

Object clitic placement in the dialects of Medieval Greek *

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Contrary to previous opinion, the pattern of object clitic placement is not uniform across regional varieties of Medieval Greek. There are three identifiable varieties, Pontic, Cypriot and Byzantine and they appear to be situated on a cline of increasing preverbal placement. The nature of the variation provides some support for an analogical model of change that is based on the linear order of elements, but the evidence is not conclusive. This paper also presents an investigation of object clitic placement in Graeco-Roman Koiné in order to determine whether the point of origin proposed in this model was actually present during that period. The evidence reveals that there was competition between three subsystems of object clitic placement in the Koiné. One of these subsystems is the hypothesized starting point for the model of change by analogy.

Keywords: Koiné, Pontic, Medieval Greek dialects, clitics, weak pronouns, language variation, morphosyntactic change.

1. Introduction

Until recently, dialect differentiation on the basis of object clitic placement was considered to be a development of the Modern stage of the Greek language. For instance, Mackridge (1993) claims that the pattern of pronoun placement found in Byzantine texts is not affected by geographical origin, and neither Browning (1983), nor Horrocks (1997) discuss dialectal variation with respect to this phenomenon in their descriptions of Medieval Greek. Hadjiioannou (1988), who wrote specifically on the distinguishing characteristics of Medieval Cypriot, does not mention it either.

However more recent studies, have demonstrated that the pattern was not regionally uniform. Pappas (2004a, 2004b) discuss the differences found between Medieval Cypriot and Byzantine Greek in this respect, while Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001) bring to our attention that there is a third pattern of pronoun placement in Medieval Pontic Greek. An unavoidable conclusion then is that variation with respect to pronoun placement is not a development of Modern Greek but goes back at least to medieval times. My goal

in this article is to articulate the differences that exist between the three varieties, and to examine the possible causes that brought about this differentiation.

2. The data

I begin with a description of the facts for Medieval Pontic Greek, as this is the set of data that has not been described in any detail yet. (Condoravdi and Kiparsky highlight two significant constructions that demonstrate the existence of a third pattern but they do not provide a full description of the data in their article). The corpus of Medieval Pontic documents is a collection of deeds from the Vazelon monastery on the southern coast of the Black Sea. These documents are for the most part property transfers from individuals to the monastery itself, but there are also some documents that reflect private agreements between individuals. There are 188 deeds that are dated from as early as 1245 to as late as 1704, but most of them were created in the 14th or 15th centuries. Obviously, this is not an ideal dataset for the investigation of dialectal features, as legal documents tend to use a more conservative register and are often constructed around formulaic expressions that may not be very informative from a linguistic perspective. However, there are a few facts that inspire confidence in the authenticity of these data. First, the use of clitic object pronouns is a vernacular feature that is very rare in the higher styles of Byzantine Greek including ecclesiastical documents. Thus the pattern of clitic placement is unlikely to have been influenced by other, more prestigious registers. Second, the Pontus region had been isolated from the rest of the Empire ever since the 10th and 11th century incursions of Seljuk Turks. Under such circumstances, it is not uncommon for the regional variety to be elevated in status and used in official documents. Finally, the pattern of pronoun placement in these documents is surprisingly straightforward in its differentiation from the patterns found in Byzantine and Cypriot Greek and for that reason alone it merits discussion.

Following the analysis of Pappas (2001, 2004a, 2004b), Table 1 presents the pattern of clitic placement according to the nature of the immediately preceding element. The term 'fronted constituent' refers to a direct or indirect object, a prepositional phrase or a non-temporal adverb that preceded the verb-pronoun complex. One category that requires further discussion is 'wh-expression', where the pattern of pronoun placement seems to change over time. Thus, in documents from the 13th century there are 13 postverbal pronouns and 1 preverbal one, while in later documents we find 6 postverbal pronouns and 6 preverbal ones. Examples (1)-(4) illustrate pronoun placement in the environment of a fronted constituent, a subordinating conjunction, and wh-expressions respectively.

- (1) me tēn thelēṣē mou aphēka to ekei
 with my will I left it there
 ‘By my own volition I left it there’ (AV: d. 36 1270)
- (2) kathōs eikha to agoran
 as I had it purchase
 ‘As I had purchased it’ (AV: d. 33 1264)
- (3) hoson diapherei me apo tous adelphous mou
 as much as belongs to me from my brothers
 ‘As much as is my share from my brothers’ (AV: d. 10 1435)
- (4) ē de idikē mou moira hosē me diapherei
 as to my share as much to me belongs
 ‘As to my share, whatever belongs to me’ (AV: d. 100 1344)

Table 1. Pronoun placement in Medieval Pontic

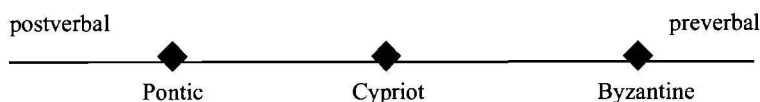
Environment	Preverbal	Postverbal	Date
clause-initial	0	19	13th, 14th, 15th
fronted constituent	0	10	13th
temporal expression	0	3	13th, 14th, 15th
ouk	0	1	13th
kathōs	0	2	13th
epei	0	1	13th
mēpōs	0	1	13th
hina	14	0	13th, 14th, 15th
is	1	0	13th
mē	1	0	13th
ōs	1	0	13th
subject	1	1	13th
wh-expression	7	19	13th 14th 15th
TOTAL	25	57	

The pattern of pronoun placement in Byzantine and Cypriot Medieval Greek has been described in detail elsewhere (Pappas 2001, 2004a, 2004b), so only a summary of the variation will be presented here. In Byzantine Medieval Greek, pronoun placement patterns in the following way (only finite, non-imperative, constructions are compared here). Postverbal pronouns are the norm when the verb is clause-initial, or if it immediately follows the negative *uk*, the complementizer *oti*, a coordinating conjunction, or a reduplicated object. Preverbal pronouns appear when the verb immediately follows any marker (negative or subjunctive), complementizer, wh-expression or fronted constituent.

Both preverbal and postverbal pronouns occur after a subject or a temporal expression. On the other hand, in Medieval Cypriot we find preverbal pronouns after all markers, complementizers, and wh-expressions, and postverbal pronouns in all other contexts.

The most important aspect of the variation in pronoun placement in Medieval Pontic Greek is the existence of postverbal pronoun placement with some complementizers and wh-expressions, elements, which are categorically associated with preverbal pronoun placement in the other two varieties. It appears then, that the three varieties are on a cline of increasing preverbal pronoun placement as illustrated in Figure 1. In the next section, I will present the two competing explanations for the variation in Medieval Greek, and evaluate them in the face of the new data from Pontic.

Figure 1. The cline of clitic object placement in Medieval Greek Dialects.



3. Surface vs. Structure

This variation is interpreted differently in Pappas (2001, 2004a, 2004b) and Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001, 2004). The former propose a model of analogical change that links the change in pronoun placement to the development of *na* from *hina*, that is from a complementizer to the head of the verb phrase. The proposal depends crucially on the description of pronoun placement in Koiné as essentially postverbal (Horrocks 1990, 1997). The central idea is that during that period of the language, clitic placement is defined as ‘post-head’. When *na* becomes the head of the subjunctive verb phrase (cf. Veloudis and Philippaki-Warburton 1983, and Philippaki-Warburton 1998, Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos 2004), the pronoun is placed after *na* and before the verb. The proposal goes on to suggest that this formed the basis for a pattern of linear order that spread to other constructions in the language and that the three varieties that have been described above present us with three different stages in this development.

Figure 2. Schema for the reanalysis of pronoun position with *hina* (Pappas 2004b)

hina	grapsei	to
Comp	Head	WP
in order to	write	it
	→	

na	to	grapsei
Head	WP	V

Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001) on the other hand, account for the differences in pronoun placement by positing different clause structures for Pontic and Byzantine Greek (they do not offer an explicit account of Cypriot). They posit the structure seen in (5) for Medieval Pontic Greek where postverbal clitics are the result of verb movement from Tense⁰ to C. On the other hand, Byzantine Greek represents a further development in the history of the language, which saw the emergence of the node ΣP a composite of NegP, MoodP, and FocusP. In this clause structure, which can be seen in (6), pronouns are X^{\max} enclitics which appear postverbally only when there is no available host to their left, in which case Prosodic Inversion (Halpern 1995) takes place, transposing the order between the verb and the pronoun. Adjoined constituents are not eligible hosts.

(5) $[_{CP} [C' [C (V_j)] [_{TnsP} CI [_{TnsP} [_{Tns0} V_j] [_{VP} t_j]]]]]$

(6) $[_{CP} \{Wh\} [_{\Sigma P} \{FocXP, EmNeg\} [_{\Sigma'} [_{\Sigma 0} \{Neg, Mod\}] [_{TnsP} CI [_{TnsP} [_{Tns0} V_j] [_{VP} t_j]]]]]]]$

The differences between these two positions are articulated in detail in the articles mentioned above, so they will not be repeated here. Instead, I will discuss the implications that the Pontic data has for each proposal. The pattern of pronoun placement in the Medieval Pontic documents from the Vazelon collection supports the hypothesis of Pappas (2004a, 2004b) that the change from postverbal to preverbal pronouns started with *(hi)na* and spread analogically to other constructions as well. A key prediction of this proposal is that at an early stage of the development there would be preverbal pronouns with *(hi)na* but not with other elements. This is exactly what we see in deeds from the 13th century, where there are several tokens of *hina*-WP-V strings (see example 2) alongside strings that have the order *wh*-expression-V-WP, as in example (3). We also see that while markers (*as, na, mēn*) are associated with preverbal pronouns, conjunctions (*epei, kathōs*) are not although the number of available tokens is very small for those constructions. Thus, the Pontic documents from the 13th century may represent the early stages of analogical spread. Furthermore, in the 14th and 15th centuries we see an increase in preverbal pronouns associated with *wh*-expressions, a development which could be an indication that the change from postverbal to preverbal pronoun placement was indeed a gradual process. On the other hand, Condoravdi and Kiparsky's (2001) proposal predicts that postverbal pronoun placement should be increasing in the Pontic dialect as the development of lexicalized (X^0) enclitics from phrasal level (X^{\max}) pronouns moves forward.

The change-by-analogy account however is challenged by the timeline of these developments. Ideally, one would like to show that the existing differences between the three varieties reflect the timeline of their separation from one another. Based on their position on the cline of clitic placement, one would assume that Pontic was the first variety to be separated, but in fact the opposite is true. According to Browning (1983), the separation of Cyprus from the rest of the Empire began in the 7th century, when the island first passed into Arab rule. For the following three centuries, the Byzantines successfully recaptured and lost control of Cyprus or parts of it several times, before securing the island in the later half of the 10th century. Browning believes that this period of isolation led to the development of many features of Cypriot Greek. The Pontic region on the other hand, during the same time was an integral part of the Byzantine Empire. Vryonis (1971) argues convincingly that the links between Constantinople and Trebizond and other Pontic cities were well established, financially, culturally and administratively. Vryonis also specifically refutes the claims that Anatolian cities were in decline, and points out that in comparison to the Slavic invasions of the Balkans, the Arab raids of Anatolia were transitory affairs with no long-term consequences. Thus there are really no socioeconomic reasons that would have led to a divergence between Pontic and Byzantine Greek during the period spanning the 7th to the 11th century.

The timeline of these developments poses a challenge for the Condoravdi and Kiparsky account as well. They suggest that Medieval Pontic Greek and Byzantine Greek were separated from each other as a result of the Seljuk conquests in the 11th century (the battle of Manzikert took place in 1071), after which point, Byzantine Greek developed the clause structure seen in (6) while Pontic maintained the structure seen in (5) for at least another two or three centuries, before the pronouns developed into lexical level enclitics in this dialect. However, there is strong evidence that the pronoun placement pattern of Byzantine Greek was in place at least by the 10th century if not earlier. Both the *Digenes Epic* and the *Acclamations*, which were composed prior to the 10th century, contain examples of preverbal pronoun placement that are accounted for by the structure in (6) but not the one in (5), as examples (7) and (8) demonstrate.

(7) ho martēs se diōkei
 the March you pursuits
 ‘March is pursuing you’ (*Acclamations* 10:15)

(8) mē me deireis
 Neg me beat
 ‘Do not beat me’ (*Acclamations* 10:31)

One last surprising fact from the Pontic documents is the existence of a preverbal pronoun associated with a focused subject, as seen in example (9). Condoravdi and Kiparsky's clause structure for Pontic explicitly predicts a postverbal pronoun in such a context, while in the change-by-analogy account this construction should not be possible until a much later stage, at least after preverbal pronouns are associated with *wh*-expressions.

- (9) me ton ergatēn ton praitōrēn egō to efuteusa
 with the worker Praitores I it planted
 'I planted it with my worker Praitores' (*AV*: d. 23 1260)

The data from the Vazelon documents provide more support for the surface-based approach to the change than the structural one, but the support is not conclusive, as some key questions remain unanswered for both accounts. The next section examines the pattern of clitic placement in the Koiné in order to ascertain if either of these proposals makes valid assumptions about the origin of the variation.

4. Clitic object placement in the Koiné

Since the Medieval Greek evidence does not allow us to conclusively resolve the question of whether the change in clitic placement was the result of analogical change that spread gradually, or due to a change in clause structure, it becomes necessary to examine data from the Koiné period which plays an important role as the starting point for each proposal. The findings, although somewhat surprising, provide further support for the hypothesis of analogical change.

The data concerning clitic placement in the Koiné have not been fully explored. The two most valuable sources are the texts of the New Testament and the non-literary papyri from post-Ptolemaic Egypt. There are only two detailed accounts of clitic placement during this period (other than Horrocks' brief sketches in 1990 and 1997) and I will summarize their results before presenting my findings.

Janse (1993) provides a careful description of clitic placement in the New Testament, which demonstrates that the pattern is not influenced by Hebrew, but also lays out the basic tendencies of the phenomenon. According to his findings, both possessive and object pronouns 'regularly' follow their governing nouns or verbs. Preposed pronouns occur as a result of a version of Wackernagel's Law, which places them in second position, especially when the first word of the clause (or phrasal unit) is focused or a subordinating conjunction such as *hina*, as can be seen in the following examples. Notice that according to Janse, the application of the law can also draw the clitics away from the head that selects them and into the traditional Wackernagel second position (example 12).

- (10) oudeis se katekrinen
no one you condemned
'No one has condemned you' (*John*: 8.10—Janse's 29)
- (11) ou mē se aparnisomai
NEG you renounce
'I will never renounce you' (*Matthew*: 26.35—Janse's 23)
- (12) tis mou ēpsato tōn immatiōn
who my touched garments
'Who touched my garments' (*Mark*: 5.30—Janse's 12)

Taylor's (2002) account covers the New Testament, *The shepherd of Hermas*, as well several private letters from the non-literary papyri. One of the interesting points of her presentation is that even though true Wackernagel clitics have been in decline since Ancient Greek, there are still vestiges of this pattern in the Koiné, occurring in about 5% of the constructions. Taylor's main concern in the (2002) paper is to provide an explanation for the variation between postverbal and preverbal clitics in constructions where there is either a subject, or some other constituent before the verb. The key statistical observation is that long subjects are categorically associated with postverbal clitics while short subjects allow for both possibilities equally as examples (13)-(15) illustrate.

- (13) hē gunē diskatos tou adelphou mou ēnegke moi r
the wife of Discas my brother brought me 100
'the wife of your brother Discas brought me 100 (drachmas)'
(*Letters*: 114,9—Taylor's 32)
- (14) ekeinos me apestelen
he me sent
'He sent me' (*John*: 8.49—Taylor's 33a)
- (15) hymeis atimazate me
you dishonor me
'You dishonor me' (*John*: 8.49—Taylor's 33b)

According to Taylor, this variation is explained if one assumes that the pronouns are enclitics that are adjoined at the left edge of VP and that, in addition to Prosodic Inversion, Φ -restructuring (Nespor and Vogel 1986, revised for Greek by Taylor 2002) is also in operation. In Ancient and Koiné Greek this latter rule allows two non-branching phonological phrases (Φ) to be optionally combined

into a single one as long as the appropriate syntactic conditions (c-command) apply. In example (13), since the long subject is a branching Φ it cannot join the Φ of the verb. Since the two Φ s remain separate the clitic cannot find a host to its left and so PI moves it to the right of the verb. In (14), the short subject *ekeinos* is a non-branching Φ which combines with the Φ of the verb to create a single phonological phrase in which the enclitic can find a host to its left. In (15) the Φ -restructuring does not apply (the operation is optional) and so as in (13) PI moves the clitic to the right of the verb.

It is noticeable that Taylor's account does not deal explicitly with clitic placement after subordinating conjunctions, negative markers or wh-expressions but one would expect that these elements belong to the phonological phrase of the verb because they are not lexical heads and therefore are associated with preverbal clitic placement. This also seems to be implied by Taylor's discussion of clitic placement with wh-expressions (p. 299). As a result we would expect preverbal pronoun placement in these environments. This is also Janse's (1993: 96-97) point of view: "[la Loi de Wackernagel] s'applique davantage quand le premier mot de la proposition est un subordonnant... On constate toutefois qu'il s'est développé un ordre plus ou moins figé {subordonnant + enclitique}."

However, the results of the present investigation disagree with this description. Table 2 shows the pattern of object clitic placement in the private correspondence papyri from Oxyrhynchus. Surprisingly, the tendency for postverbal pronouns associated with negative markers, complementizers and wh-expressions is quite strong forcing us to seek an explanation beyond those provided by Janse (1993) and Taylor (2002).

Table 2. Object clitic placement in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (vols. 1-56)

Environment	Preverbal	Postverbal
clause-initial	4	231
Ὅτι	0	8
ἵνα	2	9
infinitival complement	12	0
adverbs	34	14
NP-Object	21	15
NP-Subject	10	13
PP	13	37
complementizers	17	37
wh-expressions	18	16

(16) epimelou seautēs hina moi hugiainēs
 take care of so that for me you are healthy
 yourself

'take care of yourself so that you will be in good health for my sake' (*Oxy*: 1154 late 1st cent)

(17) takhu erkhei hina idōmen se
 quickly come so that we may see you
 'Come quickly so that we may see you' (*Oxy*: 2599 3rd cent)

(18) kan egō mē graphō soi
 even if I NEG write to you
 'Even if I do not write to you' (*Oxy*: 3813, 3rd cent)

5. Evaluating the data from Koiné Greek

Despite this difference in the description of object clitic placement during the Koiné, all three accounts posit challenges to the clause-structure that Condoravdi and Kiparsky (2001: 26) propose for Medieval Pontic as well as for Koiné Greek. As they indicate, the structure seen in (5)—and repeated here as (19)—predicts postverbal pronouns in the environment of negative markers and focused elements: "At the stage before Sigma P was introduced, focused elements and negation would have been fronted to SpecCP. Movement of the verb to C in such cases would then have resulted in postverbal positioning of clitics." On the other hand, this structure predicts that the presence of complementizers in a clause would always be associated with preverbal clitics as there would be no empty node for the verb to move to.

(19) [CP [C' [C (V_j)] [T_{nsP} CI [T_{nsP} [T_{ns0} V_j] [VP t_j]]]]]]

Both of these predictions are contradicted by the accounts reviewed above. Janse's (1993) description of New Testament Greek counts focused elements as the main reason for preverbal clitics, while Taylor's proposal ascribes postverbal object clitics as the result of Prosodic Inversion, not verb movement. Finally, the new data from the Oxyrhynchus Papyri presented here, demonstrate that postverbal clitics are possible after a complementizer.

In addition to this evidence, Philippaki-Warburton and Spyropoulos (2004), argue that there are strong indicators that Mood had emerged as a functional category already in Graeco-Roman Koiné, as in the structure shown in (20). They conclude this from the fact that already by the fourth century AD, *hina* was used as a subjunctive marker in embedded clauses, it has deontic force in main clauses, and it is often combined with complementizers (e.g. *os*, in order to introduce final clauses). Consequently, it does not seem plausible that the distinction in clitic placement between Pontic and Byzantine Medieval Greek

can be ascribed to the emergence of the functional category ΣP in the latter, after the two had been separated by the Seljuk conquests of the 11th century.

(20) [CP [MoodP [NegP[_{inflP} V]]]]

On the other hand, the same data provide further support for the change-by-analogy hypothesis. The crucial evidence is the existence of both preverbal and postverbal object clitics after complementizers and *wh*-expressions. This type of variation cannot be explained by any of the accounts reviewed above, and it is unlikely that it can be captured within a single grammatical system. Instead, I propose that this variation is evidence of competition between different subsystems of the grammar. It is a well-documented fact that during transitional periods in a language, change does not necessarily proceed by immediate substitution of the older system by an innovative one. As Kroch (1989) has demonstrated the phenomenon is quite common in the history of several of the world's languages. We also know that during the Graeco-Roman period Greek went through significant reorganization. There was competition between verb-final and verb-medial word order (Taylor 1994), infinitival and finite complementation (Joseph 1978/1990, 1983), as well as restructuring of the clause and the emergence of new functional categories (Philippaki-Warbuton 1998, Philippaki-Warbuton and Spyropoulos 2004). Thus, the existence of competition between subsystems of clitic placement is not surprising at all. In fact, the papyri provide us with direct evidence of this competition in the form of errors and corrections with respect to clitic placement. In the first example (21), the clitic *moi* is written twice, once before the verb and once after, indicating uncertainty as to its correct position. In the second example, the clitic *soi* is written first in what is presumably the traditional Wackernagel second position and then written again before it is erased and the verb is inserted from above.

(21) ean moi paradois moi tous anthrōpous
 if to me you give to me the people
 'If you deliver the people to me' (*Oxy*: 2981, 2nd cent)

(22) hoti egō men gar autos soi anelipōs [[soi]] \graphō/
 because I PART self to you constantly to you write
 'Because I myself constantly write to you' (*Oxy*: 2980, 2nd cent;
 [[X]] indicates erasure, \X/ indicates insertion from above)

The first of these subsystems would be the one traditionally described by Wackernagel's Law, which only represents a minority of constructions in the Koiné. The second subsystem is the one described by Taylor (2002), essentially

a development of the previous one, since prosody still plays a role in determining the clitic's position. Adopting the clause structure proposed by Philippaki-Warbuton and Spyropoulos (2004), and following Halpern (1995) and Taylor (2002), I would propose that object clitics are X^{\max} enclitics adjoined to IP and may appear before the verb as long as there is not a phonological boundary Φ to their left. When the latter is the case, PI places the clitic to the right of the verb. This subsystem would then account for the pattern of pronoun placement seen in Table 2 except for postverbal clitics associated with complementizers, wh-expressions and negative markers.

(23) $[_{CP} [_{MoodP} [_{NegP} [_{InflP} CI [_{InflP} [_{Infl'} [_{Infl} V_j] [_{VP} t_j]]]]]]]]$

In the third subsystem, object clitics have become lexicalized (X^0) enclitics that are attached to the verb as Condoravdi and Kiparsky have proposed for Modern Pontic Greek (24). This of course means that there is a certain degree of ambiguity in the system, as speakers would not have been able to distinguish postverbal clitics that are the result of PI from those that belong to the innovative subsystem. We can, however, estimate the percentage of lexical postverbal clitics in the ambiguous cases by calculating their percentage in the unambiguous ones (Kroch 1989, Taylor 2002). This is quite significant at 62%, so we would expect two-thirds of all postverbal clitics to be attached to the verb.

(24) $[_{v_0} [_{v_0} [_{V} CI]]]$

One question that remains is what led to the creation of fixed postverbal clitics. This is a question that requires further research, but I suggest that this is the result of reanalysis caused by several conspiring factors. First there is the ongoing change of Greek word order from SOV to SVO (Taylor 1994), which in the regular absence of subjects would have resulted in a predominance of verb-initial clauses. At the same time, the intonation pattern of Greek was changing, and the sentence accent was increasingly being placed on the verb and not on the first element of a clause (Dunn 1989). If we also follow Dunn's argument that the position of enclitics in Ancient Greek is not only determined by structure but is also linked to the placement of the sentence accent, then the following development becomes possible: as verbs increasingly carry the sentence accent and as they increasingly appear in clause-initial position, the appearance of clitics in second position is no longer perceived as placement after the first constituent but reanalyzed as placement after the verb. Thus, even when the verb is not the first constituent in a clause, object clitics would tend to follow it, as their position is linked to the sentence accent. This pattern, which was enhanced by the fact that Φ -restructuring is optional and not obligatory, was further reanalyzed as one in which object clitics are lexically attached to the verb.

5. Conclusion

In this paper it was shown that, contrary to previous opinion, the placement of clitic object pronouns was a dialectal feature of Medieval Greek. The three identifiable varieties, Pontic, Cypriot and Byzantine appear to be situated on a cline of increasing preverbal placement. The nature of the variation provides some support to an analogical model of change that is based on the linear order of elements, but the evidence is not conclusive. In order to further evaluate this model against Condoravdi and Kiparsky's (2001) explanation that the variation is due to differences in clause structure, the pattern of object clitic placement in Graeco-Roman Koiné was also explored. The evidence from that period of the language indicates that the key change in clause structure must have occurred several centuries before the three varieties were separated from each other, while it also revealed, that there was competition between three subsystems of object clitic placement in the Koiné. One of these subsystems is the hypothesized starting point for the model of change by analogy.

6. Notes

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8. Περίληψη

Σε αντίθεση με την επικρατούσα αντίληψη, η θέση των κλιτικών στα μεσαιωνικά ελληνικά ποικίλει ανάλογα με την περιοχή. Υπάρχουν τρεις διάλεκτοι, τα Ποντιακά, τα Κυπριακά και τα Βυζαντινά, οι οποίες φαίνεται ότι αποτελούν βαθμίδες σε μια κλίμακα αυξανόμενης πρόταξης των κλιτικών. Η φύση της διαφοροποίησης προσφέρει μερική υποστήριξη για ένα μοντέλο εξέλιξης το οποίο βασίζεται στη σειρά των όρων στην πρόταση. Επίσης, η παρούσα εργασία εξετάζει τη θέση των κλιτικών στην Ελληνο-Ρωμαϊκή Κοινή για να προσδιορίσει εάν η αφετηρία την οποία προϋποθέτει το εν λόγω μοντέλο απαντά σε εκείνη την περίοδο της γλώσσας. Τα στοιχεία δείχνουν ότι στην Κοινή υπάρχει ανταγωνισμός τριών συστημάτων ως προς την τοποθέτηση των κλιτικών και ότι ένα από αυτά θα μπορούσε όντως να αποτελέσει την αφετηρία για την εξέλιξη της προτεινόμενης μεταβολής κατ' αναλογία.