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Themes in Greek Linguistics II

THEMES IN GREEK LINGUISTICS II

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CAPPADOCIAN CLITICS AND THE SYNTAX-MORPHOLOGY INTERFACE

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Magistro amicoque E. M. Uhlenbeck

1. Introduction

The grammatical status of clitics is a matter of debate in current linguistic theories. Clitics are typically defined as "elements with some of the properties characteristic of independent words and some characteristic of affixes, in particular, inflectional affixes, within words. Such elements act like single-word syntactic constituents in that they function as heads, arguments, or modifiers within phrases, but like affixes in that they are 'dependent', in some way or another, on adjacent words" (Zwicky 1994:xii). Traditionally, clitics have been considered a category sui generis, neither word nor affix. In fact, it seems to be universally accepted that clitics generally develop historically from autonomous words and frequently develop into inflectional affixes. From the perspective of grammaticalization theory, clitics fall somewhere halfway in between autonomous words and inflectional affixes on the word-to-affix cline (Hopper & Traugott 1993:132).

Since the 1970s, clitics have aroused a great deal of interest in linguists working within the framework of generative grammar and related models. Their behavior has been viewed from both a syntactic and a morphological perspective, but the distinction between syntax and morphology is sometimes blurred. One now encounters statements like "the syntax of words" (Anderson 1993:95).

1 Parts of this paper were presented at the First International Conference on Greek Linguistics in Reading (Janse 1994) and at the Second International Conference on Greek Linguistics in Salzburg (Janse 1996). I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Permanent International Committee of Linguists and to its secretary-general, Professor Piet van Haren, for travel grants which enabled me to attend both conferences. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Linguistic Seminar of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Manchester on 12 March 1996. I would like to thank the convenor, Dr Alan Cruse, for his invitation. Thanks are also due to Dr phil. Rolf Köckeritz M.A. (Bonn) for advice on the Albanian data and especially to Professor Brian D. Joseph (Columbus, Ohio) for helpful comments and suggestions on an earlier version of this paper.
or "the morphology of cliticization" (Klavans 1985:96). Influential cliticologists like Klavans (1985:100) have introduced the term "phrasal affix" to capture the morphological behaviour of clitics in syntax and Anderson (1992:223) has recently proclaimed that "clitics are to be seen as the phrasal analog of word-level morphology" and that "the mechanisms appropriate to the description of affixation and of clitic placement are quite comparable". Specifically, he stresses the fact that "the relative ordering of affixes and of clitics are typically both quite rigid", a point which he says "contributes to the conclusion that clitic placement and word-level morphology are parallel phenomena" (1992:222). In the same vein, Halpern (1995:191) proposes "a model for dealing with groups of clitics which may be applied to groups of inflectional affixes as well" the main concern of which is "the orders in which clitics (or inflectional affixes) occur with respect to one another". Like Anderson, Halpern (1995:192) contends that "clitics generally appear in a fixed, at least partially arbitrary, order with respect to one another entirely parallel to the ways in which groups of inflectional clitics interact".

If clitics indeed behave like inflectional affixes in any principled way, one would expect them, first, to attach uniformly to one type of host, since the position of clitics has to be syntactically first before a further process of morphologization can be triggered. Second, one would expect multiple clitics to invariably cluster together to form a template, the order of the constituent clitics being fixed.

In this paper, I present a descriptive, synchronic account of the placement and linearization of clitic pronouns in the Cappadocian dialect of Modern Greek with a view to refuting the claim that cliticization and affixation are in fact parallel phenomena. I argue that the label "clitic" does not refer to a single discrete cluster point on the word-to-affix cline which, as Hopper & Traugott (1993:7) point out, can be thought of synchronically as a "continuum". Specifically, I show that the Cappadocian clitic pronouns behave in some contexts more like full-fledged words, in others more like full-fledged affixes.

The data on which the present paper is based is taken from the collection of folk tales recorded by Richard Dawkins in central Asia Minor during the years 1909-1911, i.e., shortly before the great population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s. This exchange effectively put an end to 3,000 years of Greek presence in Asia Minor. Following the fall of Constantinople, the Asia Minor Greek populations were practically cut off from the rest of the Greek-speaking world and their dialects developed more or less independently, albeit under the increasingly strong influence of the surrounding Turkish. After their forced migration to Greece, the Cappadocians were too dispersed to be able to maintain their group identity and consequently their dialect has become extinct. The importance of Dawkins' collection cannot be underestimated, being both the last in situ testimony and testament of a peculiar dialect on the verge of extinction.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, I present an overview of the distribution of clitic pronouns in Cappadocian. In section 3, I give a full description of the linearization of multiple clitic pronouns in Cappadocian, including two intriguing, but so far undocumented cases which I have termed "metaclasis" or "clitic metathesis" and "diaclasis" or "split cliticization" respectively. In section 4, I discuss two apparent cases of "endoclasis" or "clitic infixation".

2. The distribution of clitic pronouns

The Cappadocian clitic pronouns have the following forms (Dawkins 1916:119–120):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/me/</td>
<td>/se/</td>
<td>/to/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mi/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>/tu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mas/</td>
<td>/sas/</td>
<td>/ta/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The Cappadocian Clitic Pronouns

The Cappadocian clitic pronouns have no distinctions of case: the same forms are used for direct and indirect objects alike. There are no distinctions of gender either, except at the village of Delmesó where a feminine form of the 3sg is found: /mın/ (d-min). Even the distinctions of number are sometimes blurred in that /ta/ (da) may be used to refer to singular referents. The mid front vowel /i/ of the first and second-person singular is locally raised to the high front vowel /u/, the mid back rounded vowel /o/ of the third-person singular to the high back vowel /u/. The voiceless apico-dental stop /t/ of the third-person singular and plural is voiced obligatorily after nasals and optionally after vowels.

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2 See Janse (1997b; forthcoming b) for a case study of contact-induced change in Cappadocian.

3 This section is based on Janse (1994).

4 The clitic pronouns are referred to by person and number, e.g., 1sg = first person singular, 1pl = first person plural. The following abbreviations are also used: ACC = accusative, DAT = dative, FEM = feminine, GEN = genitive, MASC = masculine, NEG = negative, NOM = nominative, NTR = neuter, PR = particle, REP = reflexive.
The distribution of the clitic pronouns in Cappadocian is characterized by what has been called “clitic float” (Rappaport 1989:208). What is meant by clitic float is that clitics, in this particular case clitic pronouns, are attached either to the verb on which they depend syntactically or to another word which comes earlier in the clause. Specifically, Cappadocian clitic pronouns encliticize to the verb, unless the latter is preceded by some other word attracting the clitic pronouns in preverbal position. This is quite unlike the situation in Standard Modern Greek, where the clitic pronouns obligatorily procliticize to finite verbs, but encliticize to nonfinite forms, viz. imperatives and participles (Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton 1987:212–213). Compare, for instance, the Cappadocian equivalents (1b) and (2b) of the Standard Modern Greek examples (1a) and (2a):6

1. a. su to ó̱xni
   2SG.GEN 3SG.ACC.NTR he-shows
   ‘he shows it to you’

2. a. ó̱kse mū to
   show! 1SG.GEN 3SG.ACC.NTR
   ‘show it to me!’

1. b. ó̱xni se to
   he-shows 2SG 3SG
   ‘he shows it to you’ (D322)

2. b. ó̱kse me to
   show! 1SG 3SG
   ‘show it to me!’ (D422)

It seems reasonable to conclude that the predominance of postverbal placement of clitic pronouns in Cappadocian is a sign of the progressive syntactization of word order in the Asia Minor dialects. In Pontic, a neighboring dialect, the process has culminated in the morphologization of the erstwhile clitic pronouns, which have developed into full-fledged suffixes. In Cappadocian, however, there is still ample evidence of clitic float. In fact, Dawkins’s texts provide some 500 instances of preverbal clitic pronouns as against some 900 instances of postverbal clitic pronouns. For a better understanding of the distribution of the Cappadocian clitic pronouns, it is necessary to distinguish between syntactic constraints on the one hand and discourse constraints on the other.

As in Standard Modern Greek, the Cappadocian clitic pronouns are always adjacent to the verb, i.e., they are either post- or preverbal. If the clause consists of just the verb and one or two clitic pronouns, the latter invariably follow the former. In other words, preverbal clitic pronouns are never found in clause initial position. The reason for this is that the Cappadocian clitic pronouns are always enclitic. Preverbal clitic pronouns procliticize to the verb in Standard Modern Greek, whereas they encliticize to an immediately preceding host in Cappadocian.7 It stands to reason to assume that there is a special connection between preverbal position and the nature of the word or words preceding the clitic pronouns. Put differently, I assume that preverbal clitic pronouns have been attracted to certain types of hosts. Some of these belong to specific syntactic categories and obligatorily attract clitic pronouns into preverbal position, thereby imposing a syntactic constraint on the position of clitic pronouns.

2.1 Syntactic constraints

The following categories can be distinguished: modal and negative particles, subordinating conjunctions, relative pronouns and interrogative words. The following are just a few examples out of many:

3. a. ás to fāyo m?
   PRT 3SG I-will-eat PRT
   ‘will I eat him?’ (D336)

   b. mū to fāyo m?
   NEG 3SG I-will-eat PRT
   ‘will I not eat him?’ (D336)

4. a. án du vyrālis nā mi pāris
   if 3SG you-take-out PRT 1SG you-will-marry
   ‘if you take it out, you will marry me’ (D386)

   b. án dēn du vyrālis nā si pēku dzēlēt
   if NEG 3SG you-take-out PRT 2SG I-will-make executioner
   ‘if you don’t take it out, I will cut off your head’ (D386)

5. avūča tō me pīkēn ekučiz ne
   thus REL 1SG he-made ox-driver he-is
   ‘he who treated me like this is the ox-driver’ (D422)

6. tī to pīkes?
   what 3SG you-did
   ‘what have you done to him?’ (D436)

5 It may be noted that Joseph (1988), using criteria originally proposed by Zwicky (1985:286–289), analyzes the Standard Modern Greek situation as involving pronominal affixes rather than clitics.

6 Cappadocian examples are quoted after D[awkins 1916] or M[irzamb 1963].

7 In this respect, Standard Modern Greek resembles the South Slavic languages Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian (Babenk 1995:109, 111).
2.2 Discourse constraints

There are, however, other words attracting clitic pronouns into preverbal position which do not belong to any of the categories just mentioned, particularly subject pronouns. The problem is that the presence of a subject pronoun is not a necessary condition for preverbal placement. The most conspicuous instances of attraction involve what could be termed “echo structures” (Janse 1994:439), i.e., utterances echoing the word order of a preceding question:

(7) a. čís s épke mávro?
   who 2SG he-made black
   ‘who made you black?’ (D334)

b. étá m épke mávro
   DEM 1SG she-made black
   ‘she made me black’ (D334)

(8) a. tís t álakse?
   who 3PL he-changed
   ‘who has changed them?’ (D356)

b. óyó d álaksa
   I 3PL I-changed
   ‘I have changed them’ (D356)

The subject pronouns in the above examples constitute the information focus of the respective utterances, since they carry new information. In four cases, all from the same text, the focused subject pronouns answer the question implied in the king’s proclamation that whoever killed his lion will marry his daughter:

(9) ēyó to skótosa
   I 3SG I-killed
   ‘I killed it’ (D394 bás)

(10) eʃí to skótoses
   you 3SG you-killed
   ‘You killed it’ (D394, 396)

Echo structures can also be detected in the following examples:

(11) a. tífala du péris?
   how 3SG you-took
   ‘how did you win her?’ (D388)

b. mí du meló s tu péris
   with the brains your 3SG you-took
   ‘with your brains you won her’ (D388)

In these cases, the preverbal position of the clitic pronouns is triggered by a whole phrase or, in the last example, a whole clause, although the focused element is in each case a single word. Focused constituents occasionally attract clitic pronouns in other contexts as well. In the following example, the focused word refers to the principal character of the story:

(12) a. pjós se píken na jelášis?
   who 2SG he-made PRT you-laughed
   ‘who made you laugh?’ (D452)

b. éna maimún me jélasen
   a monkey 1SG he-laughed
   ‘a monkey made me laugh’ (D452)

(13) a. itó tó rámá atí do sardás?
   this the yarn why 3SG you-wind
   ‘why are you winding this yarn?’ (D356)

b. na fotíš tó sardó
   PRT it-will-give-light 3SG I-wind
   ‘for it to give light I am winding it’ (D356)

In these cases, the preverbal position of the clitic pronouns is triggered by a whole phrase or, in the last example, a whole clause, although the focused element is in each case a single word. Focused constituents occasionally attract clitic pronouns in other contexts as well. In the following example, the focused word refers to the principal character of the story:

(14) étó páíi ekučšis to píken
   this again ox-driver 3SG he-did
   ‘this again the ox-driver has done’ (D424)

I have used the word “occasionally” to stress the optionality of the attraction of clitic pronouns to focused constituents. This is clear from the following contrasting pair from the same text:

(15) a. mána m éna forás me jénsen
   mother my one time 1SG she-bore
   ‘(as for) my mother, once she bore me’

b. mána m éna forás dénsen me jénsen
   two time NEG 1SG she-bore
   ‘twice she did not bear me’ (D448)
The same variation occurs in the following example, where the focused adjective *vúla* has attracted the clitic pronoun in the first instance, but not in the second:

(16) a. itûta ta prámata vúla ta prín
    these the things all 3PL he-took
    ‘these things, he took them all’ (D406)
b. itûta vúla laxtá ta s ikînu mása
    these all he-pushed 3PL in this inside
    ‘all these he pushed into it’ (D406)

2.3 Conclusion

As has become clear, clitic float in Cappadocian is determined partly by syntactic, partly by discourse constraints. From a diachronic point of view, preverbal placement can be considered a relic of Wackernagel’s Law which is essentially a prosodic phenomenon triggered by discourse pragmatic factors such as focus (Janse 1993a). In Ancient and Medieval Greek, clitic pronouns were regularly attracted to the first word or constituent of the sentence or any constituent intonation unit under the same conditions as those discussed above. The progressive syntacticization of postverbal placement seems to have originated in the Eastern Koine, i.e., the Greek spoken in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, possibly under the influence of the Semitic substrate languages (Janse 1993b:86). In Standard Modern Greek and most of the modern dialects, on the other hand, Wackernagel’s Law has been syntacticized in that the pre-positioning of the clitic pronouns is no longer a matter of prosodic, but rather of syntactic conditions, particularly the finiteness parameter referred to above.

It has also become clear that the mechanisms appropriate to the description of the placement of clitic pronouns in Cappadocian are quite distinct from the mechanisms appropriate to the description of affixation. Affixes are subordinate to the word they are part of and syntactic rules apply to the combination as a whole. From a semantic perspective, affixes contribute to the meaning of the word. (Uhlenbeck 1978:6) Clitics, on the other hand, are not part of the word they are attached to and syntactic rules do not apply to the combination as a whole. In fact, the Cappadocian clitic pronouns are subject to the same (morpho)syntactic rules as full pronouns and nouns, with the exception of word order, of course. The fact that their distribution is at least in part determined by discourse constraints makes them even less affix-like.

3. The linearization of multiple clitic pronouns

I now turn to the linearization of multiple clitic pronouns in Cappadocian. In Standard Modern Greek, multiple clitic pronouns make up a cluster of which the order is fixed, both internally and externally, a phenomenon referred to as “syncasis”. Their order is fixed internally with the following morphosyntactic restrictions: (i) first- and second-person pronouns do not co-occur, (ii) a first- or second-person pronoun precedes a third-person, and (iii) a genitive pronoun precedes an accusative pronoun.

The order of multiple clitic pronouns is fixed externally in that clitic float must apply to the cluster as a whole, not to either of the constituent pronouns. In other words, both must float, or neither can. Clitic float does not affect the relative order of the clitic pronouns, as can be gathered from examples (1a) and (2a).

As already remarked, restrictions on the relative order of clitic pronouns and of clitics in general have been labelled “template constraints” and are often used as conclusive evidence in morphological approaches to cliticization. There is, however, one well-known exception to the template constraints on the relative order of clitic pronouns in Standard Modern Greek: with monosyllabic imperatives, the order of the first- and third-person pronouns or, alternatively, of the genitive and accusative pronouns may be reversed. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon of “metaclisis” or “clitic metathesis”:

(17) a. dôs mu to
give! 1SG.GEN 3SG.ACC.NTR
‘give it to me!’
b. dôs to mu
give! 3SG.ACC.NTR 1SG.GEN
‘give it to me!’

(18) a. pêas mu to
say! 1SG.GEN 3SG.ACC.NTR
‘say it to me!’
b. pêas to mu
say! 3SG.ACC.NTR 1SG.GEN
‘say it to me!’

---

Clitic clustering with template constraints is by no means typical of Standard Modern Greek. A comparable situation obtains in the Romance and Slavic languages (Spencer 1991:351–375). Cappadocian provides some additional evidence against cluster and template approaches to multiple cliticization.

3.1 Synclisis

The Cappadocian folk-tale texts in Dawkins’s grammar include seventeen instances of multiple clitic pronouns. Since Cappadocian does not distinguish between genitive and accusative pronouns, their relative order has to be stated either in terms of their respective function (direct or indirect object) or in terms of their respective person.

Just as in Standard Modern Greek, first- and second-person pronouns do not co-occur. In fourteen cases, a first- or second-person indirect object pronoun precedes a third-person direct object pronoun, again paralleling the situation in Standard Modern Greek. Examples (19) to (21) illustrate this familiar form of synclisis:

(19) léo se ta
   I-say 2SG 3PL
   'I will tell it to you' (D322)

(20) dòkan me ta
   they-gave 1SG 3PL
   'they gave them to me' (D400)

(21) dínis me to
   you-give 1SG 3SG
   'you give it to me' (D458)

The same relative order is found with preverbal clitic pronouns, which have been attracted to modal particles in examples (22) and (23), and to an interrogative pronoun in (24):

(22) á se to dífso
    PRT 2SG 3SG I-will-show
    'I will show it to you' (D308)

(23) ná mu to féris
    PRT 1SG 3SG you-will-bring
    'bring it to me' (D410)

(24) pjós se ta dóbén?
   who 2SG 3PL he-gave
   'who gave you this?' (D448)

3.2 Metaclisis or “clitic metathesis”

There is, however, evidence of what could be termed “metaclisis” or “clitic metathesis”. The first example involves a monosyllabic imperative and is equivalent to the Standard Modern Greek example (17b):

(25) dós to me
give! 3SG 1SG
'give it to me' (D410)

It may be noted that metaclisis results in potential ambiguity (Mirambel 1963:110–111): example (25) could theoretically be taken to mean 'give me to him', since to is used indiscriminately for direct and indirect objects (Dawkins 1916:120). The dialect of the nearby Fára area, on the other hand, provides an equivalent of the Standard Modern Greek example (18a):

(26) pé me ta
    say! 1SG 3PL
    'say it to me' (D516, 536, 538)

Metaclisis with imperatives is per se not unparalleled, as can be seen in the French translations of (21) vs. (17b) and (25), where the relative order of the clitic pronouns is determined syntactically:

(27) tu me le donnes
    you 1SG 3SG.ACC.NTR give
    'You give it to me.'

(28) donne-le-moi
    give!-3SG.ACC.NTR-1SG.DAT
    'Give it to me.'

More interesting, if problematic, is the following example:

(29) emé dínis to mi to čiráq?
    me you-give 3SG PRT the apprentice
    'will you give the apprentice to me?' (D366)

Dawkins has written an accent on m(i) in his transcription, which would make it the Turkish interrogative particle mi, as in (3) and (30):
(30) émaxéšs to mif?
you-learnt 3SG PRT
‘have you learnt it?’ (D364)

Alternatively, mif in (29) could theoretically be interpreted as a clitic pronoun, which would make sense in view of the presence of the emphatic pronoun emé, which is normally doubled by a clitic pronoun. If this interpretation is correct, Cappadocian would provide an example of metaculis with a finite verb, which would be impossible in Standard Modern Greek. Additional evidence of metaculis with finite verbs comes from the Fárasa dialect, which provides the contrasting pairs (31a)–(31b) and (32a)–(32b). It should be noted that in each pair, the (b) utterances respond to the (a) utterances:

(31) a. ffaréšs ta maš
    you-brought 3PL 1PL
    ‘you brought it to us’ (D474)
b. ffará sis ta
    I-brought 2PL 3PL
    ‘I brought it to you’ (D474)

(32) a. džó puáš ta maš?
    NEG you-sell 3PL 1PL
    ‘will you not sell it to us?’ (D518)
b. á se da pulšo
    PRT 2SG 3PL I-will-sell
    ‘I will sell it to you’ (D518)

It should be noted that negatives do not attract clitic pronouns in this particular dialect, as can be seen in example (32a), which means that the syntactization process has entered a new stage. As noted earlier, the culmination of this process is the Pontic situation, where the postverbal position of the clitic pronouns has been generalized and the erstwhile clitic pronouns have become full-fledged suffixes. Example (32a) is all the more remarkable as it contrasts with (33) from another text from Fárasa, elicited from a different informant, where the negative has again failed to attract the clitic pronouns, but the relative order of the latter is again as expected:

(33) džó puá mes ta?
    NEG you-sell 1PL 3PL
    ‘will you not sell it to us?’ (D510)

Although the evidence is too scanty to permit any firm conclusions, it may be noted that metaculis, in the Cappadocian and Fárasa dialects as in Standard Modern Greek, is found only with first-person indirect object clitic pronouns or, alternatively, with third-person direct object clitic pronouns.

Metaculis has been attested in other languages as well. Consider, for instance, the following contrasting pair from the 13th century Italian poet Jacopone da Todi, cited in Hetzron (1977:194):

(34) a. bene lo me pensai
    well 3SG 1SG I-thought.PRETERIT
    ‘I was sure of it’
b. ben me lo pensava
    well 1SG 3SG I-thought.IMPERFECT
    ‘I was sure of it’

Hetzron (1977:195) also quotes the following pair from Languedocian, an Occitan dialect:

(35) a. te la dirai
    2SG 3SG I-will-say
    ‘I will say it to you’
b. la te dirai
    3SG 2SG I-will-say
    ‘I will say it to you’

The same variable order has been reported by Penner (1991:255) for Bernese Swiss German:

(36) a. i weiss dass er im s zeigt het
    I know that he 3SG.DAT.MSC 3SG.ACC.NTR shown has
    ‘I know that he has shown it to him’
b. i weiss dass er s im zeigt het
    I know that he 3SG.ACC.NTR 3SG.DAT.MSC shown has
    ‘I know that he has shown it to him’

In all of the cases just quoted there seems to be free variation, at least to some degree. It would, therefore, be misleading to describe this phenomenon as “clitic reordering”, as Wanner (1977:115) has done. It seems preferable to reserve this term for cases where clitic metathesis is functionally motivated. Simpson &
Withgott (1986:164) quote the following examples from Gallo, a French dialect spoken in Brittany, which may be compared with the Standard French examples (27) and (28):

(37) tu me le donne
  you 1SG 3SG.GEN give
  'You give it to me.'

(38) donne-moi le
  give! 1SG.DAT 3SG.GEN give
  'Give it to me!'

In this particular dialect, the dative-accusative order has been syntacticized, resulting in sequences such as (38) and (39):

(39) il lui le donne
  he 3SG.DAT 3SG.GEN give
  'He gives it to him/her.'

Simpson and Withgott (1986:163) consider the possibility of functionally motivated clitic reordering as a "morphological property of templates". It should be clear, however, that Cappadocian metaclisis and the other cases of clitic metathesis discussed so far pose serious problems for template approaches to multiple clitic pronouns.

3.3 Diacasis or "split cliticization"

Much more problematic is the existence of another phenomenon in Cappadocian, which could be termed "diacasis" or "split cliticization". In the following contrasting pair, the direct object clitic pronoun is attached to the modal particle as, but the indirect object clitic pronoun to the verb in (40a), whereas both appear in synclisis in the familiar relative order in (40b):

(40) a. ás to oikso se
    PRT 3SG I-will-show 2SG
    'I will show it to you' (D308)
   b. á se to oikso
    PRT 2SG 3SG I-will-show
    'I will show it to you' (D308)

Mirambel (1963:109) quotes two more instances of diacasis:

(41) ás to dôkum se
    PRT 3SG we-will-give 2SG
    'we will give it to you' (M109)
(42) fôvume ná to pô se
    I-am-afraid PRT 3SG I-will-tell 2SG
    'I am afraid to tell it to you' (M109)

Mirambel seems to suggest that the placement of the indirect object clitic pronoun is analogous to that of the indirect object orthotonic pronoun, as in examples (43) and (44):

(43) ás to dôkum esás
    PRT 3SG we-will-give you
    'let us give her to you' (D350)
(44) ón do dékis eme ná se vyálo
    if 3SG you-give me PRT 2SG I-will-pull-out
    'if you give it to me, I will pull you out' (D352)

However, examples (29) and (45) show that this is not necessarily the case, since the use of an orthotonic pronoun usually involves clitic doubling:

(45) pé me ta ména
    say! 1SG 3PL me
    'tell it to me' (D536)

Finally, example (46) illustrates diacasis in the subordinate clause combined with clitic doubling in the main clause:

(46) án da fériz me ná se dôko s esé
    if 3PL you-bring 1SG PRT 2SG I-give to you
    'if you bring me them, I will give [her] to you' (D340)

Although the evidence is again very scanty, it should be noted that in each case it is the post-positioning of the indirect object clitic pronoun which is remarkable, rather than the pre-positioning of the direct object clitic pronoun (Mirambel 1963:109). Whichever explanation one may wish to offer for the examples just discussed, it should be obvious that diacasis poses serious problems for cluster and template approaches to cliticization.

I conclude with some miscellaneous examples of split cliticization, in order to show that the phenomenon is not limited to Cappadocian. The first example
comes from the apocryphal book of Tobit, which may be a translation of an original Hebrew or Aramaic text:

(47) hōtĩ me agefokhēn soi huiγē because 1SG.ACC he-has-brought 2SG.DAT sound ‘because he has brought me back to you safe and sound’ (Tobit 12.3 A B)

Joseph (1990:132) quotes another example from Medieval Greek:

(48) kai tōra me eipē to and now 1SG.ACC say! 3SG.ACC.NTR ‘and now tell it to me’ (Lybistros and Rhadamne 1.2276)

Split cliticization has been occasionally reported for other languages. Spencer (1991:369) quotes a rather dubious example from Polish, where the clitic pronoun mu is separated from the reflexive clitic się:

(49) teraz mu takie książki się nie podobają nowadays 3SG.DAT.MSC such books REFL NEG they-please ‘he doesn’t like such books nowadays’

Rappaport (1989:310) explicitly excludes the possibility of split cliticization with clitic pronouns in Polish, which he says is possible only with different types of clitics.14

As for the Romance languages, there are the more familiar cases of split cliticization with reflexive clitic pronouns in such Spanish examples as (50a) to (50c), cited by Hetzron (1977:205):

(50) a. se me puede presentar (a Juan) REFL 1SG can introduce (to Juan)
   b. puedo presentárséme one-can introduce.REFL.1SG
   c. se puede presentarme REFL one-can introduce.1SG ‘one may introduce me (to Juan)’

It seems that, at least in the Romance languages, split cliticization is restricted to constructions involving clitic climbing, with one clitic attached to the (quasi-)auxiliary and the other to the infinitive. De Kok (1985:594) quotes the following example from 17th-century French:

(51) on vous a dû le dire one 2PL has had-to 3SG.MSC/NTR say ‘we have had to say it to you’

Kayne (1991:661), who discusses the phenomenon of split cliticization in some detail, draws attention to the following example from Franco-Provençal, where the indirect object clitic pronoun is attached to the auxiliary, but the direct object clitic pronoun to the participle:

(52) t’ an-té deut-lo? 2SG have-they said-3SG.MSC/NTR ‘have they told it to you?’

I have recorded similar examples of split cliticization in the East Flemish dialects of Dutch. Compare, for instance, (53a) with its Standard Dutch equivalent (53b):

(53) a. gaat-d’t gij ’em zeggen? go-2SG.NOM-3SG.NTR you 3SG.MSC say ‘are you going to say it to him?’
   b. ga jij ’t ’m zeggen? go you 3SG.NTR 3SG.MSC say ‘are you going to say it to him?’

It may be noted that split cliticization is not uncommon in accusative plus infinitive constructions involving clitic climbing in Ancient Greek, as in the following example from the New Testament:

(54) ean déēi me sunapothanēn soi if it-is-necessary 1SG.ACC die-together 2SG.DAT ‘(even) if I have to die with you’ (Mark 14.31)

Finally, it is also worthy of note that split cliticization is attested in genitive absolute constructions in Ancient Greek as well:

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14 My Polish colleague Tadeusz Szymański informs me (personal communication) that (49) would be unacceptable both in Standard Polish and in the dialects he is familiar with.
(55) pleonákis mou geographēkótos soi
frequently 1SG GEN having-written 2SG DAT
‘although I have frequently written you’

It should be noted, however, that the examples discussed so far are very different from the Cappadocian cases of diaclistis. The latter are unique in that two clitic pronouns are split around a finite verb which is not a (quasi-)auxiliary. Note, however, that East Flemish provides similar cases. Compare, for instance, the following variant of (53a), where one clitic pronoun is attached to the verb together with the doubled subject clitic pronoun ă, whereas the other is attached to the orthotonic subject pronoun gjī:

(56) a. zeg-d-'t gij 'em?
say-2SG.NOM-3SG.NTR you 3SG.MSC
‘are you going to say it to him?’

In the Standard Dutch equivalent (56b), both clitic pronouns are attached to the orthotonic subject pronoun gjī:

(56) b. zeg gjī ‘m?
say you 3SG.NTR 3SG.MSC
‘are you going to say it to him?’

The Cappadocian examples quoted so far all testify to the existence of competing motivations in the linearization of clitic pronouns, viz. the ongoing grammaticalization of postverbal encliticization versus the surviving attraction of clitic pronouns to modal particles, which is a relic of Wackernagel’s Law.

4. Two cases of “endoclisis”

I conclude with two cases of apparent “endoclisis” or “clitic infixation”. I start with the more familiar case of the aorist imperative of the verb dînos/dîno ‘I give’. The Cappadocian forms are:

(57) dês / dês / dôs / dôs
‘give!’ (2SG)

At Ferték, Dawkins (1916:139) has recorded the following contracted form:

(58) dês / dês / dôs / dôs
‘give!’ (2PL)

According to Dawkins, this is the only attested form of the second-person singular aorist imperative, which means that there is no contrast between dêm and, say, dês (me). As a result, the plural ending has been suffixed to this monolithic form, which was apparently no longer analyzable as dês me. Etymologically, this form can be reconstructed as follows:

(59) dêm < *dême < dês me
‘gimme!’ < ‘give (2SG) me’

The question is, however, if it is correct to analyze this form synchronically as such. For one thing, there is no paradigmatic opposition at Ferték between dêm / demêt on the one hand, and dês / *desêt on the other. More importantly, there is no paradigmatic dimension whatsoever, for there are no forms such as the following:

(60) dêm < *de(s)-m(e)-êt
give.1SG.2PL
‘give (2PL) (me)’

And there are no such forms with other verbs either:

(61) a. *dêt < *déto < dês to
‘give (2SG) him’

(62) a. *démas < dês mas
‘give (2SG) us’

(63) a. *pém < *pême < pês me
‘tell (2SG) me’

Note that here, as elsewhere, the voiced apico-interdental fricative ă is locally realised as a voiced apico-dental stop [d] in Cappadocian, e.g., dêm (4) vs. dên (15a–b), dôkant (20) vs. dôkent (24), dînis (21) vs. dînis (29), etc.
It seems safe to conclude that *demēti* is only an apparent case of "endoclisis" or clitic infixation. The same phenomenon has been reported for some northern Greek dialects, where one finds forms like the following (Thavoris 1977:86–87; see also Joseph 1989):

(64) a. ëmêti < *ēmē-si-m(i)-ti
   ‘give (2PL) (me)’
b. pēmêti < *pēmē-si-m(i)-ti
   ‘tell (2PL) (me)’

Judging from the examples quoted by Thavoris, the pattern must have attained a level of limited productivity. Most important, however, is the fact that the same forms occur with other pronouns, which seems to confirm the hypothesis that they are really considered unanalyzable synchronically:

(65) a. ëmêti mas
   ‘give (2PL) us’
b. pēmêti mas
   ‘tell (2PL) us’

On the other hand, we do know that there exist fully productive patterns of "endoclisis" or clitic infixation with erstwhile clitic pronouns. In Albanian, for instance, the formation of the second-person plural imperative with infixed clitic pronouns (or perhaps, rather, pronominal infixes?) is fully productive (Demiraj 1985:1125):

(66) mënerin < mëner-e-ni
    take!-3SG-2PL
    ‘take it’ (2PL)

It should be noted that the Albanian clitic pronouns, with the exception of the third person singular *e*, may also procliticize to the imperative, as in the following contrasting pair:

(67) a. jepmëni < jep-më-e-ni
    give!-1SG-3SG-2PL
    ‘give it to me’ (2PL)

Finally, there is the much more familiar case of the synthetic future in Portuguese, which has developed from an original Vulgar Latin analytic construction in which the infinitive was followed by the present or imperfect tense forms of the verb habere ‘to have’. This is, of course, the same formation as is found in the other Romance languages, but what is peculiar about Portuguese is the fact that if the synthetic future is combined with clitic pronouns, these are infixed between the stem and the ending. Compare, for instance, the following paradigm (Spencer 1991:365–366):

(68) levar-ei
    raise.FUT.1SG
    ‘I will raise’
levåloei < leva-lo-ei
raise.3SG.FUT.1SG
    ‘I will raise him’
levar-äs
leval-äs
levar-ëmos
levå-ëmos
levar-eis
levå-eis
levar-ão
levå-ão

As with the Albanian imperative, it is not easy to decide whether to treat the clitic pronouns in these particular cases as infixes or, alternatively, to treat the endings as enclitics, which, at least in the case of the Portuguese future, would not be totally implausible. In Serbo-Croatian, for instance, the auxiliary clitics can be attached to any full word, including the verb, which may be a participle, an infinitive, or even be included in a finite subordinate clause introduced by da ‘that’, although in clitic clusters the auxiliary obligatorily precedes the clitic pronouns.

I conclude with another apparent case of "endoclisis" of infixation which is found in an idiomatic expression at Ulagáth (Dawkins 1916:138):

(69) ne ő to < *na ijô to
    PRP  I-see  3SG
    ‘shall I do it?’
The first thing to notice about this particular expression, apart from the shape of the subjunctive $\delta$, is the post-positioning of the clitic pronoun in the presence of the modal particle $ne < na$. More important, however, is the form of the first person plural, which is $ne \delta tom$ instead of the expected $*ne \delta m\text{do}$:

(70) $ne \delta tom < *na i\dorphat\text{to-m}$

PRT I-see 3SG.IPL

'shall we do it?'

One would have expected the first person plural ending -$m$ to be suffixed to verb, as in the third person plural:

(71) $ne \ jin \ do < *na i\dorphat\text{do}$

PRT they-see 3SG

'will they do it?'

As with the apparently infixed first person singular clitic pronoun in $dem\dorphat$, I conclude that what we have here is a highly idiosyncratic expression, both phonologically and semantically, which, having acquired an idiomactic meaning, is no longer analyzable. As a result, the first person plural ending -$m$ is now suffixed to what must have been considered a monolithic form $\delta to$.

5. Conclusion

The Cappadocian clitic pronouns are far from being morphologized.\textsuperscript{16} They behave in sometimes very unpredictable ways. Their distribution is determined partly by syntactic, partly by discourse constraints. Multiple clitic pronouns cannot be described in a template framework, since their relative order is not fixed once and for all. Moreover, multiple clitic pronouns do not necessarily cluster together, but are sometimes split around the verb.

I conclude, then, that the Cappadocian clitic pronouns are clitics in the traditional sense: they constitute a category $sui generis$, somewhere halfway between full words and affixes on the pronoun-affix cline. At the same time, there is ample evidence of progressive syntacticization, most importantly the fact that postverbal position is generalized to a very high degree. If the generalization had been completed, then no doubt the Cappadocian clitic pronouns would have been morphologized like the erstwhile Pontic clitic pronouns. Unfortunately, history has decided otherwise and the history of Cappadocian has come to an end in the twentieth century. But the evidence which has been handed down to us by Dawkins shows that grammatical categories are never clearly demarcated and that there may be considerable overlap between one category and another. In fact, it seems reasonable to use the term continuum, because, as we have seen, the Cappadocian clitic pronouns behave like full words in some respects, like clitics in others, and like affixes in yet others.

REFERENCES


\textsuperscript{16} But see Jänse (forthcoming a).


