From Enclisis to Proclisis in Medieval Greek: σὲ λέγω and its Uses in the Chronicle of Morea

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In recent years linguists have shown an enormous interest in clitics, small words which have no accent of their own and consequently have to ‘lean’—κλίνω in Ancient Greek—on another word, a phonological ‘host’. 1 If this phonological host is the following word, we call it a proclitic; if it selects a preceding word as host, it is an enclitic. In this paper we focus on (the phonological hosts of) the object clitic pronouns (OCPs) in Greek, viz. clitics whose grammatical function is the (in)direct object and whose syntactic host is the finite verb. In Ancient Greek, the OCPs have an enclitic nature, whereas Modern Greek OCPs are proclitic.

Thus, the phonological nature of the OCPs must have altered in the period in between. Indeed, in the Medieval period a certain reanalysis has occurred: [X ← enclitic OCP + finite verb] becomes [X + proclitic OCP → finite verb]. 2 Horrocks, one of the pioneers in the study of Medieval Greek OCPs, has made an attempt to fill in this abstract scheme: 3 he holds that the particle νά plays a major role in the transition from enclisis to proclisis (section 1 below).

1 A. Zwicky, On Clitics (Bloomington 1977) 9.
We discuss here another—more concrete—environment in which the phonological switch could have originated, which does not, however, necessarily exclude Horrocks’ proposal. Our hypothesis is based on sentences in which an emphasized constituent is followed by the unit σὲ λέγω or by similar constructions in which a second-person OCP is combined with a first-person of a *verbum dicendi* (section 1.4). We assume, first, that the combination σὲ λέγω as a whole has become enclitic and that afterwards a reanalysis has taken place. Speakers start supposing that σὲ leans on the following word, the verb λέγω, instead of on the preceding one, since the following word constitutes its natural syntactic host. The phonological dependence of the OCP now perfectly coincides with its syntactic dependence (section 3).

The immediate impetus for our hypothesis is the abundance of this construction in the fourteenth-century *Chronicle of Morea*. The frequent association of this so-called vernacular text with an oral tradition confirms the appropriateness of our corpus for an explanation of a change which naturally has its origins in the spoken language (section 2).

1. Enclisis vs. Proclisis

1.1 *From Ancient Greek enclitics to Modern Greek proclitics*

Since clitics are phonologically deficient words and thus have no accent of their own, they must lean on another word. For this dependence on the position of the phonological host, we speak of proclitics: phonological host follows, vs. enclitics: phonological host precedes. Both types are exemplified in τὸ παράδειγμα μου. With regard to the clitics which function as

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4 We leave aside the class of endoclitics (clitics within a word), as it is not relevant here and even its existence is disputed: S. R. Anderson, *Aspects of the Theory of Clitics* (Oxford 2005) 165.

The (in)direct object of a finite verb, the direction of elisis changed during the history of Greek: the Ancient Greek enclitic OCPs have turned into proclitic OCPs in Modern Greek. In Ancient Greek, in accordance with the Indo-European ‘Law’ put forward by Wackernagel in 1892, the OCPs are placed in second position in the clause, regardless of the position of their syntactic host, the verb:

τοίου μιν θάρσεως πλήσε φρένας ὅμφι μελαίνας (II.17.573)
καὶ δῶρα ταύτα τοι λίτοι τοίσι καὶ αὐτός μάλιστα ἦδεται χρεώμενος (Hdt. 3.21.5)

As these examples illustrate, second position cannot be considered an absolute notion and is thus not an sich important. Therefore, it is revealing to reformulate the Law from another perspective: OCPs follow after the first word or constituent in the clause by which the OCPs are attracted. These initial elements often belong to the same types of words: function words such as conjunctions, interrogatives, and negations, but also emphasized words. Here, a demonstrative (respectively τοίου and ταύτω) attracts μιν and τοί. Both OCPs form a phonological unit with their preceding constituent and are thus of an enclitic nature.

In later Greek, the OCPs remain enclitic. In this connection, Janse makes a convincing case by discussing various kinds of assimilations found in the papyri, the language of which is close

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6 This is a very important addition, since the Modern Greek OCPs are still enclitic in combination with imperatives and gerunds (cf. I. Philippaki-Warburton, “Verb Movement and Clitics in Modern Greek,” in Themes in Greek Linguistics I [Amsterdam 1994] 53–60). Henceforth we use the term ‘verb’ to refer to finite verbs.


9 Janse, in La koiné grecque 83–121. The syntactic rule and pragmatic principle identified for Medieval Greek actually constitute a logical step in the history of the Greek OCP: preverbal OCP position is still triggered by the same categories of initial words (cf. section 1.2).
to the spoken language, for instance ἔαμι μοι. This example clearly illustrates the enclitic nature of the OCP, since μοι assimilates with the preceding word, to which μοι does not belong syntactically.

However, the strongest evidence for the enclitic nature of the ancient OCPs is the fact that they never open an utterance, which proves their need of a preceding host. In Modern Greek, on the contrary, OCPs do occur in initial position; one example should suffice: μας μιλά. The OCP μας cannot lean to another constituent than its verb μιλά, which follows, and it is thus proclitic.

In longer sentences as well, Modern Greek OCPs always immediately precede their verb and procliticize to it. These preverbal proclitics can be considered as the outcome of a natural evolution, since “the phonological dependence ... then coincides with their syntactic dependence.”

The immediate cause of this modern harmonization between phonological and syntactic host is found in the Medieval period, when the adjacency of OCP and verb becomes obligatory: “the clitic object pronoun ceased to be a freely moving part of the clause and instead became part of the verb phrase.” In

contrast to the Ancient Greek OCPs, the Medieval Greek OCPs now always appear next to their syntactic host, the verb.

Nevertheless, since the position of the OCPs vis-à-vis the verb is not (yet) as fixed in Medieval as in Modern Greek (always preverbal), but varies between pre- and postverbal, we can ask whether the (preverbal) OCPs are already proclitic, as in Modern Greek, or whether they are still enclitic, as in Ancient Greek. This question is not an easy one: “Whether or not the Medieval Greek pronouns were still enclitic, as in Ancient Greek, or had become proclitic … is a moot question.”

Pappas presents an intelligent solution: he proposes the Medieval Greek OCPs to be *in se* clitic: “Late Medieval Greek weak pronouns are always phonologically attached to the verb, either as enclitics or proclitics.” Revithiadou and Spyropulos agree: “In this respect, we are in total agreement with Pappas … that in the language of the texts of the 12th century and beyond pronominal clitics can be either proclitics or enclitics, depending on the structure.” Condoravdi and Kiparsky, on the other hand, are convinced that the Medieval OCPs still have a constant enclitic nature. We also believe the OCPs are enclitic as long as they do not occur in initial position.

However, a transition to proclisis must have taken place at a certain moment in the Medieval period. Before discussing Horrocks’ hypothesis concerning the concrete context responsible

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for this change, it is necessary to outline the Medieval Greek OCP distribution rules.

1.2 Medieval Greek distribution rules

As mentioned, the position of Medieval Greek OCPs with regard to their verb still varies. Postverbal position is the unmarked order, whereas preverbal position is triggered in certain environments. The exact position of the OCP depends on a syntactic rule and a pragmatic principle, or in the words of the pioneer Mackridge: “the rules are primarily a matter of syntactic context and secondarily a matter of pragmatics (in this case, emphasis).” Indeed, preverbal OCPs occur if the verb is preceded by an emphasized constituent. Now, some words are “emphatiques de nature” and are thus often associated with preverbal OCPs. Dover reckons for example emphatic personal pronouns such as ἐγώ and demonstratives like τοῦτο among these so-called “preferential words” which attract the OCPs into preverbal position (cf. Homeric examples), thus:

κι ἂν οὔτως οὐδὲν ποίσωμεν, ὣς ὁ δὲ γὰρ σάς λέγω
(Chronicle of Morea P 4737, bis)
ποῦ ἐνὶ ἄνω ἡ τὰ λάσσα, τοῦτο σὲ λέγω, ἀφέντη
(P 1666)

By extension this pragmatic principle applies to ad hoc emphasized constituents as well, for instance:


19 Janse, in La koine greque 94.

κ’ ἐμὲν ὡσαύτως μετ’ αὐτόν, πληροφορίαν σὲ λέγω,
νὰ σὲ πληροφορήσωμεν, νὰ ἔνι τὸ θέλημά σου (P 193–194)

It is reasonable to argue that the direct object πληροφορίαν ("assurance") is emphasized, being an important word in this context, for it is repeated by the verb πληροφορέω ("give assurance") in the next verse.

This verse is also illustrative with regard to the syntactic rule active in Medieval Greek. If a function word (a subordinating conjunction or a relative) precedes the verb, preverbal position is the norm. Actually, νὰ, which attracts the OCP σε into preverbal position, is not a true subordinating conjunction, but since it is etymologically derived from one (ἵνα), it has to be treated according to this rule as well.²¹

1.3 Horrocks’ hypothesis

The evolution from ἵνα towards νὰ/να constitutes the basis for Horrocks’ hypothesis: “The history of ἵνα is vital in this connection.” More precisely, the phonological evolution from ἵνα as a phonologically independent subordinating conjunction to a preverbal proclitic particle να is relevant:²²

As long as να … retains sufficient phonological independence to host a following clitic, the naturally enclitic status of the pronouns … can remain. When, however, the particle comes effectively to cliticise to the right,²³ there are only two possibilities for the associated clitic pronouns. Either they remain enclitic and therefore cease to appear in this position altogether, or they themselves become proclitic, forming a clitic group with the preceding particle, and attach to the following verb.

Quite obviously, the Greek OCPs have chosen the latter op-

²¹ R. Browning, Medieval and Modern Greek (Cambridge 1999) 43.
²² Horrocks, in Greek outside Greece 49, 50.
²³ In later work, we find a more detailed description of this phonological history: ἵνα → ἵνα → να → να, since the loss of the initial vowel ἵ (aphaeresis) must have been preceded by a shift of the accent to the final syllable α: G. C. Horrocks, Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers (London 1997) 208; cf. A. N. Jamnaris, An Historical Greek Grammar (London 1897) 418.
tion. Eventually, the “reinterpretation”\textsuperscript{24} of clisis direction is—by analogy—extended to other modal particles such as \textit{θα} (derived from \textit{θέλω} \textit{wα}) and \textit{ἄς}, as well as to the negatives. Later on, the OCPs also appear before the verb even in the absence of these preverbal particles. Finally, indicatives start to follow the model of the subjunctives and thus preverbal proclitic OCPs become generalized.\textsuperscript{25}

1.4 Our hypothesis: \textit{σὲ λέγω}

However, we have found another good candidate responsible for the enclisis-proclisis-change. The construction under discussion consists of a second-person OCP and a first-person of a \textit{verbum dicendi}: \textit{σὲ λέγω}, \textit{σὲ λαλῶ}, and their plurals \textit{σᾶς λέγω}, \textit{σᾶς λαλῶ}.

It should be noted that in Ancient Greek the pronoun of the second person singular is ambiguous: it could be the weak, clitic form as well as the strong, orthotonic form; a distinction is made by attributing to the emphatic form an accent: \textit{σὲ}.\textsuperscript{26} In the Medieval period, on the other hand, the accent on the pronoun tells us nothing about its clitic or non-clitic nature, for it is a convention to accentuate preverbal OCPs (examples in 1.2). On the other hand, the medieval Greeks developed a whole range of unambiguous longer forms for the orthotonic pronoun of the second person singular: \textit{ἐσέ}, \textit{ἐσέν}, \textit{ἐσένα}, \textit{ἐσέναν}, \textit{σένα}, \textit{σέναν}. So, if the narrator had wanted to use the emphatic form, he could presumably have chosen one of these unambiguous forms. Moreover, the context does not favour an emphatic reading of \textit{σὲ}. On the contrary, \textit{σέ} is never semantically emphasized, as we shall see in the examples in 3.2. Finally, in some examples from our corpus in which \textit{σὲ} follows \textit{λέγω}, it is unaccented, for example:

\textsuperscript{24} Horrocks, \textit{Greek} 211.

\textsuperscript{25} Horrocks, in \textit{Greek outside Greece} 51; \textit{Greek} 211.

To summarize, we can conclude that σέ has a truly clitic nature in the construction under discussion.

2. Corpus

2.1 Different versions

It is time to provide some information on our corpus, the fourteenth-century Chronicle of Morea. This historiographical work describes events in mainland Greece after the settlement of the Franks following the Fourth Crusade (1204). The Chronicle survives in versions in four different languages: Italian, Aragonese, French, and Greek. The debate over which version is closest to the original has centred round the French and Greek versions. However, in what follows, we are interested only in the Greek version.

2.2 Greek manuscripts

The Greek version of the Chronicle is the only one not written in prose, but composed in the πολιτικὸς στίχος, the typical metre for medieval vernacular Greek texts. It is preserved in five manuscripts, of which we take only the two most important into account: Havniensis Fabricius 57 (H) and Paris.gr. 2898 (P).


30 Shawcross, Chronicle 35.
The latter contains 8191 verses, whereas the former counts as many as 9219 πολιτικοί στίχοι, even though its beginning is missing. In Schmitt’s edition, this gap and other lacunas in H are supplemented by Taurinensis B.II.1 (T). Schmitt has undertaken the enormous task of making a parallel edition of H(+t) and P. Indeed, both manuscripts tell more or less the same story, but there are some important ideological and linguistic differences. H is the older of the two, written in the late fourteenth century, and seems to reflect a somewhat anti-Greek attitude. P, copied much later, filters out the pro-Frankish passages that were “found distasteful” or rewrites them from a more Greek perspective.

In combination with its “badly written Greek,” H is, therefore, often said to be written by a non-native speaker. Consequently, one could ascribe the construction σὲ λέγω to (bad) learner’s Greek and thus easily wave aside the hypothesis we shall put forward. However, this possible criticism can be rejected, since the construction is found—just as frequently—in P and “it is evident that P was written by a Greek.” Moreover, P was “probably not directly or indirectly copied from H.” In addition, Jeffreys, an authority in the field, is convinced that the author of H was a native Greek as well.

2.3 Oral residues

It is this same scholar who has established a clear connection between the Chronicle of Morea and an oral tradition by making an elaborated study of the formulas. Jeffreys has found that the level of formulas in H ranges from 21.2% to 53.5% per hun-
dred lines, which surpasses all other Greek vernacular works.\textsuperscript{37} The closeness of the \textit{Chronicle} to the oral tradition is a very important observation for our purpose, as it is self-evident that the switch to proclisis must have originated in the \textit{spoken} language, rather than in an artificially constructed written language.

Shawcross confirms these oral residues in the Greek version: “Everything about the Greek version suggests that it is a text which has been highly influenced by methods of composition derived from the pragmatic concerns of \textit{oral} performance and reception.”\textsuperscript{38} More specifically, she explicitly links the combination σὲ λέγω with the bond that exists between a storyteller and his audience during an oral performance:\textsuperscript{39}

Both the second and first grammatical persons are ubiquitous in the Greek \textit{Chronicle}, with the former appearing on average once every nineteen lines and the latter every twenty lines. Indeed, a constant urge is displayed by H to bring narrator and narratees into each other’s mental presence (e.g. ‘σὲ λαλῶ’, v.381; ‘σὲ λέγω’, v.1651; ‘εἶπα σε’, v.3178; ‘σᾶς ἀφηγούµαι’, v.446). This betrays an uneasiness about the relationship between the processes of composition and reception. Where an oral linguistic exchange consists of the production of an utterance and its hearing within the same spatio-temporal context, this simultaneity, attributable to the corporeal interaction of the interlocutors, is lost with the written word. An attempt is made by H to compensate for the loss by simulating, within the parameters of the text itself, the establishment and maintenance of a bond typical of orality.

3. Explanation and examples

3.1 Frequency

However, the fact that σὲ λέγω does not belong exclusively to the written language, but on the contrary is characteristic of the spoken language, is of course a necessary but not a sufficient


\textsuperscript{38} Shawcross, \textit{Chronicle} 181.

\textsuperscript{39} Shawcross, \textit{Chronicle} 157, cf. 263.
condition for the claim that this construction is the instigator of the clisis-alteration. Frequency seems an important factor as well (cf. the να-construction of Horrocks). We believe that σὲ λέγω can also satisfy this requirement, since its meaning, “I tell (you),” lends itself to regular use in spoken discourse. Moreover, it has been acknowledged that the importance of minimal utterances, consisting only of a verb and an (in)direct object, can hardly be overestimated with regard to linguistic change.40

This table gives the number of occurrences in H and P:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>σὲ/σᾶς λέγω</th>
<th>σὲ/σᾶς λαλῶ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Distribution

More revealing than these pure statistics is the distribution of the construction:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>preceding constituent</th>
<th>σὲ/σᾶς λέγω</th>
<th>σὲ/σᾶς λαλῶ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H proper names</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>official terms of address</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P proper names</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>official terms of address</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin terms</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most popular position for σὲ/σᾶς λέγω/λαλῶ is immediately after a proper name.41

40 Cf. Janse, in Clitic Doubling 177.
41 We mark the standard caesura after the eighth syllable with the sign # (M. D. Lauxtermann, The Spring of Rhythm: An Essay on the Political Verse and

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ἐνῷ ἦτον τότε βασιλεὺς # τῆς Ρωμανίας, σὲ λέγω. (H 61)
κ’ οἱ Ἀλλαμάνοι, σὲ λαλῶ, # κ’ ἐσφαξονταν ἀλλήλως. (P 4076)

Note that the choice between the verbs λέγω and λαλῶ is determined by the metrical structure of the verse: the πολιτικὸς στίχος, consisting of two parts of respectively eight and seven syllables, does not allow accents on the odd-numbered syllables (see Lauxtermann). Consequently, λέγω never ends the first part of the verse (otherwise accent would be on the seventh syllable), whereas λαλῶ is avoided at the end of the verse (otherwise accent would be on the fifteenth syllable).

In both structures, the adjective ἐκεῖνος often occurs:

τὸν Μπονιφάτσον, σὲ λαλῶ, ἐκεῖνον τὸν μαρκέσην. (H 381, cf. 208 for the preceding occurrence of the name)
ἐκεῖνος ὁ πομάρης # ὁ Μπαντουής, σὲ λέγω. (H 384, cf. 190)
ἐκεῖνον τὸν παναπίστον # τὸν Μουρτζουφλόν σὲ λέγω (H 878, cf. 871)
ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὁ μισίρ Ντζᾶς, # ὁ Καταβᾶς, σὲ λέγω. (H 4775, cf. 4713)

This demonstrative adjective points to the ‘semi-active’ status of the referents: all these persons have been introduced in the thread of the story, but normally do not occur in the immediate context. In such a situation, we can appropriately translate σὲ λέγω with “I mean.” Chafe defines semi-active information as information which is mentioned a while before or derivable from the context. In these examples, the proper names are again brought to attention, ‘activated’ in Chafe’s terminology, and thus emphasized. In the verses in which the construction closes the first part of the πολιτικὸς στίχος (thus the examples

— Other Byzantine Metres [Vienna 1999]).


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with λαλῶ), this is even more clear, since the second part of the verse almost always specifies the reintroduced referent, usually in the form of an apposition:

τοῦ Καλοιώνανν, σὲ λαλῶ, # ἐκεῖνοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη. (H 1102, cf. 1087)

ἀρίστε καὶ ἐκράζασιν # κύρ Μιχαήλ ἐκεῖνον,
τὸν Παλαιολόγον, σὲ λαλῶ, # τὸν πρῶτον τῆς Ρωμανίας (H 1227–1228)45

στὸν κύρ Μιχάλην, σὲ λαλῶ, # τὸν μέγαν Παλαιολόγον. (H 3103, cf. 1265)

κῦρ ἐκεῖνον μάχην δυνατὴν # μετὰ τοῦ ἀδελφόν του,
κύρ Νικηφόρον, σὲ λαλῶ, # αὐτέινον τὸν Δεσπότην. (P 3099–3100, cf. 3086)

However, a relative clause can also add extra information:

δεύτερον πάλιν ἀπ’ αὐτὸν # τὸν Μπαντούνην ἐκεῖνον,
τὸν κόντον Φλάντρας, σὲ λαλῶ, # ὁποῖον πρῶτος πάντων. (P 421–422, cf. 402)

στὸν Καμπανέσιν, σὲ λαλῶ, # ἕκεὶ ὁποῦ ἦτον στὸ Ἀργος; (H 1540, cf. 1519)

Official terms of address constitute a second category which is often found in front of σὲ λέγω. Here as well, the narrator again focuses on a referent which has already been mentioned, often to clarify it:

Ὡς δὲ ὁ Δεσπότης, σὲ λαλῶ, # ἐκεῖνος τῆς Ἑλλάδας (H 3815, cf. 3810)

ὁ μητροπολίτης, σὲ λαλῶ, # ποὺ εἶς τὴν Ἀνάπολη ἦτον,
ἐκεῖνος τοὺς εὐλόγησεν # κατὰ τὴν συνηθέσιαν. (P 8599–8600, cf. 7866)

In the following example, only two verses have passed since the last mention of the term, which might thus seem active in formation, yet two other proper names (τὸ Ἀνάπλιν καὶ τὸ

45 Both proper names Μιχαήλ and τὸν Παλαιολόγος are found here for the first time. However, considering the lacunal nature of the manuscript, the loss of the verses in which they were originally introduced cannot be excluded.
Ἅργος τε} have been introduced in verse 2880. Thus, the need for a repetition of ὁ Μέγας Κύρης is justified:

τὴν χάριν, τὴν ἐχάρισε τὸ τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, τὸ Ἀνάπλιν καὶ τὸ Ἅργος τε, ὁ ὁμοῦ ἄρω τῷ κάτω, ήτον διὰ τὴν συνδρομὴν ὁ προτεκτή τοῦ Μέγας Κύρης, σὲ λαλῶ, # eis τὸν πικσμὸν Κορίνθου (P 2878–2881)

In the following examples as well, the term even occurs on the preceding verse, but it is now put into relief:

τρεῖς χρόνους γὰρ ἐκράτησεν τὸ πριγκιπάτον, σὲ λαλῶ, # ὁ δόλων τὸν ἐκκλησίαν (H 2654–2655)

Arréfasin τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ στέμμα καὶ τὸν σάκκον, ἐστήψασιν κ’ ἔντύσαν τὸν # ὁ βασιλέα, σὲ λέγω (H 984–985)

One more example of the construction after an official term:

βάλετε ἕναν ἀπὸ εἰς αὐτό κτεί τὸ φουσσᾶτο τοῦ ΔΔεσποτᾶτου, σὲ λαλῶ, # προφώνεσιν νὰ ποιήσῃ (H 3916–3917, cf. 3905)

Kin terms also are followed by σὲ λέγω. Again, extra information on the referent is often given in the form of appositions:

τὸν ἀδελφόν του, σὲ λαλῶ, # τὸν Ρῆγα τῆς Φραγκίας, σὲ λαλῶ, # προφώνεσιν νὰ ποιήσῃ (H 6075–6076, cf. 6006)

νὰ εὐλογηθοῦσιν τὰ παιδία, # νὰ ἐπάρῃ ὁ οἶκος τοῦ ρήγα τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ λαλῶ, # τοῦ πριγκιπα Γολιάμου (H 6406–6407, cf. 6403)

τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐποικὸν # μετὰ τὸν Κουραδῖνον, τὸν ἀνηψόν, σὲ λαλῶ, # βασιλέως Φερδερίγου ὁμοίος καὶ ἐξάδελφος τοῦ ροί Μαφρέ ἐκείνου. (P 6774–6776) μετὰ συμβίβασιν καλῆν # ὁ κόντος εὐλογηθήνῃ τὴν συγκαταρασάν του, σὲ λαλῶ, # τοῦ δούκα τὴν γυναίκαν. (P 8027–8028)

These three categories account for the majority of examples and all have in common that they reintroduce a concept which usually is further specified. Consequently, all these preposed constituents are subject to a certain degree of emphasis. As mentioned in section 1.2, emphasized constituents regularly attract OCPs into preverbal position according to the pragmatic
principle active in Medieval Greek. The few other examples do not necessarily contradict this explanation, for instance:

εἰς τὸν ἐχτρόν του, σὲ λαλῶ, # αὐτὸν τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην (P 3357)

Here τὸν ἐχτρόν (“the enemy”) can be considered as an—unofficial—title, which is elaborated in the second part of the verse. In the following example, the time adverbial ἐτότες, which is also made more concrete, is emphasized:

λοιπὸν ἐτότες, σὲ λαλῶ, # εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον (P 1030)

Our hypothesis, then, is that the construction σὲ λέγω is first attributed a sort of prosodic unity and that it then receives—in its totality—an enclitic character. In this connection, it is useful to look at editorial practice: Schmitt always puts the construction between commas, which suggests that he perceives it as a sort of unit. Furthermore, verba dicendi are often said to constitute a unit on their own.

Another good point of comparison may be the discourse markers ‘you know’ and ‘I mean’, as discussed by Schiffrin. These short English expressions attract the attention of the listener in spoken discourse. As mentioned in 2.3, the same communicative function has been identified for σὲ λέγω by Shawcross (Chronicle 181): “frequent interventions in the narrative involving the first and second grammatical persons, to insist upon the delineation of a fictional communicative situation.” Moreover, the precise lexical meaning of the verb ‘to know’ is no (longer) relevant. The same in fact applies to σὲ λέγω, which we could appropriately translate ‘I mean’. There-

46 Arguably, this prosodic unit can be equated with the intonation unit (cf. Chafe, in Talking Data 33–43).


48 Schiffrin, Discourse Markers; however, B. Fraser, “An Approach to Discourse Markers,” Journal of Pragmatics 14 (1990) 383–395, at 392, no longer considers these expressions DMs, but labels them “parallel pragmatic markers.”
fore, we can rightly consider σὲ λέγω as an (enclitic) unit.

Consequently, {σὲ λέγω} can be—as a unit—attracted by the preceding emphasized constituent (E), in accordance with the pragmatic principle operative in Medieval Greek (cf. 1.2). Schematically, this becomes: \([E \leftarrow \{\sigma \epsilon + \lambda \epsilon \gamma \omega\}]\). Speakers must have reanalyzed this construction into the more natural structure \([E \rightarrow \sigma \epsilon \rightarrow \lambda \epsilon \gamma \omega]\), where “the phonological dependence ... is in perfect harmony with the syntactic dependence.”

The occurrence of σὲ λέγω after an emphasized verb/clause has probably played a principal role with regard to this evolution, for instance:

κ’ εἶ μὲν τὸ ποιήσεις, σὲ λαλῶ, # ἀπάνω μου τὸ ποίρνω (P 6333)

In such cases, it is far more natural to assume that σὲ procliticizes to the verb λαλῶ, to which it also syntactically belongs (as indirect object), than that it encliticizes to the verb ποιήσεις.

In a second stage, \([\sigma \epsilon \rightarrow \lambda \epsilon \gamma \omega]\) must have become possible even if no preceding constituent was present. One such example is attested in the Chronicle of Morea:

ἀλλὰ διὰ συντομότερον # καὶ διὰ κοντοὺς τοὺς λόγους,
σὲ λέγω καὶ πληροφορῶ, # μὲ ἀλήθειαν σὲ τὸ γράφω (H 1094–1095)

By analogy, this pattern must have extended to OCPs other than the second person and to other verbs. Chila-Markopoulou draws attention to two examples in the Chronicle itself:


50 In Medieval Greek the indirect object is no longer expressed by the dative, which has fallen out of use, but by the genitive or accusative: T. Lendari and I. Manoussou, “Ἡ εκφορά του ἐμεσου αντικειμένου στα μεσαιωνικά ελληνικά. Γλωσσολογικά και εκδοτικά προβλήματα,” *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 23 (2003) 394–405.

51 Approximately the same verse is found in P: σὲ λέγω καὶ πληροφορῶ, # ἀλήθεια σὲ τὸ γράφω (P 1095).

σὲ θέλει ἐβγάλει ἐκ τὸν Μορέαν, # οὗ ὁ ὀδὸν ἐχεῖς δίκαιον (H 4125)\(^{53}\)

μὲ ᾗφερεν ἡ ὀρεξίς κ’ ἐπίσας τὸ βιβλίον (H 7638)\(^{54}\)

Ultimately, the scheme [OCP \(\rightarrow\) verb], is generalized: the former enclitics have become true proclitics.

4. Conclusion

Since OCPs which function as (in)direct objects of a finite verb are enclitic in Ancient Greek, but proclitic in Modern Greek, a change from enclisis to proclisis must have occurred in the period in between: the Medieval period (cf. 1.1). Horrocks relates this transition to the phonological development of ἴνα into να (cf. 1.3).

In this paper, we have discussed another environment in which the change could have originated: [emphasized constituent + OCP σὲ/σᾶς + verbum dicendi λέγω/λαλῶ] (cf. 1.4). We take this to be a plausible context for a phonological change, since σὲ λέγω—as an oral residue—clearly belongs to the spoken language of that period (2.3). Moreover, we can imagine that an utterance with the meaning ‘I tell (you)/I mean’ was very frequently used by fourteenth-century speakers, as is confirmed by the abundance of examples in the two most important manuscripts of the Chronicle, H and P (3.1).

The majority of these examples are found immediately after a proper name, after an official—or by extension a less formal—title, or after kin terms, all constituents which introduce new referents (3.2). According to the pragmatic principle operative in Medieval Greek (1.2), these emphasized constituents attract the (still) enclitic OCPs into preverbal position. We assume {σὲ λέγω} to have become an enclitic unit and thus to be attracted as a whole into this position. However, the syntactic dependence of σὲ on λέγω must have led to a reanalysis: instead of leaning on the preposed constituent, the OCP now

\(^{53}\) Cf. σὲ θέλει ἐβγάλει ἐκ τὸν Μορέαν, # οὗ ὁ ὀδὸν ἐχεῖς δίκαιον (P 4125).

\(^{54}\) Cf. μὲ ᾗφερεν ἡ ὀρεξίς κ’ ἐπίσας τὸ βιβλίον (P 7638).
forms a phonological unit with the following verb. The result of this natural evolution is found in Modern Greek, where pre-verbal proclitic OCPs are the norm.

Our hypothesis, which focuses on one so-called ‘minimal utterance’, is decidedly more concrete than Horrocks’, yet both can co-exist, as they are based on the same principles: an original—frequently occurring—situation in which an enclitic OCP leans on a preceding word (να/emphasized constituent) and is followed by its verb; a reanalysis/reinterpretation of the direction of clisis of the OCP—it is no longer enclitic on the preceding word, but becomes proclitic on its natural host, the verb; extension by analogy and finally generalization.

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