# THE NATURE OF CAPPADOCIAN CLITICS

Mark Janse

*All Souls College, Oxford / Roosevelt Academy, Middelburg*

mark.janse@ugent.be

**Abstract.** Cappadocian is a peripheral Asia Minor Greek dialect heavily influenced by Turkish at every linguistic level. The Cappadocian clitic pronouns, however, have retained their original Greek characteristics, although their syntactic behaviour differs substantially from Standard Modern Greek and most of its core dialects. This paper will discuss the following aspects of the grammar of Cappadocian clitics:

1. Clisis, what clisis? Enclisis, proclisis, synclisis, metaclisis, diaclisis *und kein Ende...*
2. Word or affix? The "clitic cline" and the status of clitics.

## 1. Clisis, what clisis?

### 1.1. Clitics: definition

"Any grammatical unit that is not straightforwardly either an affix or a word on its own. E.g. in Ancient Greek *nêsós tis* 'a (certain) island', the clitic *tis* is not an affix since, among other things, it is itself inflected as nominative singular. Neither, as a word, is it entirely independent, since it forms a single accentual unit with the preceding word for 'island' (basically *nêsos*)."

"From the Greek word for 'leaning': thus unaccented *tis* 'leans on' *nêsos*. Enclitics are clitics linked phonologically, as here, to the word preceding, proclitics those linked to the word following. The distinction between clitics and affixes is naturally fluid: e.g. English *-n't* in *haven't* or *aren't* is a clitic by some criteria but has been claimed as an affix by others. So too is the boundary between clitics and full words: e.g. unstressed *to* is a clitic, by some relevant criteria, in *I have to* [haftə] *go*."

"Clitic": *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. P. H. Matthews. Oxford University Press, 2007. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

### 1.2. Clitics: status

"[T]he relative ordering of affixes and of clitics are both quite rigid [which] contributes to the conclusion that clitic placement and word-level morphology are parallel phenomena" (Anderson 1992: 222)

"Clitics generally appear in a fixed, at least partially arbitrary order with respect to one another entirely parallel to the ways in which groups of inflectional clitics interact" (Halpern 1995: 192)

Zwicky's criteria (selected):

a. Combinatorial selectivity (affix: high; nonaffix: low)
b. Morphophonology (affix: high; nonaffix: low (sandhi, fast speech)
c. Ordering (nonword: strict; word: (relatively) free)
d. Phonological dependence (nonword: dependent; word: independent)

### 1.3. Greek Clitics: weak object pronouns (WOPs)

**1.3.1. Ancient Greek:** WOPs syntactically pre- or postverbal, phonologically enclitic, Φ-phrase ≠ Σ-phrase

| ἥψατό | =μού | =τις |
|---|---|---|
| *hé:psató* | *=mú* | *=tis* |
| s/he-touched | 1sg | someone.nom. |
| "someone *touched* me" (Lk 8.46) | | |

| τίς | =μου | ἥψατο |
|---|---|---|
| *tís* | *=mu* | *hé:psato* |
| who | 1sg | s/he-touched |
| "*who* touched me?" (Mk 5.31) | | |

| μή | =μου | ἅπτου |
|---|---|---|
| *mé:* | *=mu* | *háptu* |
| not | 1sg | touch |
| "*don't* touch me!" (Jn 20.17) | | |

| ἐρῶ | =σοι |
|---|---|
| *erô:* | *=soi* |
| I-will-tell | 2sg |
| "I'll *tell* you" (Meno 76b3) | |

| ἐγώ | =σοι | ἐρῶ |
|---|---|---|
| *egó* | *=soi* | *erô:* |
| 1sg | 2sg | I-will-tell |
| "*I* will tell you" (Crito 44a2) | | |

| ἐγώ | =σοι | ἔφη | ἐρῶ |
|---|---|---|---|
| *egó* | *=soi* | *éphe:* | *erô:* |
| 1sg | 2sg | s/he-said | I-will-tell |
| "*I*," he said, "will *tell* you" (Phaedo 71c10) | | | |

**1.3.2. Byzantine Greek:** WOPs syntactically immediately pre- or postverbal, phonologically enclitic, Φ-phrase ⇒ Σ-phrase: {ἐγώ =σοι} λέ(γ)ω ⇒ ἐγώ [σοι= λέ(γ)ω]

**1.3.3. Modern Greek:** WOPs syntactically pre- or postverbal, phonologically pro- or enclitic, Φ-phrase = Σ-phrase

| θa= | mu= | to= | pís |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| prt | 1sg | 3sg | you-tell |
| "I'll *tell* you it" | | | |

| esí | θa= | mu= | to= | =pís |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| 2sg | prt | 1sg | 3sg | you-tell |
| "*I* will tell you it" | | | | |

| pés | =mu | =to |
|-----|-----|-----|
| tell | 1sg | 3sg |
| "*tell* me it!" | | |

**1.4. Cappadocian WOPs** = Byzantine WOPs: syntactically immediately pre- or postverbal, phonologically enclitic (always?)

**1.4.1. Postverbal syntax** = unmarked (generalized): grammaticalization (syntacticization)

| díçñi | =se | =to |
|-------|-----|-----|
| s/he shows | 2sg | 3sg |
| "s/he shows you it" | | |

⇔

| su= | to= | δíçñi |
|-----|-----|-------|
| 2sg | 3sg | s/he shows |
| "s/he shows you it" | | |

**1.4.2. Preverbal syntax I:** grammaticalization (syntacticization) of Wackernagel's Law (P2)

a. Modal & negative particles: proclisis (modal) ~ enclisis (negative)
b. Subordinating conjunctions: enclisis ~ proclisis?
c. Relative pronouns: proclisis?
d. Interrogative words: enclisis?

| ás | =to | fáγo | =m | mí | =to | fáγo | =m |
|----|-----|------|----|----|-----|------|----|
| prt | 3sg | I eat | prt | not | 3sg | 1sg | prt |
| "shall I eat him?" | | | | "shall I not eat him?" | | | D336 |

| an= | du= | vγális | na= | mi= | páris |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|-----|-------|
| if | 3sg | you take out | prt | 1sg | you-marry |
| "if you take it out" | | | "you will marry me" | | D386 |

| n-o= | skotósan | =ton | ce | dén | =do | skotósan |
|------|----------|------|----|-----|-----|----------|
| prt-3sg | they killed | cop.3sg | and | not | 3sg | they killed |
| "they would have killed him but they didn't kill him" | | | | Arch.Z.Dawk (unpublished) | | |

| vavá | =sas | óti | =sas | ípen | a= | sas= | ta= | çpó |
|------|------|-----|------|------|----|------|-----|-----|
| father | 2pl | whatever | 2pl | s/he said | prt | 2pl | 3pl | I tell |
| "whatever your father told you, I'll tell you it" | | | | | Arch.Z.Dawk (unpublished) | | | |

| ta | klátša | =mas | škólja | dén | =da | sáldanam | polí |
|----|--------|------|--------|-----|-----|----------|------|
| the | children | 1pl | school | not | 3pl | we sent | much |
| "our children, we didn't send them to school a lot" | | | | Misiotika (unpublished recording 2005) | | | |

| tí | =to | píces |
|----|-----|-------|
| what | 3sg | you did |
| "what did you do to him?" | | D436 |

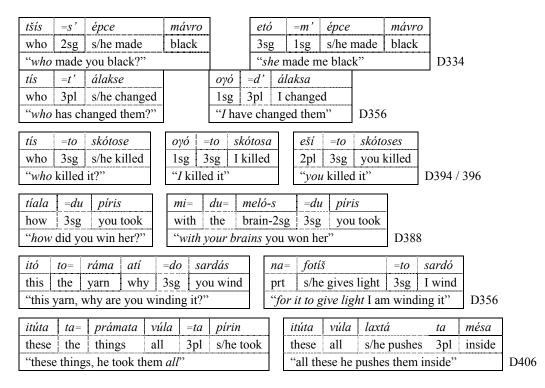**1.4.3. Preverbal syntax II:** discourse remnants of Wackernagel's Law (P2)

a. Subject pronouns
b. Echo answers
c. Focus

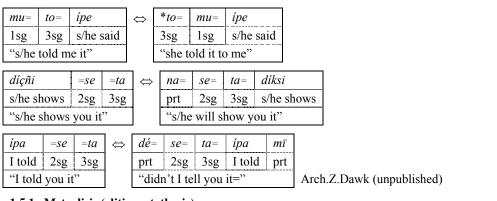| eγó | =ta | léo | eγó | =t' | akúo |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|
| 1sg | 3pl | I say | 1sg | 3pl | I hear |
| "*I* say it" | | | "*I* hear it" | | |

| léo | =ta | akúo | =ta |
|-----|-----|------|-----|
| I say | 3pl | I hear | 3pl |
| "I say it" | | | PK76 |

| tšís | =s' | épce | mávro |
|------|-----|------|-------|
| who | 2sg | s/he made | black |
| "who made you black?" | | | |

| etó | =m' | épce | mávro |
|-----|-----|------|-------|
| 3sg | 1sg | s/he made | black |
| "she made me black" | | | D334 |

| tís | =t' | álakse |
|-----|-----|--------|
| who | 3pl | s/he changed |
| "who has changed them?" | | |

| oɣó | =d' | álaksa |
|-----|-----|--------|
| 1sg | 3pl | I changed |
| "I have changed them" | | D356 |

| tís | =to | skótose |
|-----|-----|---------|
| who | 3sg | s/he killed |
| "who killed it?" | | |

| oɣó | =to | skótosa |
|-----|-----|---------|
| 1sg | 3sg | I killed |
| "I killed it" | | |

| eší | =to | skótoses |
|-----|-----|----------|
| 2pl | 3sg | you killed |
| "you killed it" | | D394 / 396 |

| tíala | =du | píris |
|-------|-----|-------|
| how | 3sg | you took |
| "how did you win her?" | | |

| mi= | du= | meló-s | =du | píris |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|-------|
| with | the | brain-2sg | 3sg | you took |
| "with your brains you won her" | | | | D388 |

| itó | to= | ráma | atí | =do | sardás |
|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|--------|
| this | the | yarn | why | 3sg | you wind |
| "this yarn, why are you winding it?" | | | | | |

| na= | fotíš | =to | sardó |
|-----|-------|-----|-------|
| prt | s/he gives light | 3sg | I wind |
| "for it to give light I am winding it" | | | D356 |

| itúta | ta= | prámata | vúla | =ta | pírin |
|-------|-----|---------|------|-----|-------|
| these | the | things | all | 3pl | s/he took |
| "these things, he took them *all*" | | | | | |

| itúta | vúla | laxtá | ta | mésa |
|-------|------|-------|-----|------|
| these | all | s/he pushes | 3pl | inside |
| "all these he pushes them inside" | | | | D406 |

### 1.5. Synclisis

| mu= | to= | ípe |
|-----|-----|-----|
| 1sg | 3sg | s/he said |
| "s/he told me it" | | |

⇔

| *to= | mu= | ípe |
|------|-----|-----|
| 3sg | 1sg | s/he said |
| "she told it to me" | | |

| díçñi | =se | =ta |
|-------|-----|-----|
| s/he shows | 2sg | 3sg |
| "s/he shows you it" | | |

⇔

| na= | se= | ta= | díksi |
|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| prt | 2sg | 3sg | s/he shows |
| "s/he will show you it" | | | |

| ípa | =se | =ta |
|-----|-----|-----|
| I told | 2sg | 3sg |
| "I told you it" | | |

⇔

| dé= | se= | ta= | ípa | mï |
|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| prt | 2sg | 3sg | I told | prt |
| "didn't I tell you it=" | | | | Arch.Z.Dawk (unpublished) |

### 1.5.1. Metaclisis (clitic metathesis)

| péz | =mu | =to |
|-----|-----|-----|
| tell | 1sg | 3sg |
| "*Tell* me it!" | | |

⇔

| pés | =to | =mu |
|-----|-----|-----|
| tell | 3sg | 1sg |
| "*Tell* it to me!" | | |

| pé(z) | =me | =to |
|-------|-----|-----|
| tell | 1sg | 3sg |
| "*Tell* me it!" | | |

⇔

| pés | =to | =me |
|-----|-----|-----|
| tell | 3sg | 1sg |
| "*Tell* it to me!" | | |

*Farasiot* (Dawkins 1916: 510 & 518)

| džo | puá | =mes | =ta |
|-----|-----|------|-----|
| not | you sell | 1pl | 3pl |
| "will you not sell us it" | | | |

⇔

| džo | puás | =ta | =mas |
|-----|------|-----|------|
| not | you sell | 3pl | 1pl |
| "will you not sell it to us" | | | |

*Languedocian* (Hetzron 1977: 195)

| te= | la= | dirai |
|-----|-----|-------|
| 2sg | 3sg | I will say |
| "I'll tell you it" | | |

⇔

| la= | te= | dirai |
|-----|-----|-------|
| 3sg | 2sg | I will say |
| "I'll tell it to you" | | |

### 1.5.2. Diataclisis (split cliticization)

| a= | se= | to= | díkso |
|---|---|---|---|
| prt | 2sg | 3sg | I show |
| "I'll show you it" | | | |

⇔

| as= | to= | díkso | =se |
|---|---|---|---|
| prt | 3sg | I show | 2sg |
| "I'll show it to you" | | | D308 |

| a= | se= | to= | féro |
|---|---|---|---|
| prt | 2sg | 3sg | I bring |
| "I'll bring you it" | | | |

⇔

| as= | to= | dókum | =se |
|---|---|---|---|
| prt | 3sg | we give | 2sg |
| "we'll give her to you" | | | PK102 / 192 |

| an= | da= | fériz | =me | na= | se= | dóko | s' | esé |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| if | 3pl | you bring | 1sg | prt | 2sg. | I give | to | 2sg |
| "if you bring them to me" | | | | "I will give [her] *to you*" | | | | D340 |

*Byzantine Greek* (Joseph 1990: 132)

| καὶ | τῶρά | με | εἶπε | το |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ce* | *tóra* | *me* | *ípe* | *to* |
| and | now | 1sg | say | 3sg |
| "and *now* you must *tell* me it!" | | | | |

*East Flemish* (Janse 1998a: 274)

| zeg | = d | ='t | gij | 'em |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| say | 2sg | 3sg.n | 2sg | 3sg.m |
| "will you tell it him?" | | | | |

⇔

| zeg | jij | ='t | ='m |
|---|---|---|---|
| say | 2sg | 3sg.n | 3sg.m |
| "will you tell it him?" | | | |

### 1.5.3. Endoclisis

| dé-m | ⇐ | dé(z) | =me |
|---|---|---|---|
| give-1sg | | give | 1sg |
| "gimme!" | | | |

⇔

| de-m-ét | ⇐ | déz | =me | -ét |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| give-1sg-2pl | | give | 1sg | 2pl |
| "gimme!" | | | | D139 |

*Northern Greek* (Thavoris 1977: 86f., cf. Joseph 1989)

| ðó-m-ti | ⇐ | ðó(z) | =mi | -ti |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| give-1sg-2pl | | give | 1sg | 2pl |
| "gimme!" | | | | |

⇔

| ðóm-ti | =mas |
|---|---|
| give-1sg-2pl | 1pl |
| "give us!" | |

*Albanian* (Demiraj 1985: 1125)

| merr-e-ni | ⇐ | merr | =e | ni |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| give-1sg-2pl | | take | 3sg | 2pl |
| "take it!" | | | | |

| jep-ma-ni | ⇐ | jep | =më | =e | -ni |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| give-1sg/3sg-2pl | | give | 1sg | 3sg | 2pl |
| "gimme it!" | | | | | |

⇔

| ma= | jep-ni |
|---|---|
| 1sg/3sg | give-pl |
| "gimme it!" | |

## 2. Word or affix?

### 2.1. Trisyllabic rule in Modern Greek

| éðosa | ⇔ | ðósame |
|---|---|---|
| I gave | | we gave |

| ðóθika | ⇔ | ðoθíkame |
|---|---|---|
| I was given | | we were given |

### 2.2. Suffixation vs. encliticization in Modern Greek

| éðos-a | ⇔ | ðós-a-me |
|---|---|---|
| I gave | | we gave |

| éðos-a | ⇔ | éðosá | =to |
|---|---|---|---|
| I gave | | I gave | 3sg |

| *péz* | *=mu* | *=to* |
|---|---|---|
| tell | 1sg | 3sg |
| "*Tell* me it!" | | |

⇔

| *ðóse* | *=mú* | *=to* |
|---|---|---|
| give | 1sg | 3sg |
| "*Give* it to me!" | | |

## 2.3. Suffixation vs. encliticization in Modern Greek

| *éðos-a* |
|---|
| I gave |

⇔

| *ðós-a-me* |
|---|
| we gave |

| *éðos-a* |
|---|
| I gave |

⇔

| *éðosá* | *=to* |
|---|---|
| I gave | 3sg |

### 2.4. The "clitic cline" in Cappadocian

### 2.4.1. Encliticization vs. "agglutination"

| *édocén* | *=do* |
|---|---|
| s/he gave | 3sg |
| "he gave it" | |

⇔

| *édocen* | *=do* |
|---|---|
| s/he gave | 3sg |
| "he gave it" | |  D342 / 344

| *jómosén* | *=do* |
|---|---|
| s/he filled | 3sg |
| "she filled it" | |

⇔

| *jómosen* | *=da* |
|---|---|
| s/he filled | 3pl |
| "she filled them" | |  D398 / 400

| *díçnun* | *=se* | *=to* |
|---|---|---|
| they show | 2sg | 3sg |
| "they show you it" | | |

⇔

| *díçñi* | *=se* | *=to* |
|---|---|---|
| s/he shows | 2sg | 3sg |
| "s/he shows you it" | | |  D306

| *polí* | *=d'* | *aɣápanan* |
|---|---|---|
| much | 3sg | they loved |
| "they loved him *very much*" | | |

| *ull'* | *aɣápanan* | *=du* |
|---|---|---|
| all | they loved | 3sg |
| "they *al* loved him*!*" | | |  Misiotika (unpublished recording 2005)

### 2.4.1. Encliticization vs. affixation?

| *éfaɣán* | *=do* |
|---|---|
| they ate | 3sg |
| "they ate it" | |

⇔

| *efáɣan* | *-do* |
|---|---|
| they ate | 3sg |
| "they ate it" | |  D306 / 308

| *édocén* | *=do* |
|---|---|
| s/he gave | 3sg |
| "he gave it" | |

⇔

| *edócen* | *-do* |
|---|---|
| s/he filled | 3sg |
| "he gave it" | |  D342 / 344

| *sérepsán* | *=da* |
|---|---|
| they gather | 3pl |
| "they gathered them" | |

⇔

| *serépsan* | *-da* |
|---|---|
| s/he filled | 3pl |
| "they gathered them" | |  D398

| *ésirén* | *=da* |
|---|---|
| s/he shot | 3pl |
| "he shot it" | |

⇔

| *ésiren* | *=da* |
|---|---|
| s/he shot | 3pl |
| "he shot it" | |

⇔

| *esíre* | *=me* |
|---|---|
| s/he shot | 1sg |
| "he shot me" | |  D558

| *épjasén* | *=do* |
|---|---|
| s/he took | 3sg |
| "he took it" | |

⇔

| *pjásen* | *-do* |
|---|---|
| s/he took | 3sg |
| "he took it" | |  D138

### 3. Conclusion?

## References

Anderson, Stephen R. 1992. *A-morphous Morphology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

— 1993. Wackernagel's Revenge. Clitics, Morphology, and the Syntax of Second Position. *Language* 69, 68-97.

D = Dawkins, Richard M. 1916. *Modern Greek in Asia Minor.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Demiraj, Shaban. 1985. *Gramatikë historike e gjuhës shqipe.* Tirana: 8 Nëntori.

Halpern, Aaron. 1995. *On the Placement and Morphology of Clitics.* Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language & Information.

Hetzron, Robert. 1977. Clitic Pronouns and their Linear Representation. *Forum Linguisticum* 1, 189-215.

Horrocks, Geoffrey C. 1990. Clitics in Greek. A Diachronic Review. In: Maria Roussou & Stavros Panteli (eds.), *Greek outside Greece II.* Athens: Diaspora Books, 35-52.

Janse, Mark. 1990. Wackernagel's Law. In: Werner Bahner *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the 14th International Congress of Linguists.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2645-2649.

— 1993a. La position des pronoms personnels enclitiques en grec néo-testamentaire à la lumière des dialectes néo-helléniques. In : Claude Brixhe (ed.): *La koiné grecque antique.* I. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 83-121.

— 1993b. The Prosodic Basis of Wackernagel's Law. In : André Crochetière *et al.* (eds.), *Actes du 15e Congrès international des linguistes.* Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, Vol. 4, 19-22.

— 1994a. Clitics and Word Order since Wackernagel. One Hundred Years of Research into Clitics and Related Phenomena. *Orbis* 37, 389-410.

— 1994b. De la Loi de Wackernagel et ses extensions en latin. A propos de la collocation pronominale chez Pétrone. *TEMA. Techniques et Méthodologies Modernes Appliquées à l'Antiquité* 1, 107-146

— 1994c. Son of Wackernagel. The Distribution of Object Clitic Pronouns in Cappadocian. In: Irene Philippaki-Warburton *et al.* (eds.): *Themes in Greek Linguistics.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 435-442.

— 1995-1996. Phonological Aspects of Clisis in Ancient and Modern Greek. *Glotta* 73, 155-167.

— 1997. Synenclisis, Metenclisis, Dienclisis. The Cappadocian Evidence. In: Gaberell Drachman *et al.* (eds.): *Greek Linguistics '95.* Graz: Neugebauer, 695-706.

— 1998a. Cappadocian Clitics and the Syntax-Morphology Interface. In : Brian D. Joseph *et al.* (eds.): *Themes in Greek Linguistics II.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 257-281.

— 1998b. A Discourse Approach to Polish Clitic Placement. In: Bernard Caron (ed.): *Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of Linguists.* Oxford: Pergamon, Paper 338.

— 1998c. Grammaticalization and Typological Change. The Clitic Cline in Inner Asia Minor Greek. In: Mark Janse (ed.): *Productivity and Creativity.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 521-547.

— 2000. Convergence and Divergence in the Development of the Greek and Latin Clitic Pronouns. In: Rosanna Sornicola *et al.* (eds.), *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns over Time.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, 231-258.

— 2002. Alexandrian Grammatical Theory in Practice. Apollonius Dyscolus and the Personal Pronouns. In: Pierre Swiggers & Alfons Wouters (eds.), *Grammatical Theory and Philosophy of Language.* Leuven: Peeters, 233-255.

— 2006. Object Position in Cappadocian and Other Asia Minor Greek Dialects. In: Mark Janse *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory.* Patras: University of Patras Press, 115-129

— 2007. Clitic Doubling from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek. In: Dalina Kallulli & Liliane Tasmowski (eds.), *Clitic Doubling in the Balkan Languages.* Amsterdam: Benjamins, in press.

Joseph, Brian D. 1990. *Morphology and Universals in Syntactic Change. Evidence from Medieval and Modern Greek.* New York: Garland.

— 2001. Dialect Evidence Bearing on the Definition of 'Word' in Greek. In: Mark Janse *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory.* Patras: University of Patras, 89-104.

— 2002a. Defining 'Word' in Modern Greek. A Response to Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos 1999. *Yearbook of Morphology* 2001: 87-114.

— 2002b. On Defining 'Word' in Modern Greek. In: Christos Clairis (ed.), *Recherches en linguistique grecque.* Paris: L'Harmattan, vol. I, 247-250.

— 2002c. 'Word' in Modern Greek. In: R.M.W. Dixon & Alexandra Aikhenvald (eds.), *Word. A Cross-Linguistic Typology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 243-265.

K = Kesisiglou, I. I. 1951. *Το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα του Ουλαγάτς* [The dialect of Ulağaç]. Athens: Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών.

Kayne, Richard S. 1991. Romance Clitics, Verb Movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22, 647-686.

Mackridge, Peter. 1993. An Editorial Problem in Medieval Greek Texts. The Position of the Object Clitic Pronoun in the Escorial *Digenes Akrites*. In: N. Panayotakis (ed.), *Origini della letteratura neogreca*. Venezia: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, I: 325-342.

Mackridge, Peter. 1994. Η θέση του αδυνάτου τύπου της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας στη μεσαιωνική δημώδη ελληνική [The position of the weak personal pronoun in Medieval Greek]. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 15, 906-929.

Pappas, Panayiotis. 2001a. *Weak Object Pronoun Placement in Later Medieval and Early Modern Greek.* Columbus: Ohio State University (doctoral dissertation).

Pappas, Panayiotis. 2001b. Weak Object Pronoun Placement in Later Medieval Greek. Intralinguistic Parameters Affecting Variation. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics* 56, 79-106.

Pappas, Panayiotis. 2004. *Variation and Morphosyntactic Change in Greek. From Clitics to Affixes.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Pappas, Panayiotis. 2005. Medieval Greek Weak Object Pronouns and Analogical Change. *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 5, 127-157.

Philippaki-Warburton, Irene & Vassilios Spyropoulos. 1999. On the Boundaries of Inflection and Syntax. Greek Pronominal Clitics and Particles. *Yearbook of Morphology* 1998, 45-72.

PK = Phosteris, D. & I. I. Kesisiglou. 1960. *Λεξιλόγιο του Αραβανί* [Vocabulary of Aravan]. Athens: Κέντρο Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών.

Rollo, Antonio. 1989. L'uso dell'enclisi nel greco volgare dal XII al XVII secolo e la legge Tobler-Mussafia. *Italoellenikά* 2, 135-146.

Thavoris, Antonios. 1977. Μορφολογικά μερικών ιδιωμάτων της δυτικής Μακεδονίας. *Α΄ Συμπόσιο γλωσσολογίας του Βορειοελλαδικού χώρου (Ήπειρος-Μακεδονία-Θράκη), 28-30 Απριλίου 1976. Πρακτικά.* Thessaloniki: Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου.

Wackernagel, Jakob. 1892. Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1, 333-446.

Zwicky, Arnold. 1985. Clitics and Particles. *Language* 61, 283-305.

— Suppressing the Zs. *Journal of Linguistics* 23, 133-148.

— & Geoffrey K. Pullum. 1983. Cliticization vs. Inflection: English *n't. Language* 59, 502-513.