-NF **down**-in-swallow-3s
       'then he pitiably swallowed them **down** (his throat)'

(137) mërous t(e) **ex**-e-tam-on   (II.423)
       thigh   TE **ex**-ex-cut-NF
       '(then) cut out the thighs **off** (the body)

(138) kai ta men ar(a) skhizësin   a-fuloisin **kat(a)**-e-kai-on   (II.425)
       and 3P MEN ARA branches(?) NEG-leaves **down**-to-burn-NF
       'and they burned them **down to** (the bark) with de-foliated branches'

(139) hws tous hëgemones **di(a)**-e-kosme-on   en-tha kai en-tha (II.476)
       so 3s leaders   **through**-in-marshall in-3s and in-3s
       'so did the leaders marshal them **through** (the field) this and that way'

(140) eu- t(e) oreos   koroufësi Notos   **kat(a)**-e-kheu-en omikhlën
       VER-TE mountain peaks   So.wind **down**-to-shed-3s mists/ACC
       '(and) much as the South Wind sheds mists **down** the mountain peaks'
                                                     (III.10)

Relatively few – 8 – of the bi-transitive clauses in our counted sample involve more abstract senses, beginning with two datives:

(141) ou-d(e) ara pw hoi   **ep(i)**-e-kraain-e Kroniwn   (II.419)
       NEG-DE ARA WH 3/DAT **on**-to-grant(?)-3s Cronos'.son
       'but the son of Cronos did not grant **to** him any of (his wishes)'

(142) ou-de   sfin **ep(i)**-e-krain-e Kroniwn   (III.302)
       NEG-DE REF **on**-to-grant-3s Cronos'.son
       'but the son of Cronos did not grant **to** them (their wish)'

Then a lone benefactive:

(143) aipsa   de nëas **ep(i)**-ë-z-e   (II.664)
       immed. DE ships **on**-to-build-3s
       'so right away he built **for** (himself) many ships'

The rest are a less predictable grab-bag:

(144) touto de toi ere-w, ho m(e) **an(a)**-e-ire-ai   (III.177)
       3s   DE 2s tell-1s 3s 1s **up**-ex-ask-IRR
       'this I will tell you now, which you may ask **of/from** me'

(145) **ep(i)**-e-gnamps-en gar apantas Hërë lisso-men-ë   (II.14)
       on-ex-turn(?)-3s FOR all   Hera pray-be-NF
       'for Hera has turned **away** (the minds of) all (of them), pleading'

(146) **ep(i)**-e-gnumps-en gar apantas Hërë lisso-men-ë   (II.31)
       on-to-turn(?)-3s FOR all   Hera plead-be-NF
       'for Hera has turned **away** (the minds of) all (of them), pleading'

(147) **ep(i)**-e-gnamps-en gar apantas Hërë lisso-men-ë   (II.68)
       on-to-sway-3s   FOR all   Hera pray-be-NF
       'for Hera has turned **away** (the minds of) all (of them), pleading'

(148) **ap(o)**-e-ils-an   gar oi alloi   (II.665)
       from-ex-warn(?)-3P FOR 3P others
       'for the others warned (him) **off/away from** (there)'

6.2.3 **The residue**

The residue of 18 instances do not fit in an obvious way into the semantic/syntactic classes of intransitive or bi-transitive verbs surveyed above. They are listed below in order of their occurrence in the text. As elsewhere above, the presumed identity of the old prepositions that became the 'Augment' *e-* is listed, although in some instances the reconstruction is not quite firm.

(149) epei ou **par(a)**-e-leuse-ai ou-de me peis-eis   (I. 132)
then NEG **by**-ex-bypass-IRR NEG-DE 1s convince-2s
'since you will not **by**-pass me nor convince me'

(150) autar ego ge lisso-m(ai) Akhillëi **meth(a)**-e-men kholon
but 1s EM beg-1s Achilles/DAT **with**-ex-be/IRR anger
'but I beg you to let go **of** you anger against Achilles'   (I.283)

(151) kheiri te min **kat(a)**-e-rex-en   (I.361)
hands TE MIN **down**-to-stroke-3s
'and she stroked him **down** with her hands'

(152) tën de **di(a)**-e-pratho-men   (I.367)
3s DE **through**-ex-sack-1P
'and we sacked it out **completely**'

(153) ou-de tis e-tl-ë mein-ai **ep(i)**-e-rkho-men-on   (I.534)
NEG-DE WH to-want(?)-3s stay-IRR **on**-to-come-be-NF
'non of them dared to await **upon/for** his arrival'

(154) më-de ea nëas ala-d(e) e-lke-men **amfi**-e-liss-as   (II.165)
NEG-DE 3SF ship sea-from ex-take-IRR **with**-to-ask-NF
'and ask (him) not **to** pull his ship out of the sea'

(155) novon d(e) **am(a)**-e-gart-on ofell-en   (II.420)
toil DE **with**-e-wretched-NF cause-3s
'(then he) made their toil miserable'

(156) Hërë më de pantas emous **ep(i)**-e-lpe-o muthous e-idës-ein
Hera NEG DE all 1s/GEN **on**-to-think-IMP words to-know-INF
'Hera, don't think that you know all my words'   (I.545)

(157) ho de **xun**-e-ëk-e thea opa fwnësas-ës   (II.182)
3s DE **with**-to-hear-3s goddess voice speak-NF
'and he heard the voice of the goddess speaking'

(158) alla hon men ke **epi**-e-(o)ik-es akouse-men   (I.547)
but 3SM MEN KE **on**-to-proper-2s hear-be/IRR
'but what is proper for you to hear'

(159) ë de loigia erga ta-d(e) esset-ai ou-de et(i) **an(a)**-e-kt-a
3s(?) DE bad work 3P-DE be-IRR NEG-DE SUB **up**-to-do/PASS-NF
'this will be a bad affair that had better not to be done'   (I.573)

(160) hos dë pollawn poliwn **kat(a)**-e-lus-e karëna   (II.117)
3s DE many cities **down**-to-loosen-3s hearts
'(he) who has laid **low** the hearts of many cities'

(161) Thersitës de eti mounos **am(a)**-e-troep-ës e-kalow-a   (II.212)
Thersites DE SUB alone   **with**-ex-chatter-NF ex-call-NF
'though Theresites alone, chattering, kept calling out'

(162) autika patros heoio filon mëtrw   **kat(a)**-e-kt-a   (II.662)
immed. father 3s/GEN dear mat.uncle **down**-ex-kill-NF
'right away he slew his own father's dear uncle'

(163) mala gar te **kat(a)**-e-sfi-ei   (III.25)
more FOR TE **down**-in-devour-3s/HAB
'for he further devours (it) **down/in**'

(164) **kat(a)**-e-pleg-e   filon ëtor   (III.31)
down-to-struck-3s dear heart
'his dear heart was struck **down** with dismay

(165) tws de s(e) ë **ap(o)**-e-khthër-w   (III.415)
3s DE 2s C **from**-ex/to(?)-hate-1s
'and (lest) I may hate you'

(166) ison gar sfin pasin **ap(o)**-ë-khthe-to këri melainë   (III.454)
equal for REF all   **from**-ex-hate-NF fate black
'for they all hated him equally (like the) black fate'

6.3 Quantitative text distribution

The quantitative text distribution of verbs with the 'Augment' *e-* preceded by one or more prepositions is given in Table (167) below. In Chapter 5 above, where we investigated the functional-syntactic distribution of verbs prefixed by the 'Augment' *e-* alone, ca. **71%** – or **94%** – of all the examples in the counted text (Book I of the Iliad) occupied the predicted functional-syntactic contexts. In the sample inspected here (Books I,II,III of the Iliad), this predictable distribution reached the level of ca. **90%.**

(167) **Quantitative distribution of augmented verbs preceded by prepositions**

Clausal context	N	%
intransitive with concrete/locative IOs	61	
intransitive with abstract/dative IOs	44	
bi-transitive with various IOs	43	
sub-total	148	**89.2**
residue	18	**10.8**
total:	166	100.0

6.4   Discussion

The fact that the quantitative text distribution of the pre-verbal 'Augment' *e-* in Homeric Greek, whether appearing by itself or preceded by prepositions, fits – overwhelmingly, with relatively small residues – into the two universal functional-syntactic clausal contexts where case-marking adpositions tend to mark indirect objects does not, by itself, constitute a *proof* of our hypothesis. One can still argue that this highly suggestive quantitative distribution is merely *compatible* with our hypothesis. In terms of the methodology of science, such a suggestive distribution constitutes a mere *failure to falsify* (Popper 1934/1959; Hanson 1958), whereby a hypothesis may stand till further notice. Still, the hypothesis presented here should be contrasted with the plethora of alternative accounts of the 'Augment' *e-*offered in the traditional literature (Chapter 5), which falls somewhat short of either substantive coherence or predictable text distribution.

One may also wish to argue that the reason why ca. 90% of the 'Augment' *e-* in our Homeric text sample fit in the two predictable syntactic-semantic contexts is due to the prepositions that precede the 'augmented' verbs in our current sample. But this does not explain the similar text distribution of 'augmented' verbs *without* added prepositions, as surveyed in Chapter 5 above.[5]

Another quantified distribution may perhaps be also relevant here, this one involving the distribution of **detached prepositions** in clauses containing 'augmented' verbs. Out of the 156 clauses with verbs 'augmented' with *e-* alone studied in Chapter 5 above, only 15 – or **9.6%** – contained detached prepositions. In the sample inspected in this chapter, with verbs 'augmented' by *e-* and then preceded by a preposition, **not a single occurrence** of a detached preposition was observed. This may of course be a meaningless fluke. Still, one way of interpreting this fluke coherently is as follows:

- As proposed earlier above (Chapters 2, 3, 4), detached ('severed') prepositions are an **intermediate stage** in the diachronic life-cycle of prepositions, between their older function as nominal case-markers and their later cliticization to verbs.
- Due to zeroing-out of their nominal object, detached prepositions found in clauses with verbs preceded *only* by the 'Augment' *e-* (Chapter 5) represent an early stage of the **second cycle** of attaching prepositions to verbs.

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5.   As noted in Chapter 5, above, plausible diachronic accounts of many instances in the less-clear residue may yet reduce it to 10 out of 156, or **6.4%**.

- The reason why we don't seem to find stranded prepositions in clauses with the **completed** second cycle is thus fairly transparent – the erstwhile detached prepositions have now become prefixed to the verb in front of the 'Augment' *e-*.

The process by which prepositions became prefixed to the verb in Homeric Greek is neither unique nor mysterious. Calling the intermediate stage of this process, detached prepositions, by the traditional name *Tmesis*, lit. 'cutting off' or 'severance', does little to either describe the phenomenon or explain it as a natural diachronic change. Indeed, as Monro (1891) suggested, *Tmesis* is an upside-down description of what must have happened in actual diachrony.

In the same vein, giving the traditional name *'Augment'* to the pre-verbal vowel *e-* does not explain why it is /e/ rather than any other vowel (or consonant). Indeed, the phonological reduction of unstressed VC- prefixes before consonant-commencing stems, turning them into mere unstressed vowels, is a well-attested, natural diachronic process in the phonology of grammaticalization. What we deal with here is not *any* VC- prefix being reduced to V-, but one for which we have just the right three candidates for *plausible etymology* – the still-extant prepositions *en-* 'in/at', *ex-/ek-* 'out/from' and *e(i)s-* 'to'.

Lastly, if the mysterious 'Augment' *e-* is not the product of an earlier diachronic cycle of prefixing prepositions to verbs, then its striking text distribution in functional-syntactic clausal contexts where adpositions tend to appear cross-linguistically, and where they tend to mark common types of indirect objects, remains a mere coincidence, an unexplained puzzle. In science, such puzzles are the common impetus for seeking explanations, and for constructing testable hypotheses.

Abbreviations of grammatical terms

ACC	accusative	FOR	because
ALL	allative	FUT	future
ASSOC	associative	GEN	genitive
ASP	aspect	HAB	habitual
C	conjunction	IMM	immediate
CAUS	causative	IMP	imperative
CV	reduplicate first syllable	INF	infinitive
DAT	dative	IRR	irrealis
DEM	demonstrative	LOC	locative
DO	direct object	MANN	manner
EM	emphasis	NEG	negative

NF	non-finite	VC	reduplicate first syllable
NOM	nominative	VER	intensifier
O	object	WH	WH-question
P	preposition	1s	first person singular
PA	past	1P	first person plural
PL	plural	2s	second person singular
PP	prepositional/postpositional	2P	second person plural
	(phrase)	3s	thirst person singular
PROG	progressive	3SF	third person singular masculine
REF	referring/reflexive	3SM	third person singular feminine
S	subject	S	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive	SF	singular feminine
SUB	subordinator	SM	singular masculine
THO	though	P	plural
V	verb		

Appendix 1. Text loci of verbs prefixes by preposition(s) plus e- (Books I,II,III,IV,V,VI of Iliad)

I.8, I.45, I.58, I.69, I.73, I.84, I.95, I.95, I.102, I.105, I.121, I.125, I.127, I.130, I.132, I.148, I.206, I.212, I.215, I.223, I.253, I.283, I.285, I.294, I.301, I.308, I.312, I.319, I.320, I.332, I.345, I.359, I.360, I.361, I.364, I.367, I.397, I.401, I.405, I.406, I.407, I.413, I.421, I.428, I.435, I.441, I.442, I.449, I.460, I.470, I.496, I.497, I.500, I.502, I.511, I.517, I.531, I.533, I.534, I.536, I.545, I.547, I.551 (**!**), I.557, I.573, I.585, I.605, I.611 [**68**]

II.14, II.15, II.22, II.31, II.32, II.35, II.41, II.48, II.68, II.69, II.71, II.77, II.78, II.85 (**x2**), II.111, II.117, II.149, II.150, II.153 (**ex-e-kata-**), II.165, II.172, II.182, II.208, II.212, II.219 (**x2**), II.267(**x3**), II.283, II.286, II.314, II;321, II.336, II.341, II.369, II.410, II.411, II.419, II.420, II.423, II.425, II.476, II.579, II.585, II.629, II.634, II.649, II.655, II.662, II.664, II.665, II.670, II.690, II.775, II.781, II.785, II.790, II.794/5, II.798, II.815, II.835, II.853, II.873 [**61**]

III.10, III.14, III.25, III.31, III.33, III.35, III.51, III.77, III.79, III.96, III.109, III.114, III.114, III.126, III.129, III.151, III.177, III.184, III.198, III.293, III.302, III.315, III.317, III.318, III.348, III.376, III.380, III.386, III.389, III.405, III.406, III.413, III.415, III.425, III.437, III.442, III.454. III.455 [**38**]

IV.1, IV.5, IV.9, IV.12, IV.20, IV.30, IV.33/4, IV.53, IV.62, IV.86, IV.111, IV.112, IV.118, IV.129, IV.139, IV.153, IV.154, IV.159, IV.161, IV.176, IV.183, IV.214, IV.220, IV.227(**x2**), IV.231, IV.250, IV.267, IV.267, IV.301, IV.319, IV.335, IV.340, IV.341, IV.349, IV.356, IV.376, IV.380, IV.390, IV.392, IV.394, IV.397, IV.398, IV.401, IV.403, IV.411, IV.415, IV.434, IV.468, IV.476, IV.477, IV.485, IV.517, IV.521, IV.524, IV.531, IV.532, IV.539, IV.542

V.25, V.36, V.65, V.68, V.69, V.92, V.100, V.108, V.112, V.113, V.116, V.133, V.179, V.198, V.229, V.245, V.251, V.276, V.286, V.290, V.291, V.293, V.295, V.318(**x2**), V.320, V.324, V.329, V.349, V.352, V.372, V.375, V.377(**x2**), V.381, V.390, V.394, V.405, V.417, V.427, V.435, V.439, V.442, V.456, V.459, V.460, V.461, V.498, V.501, V.504, V.521, V.527, V.558, V.581, V.584, V.600, V.608, V.619, V.621, V.624, V.636, V.655, V.661, V.663, V.665, V.666, V.667, V.689, V.690, V.701, V.715, V.734, V.748, V.756, V.756, V.777, V.814, V.818, V.818, V.842,V.844, V.869, V.882, V.885, V.888, V.889, V.895, V.900, V.906

VI.12, VI.17, VI.27, VI.29, VI.29, VI.32, VI.42, VI.62, VI.64, VI.65, VI.74(**x2**), VI.86, VI.107, VI.109, VI.116, VI.122, VI.134, VI.140, VI.160, VI.178, VI.183, VI.186, VI.187, VI.190 (**x2**), VI.192, VI.198, VI.200, VI.204, VI207, VI.213, VI.221, VI.234, VI.241, VI.256, VI.258, VI.263, VI.280, VI.284, VI.288, VI.292(**x2**), VI.295, VI.301, VI.311, VI.318, VI.341, VI.342, VI.348, VI.362, VI.369, VI.371, VI.390, VI.414, VI.417, VI.418, VI.423, VI.427, VI.427, VI.440, VI.461, VI.473, VI.485, VI.504, VI.517, VI.518, VI.520

Mirror image:
How English prepositions became post-verbal clitics

7.1 Introduction

There are two reasons why an investigation of the rise of prepositions as post-verbal clitics – so-called 'verb particles' – in English might serve to further illuminate the rise of Homeric Greek pre-verbal prepositions ('preverbs').

- **Methodologically:** While the Homeric text displays a wealth of *synchronic variants* from whose complex distribution the diachrony can be inferred via Internal Reconstruction, English affords us a view of substantially the same variants as they emerge in *diachronic order*.
- **Typologically:** English, with its VO order, is a syntactic mirror image of the OV-ordered pre-Homeric dialect from which Homeric Greek must have emerged (Lehmann 1969, 1974). That OV order predicts that when pre-verbal prepositional phrases lose their nominal object, the leftover detached prepositions should find themselves *preceding* the verb, and thus become *pre-verbal* clitics. The validity of such a prediction is thus enhanced by noting that detached prepositions in the VO-ordered English wound up *following* the verb, and thus became *post-verbal* clitics. In this chapter we will track this diachronic development through English texts from Chaucer (14th Century), Mallory (15th Century), Shakespeare (16th Century) and beyond.

7.2 Chaucer (1340–1400)

In *The Canterbuy Tales*, prepositions are found in three main syntactic contexts:

a. pre-nominally in prepositional phrases, where they mark the case-roles of indirect objects
b. in REL-clause subordinators, marking the case-role of the zeroed-out indirect object
c. as the preposition 'to' or 'for-to' marking some non-finite verbs, mostly in equi-subject verb complements.

Of these three contexts, (c) is a limited case: First because it pertains to only a single preposition ('to' or 'for to'); second because the preposition winds up *before* the verb; and third because the diachronic mechanism involved has nothing to do with how prepositions become *either* pre-verbal affixes in Homeric Greek, Latin and Germanic *or* post-verbal clitics in English. Examples of these three syntactic contexts in the Chaucerian text are given in (1), (2) and (3) below, all taken from *The Parson's Tale* (Chaucer, pp. 189–192).

(1)   **Pre-nominal preposition**
    a.   unnethe ariseth he **out of** synne
        'once he arises out of sin'
    b.   the weyes espirituels that leden folk **to** our Lord Jehsu Crist
        'the spiritual ways that lead people **to** our Lord Jesus Christ'
    c.   and walketh **in** that way
        'and walks **in** that way'
    d.   that **thurgh** synne has mysgoon **fro** the righte wey
        'that **through** sin has mis-gone **from** the right way'
    e.   of which man sholde gladly herken & enquere **with** all his herte
        'of which a man should listen and inquire **with** all his heart'
    f.   a man that halt hymself **in** sorwe & oother peyne **for** his giltes
        'a man who mires himself **in** sorrow and other pains for his sins'
    g.   that men fallen **in** venial synnes **after** hir baptesme
        'that men fall **into** venal sins after their baptism'
    h.   if he be baptized **withouten** penitence
        'if he is baptized **without** penitence'
    i.   for **biforn** that tyme that ye synned
        'for **before** the time when you sinned'
    j.   his synne shal nat turne hym **into** delit
        'his sin will not turn itself **into** delight'

(2)   **Prepositions incorporated into a REL-clause subordinator**
    a.   and never to doon thyng **for whiche** hym oughte moore to biwayle
        'and to have never done anything **for which** he ought to regret more'
    b.   thre thynges **in whiche** we wratthe oure Lord Jhesu Crist
        'three things **in which** we anger our Lord Jesus Christ'
    c.   Rememberth yow **fro whennes** that ye been falle
        'remember **from where** you have fallen'

    d.   to the lond of mysese and of darknesse, **whereas** is the shadowe of deeth
        'to the land of misery and darkness, **wherein** is the shadow of death'

(3) **The pre-verbal infinitive 'to' or 'for to':**
    a.   and axeth of olde pather, that is **to** sayn
        'and asks about old paths, that is **to** say'
    b.   and stidefastly purposen in his herte **to** have shrift of mouth
        'and (he) intends in his heart **to** be careful with his mouth'
    c.   destreyneth hym **for to** do open penanunce
        '(it) constrains him **to** do open penance'
    d.   as dooth the hound that retourneth **to** eten his spewyng
        'as does the hound that returns **to** eat his barf'
    e.   swiche manere of thoughtes maken a man **to** have shame of his synne
        'such a way of thought makes a man have shame of his sins'
    f.   and shul desiren **to** dye
        'and (they) shall desire **to** die'
    g.   mo develes than herte may bithynke **for to** harye and drawe the synful soules
        'more devils than heart may plan **to** hurry and draw the sinful souls
    h.   yet wolde I have desdayne **for to** do synne
        'yet would I have disdain **for** sinning'

Not a single case of post-verbal detached preposition was found in the Chaucerian text inspected, suggesting that the migration of prepositions to a post-verbal position in English must have started sometime after Chaucer.[1]

The quantitative distribution of the three main prepositional constructions in the *Parson's Tale* text (Chaucer, pp. 189–192) is given in Table (4) below.

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1.   Since written language is more conservative, and often reflects the way the language was spoken many years – or centuries – prior, and since one century after Chaucer, in Mallory, we find a few early examples of post-verbal detached prepositions, one could safely assume that the Middle English spoken during Chaucer's time already had some post-verbal detached prepositions.

(4)   **Quantitative distribution of three loci of prepositions in Chaucer's *Parson's Tale***

Category	N	%
pre-nominal	202	77.7
REL subordinator	15	5.7
Infinitive 'to'	43	16.6
detached post-verbal	/	/
total:	260	100.0

Since the use of the infinitive-marking 'to' or 'for to' has nothing to do with marking the case-role of nominal indirect object, the 43 instances of that category may be subtracted from the total. And one may then say that at the Chaucerian base-line, where no detached post-verbal prepositions are yet found, the diachronic**source construction,** prepositions marking the case-roles of nominal indirect objects, constitute 202/217, or **93%**, of prepositional sample of text, with the remaining 7% (15/217) found in REL-clause subordinators.

7.3   Mallory (1410–1471)

In Mallory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, written about 100 years after Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, one finds the same three prepositional constructions as in Chaucer, with a nascent – minuscule – portion of post-verbal detached prepositions, our diachronic **target construction**. The examples cited below are taken from the beginning of *The Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot du Lake* (pp. 180–190).

As can be expected, the sample is still dominated numerically by pre-nominal prepositions, our presumed source construction. Representative examples of this construction in the Mallory text are:

(5)   **Pre-nominal prepositions**
   a.   Sone **aftir** that kynge Arthurwe com **from** Rome **into** Ingelonde
   b.   But **in** especiall hit was prevyd **on** sir Launcelot du Lake
   c.   and **at** no tyme was he **over**-com but if hit **by** treson [2]

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2.   The few examples of pre-verbal prepositions in the text are, presumably, frozen carry-overs from the earlier Germanic or Romance vocabulary of Middle English, and thus do not reflect on the on-going diachronic process studied here.

    d.   quene Gwenyvere had him **in** grete favoure **aboven** all other knyghtis

    e.   and **for** hir he dud many dedys of armys and saved her **from** the fyre

    f.   so they mounted **on** their horses, armed **at** all ryghtes, and rode **into** a depe foreste

    g.   And come **unto** this tre and sawe many fyre shyldys, and **amonge** them all

    h.   so he mounted **uppon** his horse and **over**tok the strong knyght[2]

    i.   and threw him **over-thwarte** his owne hors

Next, we find examples of prepositions incorporated into REL-clause sub-ordinators, with the first element being the anaphorically-pointing locatives 'where', 'here' or 'there', a pattern of indirect-object REL-clause subordinators that remains dominant in the written language well into the 18th and 19th Centuries. Representative examples of this category in our Mallory text may be seen in:

(6) **REL-clause subordinators**

    a.   Where**fore** quene Gwenyvere had him in grete favoure

    b.   and there**on** hongyth many fayre shyldys

    c.   and there**with** he russhed his horse on sir Ector

    d.   and here**bye** within this ten myle

    e.   and layed hym there**in**, and felle on slepe sadly

Next, we find the use of 'to' or 'for to' to mark infinitives, most commonly again in verbal complements. Representative examples are:

(7) **Infinitive verbs marked by 'to' or 'for to'**

    a.   and than he thought hymself **to** preve in straunge adventures

    b.   and bade his nevew, sir Lyonell, **for to** make hym redy

    c.   and sir Launcelot had grete luste **to** slepe

    d.   there is a fayre fourde for horses **to** drynke off

    e.   I promyse you, by the leve of God, **for to** recowe that knyght

Lastly, post-verbally detached prepositions now make their first appearance, with the small sample, eleven in our entire counted text, given below in full, with the zeroed-out but still implicit nominal object given in parentheses:

(8)   **Stranded post-verbal prepositions**
   a.   there is a fayre fourde for horse to **drynke off** (= off the ford)
   b.   and he **threste in** with his spere in the thyckyst of the press (= into his opponents)
   c.   wyth that **com in** sir Launcelot (= into the scene)
   d.   and there he **smote downe** with one spere five knytes (= down to the ground)
   e.   and in that thrange he **smote down** the kynge of north Galys (= down to the ground)
   f.   there **com in** sir Gahalantyne (= into the scene)
   g.   and than they **flange oute** with her sweres (= outward towards the opponent)
   h.   that his nose, erys and mowthe **braste oute** on bloode (=outside his body)
   i.   and sytthen he bette on the basyn with the butte of his spere tylle the bottum **felle oute** (= out of the basin)
   j.   as ever as they **com nere** and nere (= near each other)
   k.   and toke their shyldys before them and **drew oute** their swerdys (= out of the scabbards)

What is striking in (8) above is that in each of the 11 examples, the zeroed-out object is readily accessible from the clause's immediate **anaphoric context**. This is, as one may recall, a prominent feature of pre-verbal prepositions in the Homeric text (Chapters 3, 4). In one case (8a), this anaphoric accessibility involves a REL-clause, where the zeroed-out object is accessible from the adjacent head noun. The early appearance of post-verbal detached prepositions in the Mallory text thus satisfies the very same contextual condition we identified for both detached and pre-verbal prepositions in Homeric Greek (Chapter 3, 4) – that the zeroed-out nominal object must be accessible in context on either anaphoric or generically grounds.[3]

The quantitative distribution of the four prepositional constructions in our Mallory text is given in Table (9), below.

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3.   Contextual accessibility on generic grounds often involves an *antipassive* construction, where typically the missing object is non-referring, generic or habitual, thus accessible to speakers who know the culture and lexicon (see Chapter 1).

(9) **Quantitative text distribution of the four prepositional constructions in Mallory's *Sir Launcelot du Lake*** (pp. 180–190)

Construction	N	%
pre-nominal	252	**84.3**
REL subordinator	9	3.0
Infinitive 'to'	27	9.0
detached post-verbal	11	**3.7**
total:	299	100.0

Since the position where a grammatical morpheme cliticizes depends, ultimately, on the syntactic position of its lexical diachronic precursor,[4] it is of some interest to see the extent to which prepositional phrases occupied either a pre-verbal or post-verbal position in the late-Middle English clause during the early period when detached prepositions began to appear post-verbally.

To this end, the same 11 pp. of Mallory's *The Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot du Lake* (pp. 180–190) were searched and quantified, with all prepositional phrases divided into those that appeared before the verb (OV) vs. those that appeared after the verb (VO). The results are given in Table (10) below, with representative examples directly following in (11) and (12).

(10) **Pre-verbal (OV) vs. post-verbal (VO) prepositional phrases in the Mallory text** (pp. 180–190)

Clausal order	N	%
pre-verbal (OV)	35	14.8
post-verbal (VO)	201	**85.2**
total:	236	100.0

The V-O order of indirect objects indeed predominates in our text, at the level of ca. **85%**.

Representative examples of the post-verbal (VO) order of prepositional phrases are given in (11) below:

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4. See Givón (1971).

(11) **Post-verbal (VO) prepositional phrases in the Mallory text**
   a. Sone aftir that kynge Arthure was com **from** Rome **into** Ingelonde
   b. so he loved the quene agayne **above** all other ladyes
   c. So this sir Launcelot encresed marvaylously **in** worship and honoure
   d. Wherefore quene Gwenyvere had him **in** grete favoure **above** all other knyghtis
   e. I wote not how I com **into** this castell but hit be**by** inchautemente
   f. and there come a knyghte **behynde** hym and bade hym com **oute of** the water

It is also of some interest to see in what discourse contexts one still finds the minority OV- ordered prepositional phrases in Mallory's text. In earlier studies, the discourse contexts where the **fronting** of constituents tended to occur were identified as:[5]

- referential novelty or discontinuity
- referential contrast, emphasis or unpredictability
- referential importance

Pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases thus occupy a rather familiar communicative niche of discontinuity or contrast, and may be divided for this purpose into the following syntactic sub-categories:

a. paragraph initial (thematic or referential novelty)
b. chain initial (directly following a period; thematic or referential novelty)
c. clause initial (directly following a comma)
d. existential 'there' constructions (indefinite/novel subject)
e. others (uncategorized)

Representative examples of OV-ordered prepositional phrases, illustrating the first three communicative contexts in our Mallory text, are given in (12) below.

(12) **Pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases in the Mallory text**
   i. **Paragraph initial**:
      a. But **in especiall** hit was prevyd on sir Launcelot du Lake,
      b. And **in the meanewhile** com **there** three knyghtes
      c. So **aftir noone** com the damsel unto hym
      d. Than **within an owre there** com that knyght

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5. See discussion in Givón (ed. 1983, 1988)

ii. **Chain initial** (following period):
   e. So **within a while** this stronge knyght had overtakyn one of the three knyghtes
   f. And thereby **within this myle** is a stronge maner
   g. **Aboute the none** so **there** com by him four queenys
   h. And **on the morne** erly com thes four quenys
iii. **Clause initial** (following comma)
   i. for **in all turnementes**…he passed all other knytes
   j. **at no time** was he ovircom but yf hit was by treson
   k. and **for her** he dud many dedys
   l. and **by that maner** on a lyffte honde **there is** a fayre fourde

The quantitative distribution of the various discourse-contexts of pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases in the Mallory text in given in Table (13) below.

(13) **Distribution of functional-syntactic sub-categories of pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases in the Mallory text** (pp. 180–190)

Category	N	%
Paragraph-initial	5	
Chain-initial	13	
Clause-initial	12	
existential 'there'	4	
sub-total	34	**94.4**
others	2	**5.5**
total:	36	100.0

As can be seen, only a minuscule 5% of the pre-verbal (OV-ordered) prepositional phrases in our Mallory sample text don't fit into the well-known uses of pre-posing – of nouns, noun phrases or prepositional phrases – in front of the verb. These communicative uses of the pre-posed (OV) order in the otherwise predominantly-VO English are well known in all languages, VO or OV word-order notwithstanding. Their presence in our Mallory text, ca. **15%** (see Table (10) above), does not impinge on the predominance of the VO word-order in Mallory's Middle English. And it is this predominant VO order, placing prepositional phrases primarily after the verb, that makes prepositions available to post-verbal cliticization – once their nominal object is zeroed out in the relevant communicative context.

7.4   Shakespeare (1564–1616)

In Shakespeare's language, considered Early Modern English, many gram-
matical trends that peaked later on find their early consolidation. For the pur-
pose of this study, I chose the text of *The Tragedy of Coriolanus* (part I, scenes
1,2,3,4, pp. 1–27), and investigated the appearance of prepositions in the three
familiar syntactic contexts:

a.   pre-verbal prepositional phrases (OV)
b.   post-verbal prepositional phrases (VO)
c.   post-verbally stranded prepositions (V-P)

A number of prepositional phrases in our text appear in clauses without a
verb, a stylistic device in Shakespeare's imagined spoken language. They were
not counted here, although they most commonly appear in anaphoric contexts
where the zeroed-out verb can be easily inferred. Some representative examples
of such verbless clauses with prepositional phrases are:

(14)   **Verbless prepositional phrases in the *Coriolanus* text**
   a.   Would you proceed especially against Caius Marcius? **Against** him!
   b.   Which he is, even **to** the altitude of his virtue.
   c.   Why stay we prating here? **To** the Capitol!
   d.   What work 's, my countrymen, **in** hand?
   e.   Your company **to** the Capitol;
   f.   Hence **to** your homes; be gone!

Representative examples of the bulk of our prepositional sample, in post-
verbal (VO) prepositional phrases, may be seen in:

(15)   **Post-verbal prepositional phrases in the *Coriolanus* text**:
   a.   you know Caius Marcius is chief enemy **to** the people
   b.   Let us revenge this **with** our pikes
   c.   for the gods know I speak this **in** hunger **for** bread
   d.   I say **unto** you
   e.   Our business is not unknown **to** the senate
   f.   They ne'er cared **for** us yet
   g.   when all the body's members rebelled **against** the belly
   h.   But it proceeds or comes **from** them **to** you

The use of pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases in our Shakespeare text, as in the Mallory text, is often associated with referential or thematic discontinuity or contrast. Typical examples from the *Coriolanus* text may be seen in:

(16)   **Pre-verbal prepositional phrases in the *Coriolanus* text**
   a.   You must **in no way** say he is covetous
                                   (chain-initial manner-adverb)
   b.   against the Roman state whose course will **on the way** it takes
                                   (REL-clause)
   c.   What then:'**Fore me**, this fellow speaks!   (contrast)
   d.   that all **from me** receive the flour of all   (emphasis)
   e.   **With every minute** do you change a mind
                                   (chain-initial time-adverb)
   f.   What matter it, that **in these several places of the city** you cry against
        the noble senate   (thematic discontinuity)

Lastly, the Coriolanus text furnishes a decent sample of post-verbal detached prepositions, our diachronic target construction. Most of those come directly after the verb, though some allow a direct-object anaphoric pronoun, a negative marker, or in two striking cases even an object or subject noun, to intervene after the verb.[6]

It is of some interest to note that while in the Mallory text *all* zeroed-out indirect objects were still *contextually predictable* on either anaphoric or generic grounds, many detached post-verbal prepositions in the *Coriolanus* text are already*semantically incorporated* into the verb or semantically arbitrary, so that their zeroed-out nominal object is not contextually predictable any more. This does not mean that one cannot trace the diachronic route by which arbitrary-looking post-verbal prepositions began their life as *bona fide* nominal case-role markers. As noted in our study of Homeric Greek, such detached prepositions become first semantically merged with the verb and then increasingly arbitrary. This diachronic semantic progression may be illustrated by the following constructed examples from modern English:

(17)   a.   **Anaphorically predictable – main clause**:
             the **water** was freezing, but she jumped **in** anyway
       b.   **Anaphorically predictable – REL-clause**:
             the **river** she jumped **into** was near frozen

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6.   As we shall see further below, this pattern persists into 20th Century English.

    c. **Generically predictable:**
       she was stuck in the middle of the slope, couldn't go **up**,
       couldn't go **down**
    d. **Semantically incorporated**:
       come **over**, sit **down**, don't get **up** till they tell you
    e. **Semantically arbitrary**:
       never give **up**, now just shut **up**, calm **down**, don't freak **out**

Some typical examples of post-verbal detached prepositions from our *Coriolanus* text may be seen in:

(18) **Post-verbal 'stranded' prepositions**:
    a. to **chain up** and restrain the poor   (semantically incorporated)
    b. if wars **eat us not up**, they will
                (semantically incorporated; DO pronoun intervenes)
    c. I receive the general food first, which you **live upon**
                      (REL-clause anaphora)
    d. though all at once cannot see what I do **deliver out**
                    (semantically incorporated)
    e. I can **make my audit up**
              (semantically incorporated; object noun intervening)
    f. and give **out** conjectural marriages   (semantically incorporated)
    g. Would the nobility **lay aside** their ruth   (generically implicit)
    h. **Lead you on**
             (semantically incorporated; subject noun intervening)
    i. the shadow which he **treads on** at noon
                 (REL-clause anaphoric object)
    j. a giddy censure will then **cry out** of Marcius
                  (semantically incorporated)
    k. what ever have been **thought on** in this case
                   (REL-clause anaphora)
    l. these three **lead on** this preparation   (semantically incorporate)
    m. for the remove bring **up** your army   (semantically arbitrary)

The quantitative text distribution of the three main prepositional constructions in our *Coriolanus* text (Act I, scenes 1,2,3,4, pp. 1–27) is given in Table (19) below.

(19) **Quantitative distribution of prepositional constructions in the *Coriolanus* text**

Category	N	%
post-verbal prep. phrase (VO)	148	**75.8**
pre-verbal prep. phrase (OV)	14	7.3
post-verbal stranded preposition	33	**16.9**
total:	195	100.0

The first thing to note in this distribution is the predominance of VO syntax in Shakespeare's English. The ca. 75% figure is somewhat misleading, since in terms of word-order, the detached post-verbal prepositions, being grammatical morphemes, should not be counted here, but only the prepositional phrases, VO vs. OV. When the total count is thus adjusted to 162, the percent of VO order is 148/162 or **97.3%**. By comparison, the percent of prepositional phrases in the VO order in our Mallory text was **85.2%**. The post-verbal position of detached preposition, whose nominal object was zeroes out due to anaphoric or generic predictability, is thus well motivated by the predominant VO syntax of Middle-to-Modern English.

The second thing to note is the percent of detached post-verbal prepositions, our diachronic target construction, in the *Coriolanus* text – **16.9%**. In our Mallory text (Table (9) above), if the pre-verbal infinitival 'to' and the REL-subordinator are removed for a more fair comparison, the comparable percentage was 11/263 or **4.2%**. While in the Chaucer text we found no trace of post-verbal prepositions.

It is also of interest to find out the quantitative distribution of the various **semantic types** of post-verbal prepositions in our *Coriolanus* text (see (18) above). To this end, the total sample of post-verbal prepositions in Act I of *Coriolanus* (scenes 1–10, pp. 1–41) was inspected, and divided into the three main semantic categories:

a. anaphorically or generically predictable (incl. REL-clauses)
b. semantically incorporated into the verb
c. semantically arbitrary

The quantitative distribution of these three semantic categories in our *Coriolanus* text is given in Table (20) below.

(20) **Distribution of the semantic categories of detached post-verbal prepositions in the *Coriolanus* text**

Category	N	%
anaphorically or generically predictable	8	**17.8**
semantically incorporated	22	48.9
semantically arbitrary	15	**33.3**
total:	45	100.0

Our hypothesis has been that post-verbal detached prepositions in English, much like their mirror-image Homeric Greek 'preverbs', began their diachronic life as pre-nominal case-role markers, and then, gradually:

a. lost their nominal object in contexts of anaphoric or generic predictability;
b. became semantically associated with the verb;
c. gradually became arbitrary components of the verbal word.

From this perspective, the distribution of the various semantic types of detached post-verbal prepositions in our Shakespeare text, summarized in Table (20) above, makes perfect sense. This is especially true when one recalls that in the few cases of detached post-verbal prepositions in the Mallory text, *all* the zeroed-out nominal objects that were contextually predictable on either anaphoric or generic grounds.

Roughly 100 years after Mallory, in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (written ca. 1610), the diachronic process had advanced considerably, and in the predicted direction. Only ca. **18%** of the post-verbal detached prepositions are still at the early stage – where the zeroed-out object is contextually predictable. The bulk of the sample, ca. **48%**, are in the middle stage where the anaphoric predictability of the zeroed-out nominal object has turned into a more subtle semantic association with the verb. And ca. **33%** of the sample of post-verbal preposition in our *Coriolanus* text had arrived at the terminal stage, where the semantics of the preposition is largely arbitrary, and does not reflects its original meaning as a nominal case-role marker.

When a comparable semantic assessment was applied to pre-verbal prepositions in the Homeric text, the language appears to have been caught at a *much earlier* stage of the diachronic continuum as compared to Shakespeare's English. One might have to, no doubt, look at Classical Greek to catch the language at a stage of the diachronic process comparable to Shakespeare's English.

7.5   Twentieth Century English

While the process of placing detached prepositions post-verbally in English seems to be fairly near to completion by Shakespeare's time (early 1600s), it is still of interest to see how it fares in more recent Modern English. To this end, I have selected two texts, the first from a novel by Elmore Leonard (1989), the second an oral narrative.

7.5.1   Mid-Twentieth-Century fiction: Elmore Leonard

What makes Leonard's prose attractive, in addition to being superbly well written, is that he tends to favor the less-educated working-class or Redneck language with heaps of quoted dialogue, for which he has a matchless ear. Clauses with prepositions in our Leonard text were divided into the familiar syntactic categories:

a.   post-verbal (VO) prepositional phrases
b.   pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases
c.   detached post-verbal prepositions with zeroed-out nominal object (V-P)
d.   detached post-verbal preposition followed by a prepositional phrase (V-P-P-N)

The significance of the last category, found neither in the Mallory nor Shakespeare texts, may emerge in our discussion further below, since it suggests another similarity – albeit again in mirror image – with the process surveyed earlier in Homeric Greek.

Representative examples of the four categories, taken from the first chapter of Leonard (1989, pp. 7–19), are given in (21), (22), (23) and (24) below, respectively.

(21)   **Post-verbal (VO) prepositional phrases**
    a.   Try to walk **out** the door **past** it
    b.   because he lived **in** this hotel
    c.   He didn't give a shit **about** the Blue Jays
    d.   he wouldn't drink so much an be sick **in** the morning
    e.   He listened **to** several rings
    f.   see himself and his brothers **with** her
    g.   It's arranged **for** her to let you in
    h.   It was the same vivid color **as** his grandmother's cottage
    i.   where the Detroit River turned **into** Lake St. Clair
    j.   This time he came **from** Algonac

The sole example of pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrase in the 12 pages of our counted text, a paragraph-initial time-ADV, is not quite representative, since it includes a long REL-clause:

(22) **pre-verbal prepositional phrases (OV)**
      In the moment the voice on the phone said "Detroi-it"
      the Blackbird thought of his grandmother

This paucity of clause-initial – thus also chain-initial and paragraph-initial – connective phrases has much to do with Leonard's no-frill prose style.

Representative examples of post-verbal detached prepositions with zeroed-out nominal object may be seen in (23) below. As before, cases where the zeroed-out object is contextually predictable, on either anaphoric or generic grounds (including three instances of REL-clause anaphora), are clearly discernable. In many other instances, the preposition is semantically merged with the verb, a category that shades gradually into semantic arbitrariness. Consider:

(23) **Detached post-verbal prepositions**
      a. because he lived in this hotel and the Silver Dollar **was close by**
                                                  (main-clause anaphora)
      b. He listened to several rings before **picking up** the receiver
                                                  (semantic merger)
      c. What difference is **where** he **is from?**   (REL-clause anaphora)
      d. tough guy, one come from Montreal, maybe a little crazy, they **gave**
          the job**to**   (REL-clause anaphora)
      e. I wonder it's the old guy you **lined up** to kiss her hand
                                                  (REL-clause anaphora)
      f. He was in town for the ball game… **Walk in. Walk out**.
                                                  (main-clause anaphora)
      g. She **looked him over**   (semantic merger)
      h. The blackbird **hung up** the phone   (semantic merger)
      i. There was a bunch of Ojibway that **hung up** there
                                                  (semantic merger)
      j. But look how frail he was, **dried up** (semantic merger)
      k. The shower was **turned on**   (semantic merger)

In several instances, as in (23d,g), the direct-object pronoun or noun is tucked in between the verb and the preposition, an enduring feature of this construction in Modern English.

Lastly, we can also find in the Leonard text examples of another prepositional construction, one that seems to have emerged more recently in Modern English and was not attested in our Shakespeare text: post-verbal detached prepositions followed by a prepositional phrase; that is, a verb followed by two prepositions and a nominal (V-P-P-N). Representative examples of this seemingly novel construction from our Leonard (1989) text may be seen in:

(24) **Detached post-verbal preposition followed a prepositional phrase (V-P-P-N)**
    a.   having a few drinks before coming **up to** this room
    b.   He believed it was time to get **away from** here
    c.   He looked **down at** the room-service table
    d.   you take the ferry **over from** Algonac
    e.   and a wind comes **in under** the door
    f.   He turned and looked **up with** his tired eyes
    g.   and drove **down through** Wallaceburg
    h.   Coming **away from** the cooler
    i.   he bought aalt lick to put **out in** the woods
    j.   drove **off toward** the ferry dock
    k.   saw himself drive **up to** the blue cottage

In all the examples in (24) above, the preposition closer to the verb is semantically more merged to the verb, or even semantically arbitrary, while the second one, preceding an indirect-object nominal, is more likely to still mark its case-role. This consistent pattern has some bearing, I will suggest, on the contrast in Homeric Greek between the old 'Augment' *e-* and the new generation of pre-verbal prepositions that joined it later (Chapter 6).

The quantitative distribution of the four prepositional constructions in our E. Leonard text (1989, pp. 7–19) is given in Table (25) below.

(25) **Quantitative distribution of prepositional constructions in the E. Leonard text**

Category	N	%
post-verbal prepositional phrase (VO)	256	78.3
pre-verbal prepositional phrase (OV	1	0.3
post-verbal preposition alone (V-P)	49	**15.0**
post verbal preposition plus prep.-phrase (V-P-P-N)	21	**6.4**
total:	327	100.0

When one compares the distribution in the Leonard text (Table (25)) with that in Shakespeare (Table (19)), it appears that while post-verbal detached prepositions (V-P) constituted **16.9%** of the prepositional sample in our Shakespeare text, with no example of the V-P-P-N construction, our Leonard text had **15.0%** of the V-P construction and an added **6.4%** of the new V-P-P-N construction.

In Table (20) earlier above, we attempted to quantify the distribution of the various semantic categories of post-verbal detached prepositions (V-P) in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* text, noting that **ca. 33%** of them already appeared to be**semantically arbitrary**, a determination that is not always easy to make. The comparable figure in our Leonard text is 17/49 or **34.6%**, not a substantial difference. It would thus be of some interest to try and make a similar determination about the use of the new V-P-P-N construction in Modern English; that is, recall, where a detached post-verbal preposition (V-P) is followed directly by a prepositional phrase (P-N). All 21 instances of this apparently novel construction found in our E. Leonard text are listed in (26) below:

(26)　**The V-P-P-N construction in the E. Leonard text**
　　a.　coming **up to** his room
　　b.　get **away from** here
　　c.　drive **up to** the blue cottage　　　　　　　　　('up' arbitrary)
　　d.　look **down at** the room-service table
　　e.　reaching **out beyond** the city
　　f.　look **up at** him
　　g.　a wind comes **in under** the door
　　h.　take the ferry **over from** Algonac　　　　　　('over' arbitrary)
　　i.　looked **up with** his tired eyes
　　j.　brought the sheet **up over** the old man's body
　　k.　drove **down through** Wallaceburg　　　　　　('down' arbitrary)
　　l.　and pulled **up in** the Cadillac　　　　　　　　('up' arbitrary)
　　m.　coming **away from** the cooler
　　n.　bought a salt-lick to put **out in** the woods
　　o.　her tail standing **up in** the air
　　p.　drove **off toward** the ferry dock
　　q.　come **back into** the store
　　r.　his gaze moved **back to** the trees,
　　s.　then [moved] **over to** the tip of Russell Island　　('over' arbitrary')
　　t.　stared **back at** him
　　u.　walked **over to** his pickup　　　　　　　　　　('over' arbitrary')

In only 6 out of the 21 cases – **28.5%** – does the detached post-verbal preposition appear to be semantically arbitrary, though dispensing with it would still make a subtle semantic difference.

If one compares the quantitative distribution of the three main prepositional constructions in our Shakespeare text (Table (20) above) with the mid-Twenties-Century literary fiction of E. Leonard (Table (25) above), the differences do not appear to be all that dramatic.

(27) **Quantitative distribution of prepositional constructions in the Shakespeare and Leonard texts**

Category	Shakespeare		E. Leonard	
	N	%	N	%
post-verbal prepositional phrase (VO)	148	75.8	256	78.3
pre-verbal prepositional phrase (OV)	14	7.3	1	0.3
post-verbal preposition alone (V-P)	33	**16.9**	49	**15.0**
post verbal preposition plus prep.-phrase (V-P-P-N)	/	/	21	**6.4**
total:	195	100.0	327	100.0

A new construction seems to be emerging, combining the already-emerged verb-plus-preposition (V-P) with a prepositional phrase (P-N), thus V-P-P-N. But its percentage in the text is relatively low (6.4%). There is also a perhaps-expected reduction in the percent of pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases. Though as noted above, those are frequently paragraph-initial or chain-initial adverbial connectives that have little to do with the OV-VO word-order contrast.

It appears that the diachronic rise of post-verbal detached preposition ('verb particles') may have reached its maturity in mid-20th Century English. It is thus of some interest to assess the quantitative and qualitative distribution of prepositional constructions in spoken face-to-face 20th-Century English. When this is done, the situation turns out to be much more complex and dynamic, suggesting that the diachronic process by which prepositions in English migrate from their original pre-nominal slot to their more recent post-verbal position is far from over.

7.5.2 Oral narrative

The spoken English text I chose to investigate here is a personal oral narrative, recorded ca. 1978 in Bloomfield, New Mexico. The speaker was a retired rancher, trapper and oil-field roustabout ca. 55 years old, who was born in Texas, grew up in Southern New Mexico, and had a spotty high school education in rural schools. The reason why I chose a rural, less-educated variety of spoken English – in addition to an admitted personal preference – is easy to discern: Diachronic change occurs primarily in the spoken language. If there is either a clear tail end to the diachronic process studied here, or a significant further elaboration, it would be more likely to be found in the spoken language.

Even when investigating the presumed source construction of post-verbal detached prepositions in English, one finds a rather fluid situation in our spoken English text, with one, two or even three prepositions preceding a single indirect-object nominal. One may consider such multiplicity as, perhaps, a possible diachronic precursor to post-verbal prepositions in English.[7] Typical examples of post-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases may be seen in (28) below.

(28) **Post-verbal (VO) simple prepositional phrases**
   a.   Well my dad's people came **to** Texas **from** Illinois
   b.   He was born **in** Sherman
   c.   the turkey would come **into** that river
   d.   there's a flat b**etween** the mesquit and the river
   e.   and the ol' big trees were **on** the river
   f.   so they naturally lived **off** the big ranchers' beef
   g.   five-year-old steer that they haven't even seen**before** then
   h.   he moved into Cattle County **at** Paduka
   i.   they were **around** there **for** a good while
   j.   it's a whole lot **like** your ranch **up** there, Tom

Examples with two prepositions, or in one case even three, may be seen in:

(29) **Post-verbal (VO) prepositional phrases with double prepositions**
   a.   there were quite a few springs **over** the country, **back in** the rough hills
   b.   there's no water **up at** Magdalena
   c.   it was a truck **back in** those days

---

7.   The number of pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases in the text was minuscule, and will be disregarded here.

    d.   It was **high up** there
    e.   but that evening they were **way up in** the corner
    f.   it was twisted a way **over to** one side
    g.   he put me in a body cast… plum down on this leg **down to** the knee
    h.   my little brother and I were **down in** this arroyo
    i.   they put a forty-pound weight **off over** the end of the bed
    j.   two and a half miles **back over to** the pine timber

It is of corse not always easy to tell the difference between a verb followed by a doubled preposition marking the indirect-object nominal and a verb-preposition combination followed by a simple prepositional phrase.

    The next category found frequently in our oral text is our diachronic target construction of post-verbal detached prepositions (V-P). Such prepositions may appear alone, with no prepositional phrase to follow. And as is already seen in earlier Modern English, an anaphoric pronoun or object noun is often sandwiched between the verb and the preposition. Likewise, a REL-clause construction may also be implicated. Thus consider:

(30) **Simple verb-preposition combinations**
    a.   so he **brought** it **over** and gave it to me
    b.   I don't know what he **went through**   (REL-clause)
    c.   and I **figured** some **out** myself
    d.   I **got out** when I was fourteen
    e.   he went ahead and **fixed** me **up**
    f.   and it **wound up** being about four and six-quarter inch shorter
    g.   He and her **got along** fine
    h.   they **cut out** about half of those teams
    i.   they couldn't get gas to **run** the busses **with**   (REL-clause)
    j.   because they **went on back**

    An even more common construction is the innovative one, where the verb-preposition combination (V-P) is followed by a prepositional phrase, thus V-P-P-N. A considerable variety of doubling the preposition is found here too, at either end; as well as the already-noted difficulty in determining where the preposition belongs – detached post-verbal vs. pre-nominal. Thus consider:

(31) **Post-verbal preposition(s) followed by a prepositional phrase**
    a.   when he was about a year old they **moved-down to** Hanson
    b.   when the **came-down from** Sherman
    c.   they would **come-in** and **roost-in on** the river
    d.   my dad was **raised-up through** that kind of thing

    e.   him and I **came-through in** an old truck
    f.   two of the older brothers **went-out with** my dad
    g.   my dad **wound-up with** three sections there
    h.   she **took-off out through** the trees
    i.   (he was) **a-ridin**' that ol' mare **in up from** there
    j.   that ol' heel **slipped-out from under** me
    k.   He had a terrible time **getting-along with** women

While semantic intuition is notoriously fickle and hard to quantify, all the examples in (31) above impart a strong sense that the first preposition, following the verb, is semantically more closely associated with the verb, creating a **merged lexical item**, or at least one on its way. This contrasts with the following – pre-nominal – prepositions, which seem to be more closely associated with the nominal indirect object. This does not necessarily detract from one's ability, as a linguist but perhaps also as a speaker, to discern the semantic value that the extra preposition adds to the V-P combination. And this, of course, contrasts sharply with the synchronically-arbitrary old pre-verbal prepositions that English inherited from its Germanic and Romance ancestors.

Table (32) below presents a comparison of the quantitative distribution of prepositional constructions in our two varieties of 20th Century English, the oral narrative described in this section and E. Leonard's (1989) written prose.

(32) **Quantitative distribution of prepositional constructions**[8]
      in oral vs. literary narrative in 20th Century English

Category	Oral narrative (N. M. rancher)		Written fiction (E. Leonard)	
	N	%	N	%
post-verbal prepositional phrase (VO)	324	62.3	256	78.3
post-verbal preposition alone (V-P)	137	**26.3**	49	**15.0**
post verbal preposition plus prep.-phrase (V-P-P-N)	59	**11.4**	21	**6.4**
total:	520	100.0	327	100.0

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8. The rather minuscule number of pre-verbal (OV) prepositional phrases in the two texts was again disregarded.

The comparison in (32), however rough and tentative, reveals something striking: The text frequency of both categories of post-verbal prepositions, whether with one preposition alone or followed by a prepositional phrase, are almost double in the oral narrative text, as compared with E. Leonard's written prose. Taken together, they comprise ca. **38%** of the sample of prepositional constructions in the oral text, as compared to only ca. **21%** in the written text. One way of interpreting this comparison is that the *creative elaboration* of the post-verbal prepositional construction in modern English, our proposed analog to the Homeric pre-verbal prepositions, is still going on in the spoken language.

7.5.3 Functional categories of post-verbal prepositions in spoken English

The use of the verb-preposition construction in spoken English, whether alone (V-P) or followed by an added prepositional phrase (V-P-P-N), can be divided into the by-now-familiar three functional categories, which – as in Homeric Greek – may be considered a diachronic continuum:

a. **zeroed-out nominal object**: The zeroed-out object is accessible from either the anaphoric or generic context, in the main clause or REL-clause.
b. **semantically coherent preposition**: The semantic relation of the preposition to the verb is still fairly transparent, and still resembles the use of the preposition as indirect object case-role marker.
c. **semantically arbitrary**: The semantic contribution of the preposition has become obscure, to the point where it may be considered arbitrary.

The assignment of text examples to these categories is not always easy, since they fall on a graded continuum; so that in 6 instances I assigned an item to two categories. In the main, the first category (a) is the most obvious, provided one is sufficiently attuned to the discourse context. The second (b) is less obvious, sometimes overlapping with the first. The third (c) is in some cases obvious but in others frustrating, since it often overlaps with the second (b) – semantic change being gradual. In (33), (34) and (35) below, both the classification and the difficulties it raises are illustrated with a number of representative examples.

(33) **Anaphorically or generically predictable zeroed-out indirect object**

Example	Context notes
a. then you **get back** about half a mile	(back from the river)
b. and the turkeys would **come in** and **roost in**	(in the thick mesquite brush)
c. They **shedded them in between**,	(in between the two houses)
so they have a runway **between the two house**	(reinforced cataphorically)
d. I don't know what county that **is in**	(REL-clause anaphora)
e. and those ol' cowboys would **ride in** on horseback	(into Pie-Town)
f. 'cause they had to **graze 'em along**	(along the plain)
g. they grabbed some sagebrush…and **pulled 'em out**	(out of the ground)
h. And so they came back	(back to the ranch)
i. he kept four or five there that he **had feed for**	(Rel-clause anaphora)

Consider next our category (b), where the indirect object is not contextually accessible any more but the preposition is still semantically associated with the verb, and its original meaning as indirect-object case-marker is fairly transparent. Most of the examples in (34) below still shade, somehow, into either anaphoric or generic contextual predictability:

(34) **Semantically coherent preposition**
  a. there **were quite a few springs around** over the country
       (around that place?)
  b. and some neighbors that **moved out** there too (out of their old place?)
  c. but my dad said he **got up** one morning   (up from bed?)
  d. and he **looked down** there   (down from where he stood?)
  e. he was gonna batch, y'know, **camp out**   (outdoors?)
  f. and he **set my dad down** in a rockin' chair   (downward from standing)
  g. she **took off** out through the trees   (off from where she stood)
  h. he**traded it off**   (traded it away)
  i. then **go on** west twenty five miles to Quemado   (go further onward)

The post-verbal detached preposition in (35) below, next, seems more or less arbitrary, thus our category (c):

(35) **More arbitrary verb-preposition pairings**:
  a. **turn you over** to them doctors up there
  b. they'd **come up with** a little different deal then
  c. that **fouled me up** again
  d. let it kinda **heal up**
  e. the government began to **put out** some money
  f. it **wound up** just like that
  g. but he **found out** that he could take me down
  h. you know how you **go over** to Williamsburg
  i. he **came up** to this hospital
  j. so they **brought it over** and gave it to me
  k. and I **figured some out** myself
  l. every day when he **come around** to see me
  m. and I **fooled around** and got so I could
  n. and he **went ahead** and **fixed me up**

Lastly, a few cases seem to be hybrids, with overlapping semantics that seems hard to pin down. Thus consider:

(36) **Seeming hybrids**
  a. I guess they didn't like it there
     'cause they **went on back**   (anaph.: **back** to their old place)
                                            (sem.: went **further on**)
  b. oh yeah, ol' John **came over**   (anaph: to the house)
                                            (arbit: use of 'over')
                                            (sem: **over** the terrain?)
  c. they **took me in** to ol' Doc   (arbit. **take in**
     Hannid,
     in Albuquerque to the   (sem.: **into** Albuquerque)
     Presbiterian hospital

The quantitative distribution of the three semantic categories of use of detached post-verbal prepositions in our oral English text is given in Table (37) below.

(37)   **Quantitative distribution of semantic categories of detached post-verbal prepositions in the spoken English text**

Category	N	%
zeroed out in context	66	35.6
semantically coherent	48	25.6
semantically arbitrary	71	38.8
total:	185	100.0

7.6   Discussion

Our survey of the historical data from English suggests that the syntactic contexts where prepositions are found form a fairly transparent diachronic continuum, corresponding rather well to the continuum found in Homeric Greek:

a.   pre-nominal preposition marking the case-role of indirect objects (P-N)
b.   post-verbal detached prepositions (V-P)
c.   post-verbal prepositions followed by a prepositional phrase (V-P-P-N)

As in Homeric Greek though in a syntactic mirror image, one may assume that post-verbal detached prepositions in English arrived at their syntactic position due to the combination of two factors:

● the post-verbal (VO) position of nominal indirect objects
● subsequent zeroing out of the nominal object in contexts of anaphoric or generic predictability.

It remains an open question whether post-verbal detached prepositions in English are in the process of being cliticized to the verb the way Homeric Greek prepositions did pre-verbally. The placement of unstressed anaphoric object pronouns between the verb and the preposition ('cut it out!') is not an issue here, since those anaphoric pronouns are themselves post-verbal clitics. The intervention of stressed object nouns ('cut this nonsense out!') is a problem, however. As is the fact that post-verbal detached prepositions in English – unlike their pre-nominal counterparts – carry a strong lexical stress. This leaves their status as potential clitics unresolved.[9]

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9.   In Homeric Greek, bi-syllabic pre-verbal prepositions are written with a lexical stress; but as noted by Zanchi (2019) this may not reflect the situation in the spoken Homeric language.

7.7   Closure

Our survey of the history of post-verbal prepositions in English appears to recapitulate the three-stage diachronic semantic continuum noted in the study of pre-verbal prepositions ('preverbs') in Homeric Greek:

a.   the zeroed-out object is still accessible from the anaphoric or generic context
b.   the detached preposition becomes semantically merged with the verb
c.   the detached preposition becomes semantically arbitrary.

The fact that English with its VO syntax and post-verbal detached prepositions is the syntactic mirror-image of the pre-Homeric OV dialect during which detached prepositions became pre-verbal clitics further reinforces the suggestion that the two diachronic developments are broadly similar – and typologically coherent.

In the same vein, the more recent – and still evolving – prepositional construction in modern English, adding a new prepositional phrase behind the post-verbal detached preposition, is another striking parallel to the diachrony of Homeric Greek pre-verbal prepositions, where two distinct cycles of the same diachronic process can be identified, with similar syntactic and semantic conditioning factors. What is more, the occasional doubling or even tripling of pre-verbal prepositions in Homeric Greek suggests that the process was still ongoing during Homeric times, the way it appears to be still ongoing in modern English.

The comparison of pre-verbal prepositions in Homeric Greek with post-verbal prepositions in modern English, lastly, is bound to reinforce one's suspicion that however unique Homer's language may have appeared to its speakers, or to well-focused linguists, it is still a natural human language, and as such abides by a host of well-documented universals. The study of these universals, and of their interaction with cross-language typological diversity, makes it reasonably clear that they are cognitively, semantically and communicatively motivated. It also suggests that, once again, language universals reveal themselves most conspicuously in diachrony.

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General index

Language index

Adpositions are used, universally, to mark the roles of nominal participants in the verbal clause, most commonly indirect object roles. Practically all languages seem to have such markers, which begin their diachronic life as lexical words -- in this case either serial verbs or positional nouns. In many languages, however, adpositions also seem to have extended their diachronic life one step further, becoming verbal affixes. The main focus of this book is the tail-end of the diachronic life cycle of adpositions. That is, the process by which, having arisen first as nominal-attached prepositions or post-positions, they wind up attaching themselves to verbs. Our core puzzle is thus fairly transparent: How and why should morphemes that pertain functionally to nominals, and begin their diachronic life-cycle as nominal grammatical operators, wind up as verbal morphology? While the core five chapters of this book focus on the rise of verb-attached prepositions in Homeric Greek, its theoretical perspective is broader, perched at the intersection of three closely intertwined core components of the study of human language: (a) the communicative function of grammar; (b) the balance between universality and cross-language diversity of grammars; and (c) the diachrony of grammatical constructions, how they mutate over time. While paying well-deserved homage to the traditional Classical scholarship, this study is firmly wedded to the assumption, indeed presupposition, that Homeric Greek is just another natural language, spoken before written, designed as an instrument of communication, and subject to the same universal constraints as all human languages. And further, that those constraints – so-called language universals – express themselves most conspicuously in diachronic change. Lastly, in analyzing the synchronic variation and text distribution of prepositional constructions in Homeric Greek, this study relies primarily on the theory-laden method of Internal Reconstruction.

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