

Languages group words and phrases syntactically as well as prosodically, and the two types of grouping do not always coincide (Selkirk 1984, 1986, 1995). In the following, for instance, (ἐς τὰς ἄλλας)<sub>w</sub> is a unit of sound but not a unit of syntax:

- (1) [ἔπεμπε [ἐς [τὰς [ἄλλας [συμμαχίας]]]]]  
 (ἔπεμπε)<sub>w</sub> (ἐς τὰς ἄλλας)<sub>w</sub> (συμμαχίας)<sub>w</sub> ‘sent to the other allies’

The unit is called a prosodic word and it seems to be a basic unit in most if not all human languages. Across many languages, a prosodic word consists of a content word (noun, verb, or adjective) plus an adjacent function word (article, preposition, complementizer, etc.). Proclitics and prepositives go with a following content word (1), just as enclitics and postpositives go with one preceding. The effects of this on phonology (crasis, nasal assimilation) and meter (bridges and caesura) are well-known and constitute the core evidence for prosodic words in Greek (Devine & Stephens 1978, 1981, 1983, 1994).

Elaborating on recently published work (Agbayani & Golston 2010), I show that prosodic words *move* in Classical Greek in what we know traditionally as hyperbaton. This is a significant proposal for grammar, because linguists generally assume that movement takes place *only* in syntax, *never* in phonology. But consider the moved version of (1) in Herodotus:

- (2) (ἐς τὰς ἄλλας)<sub>w</sub> (ἔπεμπε)<sub>w</sub> (συμμαχίας)<sub>w</sub> ‘sent to the other allies’ (Herodotus 1.82)

Since ἐς τὰς ἄλλας is in hyperbaton, it follows from (1) that a prosodic unit has been moved rather than a syntactic unit. I show that this is commonly the case with hyperbaton, contra Devine & Stephens 2000.

More evidence that hyperbaton is not syntactic comes from its violation of well-known and cross-linguistically robust syntactic principles (including the Coordinate Structure Constraint, Left Branch Condition, Adjunct Condition, and the proper binding of reflexives and reciprocals). The final source of evidence comes from the fact that hyperbaton is strictly avoided if it brings together like-sounding function words in a prosodic word. This shows up in the absolute avoidance of things like (3), which must be realized as (4) (Smyth 1920; Golston 1995):

- (3) \* τῆς τῆς πόλεως ἀρχῆς ‘of the dominion of the city’ [construct]  
 (4) τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς πόλεως (Plato, *Statesman* 275a)

Similarly, the well-known restriction against \*μὴ μὴ ‘lest not’ follows from the same restriction against like-sounding function words in a prosodic word. The grammatical form is anomalous insofar as the realis negative οὐ replaces the irrealis negative μὴ despite the fact that the complementizer μὴ introduces irrealis clauses. μὴ οὐ clearly sounded better than \*μὴ μὴ, but this is surprising, given that the latter makes no grammatical sense.

Prosody is thus central not only to phonology and meter, but to basic word order as well.