Clitic Doubling from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek*

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In Modern Greek, clitic doubling is a grammatical device that marks clitic-doubled object NPs as topics. Clitic doubling involving the fronting of the clitic-doubled NP is called topicalization or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic left-dislocation. Topic left-dislocation is obligatory in the presence of a preverbal focused NP. Clitic doubling involving the backing of the clitic-doubled NP is called backgrounding or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic right-dislocation. Right-dislocated topics are interpreted as an afterthought. In Ancient Greek, clitic doubling was an occasional mnemotechnic device to clarify the referent of a leftdislocated topic usually separated by an intervening clause from the verb on which it depended. Topic right-dislocation existed in Ancient Greek as a device to clarify or specify the referent of a clitic pronoun. The grammaticalization of clitic doubling can be traced back to the use of hanging topics, in which case the doubling clitic was needed to specify the grammatical relation of the corresponding hanging topic as direct or indirect object. The construction was grammaticalized in the Medieval period, when clitic doubling positively marked clitic-doubled NPs as topics. In Asia Minor Greek, clitic-doubling serves exactly the same purposes as in Medieval and Standard Modern Greek. Turkish interference appears in the existence of a definite and an indefinite accusative to mark topic and focus respectively and possibly the preponderance of SOV as the unmarked order.

1. Introduction

Clitic doubling, the co-occurrence of a direct and/or indirect object NP and a coreferential clitic pronoun attached to the verb, is a characteristic feature of the Balkan languages, including Greek. The status of clitics and the constraints on clitic placement and clitic doubling in Modern Greek have received much attention, especially in the generative literature. Several issues are involved. The first concerns the grammatical status of the doubled NP and the doubling clitic. Is the NP an argument and the clitic a functional element? Or is the clitic pronoun the argument proper and the NP a peripheral element, e.g. an adjunct? The second issue is directly related to the first one: are clitics words or affixes? Both issues are hotly debated in recent literature on Modern Greek and one finds proponents of either position using grammatical, morphonological and prosodic arguments to drive their point home. One of the most prominent advocates of the "clitics-are-affixes" position is Brian Joseph, who has defended his position in a series of publications. In the other camp, one finds an equally famous Greek linguist, Irene Philippaki-Warburton, defending the "clitics-arewords" position with equal fervour.

Followers of the "clitics-are-affixes" position take the view that in clitic-doubling constructions, clitics are generated as a functional category, viz. an agreement marker, and the NP as a lexical category in the object argument slot.⁴ Advocates of the

"clitics-are-words" position, on the other hand, argue that clitics are base-generated, like a lexical category, in the object argument slot, the NP functioning as an adjunct.⁵

I have elaborated at length on the status of clitics in a number of publications, where it is argued that clitics constitute a category *sui generis*, in some cases more word-like in behaviour, in others more affix-like. In this paper, I am only marginally engaged in these issues, as its orientation is diachronic and the status of clitic pronouns is not the same for all the dialects and stages of the Greek language. Instead, I concentrate on another aspect of clitic doubling, viz. the discourse function of the doubled NP. Some thirty years ago, Philippaki-Warburton established that clitic doubling is obligatory in Modern Greek if the doubled NP presents given (known) information. In other words, clitic doubling is a grammatical device to signal topicalization (which would *a priori* seem to confirm Philippaki-Warburton's interpretation of the doubled NP as an adjunct instead of an argument).

This paper traces the discourse origins of clitic doubling and its gradual grammaticalization from Ancient to Byzantine and Modern Greek, with particular attention to Asia Minor Greek. The dialects of Asia Minor are extremely interesting, both from a Greek and a general linguistic point of view. The Greek element is essentially Byzantine, thus representing a much older stage than is found in most of the other Modern Greek dialects. The admixture of Turkish elements, however, is what makes Asia Minor Greek unique, not just from the perspective of Modern Greek dialectology, but especially from the perspective of what Thomason (1997) has called "contact languages". The evidence presented here is novel and sheds new light on the history of clitic doubling in Greek.

The paper is organized as follows: §2 presents the standard account of clitic doubling in Modern Greek on the basis of the widely acclaimed (1997) grammar co-authored by Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton; §3 contains a survey of clitic placement from Ancient to Modern Greek and its dialects; §4 traces the emergence and evolution of clitic doubling in Ancient and Byzantine Greek; §5 gives an overview of clitic doubling and related phenomena in Asia Minor Greek.

2. The standard account of clitic doubling in Modern Greek

Since the seminal work of Philippaki-Warburton in the mid-1970s, it is generally agreed that the co-occurrence of a direct and/or indirect object NP and a corresponding clitic pronoun indicates that the object is the topic of the sentence. Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton (1997: 432) describe clitic doubling as "the device that removes the object from the comment (new part) of the sentence and renders it part of the background (known) information". In terms of generative features on phrases, clitic-doubled NPs (DPs) are defined as [-Focus] as opposed to non clitic-doubled NPs (DPs) which are interpreted as [+Focus].

In Modern Greek, four different clitic-doubling constructions can be distinguished on the basis of word order and the presence or absence of a prosodic boundary before or after the clitic-doubled NP:⁸

(1)a.	tin _i 3sg.f.acc.	<i>aγapái</i> he loves	[ti art.f.acc.sg.	<i>Yarimía</i>] _i Yarimia
b.	tin _i 3sg.f.acc.	<i>aγapái</i> he loves	 [ti art.f.acc.sg.	<i>Yarimía</i>] _i Yarimia

(2)a. [ti Yarimía]_i tin_i ayapái art.f.acc.sg. Yarimia 3sg.f.acc. he loves

b. [ti Yarimía]_i ... tin_i ayapái art.f.acc.sg. Yarimia 3sg.f.acc. he loves

"he loves Yarimia"

The difference between (1a)-(1b) versus (2a)-(2b) is a matter of word order: VO vs. OV. According to Holton et al. (1997: 432), fronting of the clitic-doubled NP implies topicalization in the strong sense of the word:

To use the object as the topic of the sentence it is necessary that the corresponding pronoun be added to the verb; in addition, the object noun phrase may be placed at the beginning of the sentence, since this is the most typical topic position. [...] The explicit mention of the object noun phrase at the beginning of the sentence in conjunction with its pronoun marks the object as the topic.

Although the term "clitic doubling" technically applies to all four constructions, it is used in a narrow sense to refer to constructions such as (1a) only (Holton et al. 1997: 194). The definition given in Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004: 965¹) is very explicit in this respect:

We will use the term 'clitic doubling' to refer to the coexistence of a clitic pronoun and the lexical DP associated with it, where the doubled DP is to the right of the verb [...] and there is no perceptible intonation break before the doubled DP.

The difference between (1a)-(2a) versus (1b)-(2b) is a matter of prosody: the clitic-doubled NP is separated from the rest of the sentence by a boundary pause and a marked fall in intonation. The phenomenon is called "dislocation" and is defined as follows by Holton et al. (1997: 436f.):

Dislocation is a more extreme form of topicalization [...]. A dislocated constituent is in a more peripheral position in the sentence, either at the very beginning or at the very end, and there is a comma after the dislocated topic, or a marked fall in intonation between it and the rest of the sentence.

The construction illustrated in (1b) is called "(clitic) left dislocation", the one in (2b) "(clitic) right dislocation". Confusingly, (2a) is also considered to be a case of left dislocation, as appears from the definition given by Holton et al. (1997: 194):

Clitic left dislocation is a construction where we again find both the object (direct or indirect) noun phrase and its corresponding clitic, but in this construction the object noun phrase is found to the left of the verb, usually at the front of the sentence.

The presence or absence of a prosodic break appears to be even less important in the definition found in Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004: 965¹ - italics added):

[W]e will use the term 'left dislocation' and 'right dislocation' for constructions where the corresponding DP, whether to the left or to the right periphery of the sentence, is *more detached*, and there *may be* a comma intonation intervening between the doubled DP and the rest of the sentence.

Holton et al. explicitly admit that it is often difficult to distinguish a topic from a dislocated constituent (1997: 437):⁹

[T]he difference between topicalization and dislocation [...] is only a matter of the length of the pause between the topicalized or dislocated constituent and the rest of the sentence. The longer the pause and the deeper the intonation fall, the closer we get to dislocation.

In the absence of experimental evidence, it seems that there is a prosodic continuum between topicalization, illustrated in (1a), and dislocation, illustrated in (1b) and (2b). Following Chafe (1994: 59), I will assume that the dislocated NPs in (1b) and (2b) constitute separate intonation units in the sense of Chafe (1994: 57ff.) and are set off from the rest of the sentence by a boundary pause, i.e. a longer pause from 0.1 up to 1.0 second (Chafe 1994: 59). The fronted NP in (2a) does not constitute a separate intonation unit, though it may be set off from the rest of the sentence by a shorter pause.

Given the ambiguity of the terms "clitic doubling" and "dislocation" as they are commonly used in the literature on Modern Greek, there is a need for clarification. As already remarked, the term "clitic doubling" refers to a purely syntactic phenomenon and as such applies not only to (1a), but to (1b), (2a) and (2b) as well. The term "dislocation" refers to a prosodic (and in some cases also syntactic) phenomenon and as such applies to (1b) and (2b), but not to (2a). The term "topicalization", on the other hand, refers to a discourse phenomenon and more specifically to the idea of information flow as defined by Chafe (1994: 53ff.). ¹¹ Chafe (1994: 73) considers information flow in terms of "activation cost": information is either active (given), semiactive (accessible) or inactive (new) at some point in discourse. Activation cost is determined primarily by "the speaker's assessment of changing activation states in the mind of the listener" (Chafe 1994: 81). The flow of speech is to a large extent determined by the flow of information into and out of both "focal" (active) and "peripheral" (semiactive) consciousness (Chafe 1994: 30). In many languages, especially those with a so-called "free" word order such as Greek, the flow of speech generally moves from active to semi/inactive information (Sornicola 1994: 4634). This explains, of course, why the topicalized constituents are normally found at the beginning of the sentence.

Since clitic-doubling marks the clitic-doubled NP as active (given) or at least semiactive (accessible) information, it stands to reason to formulate the typology of clitic-doubling constructions in Modern Greek in terms of information flow. Cliticdoubling involving the backing of the object NP without the presence of a boundary pause as in (1a) will be called backgrounding, a term implied by the definition of Holton et al. (1997: 432) quoted at the beginning of this section and used by Kornfilt (1997: 206) to describe a comparable phenomenon in Turkish grammar. Backgrounding involving the verbalization of the clitic-doubled NP as a separate intonation unit as in (1b) will be called topic right-dislocation, although a good alternative would be afterthought, since a topic dislocated to the end of the sentence "always sounds like an afterthought aiming at clarification" (Holton et al. 1997: 437). Clitic-doubling involving the fronting of the object NP without the presence of a boundary pause as in (2a) will be called topicalization, again following common practice. Topicalization involving the verbalization of the object NP as a separate intonation unit as in (2b) will be called topic left-dislocation. Both topic right- and topic left-dislocation are of course well-established terms in the study of information structure and are preferable to clitic right- and left-dislocation, as it is the topic that is

dislocated, not the clitic. A special case of topic left-dislocation is called *hanging topic left-dislocation*, a term that is adopted in the literature on Modern Greek (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2000: 184ff.). The difference between topic left-dislocation and hanging topic left-dislocation is a matter of case: a hanging topic is in the nominative case, even thought it corresponds with an accusative or, in the case of an indirect object, genitive clitic pronoun. ¹² Generally speaking, hanging topic left-dislocation is more typical of informal or casual speech, whereas topic left-dislocation is more characteristic of formal or careful speech. The interpretation of both constructions is the same (Holton et al. 1997: 437):

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(2)c. [i 	 Yarimia]_i 	 ... 	 tin_i 	 ayapái art.m.nom.sg. Yarimia 	 3sg.f.acc. he loves
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The following table summarizes the typology of clitic-doubling constructions:

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topicalization OV + clitic doubling - boundary pause topic left-dislocation OV + clitic doubling + boundary pause backgrounding VO + clitic doubling - boundary pause topic right-dislocation VO + clitic doubling + boundary pause
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Non clitic-doubled NPs present new information and are unambiguously interpreted as focused. The focus carries the main stress and is usually found at the end of the sentences: "With neutral intonation on an utterance the main stress falls naturally on the last constituent, interpreted as the focus" (Holton et al. 1997: 438). Focused constituents may also be moved to the beginning of the sentence. In such cases, the difference between topic and focus is not expressed by word order, but by the presence versus absence of a corresponding clitic pronoun and by weak versus strong stress respectively. The focused counterparts of (1a) and (2a) are (3) and (4) respectively:

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(3) ayapái [ti Yarimía] he loves art.f.acc.sg. Yarimia
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(4) [ti Yarimía] ayapái art.f.acc.sg. Yarimia he loves
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If, however, a sentence contains both a topic and a focus at the beginning of the sentence, the topic generally precedes the focus: "The preferred arrangement in such cases is to start with the topic and place the focus immediately before the verb" (Holton et al. 1997: 439), as in the following examples (where the topic is in both cases left-dislocated):

```
(5)a. [o Xópis] ... [ti Yarimía] aγapái 
"as for Hopi, it is Yarimía he loves"
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[&]quot;as far as Yarimia is concerned, he loves her"

[&]quot;it is Yarimia he loves"

(6)a. [ti Yarimía]_i ... [o Xópis] tin_i ayapái"as for Yarimia, it is Hopi who loves her"

There are several exceptions to this general principle: active information may not be expressed at all in the case of the subject, Greek being a pro-drop language, or it may be expressed by a clitic pronoun in the case of the object, which in Greek exhibits "special" syntax in the sense of Zwicky (1977: 6). If the referents of Hopi and Yarimia were both given in the immediately preceding context and if the idea of loving had to be activated, (5a) and (6a) could be verbalized as (5b) or (6b) (cf. Holton et al. 1997: 435f.), but more likely it would be verbalized as (7):¹⁴

- (5)b. [o Xópis] ... [ti Yarimía]_i tin_i ayapái polí "as for Hopi, he loves Yarimia very much"
- (6)b. [ti Yarimía]_i ... [o Xópis] tin_i aγapái polí"as for Yarimia, Hopi loves her very much"
- (7) Ø tin_i ayapái polí"he loves her very much"

Information may be also expressed contrastively, crosscutting the active-semi/inactive dimension (Chafe 1994: 76ff.). In the following example, the referents of all four NPs may be active, but the contrastive object NPs are not clitic-doubled:¹⁵

- (8)a. [o Xópis] *tin_i ayapái [ti Yarimía]_i ke [i María] (*ton_j) ayapái [to Níko]_j "Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria loves Nick"
 - b. [o Xópis] (*tin_i) ayapái [ti Yarimía]_i ke [i María] [to Níko]
 "Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria Nick"

It should be noted, however, that the contrastive object NPs will be clitic-doubled if they occur in preverbal position:

- (9)a. [ti Yarimía]_i tin_i ayapái [o Xópis] ke [to Níko]_j ton_j ayapái [i María] "Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria loves Nick"
 - b. [ti Yarimía]_i tin_i ayapái [o Xópis] ke [to Níko] [i María]
 "Hopi loves Yarimia and Maria Nick"

Last but not least, intonation may overrule the "normal" flow from active to semi/inactive information, as has already been observed.

3. Clitic placement from Ancient to Modern Greek

In the clitic-doubled examples given so far, the clitic pronoun is always placed immediately before the (finite) verb. This has indeed become the rule in Standard Modern

Greek (Holton et al. 1997: 304), but the situation is different in earlier stages of the language and in many Modern Greek dialects. The position of clitics or, to be more precise, enclitics in Ancient Greek is not related to the verb, but subject to what has come to be known as "Wackernagel's Law" (Wackernagel 1892). According to this "Law", enclitic pronouns and other enclitic elements tend to cluster together in sentence-second or, more precisely, clause-second position. One of the oldest instances of such a clause-second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second-millennium Mycenaean Greek: Together the second enclitic cluster occurs in second enclit cluster occurs in second encli

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    da-mo-de-mi pa-si [...] o-na-to e-ke-e (PY Ep 704.5)
    δᾶμός δέ μίν φᾶσι [...] ὀνᾶτὸν ἔχεἑν
    dāmos de min phāsi [...] onāton hekhehen damos but.cl. 3sg.m/f.acc. they say lease she has
    "but the dāmos says that she [the priestess Erīthā] has lease [...]"
```

In this particularly interesting example, the enclitic particle de and the enclitic pronoun min are graphically attached to the preceding sentence- c.q. clause-initial word $d\bar{a}mos$, contrary to the disyllabic enclitic verb $p^h\bar{a}si$ (Ruijgh 1967: 30). This graphical liaison suggests that the sequence da-mo-de-mi represents, in fact, a phonological word (Janse 1995-96: 163). Remarkably, the phonological dependence of the enclitic pronoun min does not coincide with its syntactic dependence on the infinitive $^hek^he^hen$, from which it is separated by four other words (two omitted).

The asymmetry between the phonological and syntactic dependence of enclitics indicates that in Ancient Greek their placement is not a matter of syntax, but rather of (discourse) phonology. As I have argued in previous publications, Wackernagel's Law is thus best defined with reference to (discourse) phonological units, i.e. intonation units, instead of to syntactic units such as sentences and clauses, although the two may and in fact often do coincide. Enclitics are attracted to foci, the most salient pieces of new (inactive) or contrastive (whether active or semi/inactive) information which are heavily stressed and typically placed at the beginning of an intonation unit. Consider the following two verses from Homer's *Odyssey*: 1

```
(11) α. κύκλωψ | εἰρωτῷς μ' ὄνομα κλυτόν | αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι
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```
      kyklōps
      ... eirōtāis
      m'
      onoma klyton
      ...

      cyclops
      you ask
      1sg.acc.
      name
      glorious

      autar
      egō
      toi
      ...

      and
      I
      2sg.dat.
```

"Cyclops ... you ask me .. my glorious name ... and I ..."

b. ἐξερέω | σὰ δέ μοι δὸς ξείνιον [...] (Hom. *Od.* 9.365f.)

"I will tell you ... but you .. give me a friendly gift [...]"

The three enclitic pronouns m(e), toi and moi are each attracted to the focus of the respective intonation units ("cola" in metrical terminology):²² the (finite) verb $\bar{e}r\bar{o}t\bar{a}is$ in

(11a), which contrasts with the (finite) verb *eksereō* in (11b), and the so-called "emphatic" subject pronouns $eg\bar{o}$ in (11a) and sy in (11b), which contrast with each other. The position of m(e), phonologically attached to the verb with which it is connected syntactically, would be "ordinary" in the sense of (Zwicky 1977: 6), the positions of *toi* and moi, phonologically detached from the verbs with which they are connected syntactically, would be "special". Note that $eg\bar{o}$ is not the first word within its intonation unit, but is preceded by the prepositive particle *autar*.

Much more noteworthy is the fact that *autar egō toi* constitutes a separate intonation unit, since the verse is a "self-contained unit [...] at the end of which prosodic connection is interrupted" (West 1982: 5). As a result, the enclitic pronoun *toi* is separated from the verb *eksereō* with which it is connected syntactically. This implies that *toi* can have no phonological connection with *eksereō*. By implication, *moi* will have no phonological connection with *dos*, even though it is syntactically connected with it, as *toi* is with *eksereō*. In other words, *toi* and *moi* are truly *enc*litic pronouns, contrary to their Modern Greek equivalents, which are *pro*clitic. The Ancient Greek equivalent of (7) would be either (12a) or (12b), but not (12c) or (12d):²³

- (12)a. ἀγαπῷ αὐτὴν πολύ agapāi autēn poly
 - b. πολύ αὐτὴν ἀγαπῷ poly autēn agapāi
 - c. *αὐτὴν ἀγαπῷ πολύ *autēn agapāi poly
 - d. *αὐτὴν πολὺ ἀγαπῷ*autēn poly agapāi

The dependence asymmetry between enclitic pronouns and their syntactic hosts on the one hand and their phonological hosts on the other becomes particularly evident in the following equivalents of (11a) and (11b), where the enclitic pronouns soi (Homeric toi) and moi are phonologically attached to the emphatic subject pronouns $eg\bar{o}$ and sy, but separated by a quotation verb from the verbs with which they are connected syntactically:

```
(13) \partial \lambda \lambda \partial \lambda
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(14) σύ μοι, φησίν, αὔλησον (Diogenes Laertius, Lives of the Philosophers 4.44.5)

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sy moi ... ph\bar{e}sin ... aul\bar{e}son you 1sg.dat. he says play the flute "... you .. he says ... play the flute for me!"
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This syntactic disconnection can be rather extreme, as in the following example from the *Odyssey*, where the enclitic pronoun *me* (15a) is separated by no less than thirteen

words (and one verse) from the (finite) verb *apēura* (15b) on which it depends syntactically:²⁴

```
(15)α. ἀλλά με | σός τε πόθος | σά τε μήδεα | φαίδιμ' 'Οδυσσεῦ
                                            pothos
        alla
              me
                            SOS
              1sg.acc.
        but
                                   and.cl.
                                            longing
                            your
                                            mēdea
                                                           p<sup>h</sup>aidim'
                                                                      Odysseu
                            sa
                                   te
                                   and.cl.
                                            counsels
                                                           noble
                                                                      Odysseus
                            your
        "but me ... longing for you ... and your counsels ... noble Odysseus"
   b. σή τ' ἀγανοφροσύνη | μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα (Hom. Od. 11.202-203)
                       aganophrosynē ... meliēdea
                                                            thūmon apēurā
       sē
             and.cl. kindliness
                                             honey-sweet
                                                           spirit
                                                                     it reft away
       "and your kindliness ... it reft my honey-sweet spirit away"
```

Although the situation is basically the same in Classical Greek (5th-4th c. BC), there is a clear tendency towards "verb-centered" syntax (Marshall 1987: 120), i.e. a tendency not to separate enclitics from the verbs with which they are connected. In the case of the personal pronouns, Marshall (1987: 121) notes a tendency towards postverbal placement, but his statistics are inconclusive and at any rate do not apply to Plato, to name just one prolific author from this period. He concludes that in Classical Greek, "there are two preferred positions (which may coincide) for q [enclitics - MJ] in a sentence, (i) peninitial in sentence, clause or colon [intonation unit - MJ], (ii) directly postverbal" (1987: 15f.). In the case of minimal sentences, comprising just the verb and one or more enclitic pronouns, the two will always coincide:

```
(16) ἄγει μ' ἄγει τις ἄγει μέ τις (Euripides, Alcestis 259)
      agei
                 m'
                                         agei
      he takes
                                         he takes
                1sg.acc.
                                                   someone.cl.
      agei
                me
                           tis
      he takes
               1sg.acc.
                           someone.cl
      "he's taking me .. someone is taking ... someone is taking me ..."
(17) μῆλον ἐγώ· βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις (Plato, Epigrams 5.80.1)
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```
m\bar{e}lon \ eg\bar{o} \ \dots \ ballei \ me \ \dots apple I he throws 1sg.acc. phil\bar{o}n \ se \ tis loving 2sg.acc. someone.cl.
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"an apple am I \dots someone who loves you \dots is throwing me"

Postverbal (ordinary) syntax could be considered the natural order, since the phonological dependence of the enclitic pronouns then coincides with their syntactic dependence.²⁵ It should come as no surprise that postverbal syntax would become a major factor in the development of the Greek language. Wifstrand (1949: 178ff.) confirms the tendency noted by Marshall for post-Classical Greek. In the Septuagint (3rd-2nd c.

BC) and the New Testament (1st c. AD) postverbal placement is by far the preferred order. ²⁶ In both cases, the general tendency towards postverbal syntax is of course reinforced by the Semitic substrate languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, which have pronominal suffixes instead of enclitic pronouns. As an example, consider the following quotation from the Hebrew psalms:

```
(18)a. ynIT'b.z:[] hm'l' (Psalm 22.2)

lā-mâ 'ăzavtā-nî
to-what you have forsaken-me
"why have you forsaken me?"
```

The translation of the Septuagint copies the word order (or rather morpheme order) of the Hebrew original:

```
(18)b. ἱνατί ἐγκατέλιπές με; (Psalm 21.2)

hina-ti eŋkatelipes me
for-what you have forsaken 1sg.acc.
```

Interestingly, the word order is reversed in Matthew's translation:

```
(18)c. ἱνατί με ἐγκατέλιπες; (Matthew 27.46)

hina-ti me eŋkatelipes
for-what 1sg.acc. you have forsaken
```

The textual tradition of Mark's translation even varies between post- and preverbal position:

```
(18)d. εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; (Mark 15.34 κ Β Ψ 059 pc)
eis ti eŋkatelipes me
to what you have forsaken 1sg.acc.
e. εἰς τί με ἐγκατέλιπες; (Mark 15.34 A C Θ f 1.13 157 Û)
eis ti me eŋkatelipes
to what 1sg.acc. you have forsaken
```

What we have here is a perfect illustration of the two options of "verb-centered" syntax in post-Classical Greek: postverbal position (18b) versus preverbal position in accordance with Wackernagel's Law (18c). The question is why Wackernagel's Law should still be operative at all in the Septuagint and the New Testament where the Semitic substrate languages induce postverbal syntax, which is supposed to be the preferred order in post-Classical Greek anyway. At this point, it should be noted that a statistical approach to what is the "preferred" order is not very revealing without contextual information. In minimal sentences such as (16) and (17), there is no "preferred" order as the alternative order would be ungrammatical:

```
(16*) *μ' ἄγει *τις ἄγει, *τις μ' ἄγει
        *m'
                  agei
                                *tis
                                               agei
       1sg.acc. he takes
                                              he takes
                                someone.cl.
                                *tis
                                               m'
                                                         agei
                                someone.cl
                                              1sg.acc.
                                                         he takes
(17*) μῆλον ἐγώ· | *με βάλλει | *τις σε φιλῶν [...]
       mēlon egō ...
                          *me
                                         ballei
       apple I
                           1sg.acc.
                                         he throws
                           *tis
                                                     phil\bar{o}n
                                         se
                          someone.cl.
                                        2sg.acc.
                                                     loving
```

The same applies to sentences, clauses or intonation units in which the verb comes first such as (12c), since the alternative (12d) would be ungrammatical as well. The key to the answer, then, lies in the nature of the word (or constituent) preceding the verb to which the enclitic pronouns are attracted, resulting in preverbal syntax. The situation in the Septuagint and the New Testament is particularly revealing in this respect, precisely because of the pressure from the Semitic substrate languages. At this stage in the development of the Greek language, there are no rules for preverbal syntax, just tendencies. Yet these tendencies are of major importance in our understanding of the development of a major split among the Modern Greek dialects.

In Septuagint and New Testament Greek, Wackernagel's Law is optionally triggered by the presence, in preverbal position, of a focused word or constituent. In many, if not most, cases of preverbal (special) position, there are variant readings exhibiting postverbal (ordinary) syntax, but not vice versa. Although any focused word or constituent may occasion the application of Wackernagel's Law, certain categories are so to speak focused, hence heavily stressed, "by nature" (Janse 1993a: 21). One such category has just been illustrated in (18b) to (18e): interrogative pronouns. As a further example, compare the postverbal syntax in the minimal sentence (19a) with the preverbal syntax triggered by the presence of the interrogative pronoun in (19b):

```
(19)a. ἥψατό μού τις (Luke 8.46)

hēpsato mou tis

he touched 1sg.gen. someone.cl.

"someone touched me"

b. τίς μου ἥψατο; (Mark 5.31)

tis mou hēpsato

who 1sg.gen. he touched

"who touched me?"
```

Negatives have the same effect on the position of enclitic pronouns. An example similar to (19b) is the following, although one important manuscript (*Codex Vaticanus*) offers a variant reading:

```
(20)a. μή μου ἄπτου (John 20.17)
       тē
           тои
                       h_{aptou}
           1sg.gen.
                      you touch
       not
       "do not hold on to me!"
   b. μή ἄπτου μου (John 20.17 B)
             haptou
       тē
                         тои
             you touch
       not
                         1sg.gen.
       "do not hold on to me!"
```

The third category comprises the emphatic personal pronouns, as illustrated in (11a), (11b), (13) and (14). In the following pair, the negative compound *oudeis* contrasts with the subject pronoun $eg\bar{o}$:²⁹

```
(21)a. οὐδείς σε κατέκρινεν; (John 8.10)
ou-d-eis se katekrinen
not-even-one 2sg.acc. he has condemned
"has no-one condemned you?"
b. οὐδ' ἐγώ σε κατακρίνω (John 8.11)
ou-d' egō se katakrinō
not-and I 2sg.acc. I will condemn
"then neither shall I condemn you"
```

The fourth category comprises the demonstrative pronouns and the etymologically related relative pronouns:

```
(22)a. δ δὲ ἔχω, τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι (Acts 3.6)
        h_{O}
                       ekhō
                                 ... touto soi
                                                      didōmi
        what but.cl. he takes
                                     that
                                            2sg.dat. I give
        "but what I have ... I give it to you"
   b. ποίησον ὅ σοι λέγομεν (Acts 21.23)
       poiēson ...
                     h_{O}
                            soi
                                      legomen
       do
                     what 2sg.dat. we say
       "do what we tell you"
```

Etymologically related to the demonstrative pronouns as well are the subordinating conjunctions. Note the order of the enclitic cluster *tis se* in preverbal position as opposed to *se* (*me, mou*) *tis* in postverbal position as in (16), (17) and (19a):

(23) οὐ χρείαν ἔχεις ἵνα τίς σε ἐρωτῷ (John 16.30)
ου khreian ekheis ... hina tis se erōtāis not need you have that someone.cl. 2sg.acc. he asks "you have no need for anyone to question you"

The examples just quoted illustrate the attraction of enclitic pronouns to words which are inherently (at least historically) focused. They all belong to categories which Dover (1960: 20) calls "preferential words", i.e. words "disproportionately common at the beginning of a clause". It stands to reason to assume that their preference for clause-initial position is related to their information status, which is either new (inactive) or contrastive (whether active or semi/inactive), and that the strong stress associated with their information status is responsible for the attraction of the unstressed enclitic pronouns (Janse 2000: 236). Preferential words, then, are firstposition words, as opposed to enclitics, which are second-position words. (It should be noted, again, that first and second position are here defined with reference to intonation units which may or may not coincide with syntactic units such as clauses.) The very frequency of combinations of first- and second-position words is such that it is justified to speak of "collocations" (Janse 2000: 236). Examples (11a), (13) and (14) show that these collocations can and are realized as separate intonation units. As the Mycenaean example (10) shows, it is not just first-position words that attract clitics into second position. Any other focused word (or constituent) is able to do so optionally, as in the following example, where the NP ho kosmos and the subject pronoun $eg\bar{o}$ are contrasted:

```
(24)a. καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὐκ ἔγνω (John 17.25a)
kai ho kosmos se ouk egnō and the world 2sg.acc. not he has known "and the world doesn't know you ..."
b. ἐγὼ δέ σε ἔγνων (John 17.25b)
egō de se egnōn
I but.cl. 2sg.acc. I have known "but I know you"
```

The situation in Medieval Greek is basically the same as in post-Classical Greek, except that the syntax of the enclitic pronouns is now completely verb-centered: "the clitic object pronoun ceased to be a freely moving part of the clause and instead became part of the verb phrase" (Mackridge 1993: 339). Whether or not the Medieval Greek clitic pronouns were still *enclitic*, as in Ancient Greek, or had become *proclitic*, as Rollo (1989: 136) would have it, is a moot question, although the fact that preverbal syntax is impossible in minimal sentences (Mackridge 1993: 340) seems to suggest the former. The tendencies for preverbal syntax identified for Classical and post-Classical Greek are now labelled "rules" which are "more or less obligatory" by Mackridge (1993: 340). He maintains that these "rules" can be explained "in purely syntactical terms" (1993: 329). Preverbal syntax is obligatory in the presence of four categories of first-position words: subordinating conjunctions, negatives, interrogative and relative pronouns. Preverbal syntax is optional in the presence of focused words

or constituents belonging to other word-classes, including the emphatic personal pronouns (*ibid*.). On the basis of these observations, it is safe to conclude that in Medieval Greek there were still two preferred positions for clitic pronouns: immediately postverbal, the unmarked option, or immediately preverbal, the marked option under certain syntactic and/or discourse conditions.³⁰

As already remarked, this situation would eventually result in a major split among the Modern Greek dialects: "the tendency toward placement to the left became stronger and stronger, eventually becoming the only possibility in Standard Modern Greek" (Joseph 1990:129). This process implies a reanalysis of the phonological dependency of the originally *enc*litic pronouns in realignment with their syntactic dependency:

```
(25)a. [ey\delta \quad s'] \quad [ayap\delta o] \Rightarrow
I 2sg.acc. I love

b. [ey\delta] \quad [s' \quad ayap\delta o] \Rightarrow
c. [\emptyset] \quad [s' \quad ayap\delta o]
```

The process can be schematized as follows (after Wanner 1996: 538):

(26)
$$[_{S}[X=clitic][V]Z_{S}] \Rightarrow [_{S}[X][clitic=V]Z_{S}]$$

A number of Modern Greek dialects, however, have generalized the postverbal instead of the preverbal pattern. In Pontic, this generalization has resulted in the morphologization of the erstwhile enclitic pronouns, which have become pronominal suffixes (Janse 2002b: 215). In Cappadocian, a closely related Asia Minor Greek dialect, the situation is basically the same as in Medieval Greek. Preverbal syntax is governed by syntactic constraints, viz. the presence of interrogative or relative pronouns, subordinating conjunctions, negative and modal particles (derived from subordinating conjunctions). However, preverbal syntax is also optionally triggered by focused words or constituents. The following examples illustrate the phenomenon:

```
(27)a. čís
                                    mávro?
                         épce
        who 2sg.acc. he made
                                    black
        "who made you black?"
        etá
   b.
              m'
                         épce
                                    mávro
              1sg.acc. she made black
        she
        "she made me black" (Araván, D334)
(28)a.
                                     píris?
        tíala
                  du
         how
                  3sg.acc.
                                     you took
         "how did you win her?"
   b.
         \lceil mi \rceil
                  dи
                            mélu-s]
                                          dи
                                                     píris
         with
                            brains-2sg.
                                         3sg.acc.
                                                     you took
         "with your brains you won her" (Mistí, D388)
```

In dialects like Cappadocian Wackernagel's Law has survived to the present day.³²

4. Clitic doubling in Ancient and Medieval Greek

In the preceding section, the relation between focusing and clitic placement was discussed. The subject of the present section is the relation between topicalization and clitic doubling in Ancient and Medieval Greek. The use of pronouns to refer back or forwards to a coreferential NP within the same sentence is rather common in Ancient Greek. The doubled NPs are always unambiguously interpreted as topics which are either left- or right-dislocated. Although the term "topic left-dislocation" was not current in their time, Kühner & Gerth (1898: 660) describe and explain the phenomenon in the following words:

(29) Die Personalpronomen und die Demonstrativpronomen [haben] sehr häufig auch zurückweisende kraft, indem in demselben Satze nach einem vorausgegangenen Substantive oder Substantivpronomen teils der Deutlichkeit wegen, z. B. wenn zwischen dasselbe und das dazu gehörige Verb ein längerer Zwischensatz getreten ist, teils des rhetorischen Nachdrucks wegen ein solches Pronomen gesetzt wird, welches das vorausgegangene Substantiv oder Substantivpronomen noch einmal aufnimmt und entweder wieder ins Gedächtnis ruft oder nachdrucksvoll der Aufmerksamkeit vorhält.

Of particular relevance is the last part: the function of the pronoun referring back to the preceding NP (or pronoun) is to bring it back into "focal" (active) consciousness, to use Chafe's terminology. Emphatic or demonstrative pronouns are used to do this *nachdrucksvoll*, in which case they are focused, since the information they express has become semiactive because of the distance, both in space and time, between the antecedent and coreferential (anaphoric) pronoun. Since clitic doubling in Modern Greek obviously involves clitic rather than emphatic pronouns, it will be obvious that the phenomenon pronominal doubling in Ancient Greek is not always the same as in Modern Greek. It will be seen, however, that the principles underlying clitic doubling in Modern as well as Medieval Greek can be traced back to Ancient Greek.

In the following quotation from Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, the emphatic personal pronoun *emoi*, which is in the dative, is separated from its verb *dokeis* by a long subordinate clause and therefore doubled by its enclitic counterpart *moi* (itself attached to the focused *ksyneta*) in the main clause:³³

```
(30) α. ἐμοὶ, μέν, εἰ καὶ μὴ καθ' Ἑλλήνων χθόνα τεθράμμεθ',
        emoi<sub>i</sub> men
                        ei kai
                                   [...]
        to me prt.cl. if even
        "to me at least, even though we were not brought up on Greek soil,"
   b. ἀλλ' οὖν ξυνετά μοι, δοκεῖς λέγειν (Eur., Phoen. 497f.)
       all' oun
                     .. ksyneta
                                   moi_i
                                             dokeis
                                                         legein
       but prt.cl.
                         sensibly 1sg.dat. you seem
                                                         speak
       "still, you seem to me to speak sensibly"
```

A very similar situation is found in the following excerpt from Demosthenes' speech against Evergus and Mnesibulus:

(31)α. οὖτοι γὰρ ὤοντο [...], ἐμέι, εἰ πολλά μου λάβοιεν ἐνέχυρα,

```
h_{outoi}
           gar
                     ōionto [...]
                                                      eme_i
                                                                    ...
they
           for.cl.
                     they thought
                                                      me
                                                      enekhyra
ei
           polla
                                       laboien
                     тои
if
                                       they took
                                                      security
           many
                     1sg.gen.
```

"for they thought ... that I ... if they took a large quantity of goods from me as security ..."

b. ἄσμενον ἀφήσειν με_i τοὺς μάρτυρας (Dem. 47.74)

```
asmenon aph\bar{e}sein me_i tous martyras glad release 1sg.acc. the witnesses
```

It would seem that in the preceding cases, the doubling of the emphatic personal pronouns by their enclitic counterparts is indeed "for clarity's sake", as Kühner and Gerth observed in (29). At the same time it is clear that both *emoi* (*men*) in (30a) and *eme* in (31a) are separate intonation units functioning as left-dislocated topics.

The question is whether the use of the enclitic pronouns in (30b) and (31b) can be taken as evidence for clitic doubling in Ancient Greek? I think the answer has to be negative: the doubling of left-dislocated topics is never obligatory in Ancient Greek and is only done for the sake of clarity. It is very likely, however, that cases such as (30) and (31) form the discourse basis for what was to become a syntactic pattern in the further evolution of the Greek language.

An additional piece of evidence against the clitic-doubling hypothesis for Ancient Greek comes from the doubling of enclitic personal pronouns by enclitic personal pronouns, as in the following excerpt from Aristophanes' *Acharnians*:

(32) a. νῦν οὖν με πρῶτον πρὶν λέγειν

```
nyn oun me<sub>i</sub> prōton prin legein
now prt.cl. 1sg.acc. first before speak
"Therefore .. first ... before I speak ..."
```

b. ἐάσατε ἐνσκευάσασθαί μ'; οἷον ἀθλιώτατον (Aristoph., *Ach*. 383f.)

```
easate enskeuasasthai m'<sub>i</sub> hoion athliōtaton
permit dress 1sg.acc. as possible most piteous
```

Compare also the doubling of left-dislocated topics by demonstrative pronouns under exactly the same conditions. In the following example from Herodotus' *Histories*, the demonstrative pronoun *houtos*, a subject NP, is used to refer back to *ho Magos* because of the long intervening relative clause:

[&]quot;I would gladly release the witnesses"

[&]quot;permit me to dress in the most piteous guise"

(33)α. [ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος], τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε,

```
[h_0 \quad de \quad moi \quad Magos]_i \quad ton \quad [...] that but.cl. 1sg.dat. Magian whom
```

"but that Magian ... whom Cambyses made overseer of his house..."

b. οὖτος_i ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο (Herod., *Histories* 3.63)

```
h_{outos_i} tauta eneteilato
he that he ordered
```

Note how the enclitic pronoun moi is separated from its verb *eneteilato* and is attracted by the (originally demonstrative) article ho, because the NP ho Magos contrasts with Smerdis in the preceding context. Because the demonstrative pronoun is focused in this particular context, it often attracts enclitic pronouns as well (so that moi could have been attached to houtos instead of to ho). As a further example, compare (21) above.

Topic right-dislocation is also attested in Ancient Greek. Kühner & Gerth (1898: 658) offer the following characterization of the phenomenon:

(34) Die Personalpronomen und die Demonstrativpronomen stehen oft in enger Beziehung zu einem folgenden Substantive, indem sie entweder nachdrücklich darauf hinwiesen und es gleichsam vorbereiten oder darin als in einer epexegetischen Apposition ihre nachträgliche Erklärung finden.

As with topic left-dislocation, emphatic and demonstrative as well as enclitic pronouns are found, as in the following examples from Homer:³⁴

```
(35) [...] \dot{\eta}_{i} δ' ἕσπετο | [Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη]_{i} (Hom., Od. 1.125)
```

```
h\bar{e}_{i} d' hespeto ... [Pallas Ath\bar{e}n\bar{e}]_{i} she and.cl. she followed Pallas Athene
```

"and she followed, Pallas Athene"

(36) [...] ίνα μιν_ι παύσειε πόνοιο || [δῖον 'Αχιλλῆα]_i (Hom., *Il.* 21.249f.)

```
h_{ina} min_i pauseie ponoio ... that 3 \operatorname{sg.m/f.acc}. he keeps back from labour [d\bar{\imath}on \ Akhill\bar{e}a]_i ... noble Achilles
```

"[...] that he might keep *him* back from his labour ... noble Achilles"

Example (36) is particularly interesting, because the right-dislocated topic occurs as the first word of a new verse line, a phenomenon called "enjambement". The enjambed constituent is focused, like *eksereō* in (10b). In this particular case, the NP $d\bar{t}$ on $Ak^hill\bar{e}a$ is focused because it contrasts with the following word $Tr\bar{o}essi$ "Trojans" and the contrast is verbalized by the enjambement and the juxtaposition of the two contrasting constituents.

[&]quot;he gave me this charge"

The evidence discussed so far indicates that in Ancient Greek, clitic doubling has no direct relation to topic dislocation, whether left or right, but again it should be emphasized that clitic doubling as a syntactic phenomenon finds its origins in the discourse phenomena just described. The first evidence for the syntacticization of clitic doubling is found in post-Classical Greek. The following examples illustrate the phenomenon of hanging topic left-dislocation: left-dislocated topics in the nominative which co-occur with coreferential enclitic pronouns in an oblique case:

```
(37)a. [ὁ νικῶν]<sub>i</sub>, ποιήσω αὐτόν<sub>i</sub> [...] (Revelation 3.12)
[ho nikōn]<sub>i</sub> ... poiēsō auton<sub>i</sub> [...]
the conquering.nom. I will make 3sg.m.acc.
"as for the one who conquers ... I will make him [...]"
b. [ὁ νικῶν]<sub>i</sub>, δώσω αὐτῷ<sub>i</sub> [...] (Revelation 3.21)
[ho nikōn]<sub>i</sub> ... dōsō autōi<sub>i</sub>
the conquering.nom. I will give 3sg.m.dat.
"as for the one who conquers ... I will give him [...]"
```

In cases like these, the manuscript tradition often varies between hanging and plain topic left-dislocation and, in the latter case, between clitic-doubling and the absence of a coreferential enclitic pronoun. In the following variants, the majority of the textual witnesses offer a plain left-dislocated topic, whereas one manuscript (*Codex Bezae*) has a hanging topic:

```
(38)a. [τῷ θέλοντι ...], ἄφες αὐτῷ; [...] (Matthew 5.40)
[tōi thelonti ...]; ... aphes autōi; to the wanting.dat. leave 3sg.m.dat.
"to the one who wants ... leave him ..."
b. [ὁ θέλων ...]; ἄφες αὐτῷ; [...] (Matthew 5.40 D)
[ho thelōn ...]; ... aphes autōi; the wanting.nom. leave 3sg.m.dat.
"the one who wants [...] ... leave him ..."
```

In a similar passage from Luke's version of the pericope on retaliation, only a minority of the witnesses offers a left-dislocated topic with clitic doubling:

```
(39)a. [τῷ τόπτοντί σε ...]<sub>i</sub>, πάρεχε Ø<sub>i</sub> [...] (Luke 6.29)
[tōi typtonti se...]<sub>i</sub> ... parekhe Ø<sub>i</sub> to the slapping.dat. 2sg.acc. offer
"to the one who slaps you [...] ... offer [...]"
```

```
b. [τ \hat{φ} τ \acute{φ} τ \acute{φ} τ \acute{φ} τ \acute{φ} τ \acute{φ} ε ...]_i, πάρεχε αὐτ\hat{φ}_i [...] (Luke 6.29 D φ al) [t \ddot{o}i \quad typtonti \quad se \quad ...]_i ... parek^he \quad aut \ddot{o}i_i to the slapping.dat. 2sg.acc. offer 3sg.m.dat. "to the one who slaps you [...] ... offer him [...]"
```

In examples (38a) and (39b), the length of the nominalized participial clause might be taken to have occasioned the clitic doubling in the main clause, so it will be more profitable to look for shorter left-dislocated topics similar to (37a) and (37b). A very interesting example can be found the book of Revelation:

```
(40)a. [τῷ νικῶντι]; δώσω αὐτῷ; [...] (Revelation 2.7)
         [tōi
                   nikōnti];
                                        \dots d\bar{o}s\bar{o}
                                                            autōi;
                                                                           [\ldots]
         to the conquering.dat.
                                             I will give 3sg.m.dat.
          "to the one who conquers, I will give him [...]"
         [τῶνικῶντι]_i δώσω Ø_i [...] (Revelation 2.7 <math>\aleph al)
                   nikōnti]<sub>i</sub>
                                        d\bar{o}s\bar{o}
                                                       \emptyset_i [...]
         to the
                  conquering.dat. I will give
         "to the one who conquers I will give [...]"
```

Cases like (38a), (39b) and (40a) are very close to clitic doubling as found in Modern Greek, with the obvious exception of the position of the clitic pronoun. The use of the enclitic pronoun in these examples cannot be explained as Semitic interference, as the phenomenon is found in non-Biblical texts as well (Moulton 1908: 85). Consider, for instance, the following papyrus text:

```
    (41) [Λάμπωνι μυοθηρευτῆ]¡ ἔδωκα αὐτῷ¡ [...] (POxy. 2.299)
    [Lampōni myo-thēreutēi]; ... edōka autōi; [...] to Lampo.dat mouse-hunter.dat. I gave 3sg.m.dat.
    "to Lampo the mouser, I gave him [...]"
```

The question is whether (40a) and (41) are instances of topicalization comparable to (2a) or cases of topic left-dislocation comparable to (2b) - a question which cannot be answered definitely without prosodic information. The interpretation, however, of the constructions as cases of topic left-dislocation is without any doubt correct. The same order is found in Medieval Greek, where clitic doubling has definitely become a *syntactic phenomenon*. As Mackridge (1994: 906ff.) has shown, topicalized object NPs are always clitic-doubled, whereas focused object NPs are not. The doubling clitic is said to be "obligatorily placed after the verb" (Mackridge 1993: 328), an observation confirmed in an independent study by Rollo (1989: 139f.). The following example from the Escorial *Digenes Akrites* is quoted by Mackridge (translation his):

(42) [τὸν Διγενὴν], ἐπῆράν τον, [οἱ βάγιες] (DAE 328)

It should be noted, however, that the clitic pronouns occur in preverbal position under the syntactic conditions specified at the end of §3. Examples (43) and (44) are taken from two Byzantine versions of the Greek Alexander romance (*Historia Alexandri Magni*) and illustrate preverbal syntax in the presence of a modal and negative particle:

(43) [τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον]_i νὰ τὸν_i σεβάσωμεν (Alexander E, 41.3.4)

(44) [τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον], νὰ μὴ τὸν, ἔχωμεν [...] (Alexander E, 37.3.3)

The following case is particularly interesting, because it contains a double topic:

(45)α. ἐγὰ [τὴν γυναίκαν σου] καὶ [τὴν θυγατέραν σου]

```
eyo ... [tin \ jinékan \ su] ke [tin \ \theta iyatéran \ su] I the wife your and the daughter your
```

b. καὶ [τὰ πράγματά σου]; ὅλα σὲ τὰ; θέλω δώσει (Alexander E, 109.3.5)

```
ke [ta \quad pr\acute{a}\gamma mata \quad su]_i ... \acute{o}la \quad se \quad ta_i \acute{\theta}\acute{e}lo \check{o}\acute{o}si and the things your all 2sg.acc. 3pl.n.acc. I want to give
```

What we have here, is a topic left-dislocated subject NP $e\gamma\delta$, followed by three coordinated object NPs. The clitic cluster se ta is attracted into preverbal position by the focused adjective ola which is placed in preverbal position. Double topics are rather common:

(46) ἐσὸ ἐμένα; [παιγνιαδικὸν παιγνίδιν] μὲ; ἔστειλες (Alexander E 34.8.5)

```
esí ... eména_i ... [peynia\deltaikón peyní\deltain] me_i éstiles you me childish toy 1sg.acc. you have sent
```

[&]quot;As for Digenes ... the maids took him"

[&]quot;As for Alexander ... let us respect him"

[&]quot;As for Alexander ... we won't have him [...]"

[&]quot;As for me ... your wife and your daughter"

[&]quot;and your things ... I want to give them all to you"

[&]quot;As for you, to me, a children's toy you have sent me!"

The doubling clitic *me* identifies *emena* as a topic, not as a focus: it is the NP *peynia-ðikón peyníðin* which is focused in (46). Contrast, for instance, the following quotation, where *esí eména* in (47a) and *eyó* ... *eséna* in (47b) are contrastive, hence not clitic-doubled:

```
(47)a. καὶ ἂν Øɨ σκοτώσης ἐσὸ ἐμέναɨ [...]

ke an Øɨ skotósis esí eménaɨ

and if you kill you me

"and if you kill me [...]"
b. εἰ δὲ ἐγὼ Øɨ σκοτώσω ἐσέναɨ [...] (Alexander E, 98.1.14)

i ðe eγό Øɨ skotóso páli esénaɨ

if but I I kill again you

"but if I kill you"
```

I conclude with some examples illustrating the different forms of topicalization found in Medieval Greek. The first is the by now familiar case of topic left-dislocation:

```
    (48) ἐμένα; οὖν φαίνεταί μου; [...] (Bessarion, Ep. 59.534.1)
    eména; un ... fénete mu;
    me prt.cl. it seems 1sg.gen.
    "as for me ... it seems to me [...]"
```

It should be noted, however, that in the absence of prosodic information, it is also possible to consider examples such as (42), (43), (44) and (48) as cases of strong topicalization instead of topic left-dislocation. This interpretation is suggested by the existence of cases of what is probably best taken as weak topicalization instead of cases of topic right-dislocation. The following examples both have a preverbal focus and a postverbal topic:³⁵

```
(49)a. τοῦτο μὲ<sub>i</sub> φαίνεται ἐμένα<sub>i</sub> (Alexander E 37.9.1)
túto me<sub>i</sub> fénete eména<sub>i</sub>
that 1sg.acc. it seems me

"that is what I think, as far as I'm concerned"
b. ἔτσι μοῦ<sub>i</sub> φαίνεται ἐμένα<sub>i</sub> (Alexander F 60.8.6)
etsi mu<sub>i</sub> fénete eména<sub>i</sub>
thus 1sg.gen. it seems me

"this is how it seems to me, as far as I'm concerned"
```

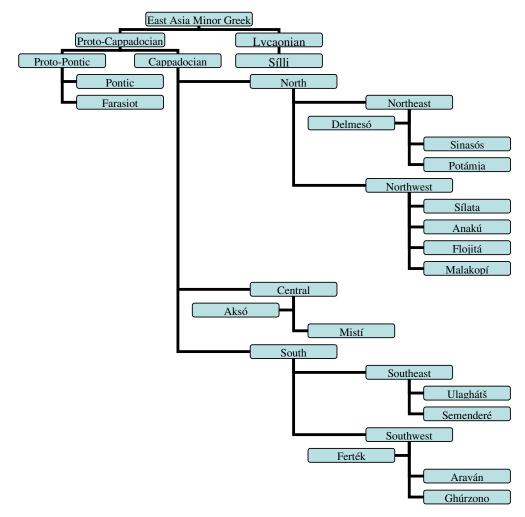
I conclude with an example of hanging topic left-dislocation quoted by Rollo (1989: 139^{23}). The use of the hanging nominative $e\gamma\delta$ is remarkable in the presence of the by then obsolete dative moi:

(50) ἐγὼ_i οὖν φαίνεταί μοι_i (Leontius, *Chronicle* 318)

```
e\gamma \acute{o}_i un ... fénete moi_i I prt.cl. it seems 1sg.dat.
```

5. Clitic doubling in Asia Minor Greek

The geographical designation Asia Minor Greek has gained wide currency since the publication of Thomason and Kaufman's celebrated 1988 monograph on language contact.³⁶ It was adapted from the title of Dawkins' *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* who, however, explicitly restricted his investigation to dialects which were "native to Asia" or at least "pre-Turkish" (Dawkins 1916: 5). These include Pontic, Farasiot, Cappadocian, Lycaonian (Sílli), Lycian (Livísi), Bithynian, but also Cypriot, Chian and Dodecanesian (Dawkins 1916: 213). As a matter of fact, Dawkins' book deals only with Lycaonian, Cappadocian and Farasiot, or East Asia Minor Greek in his terminology (*ibid.*).³⁷ The relationships between the East Asia Minor Greek dialects can be summarized as follows (Dawkins 1916: 204ff.; Janse 2007a: §1.4, 1.5.2):³⁸



[&]quot;as for me ... it seems to me"

Several dialects show contact phenomena. Farasiot and Lycaonian have features in common with Cappadocian, even though the former is more closely related to Pontic and the latter to Lycian Greek (Dawkins 1916: 204ff.).³⁹ What is more conspicious, however, is the degree of Turkish interference in Asia Minor Greek, especially in Cappadocian. In some Cappadocian dialects the degree of Turkish interference is such that Thomason & Kaufman conclude that they "may be close to or even over the border of nongenetic development" (1988: 93f.). In other words, they can no longer be considered Greek *dialects* in the full genetic sense, but rather Greek-Turkish *mixed languages* in the sense of Thomason (2001: 11).⁴⁰

One of the many remarkable Turkish features in Cappadocian is its so-called differential object marking (Janse 2004: 4): the tendency to mark object NPs that are high in animacy and definiteness and, conversely, not to mark object NPs that are low in animacy and definiteness. Turkish object NPs take the accusative suffix only if they are definite or specific. Indefinite (specific or nonspecific) object NPs are not marked for case and are morphologically identical with subject NPs. In Cappadocian, indefinite animate object NPs are identical with subject NPs as well, which means that they are morphologically marked as opposed to definite animate object NPs. Since the nominative case is now associated with indefiniteness, the definite article is never used with subject NPs, even if they are definite. Consider the following examples (Janse 2004: 16):

```
(51)a. θοτί [ena devréš-is]
he sees a dervish-nom./indef.acc.sg."he [the boy] sees a dervish"
```

- b. [to devreš-Ø]_i léi to_i
 [the dervish-def.acc.sg.]_i he says 3sg.acc._i
 "he [the boy] says to the dervish"
- c. *istera devréš-is psófsen* later dervish-nom./indef.acc.sg. he died "later the dervish died"
- d. *šikosén do*_i [to devréš-Ø]_i he took up 3sg.acc._i [the dervish-def.acc.sg.]_i "he [the boy] took up the dervish" (Flojitá, D414)

Other Asia Minor Greek dialects have variations on the same theme. Lycaonian has no differential object marking, but the definite article is used with definite animate object NPs only, whereas Farasiot has differential object marking, but the definite article is used with definite animate object *and* subject NPs (Janse 2004: 13f.). The following examples are taken from a Farasiot version of the well-known tale of the Cyclops (Janse 2004: 20f.):

```
(52)a. itun [am babá-s] there was a priest-nom./indef.acc.sg. "there was a priest"
```

- b. ivre [lem babá-s]
 he found another priest-nom./indef.acc.sg.
 "he found another priest"
- c. xítse [o tepekózi-s]
 he ran the cyclops-nom./indef.acc.sg."the cyclops ran along"
- d. épsise [tóina tom babá-Ø]
 he roasted the-one the priest-def.acc.sg.

 "he roasted one priest" (Fárasa, D550)

Pontic has differential *subject* marking (Janse 2004: 25f.): definite animate subject NPs take the accusative case, as in the following example:

(53) [o palaló-n] ípen palaló-s kh-íme the fool-acc./def.nom.sg. he said fool-indef.nom.sg. not-I am "the fool said: I am not a fool" (Drettas 1997: 120)

In Cappadocian, the use of the indefinite accusative, whether or not accompanied by the indefinite article, signals new (inactive) information and indefinite objects typically occur in postverbal position, as in (51a) and (52b). If the subject is also verbalized, the normal order is SVO:

- (54) [ena xerífo-s] éjišge [ena fšáx] a man- nom./indef.acc.sg. he had [a child] "a man had a son" (Ulaghátš, D364)
- (55) [ena $\acute{a}\theta ropo-s$] iferén me a man-nom./indef.acc.sg. he brought 1sg.acc. [ena partšalanmis $\acute{a}\theta ropo-s$] a mangled man-nom./indef.acc.sg. "a man brought me a mangled man" (Sílata, D448)

Indefinite objects can also be presented as accessible information, in which case they are placed in preverbal position. This is particularly evident in the case of contrastive objects. The following example is from the same text as (55):

(56)a. kótša $\dot{a}\theta ropo-s$]; [ena érapsá to_i celately [a man-nom./indef.acc.sg. I sewed 3sg.acc. and b. [etá kundúra]_i to тí to_i rápso boot- nom./acc.sg. that the prt not 3sg.acc. I sew "lately I sewed up a man and I couldn't sew up that boot?" (Sílata, D448) Note that the postverbal indefinite objects in (54) and (55) are not clitic-doubled, contrary to the preverbal indefinite object in (56a).

Definite objects present either given (active) or accessible (semiactive) information. When they occur in preverbal position, they present given information and are always clitic-doubled. If the subject is also expressed, the normal order is SOV as in (51b) and (56b), which is also the unmarked order in Turkish (Kornfilt 1997: 91). Other examples include the following:

```
(57)a. patišáx-is [tši néka-t]i píren doi king-nom./indef.acc.sg. the wife-3sg. he took 3sg.acc. "the king took the wife"
b. xerífo-s [ta fšáxa]i píren dai man-nom./indef.acc.sg. the children he took 3pl.acc.
```

"the man took the children" (Delmesó, D318)

```
(58)a. ablá-t [do döšéi-t]i píren doi sister-3sg. the bed-3sg. he took 3sg.acc. "his sister took his bed" (Ulaghátš, D370)
```

b. do fšáx [do döšéi-t]_i távrisén do_i
 the boy the bed-3sg. he pulled 3sg.acc.
 "the boy pulled his bed" (ibid.)

```
(59)a.
          do
                                                                                       kaná-t]
                     peí
                               [do cirjás]<sub>i</sub>
                                                 ésecén
                                                              do_{i}
                                                                          \lceil do \rceil
          the
                     boy
                               the meat
                                                 he put
                                                              3sg.acc.
                                                                          the
                                                                                       wing-3sg.
          "the boy put the meat on her [the bird's] wing" (Ulaghátš, D372)
```

b. [do leró]_i ésecén do_i [d' alo-t to kaná-t] the water he put 3sg.acc. the other-3sg. the wing-3sg. "the water he put on her other wing" (ibid.)

In the absence of prosodic information, it is difficult to decide whether SOV is simply the unmarked order in Cappadocian (as in Turkish) if both subject and object present given information, or if the subject is in fact a left-dislocated topic. Drettas discusses similar cases in Pontic and uses the term "double thématisation" (1997: 251), i.e. "double topicalization". His translation seems to suggest that topicalization here implies topic left-dislocation:

```
    (60) eγό ... [avút to koríts]<sub>i</sub> ... aγapó-ato<sub>i</sub>
    I that the girl I love-3sg.n.acc.
    "moi, cette fille, je l'aime" (Drettas 1997: 251)
```

The intonation pattern is confirmed by the following, recently recorded, example from Cappadocian. The double topic was announced in Greek by the narrator before she actually started her narrative:

(61) [da klátša-mas]_i ... škólja ... dén da_i sáldanam polí the children-1pl. school not 3pl.acc. we sent much "our children, we didn't send them to school that much" (Mistí, June 2005)

In cases like these, the focus is on the verb phrase. If the subject is focused, it is placed immediately before the verb and the object is necessarily left-dislocated. Kesisoglou (1951: 49) presents the following contrasting pair:

```
(62)a. [do peí] [do vavá-t]<sub>i</sub> çórsen do<sub>i</sub> the boy the father-3sg. he saw 3sg.acc. "the boy saw his father" (Ulaghátš)
```

```
    b. [do peí] ... vavá-t çórsen do<sub>i</sub>
    the boy father-3sg. he saw 3sg.acc.
    "as for the boy, it was his father who saw him" (Ulaghátš)
```

In such cases, the doubling clitic may be attracted into preverbal position by any focused constituent, as in (27b)-(28b), and (45b)-(46). The following examples from Cappadocian and Lycaonian illustrate this:

```
(63) mena<sub>i</sub> ... [túta úla]<sub>j</sub> ... [is çizúris] mu<sub>i</sub> ta<sub>j</sub> róki
me these all a holy man 1sg.gen. 3pl.acc. he gave
"as for me, all these things, it was a holy man who gave them to me"
(Sílli, D372)
```

- (64) [itúta ta prámata]_i ... vúla ta_i pírin these the things all 3pl.acc. he took "these things, he took them all" (Malakopí, D406)
- (65) etó_i páli ... ekutšís to_i píken this again ox-driver 3sg.acc. he did "this again, it was the ox-driver who has done it" (Sílata, D424)

The examples discussed so far exhibit clitic-doubling in combination with OV order. When definite objects occur in postverbal position, they either present given or accessible information. VO order in combination with clitic-doubling signals given information, but the information is backgrounded, as in (51d). Other examples include the following:

(66) [me to kama-t] skótosén do_i [ekú to dév]_i with the dagger-3sg. he killed 3sg.acc. that the giant "with his dagger he killed that giant" (Ulaghátš, D354)

- (67) [to peðí] píren da_i [ecí ta kaidúra]_i the boy he took 3pl.acc. those the asses "the boy took those asses" (Flojitá, D418)
- (68) ascér pónesan do_i [to peðí]_i soldiers they were sorry 3sg.acc. the boy "the soldiers were sorry for the boy" (Potámja, D464)

Postverbal definite objects which are not clitic-doubled generally present accessible information. The following set is from the same text as (57a)-(57b). The story begins with three sisters who dream of marrying the king's son. Although neither the king nor his son have been mentioned, they are still presented as accessible information, the king being part of the setting of many Cappadocian stories. (69a) is the lament of the eldest, (69b) the middle sister's and (69c) the self-confident reaction of the youngest:

```
(69)a. na
             píra
                       [patišáxu
                                           to
                                                   peðí]
                      king's
             I take
                                           the
                                                   boy
        "I would marry the king's son" (Delmesó, D464)
             píra
                       γó
                                [patišáxu
                                                        peðí]
            I take
                      I
        prt
                               king's
                                                 the
                                                        boy
```

```
c. [patišáxu to peðí]<sub>i</sub> ... γό na to<sub>i</sub> píra king's the boy I prt 3sg.acc. I take
```

"the king's son, I would marry him" (ibid.)

"I would marry the king's son" (ibid.)

The difference between these three utterances is that the referent of *patišáxu to peðí* is presented as accessible information in (69a)-(69b), whereas it is emphatically presented as given information in (69c). Similar examples of topic left-dislocation include (62b) and the following:

```
(70) [etó to aslán]<sub>i</sub> ... tís to<sub>i</sub> skótosen that the lion who 3sg.acc. he killed "that lion, who killed it?" (ibid.)
```

Contrastiveness is generally independent of activation cost (Chafe 1994: 77). In Cappadocian, double contrastiveness normally entails SVO word order and the absence of clitic-doubling, even if the referents of subject and object are active:

```
(71)a. vasiléas píren [to ascéri-t] ce king he took the army-3sg. and
```

b. [to peðí] píren [to yutšá-t] the boy he took the napkin-3sg.

"the king took his army and the boy took his napkin" (Potámja, D464)

```
(72)a. eyó as páro [to korítš]

I prt I take the girl

b. eší épar [to peí]

you take the boy

"I will take the girl, you take the boy" (Ulaghátš, D378)
```

I conclude with some examples from a Cappadocian version of little Snow-White. The opening is characteristic for this type of story: two indefinite NPs presenting new information in the same order as in (54):

```
(73)a. [ena vasiléas] íxa [ena néka]
a king he had a wife
"a king had a wife" (Sílata, D440)
```

The referent of the postverbal indefinite object NP *ena néka* is now activated and expressed by the preverbal definite subject *nekát* in the next sentence, where a new referent is introduced by another postverbal indefinite object NP:

```
(73)b. néka-t jénsen [ena korítš] wife-3sg. she gave birth a girl "his wife gave birth to a daughter" (ibid.)
```

The referent of the preverbal indefinite subject NP *ena vasiléas* is activated as well and the same structure appears in the following sentence:

```
(73)c. vasiléas píren [ena álo néka] king he took a other wife "the king took another wife" (ibid.)
```

In these three sentences the order is SVO, the flow of speech moving from inactive to inactive information in (73a) and from active to inactive information in (73b)-(73c). In the next sentence, the referents of the postverbal indefinite objects NPs *ena korítš* (73b) and *ena álo néka* (73c) are activated and both appear as preverbal definite NPs, the object NP being clitic-doubled:

```
(73)d. [etό néka] [etό to korítš]<sub>i</sub> ðén do<sub>i</sub> θéliksen that wife that the girl not 3sg.acc. she wanted "that wife didn't like that daughter" (ibid.)
```

The same SOV structure is used further on, when the girl refuses to open the door to her evil stepmother for the third time:

```
(73)e. [etó to korítš] [ti \thetaíra]<sub>i</sub> ðén do<sub>i</sub> ániksen that the girl the door not 3sg.acc. she opened "that girl didn't open the door" (D442)
```

Finally, it may be noted that the plural form of the third person clitic pronoun is often used as the unmarked form in East Asia Minor Greek, particularly in Lycaonian and Farasiot (Janse 1998b: 539f.):

- (74) [tšin iréan tu dadí]_i zirmunnái ta_i the.f.acc.sg. idea of the kindling he forgets 3pl.n.acc. "he forgets about the idea of the kindling" (Sílli, D288)
- (75) kavúšisén da_i [ti markáltsa]_i he met 3pl.n.acc. the.f.acc.sg. Markaltsa "he met the Markaltsa" (Fárasa, D528)

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have traced the history of clitic-doubling in the history of the Greek language from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek. I started by presenting the standard account of clitic doubling in Modern Greek based on Philippaki-Warburton's observation that clitic-doubled NPs are as such marked as topics. After reviewing the confusing and partly confused terminology used in the description of the phenomenon in Modern Greek, I proposed a typology of clitic-doubling constructions in terms of information flow based on the parameters of word order (OV versus VO), whether or not in combination with prosodic dislocation (left versus right). Clitic doubling involving the fronting of the clitic-doubled NP is called topicalization or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic left-dislocation. Topic left-dislocation is obligatory in the presence of a preverbal focused NP. Clitic doubling involving the backing of the clitic-doubled NP is called backgrounding or, if combined with a boundary pause, topic right-dislocation. Right-dislocated topics are interpreted as an afterthought.

In the next section, I have summarized the history of clitic placement from Ancient to Modern Greek and its dialects on the basis of my own previous research. In Ancient Greek, as in other ancient Indo-European languages, clitic placement or, to be more precise, enclitic placement was governed by Wackernagel's Law, which was reinterpreted as follows: in Ancient Greek enclitics are attracted to heavily stressed words placed at the beginning of an intonation unit. In the development of Ancient Greek, enclitic placement became more and more verb-centered, until there were only two competing positions left: pre- or postverbal, depending on the position of the verb and the presence c.q. absence of a heavily stressed word immediately preceding the verb. Competing motivations account for the generalization of preverbal placement in Standard Modern Greek and many of its dialects, but also for the partial generalization of postverbal placement in many other dialects, including those of Asia Minor. It was shown that the origins of the split can be traced back to Koine Greek and its grammaticalization to Medieval Greek. A number of Asia Minor Greek dialects such as Cappadocian have preserved the Medieval situation.

In the fourth section, I have traced the discourse origins of clitic doubling from Ancient to Medieval Greek. It was shown that in Ancient Greek, clitic doubling was not a grammatical device to mark the clitic-doubled NP as a topic, but rather an occasional mnemotechnic device to clarify the referent of a left-dislocated topic

usually separated by an intervening clause from the verb on which it depended. It was also shown that topic right-dislocation existed in Ancient Greek as a device to clarify or specify the referent of a clitic pronoun. The grammaticalization of clitic doubling was traced back to the use of hanging topics, i.e. topics without overt grammatical connection to the rest of the sentence, in which case the doubling clitic was needed to specify the grammatical relation of the corresponding hanging topic as direct or indirect object. After a period of optional clitic doubling in post-Classical (Koine) Greek, the construction was finally grammaticalized in the Medieval period, when doubling clitic positively marked clitic-doubled NPs as topics.

In the final section, I have presented the first ever description of cliticdoubling in Asia Minor Greek, with particular reference to Cappadocian and other East Asia Minor dialects such as Farasiot and Lycaonian. It was shown that cliticdoubling serves exactly the same function in East Asia Minor Greek as in Medieval and Standard Modern Greek. One of the major differences between the latter and East Asia Minor Greek is the availability of an indefinite accusative to mark an object NP as focus and the absence of the definite article in the nominative (only in the case of masculine and feminine nouns) to mark subject NPs as topic. The typology proposed for Modern Greek in section 2 appeared to apply to East Asia Minor Greek as well: topicalization, backgrounding and topic left-dislocation function the Greek way, even though the Turkish influence especially on Cappadocian word order is formidable. Turkish interference and the absence of sufficient prosodic data make it difficult at the present stage of our knowledge to decide whether clitic-doubled SOV-constructions with a postverbal clitic actually reflect topic left-dislocated constructions with an additional topic in preverbal position or just copy the unmarked Turkish word order. Clitic-doubled OSV-onctructions, on the other hand, are unambiguously interpreted as topic left-dislocated constructions with a focused subject in preverbal position. Cliticdoubled SVO-constructions were unambiguously interpreted as cases of backgrounding on the analogy of the Turkish, but also the Standard Modern Greek construction.

It turns out, again, that East Asia Minor Greek, and Cappadocian in particular, despite its heavily Turkified state, has retained much of its Ancient and Medieval Greek inheritance with respect to clitic doubling.

Note

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¹ For recent surveys cf. Anagnostopoulou (1999), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000: 178ff.) and Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004).

² Cf. Joseph (2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2002c).

³ Cf. Philippaki-Warburton (1977; 1987), Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos (1999), Philippaki-Warburton et al. 2004).

⁴ Cf., e.g. Anagnostopoulou (1999), Condoravdi & Kiparsky (2001).

- ⁵ Cf., e.g. Philippaki-Warburton & Spyropoulos (1999) Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004), Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2006).
- ⁶ Cf., e.g. Janse (1998a; 1998b).
- ⁷ Cf. Philippaki-Warburton (1987), Anagnostopoulou (1999), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2000), Kallulli (2000), Androulaki (2001), Philippaki-Warburton et al. (2004).
- ⁸ Following Chafe (1994: 59; cf. p. xiii), I use three dots ... to mark a "boundary pause", i.e. a (longer) pause of 0.1 up to 1.0 second (cf. Cruttenden 1997: 32), and two dots .. to mark a shorter pause.
- ⁹ This observation is confirmed by Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2006), who argue that clitic-doubled NPs are always mapped onto separate prosodic constituents set off by a pause.
- ¹⁰ The definition of boundary pauses is notoriously difficult and cannot be used on its own as a marker of intonation-unit boundaries, as noted by Chafe (1994: 59) and Cruttenden (1997: 32).
- ¹¹ For a more recent account see Chafe (2001). Although Chafe's work on information flow has been and still is very influential, the study of information structure has of course a much longer tradition, especially in functionalist approaches to language such as Jan Firbas' Functional Sentence Perspective, M.A.K. Halliday's Systemic-Functional Grammar and Simon Dik's Functional Grammar.
- ¹² Traditionally, a hanging topic is therefore called "hanging nominative", after the Latin term *nominativus pendens* (cf. Havers 1922).
- ¹³ Compare Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton (1987: 96ff.), Kallulli (2000: 219ff.).
- ¹⁴ Note again that the difference between topic and focus is not expressed by word order in the case of (5b) and (6b) as in the case of (5a) and (6a).
- ¹⁵ Cf. Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton (1987: 62) for a similar example.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Janse (1994b) and Zwicky & Halpern (1996) among many others.
- ¹⁷ The first line is a transcription of the Mycenaean syllabic script, the second a transcription into alphabetic Greek, the third a phonological transcription (Ruijgh 1967: 314). The term $d\bar{a}mos$ is almost certainly used to refer to a formal institution (cf. *LfgrE s.v.* δ $\hat{a}\mu$ o ς 1b "die Teilnehmer e[iner] öffentl[ichen] Versammlung", i.e. "public assembly"); *onāton* is translated as "lease (of uncultivated plots)" following the now standard interpretation of Mycenaeologists. I wish to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for calling this to my attention.
- ¹⁸ More on discourse phonology in Gibbon & Richter (1984).
- ¹⁹ Cf. especially Horrocks (1990) and Janse (1990; 1993a; 1993b; 1994b; 1995; 2000); see also Taylor (1996; 2002). The reinterpretation of Wackernagel's Law can be traced back to the work of the German philologist Eduard Fraenkel (Janse 1990).
- ²⁰ Cf. Horrocks (1990: 39ff.) and Janse (1990: 2648; 1993a: 22; 2000: 233f.).
- ²¹ The transcription of Ancient Greek is actually a slightly simplified transliteration based on Allen (1987) and Horrocks (1997: xix-xxi). A *caesura* or verse break is indicated with a vertical line | and is roughly equivalent to a boundary pause)
- ²² Cf. West (1982: 5). The term "colon" was first linked to the idea of "intonation unit" by Fraenkel (1932, 1933; cf. Janse 1990).
- ²³ For similar examples see Dover (1960: 2f.).
- Note also the fact that $ap\bar{e}ur\bar{a}$ agrees in number with $s\bar{e}$ (t') $aganop^hrosyn\bar{e}$, not with the preceding NPs in (15a), which proves that the verse is indeed a "self-contained unit" (West 1982: 5).
- ²⁵ Cf. Horrocks (1990: 38ff.) and Janse (1993a: 19; 2000: 234).
- ²⁶ Cf. Janse (1993b: 85ff.; 2000: 237ff.; 2002a: 379ff.).
- ²⁷ In the case of (16b), the alternative order is of course not only ungrammatical, but unmetrical as well.
- ²⁸ Cf. also Horrocks (1990: 41, 43).
- Note that in (19b) $eg\bar{o}$ is not the first word, but is preceded by the prepositive negative compound oud(e), just as $eg\bar{o}$ is preceded by autar in (10a).
- ³⁰ On Medieval Greek see also Horrocks (1990: 47ff.) and Pappas (2001a; 2001b; 2004; 2005).
- ³¹ Cf. Janse (1994a: 435ff.; 1998a: 259ff.).
- ³² A similar split has occurred in the history of the Romance languages (Janse 2000: 251ff.).

- ³⁹ Apart from these "native" dialects, there are many more non-native ones, i.e. dialects of populations which had been settled in Asia Minor in post-Turkish times before the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s. Of these three deserve special mention: Propontis Tsakonian, Smyrniot and the dialect of Aivali Moschonisi.
- ⁴⁰ Dawkins seems to think of Asia Minor Greek in terms of languages rather than dialects as well: "These Asiatic dialects have been separated so long from the rest of the Greek world that they require a quite separate treatment; almost as the Romance languages have to be studied separately, and find a connexion only in their common parent" (1916: vii). Drettas (1997: 19) takes a similar view of Pontic (cf. Janse 2002: 226).
- ⁴¹ Note that this applies to masculine and feminine nouns only, inanimate nouns being assigned to the neuter class.

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It should be noted that *emoi* echoes the *emoi* in $h\bar{o}s$ *emoi* dokei "as it seems to me" in the preceding verse (496).

³⁴ Note that $h\bar{e}$ is again a subject NP just like houtos in (33b).

³⁵ Note *mu* (49b) vs. *me* (49a), the latter being the result of the case syncretism that is characteristic of the Asia Minor and Northern Greek dialects. The Ancient Greek ternary opposition between genitive vs. dative vs. accusative is reduced to a binary opposition between genitive-dative vs. accusative in Modern Greek and reduced to a single oblique case (formally the ancient accusative) in Asia Minor and Northern Greek dialects.

³⁶ Cf. especially Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 215ff.).

³⁷ For discussion see Janse (2007a), who tentatively used the term Inner Asia Minor Greek in an earlier publication (1998b).

³⁸ I use the term Proto-Cappadocian, because the geographical designation Cappadocia used to include Pontus in Antiquity (Strabo, *Geography* 12.1.1). Kiparsky & Condoravdi use the term Proto-Pontic in an entirely different interpretation, viz. "Later Classical Greek" (2001: 31).

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