The problem of word identification

in Modern Greek dialects:

Evidence from Lefkada documented data

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Abstract
This study investigates the issue of word identification, focusing on the morphophonological description of cliticization phenomena, such as auxiliary verbs, weak object pronouns, genitive possessives, negative markers, etc., as observed in dialectal data bearing on the analysis. The research is entirely based on a huge corpus of fieldwork recordings of speakers from the Greek islands of the Ionian Sea, and in particular, from Lefkada. The primary data (Himmelmann 2006) collected, are spontaneous dialogues, or tales and songs, among native speakers of five distinct age groups. The paper is organized as follows: First, morpho-syntactic issues of clitics in English and Modern Greek are thoroughly discussed. Second, according to my findings, a phonological analysis of the dialectal data is attempted. Phenomena such as palatalization, syncope, elision, synaliphe, etc, regarding the dialect, are argued. Next, it is shown that the indications of affixal status clitics seem stronger in the dialects than in the standard language.

Keywords: word form, cliticization, documented data, pronominal marking, case

1. Introduction

We shall refer to the word in the following senses: 1) as an abstract vocabulary item listed in the dictionary; i.e. in this general sense, it is called **lexeme** (Spencer 1991). The forms *give, gives, giving, gave* and *given* are different realizations of the lexeme GIVE. These physical occurrences of the lexeme GIVE are referred to as **word-forms**. Word-forms, such as, *eat, eats, eating, ate, eaten* and *teeth*, and *better*, are realizations of the lexemes EAT, TOOTH and GOOD, respectively. The notion of the term 'word' can also be associated with morpho-syntactic characteristics, such as, noun, adjective, adverb, verb, tense, person, number, gender, etc. In this sense, it is called **grammatical word**. E.g. the lexeme COST can represent three or more different grammatical words as a verb: cost[non-3rd sg Pres Simple], cost[Past Simple] and cost[past

[part.]. Moreover, it can represent two different grammatical words as a noun: cost[noun, singular], cost[noun, pl.].

According to Di Sciullo & Williams (1987), words are listemes, i.e. all items are listed in the lexicon. The idiosyncratic properties of listemes typically include: (a) Morphological properties, e.g. derivational and inflectional affixes, (b) Semantic properties, e.g. ±human, ±male (often indicated by the suffix): bull-cow, stallion-mare, man-woman, widower-widow, waiter-waitress, hero-heroine, etc., (c) Phonological properties. The phonological word of the lexeme CUT is /kʌt/. The same word form 'cut' may represent more than one grammatical word in the case of conversion: cut$_V$ and cut$_N$, (d) Syntactic properties: ±noun, ±countable, ±feminine.

We can go on setting some tests of word identification (Mela-Athanasopoulou 2015). 1) The word as a minimal free form: the minimal unit of a sentence or an utterance which can stand alone with meaning. Of course, words such as articles, conjunctions, prepositions and the negator *not* are excluded as they cannot stand meaningfully on their own. 2) Potential pause, between words, orthographically marked by space. 'A word is …. any segment of a sentence bounded by successive points at which pausing is possible' (Hockett 1958: 167). Here, this criterion is refuted as in English, for instance, phrasal verbs (*put out*) are considered as single words without any pause between the two parts. It is also refuted with clitics in both English and Greek (esp. dialectal Greek) as we will see further. 3) The word as an indivisible unit (cf. the notion of uninterruptability of the word). This criterion is not sound either, regarding infixation. E.g. E. *abso-blooming-lutely* or MG *maθemoute to* 'teach to me-inf. 2nd plural-this', where the indirect object pronoun *mou*$_{Gen sg}$ 'to me' may be infixed within the word *maθete*$_{Imp \ 2nd \ pl}$ 'teach'. 4) Phonetic boundaries between words: The accent of a word may show where the word begins or ends. In languages such as French, for example, it occurs on the last syllable. There are languages where the accent may be 'restricted'. In Greek it falls on one of the last three syllables. But this is not true of clitics in Greek, which are phonologically dependent on the host word they attach to.

2. Problems with word identification. Cliticization

Different notions of 'word' may be operative for different levels and/or components of grammar. For example, a 'phonological word' may be different from a 'syntactic word' and different from a 'lexical word'. Different dialects or varieties of a language

may differ on the criteria for wordhood and on the status of individual elements. In this paper, accordingly, the issue of how to define 'word' for Modern Greek will be investigated, with the main emphasis being on how documented data from various Greek dialects contributes to a solid determination of the tests relevant for identifying which elements are best considered as 'words' (Booij 2007). Crucial to this task is the analysis of various little elements, the so-called 'clitics', that are part of the grammatical apparatus of noun phrases, verb phrases and sentences, i.e. the weak object pronouns, the genitive possessive and negative markers.

The question of cliticization is crucial for the notion of the independent word as it raises serious problems concerning the relationship between morphophonological and syntactic representations of this notion. Nonetheless, many generalizations have been proposed concerning the cross-linguistic behaviour of clitics and their treatment in Universal Grammar (Joseph 1988, 1994). Whether a given element is in fact a clitic or an affix or a word, that is, the identification of the clitic has long sparkled the interest of linguists. In this section, we will propose that clitics are syntactic affixes, in the sense that they may have the syntactic properties of words on one hand, and the phonological properties of affixes on the other. And, in particular, we will further assume that the clitic in Modern Greek, and in particular the dialectal clitic will play the role of an incorporated element adjoined to the lexical verb (the host) while attracting the stress of the following clitic to itself, thus behaving very much like a Class I or non-neutral affix, i.e. it has a phonological effect on the base to which it is attached. E.g. authour + {-ity}$_{\text{Class I af}}$ → authority (vowel change and stress shift); public + {-ity}$_{\text{Class I af}}$ → publicity (vowel change, velar softening and stress shift).

To begin with, clitics, like affixes, are elements which share some of the syntactic properties of words, and in particular function words, such as, in English, modals, auxiliary verbs, pronominals and conjunctions; but which have nothing to do with the characteristic independence of words. One can claim that a clitic is a reduced form of a word which is phonologically dependent on a host. Interestingly, the term clitic comes from the Greek verb 'clino', meaning "to lean'. Thus a genuine clitic will have to lean on the preceding word and will behave differently depending on the exact nature of this word (e.g., the word class). And what perhaps distinguishes them from affixes is some kind of freedom of movement concerning their attachment (Mela-Athanasopoulou 2007). Consider the data (1-4), especially 1b-4b in spoken English.

1. (a) Lary is working hard.
    (b) Lary's working hard
         /'lærɪz 'wɜ:kɪŋ 'ha:d/

2. (a) Lary had worked hard.
    (b) Lary'd worked hard.
         /'lærɪd 'wɜ:kt 'ha:d/

3. (a) Lary would work hard.
    (b) Lary'd work hard.
         /'lærɪd 'wɜ:k 'ha:d/

4. (a) The boy I was talking to is Lary.
    (b) The boy I was talking to's Lary.
         /ðə 'bɒɪ aɪ wəz 'tɔ:kɪŋtəz 'lærɪ/

The reduced forms of *had, would, have* and *will* combine directly with pronoun forms but not with full nouns. Such reduced auxiliaries have to develop a schwa /əd/, /əv/, /əl/ standing for *had* or *would, have* and *will* respectively, even after vowel final words. However, the reductions are subject to highly lexical conditioning. *Was*, for example, is never reduced (Kaisse 1985).

Thus it would be misleading to say that *'s* is a reduced form of *is* or *has*, whereas *was* fails to reduce. Also, the pronouns themselves cannot take the fully reduced forms if they are part of a conjoined NP. This means that the inflection is lexical and not phrasal.

The fact that the class category of the word to which a clitic attaches itself is usually irrelevant is shown in the evidence below (5a-e). The possessive formative {*'s*} does not correspond to a full form. Actually, it is not a reduced form of any independent word.

5. (a) the duke of *York's* daughter (noun)
    (b) the woman in *black's* face (adjective)
    (c) the man I saw *yesterday's* hat (adverb)
    (d) the person I was talking *to's* going to be angry with me (preposition)
    (e) the ball you *hit's* just broken the window (verb)

The clitic then may be attached to a noun, an adjective, a verb and even an adverb. The contracted negator *n't* (not) presents a particular picture (6a-d).

6. (a) You haven't been here before.
    (b) Haven't you been here before?
    (c) *Have not you been here before?
    (d) Have you not been here before?

Whereas normal clitics can attach to material already containing clitics (as is the case of 7), the negator *n't* is highly selective, attaching only to auxiliary verbs. As 8

shows, *n't* behaves more like an inflectional affix rather than a simple clitic. Thus *n't* cannot attach to material already containing simple clitics although the simple clitic '*ve* can do so.

7. I'd 've done it if you'd asked me.

8. *I'd n't be doing this unless I had to.

9. (a) I wouldn't be doing this unless I had to.

    (b) I'd not be doing this unless I had to.

Moreover, we can say that the negator *n't* is highly selective, attaching only to the finite forms of auxiliary verbs.

Granting now that *n't* behaves more like an affix we could claim that clear cases of clitics typically behave like affixes as well. It would be instructive at this point to refer to Zwicky's tests (Zwicky: 1985) showing similarities between clitics and inflectional affixes. Actually, we want to show that clitics have the phonological properties of affixes. The tests go as follows:

a. *Binding.* Two types of bound morphemes are found attached to words: clitics and affixes (esp. inflectional affixes), Zwicky supports. In other words if an element is bound and if it cannot stand alone, then it must be either an affix or a clitic[1].

b. *Closure.* Inflectional affixes normally close off words to further affixation. Similarly, an element that closes off combinations to cliticization should be a clitic.

c. *Distribution.* With regard to their distribution, clitics behave very much like affixes in the sense that their distribution by single principles such as "combines with the head verb of a clause" or "combines with the first constituent of a clause" or "combines with an NP". Therefore, because of its simple distribution it is a clitic; whereas an element with a complex distribution is an independent word.

d. *Complexity.* A morphologically complex item is probably an independent word rather than an affix or a clitic.

Again Zwicky proposes a number of criteria which distinguish words, clitics and affixes. For example, there is a low degree of selectivity with regard to word-clitic

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[1] Aronoff has shown, in Aronoff and Sridhar (1983) that each word affix can be viewed as a stressless clitic, not a word. Thus, says Aronoff, a word such as *relentless* contains a clitic, *-less*, *relentlessness* contains two, and *unrelentlessness* contains three.

combinality, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems. Nevertheless as we have already stated, clitics can attach to words of virtually any category (5a-e).

Also, according to Zwicky, morphological and semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups. No morphological idiosyncrasies exist within clitic groups containing *'s* and *'ve*. Hosts are unaffected by these clitics, and the clitics themselves have allomorphs distributed by general rules which refer to phonological and morphological properties of the hosts. Moreover, there are no semantic idiosyncrasies for clitic groups containing *'s* and *'ve*, i.e., no cases where the contribution of these clitics to sentence meaning is not identical to the contribution of their associated full forms.

In general, affixes are characterized by a high degree of idiosyncrasy in their realization and behaviour while clitics and words by a high degree of regularity and predictability in realization and behaviour. In Zwicky's model of Grammar, the occurrence of clitics and words in particular phrasal positions is licensed by the syntax and corresponds to regularly derived phonological material, while at the same time having a direct and transparent meaning.

3. The Greek clitics as affixes

With regard to their distribution and behaviour I will not go into the intricacies of Modern Greek Auxiliary verbs. I will simply use the Weak Object Pronoun (WOP) and the possessive as a model for my study. (See also, Condoravdi & Kiparski 2001, Tsimpli 1999, Sohneider-Zioga 1994, et al.). The illustration below shows the weak object pronouns of Modern Greek. Notice the plural possessive case *mas, sas,* etc which does not at all look like the typical ending of possessive case *-on*:

Singular				Plural			
Person	Possessive		Accusative		Possessive		Accusative	
1st	μου	mu	με	me	μας	mas	μας	mas
2nd	σου	su	σε	se	σας	sas	σας	sas
3rd	του	tu	το(v)	ton	τους	tus	τους	tus
	της	tis	τη(ν)	tin	τους	tus	τες	tis
	του	tu	το	to	τους	tus	τα	ta

Table 1. Possessive and Accusative case Pronouns

Now what is interesting here is the fact that the WOPs when cliticized tend to congregate around the verb (Table 2), hence showing a high degree of selectivity (to occur only with verbs)[2]. And they are positioned before finite verbs (except the Imperative) and after non-finite verbs (e.g. participles). The same holds true, regarding the position of the dialectal clitics as we shall see further on (cf. MG (Modern Greek) tis/tus milisa → D (Dialect) t's mil'sa, MG tis/tus ipa → D t'sipa; MG tus tin ipe → D t'st'n ipi, MG θa mu tin kopsun → D θa m't'n kops'n/kops'ne; MG su tin ipa → D s't'n ipa; MG pesto mu → D petum'; MG pesmuto → D pem'tu, etc.).

1a	'pesto mu	2a	`δosto mu	3a	`pestus to
	say it to me		give it to me		say it to them
1b	'pezmu to	2b	`δosemu to	3b	`pesto tus
	say to me it		give to me it		say to them it
1c	*pese'mu to	2c	`δose`to mu	3c	'pestus to
	say to me it		give it to me		say to them it
4a	`δiava`sto mu	5a	'maθe`teto mu	6a	`filak,sto mu
	read it to me		teach it to me (pl)		keep it for me
4b	`δiava`seto mu	5b	`maθe to mu	6b	`fila`kseto mu
	read it to me		teach it to me		keep it for me
4c	`δiavasemu to	5c	`maθemu to	6c	`fila`ksemu to
	read to me it		teach to me it		keep for me it

Table 2. Weak object pronoun clitics

What we should primarily notice here is that with regard to the criteria of selectivity (according to Zwicky), the WOPs tend to be more affix-like, i.e. they act as Class I affixes, viz. first, they attract the stress of the host verb (filak'se to mu, 6b) and second, they get incorporated into the host verb. With regard to their morphophonological idiosyncrasies they have the power to delete certain parts of the Verb.

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[2] Nonetheless, though marginally, the WOP may cliticize with words other than verbs, such as prepositions, adjectives, pronominals, e.g. *anamesa mas* 'amongst us', *moni tis* 'on her own', *mazi tu* 'with him', etc.

10. mu   to   `ipes   →   mu      `topes

      to me   this   told- you   you told me this

11. θa   su   to 'po   →   θa   sto   'po

      will   to you this   (I) tell   I will tell you this

4. The documented data from Lefkada dialects

Now consider the morphosyntactic issues of clitics (i.e. the weak object pronoun and the definite article) drawn from documented data from the dialect spoken in the villages of Lefkada in the Ionian Sea (Kontomichis 2001, Kontosopoulos 2006, Ralli 2009). Zwicky's criteria distinguishing words, clitics and affixes are satisfied here, as we can see in the recorded data (12a-c and 13a-c).

The data recordings were done by my *Morphology* course students, in the framework of *fieldwork research on the Greek dialects* (Spring Semester 2011). However, most of the data were collected by me on a fieldwork research during the summers of 2009, 2010 and 2013, in Nidri and other towns and villages of Lefkada. They are all available in my personal data bank.

Consider the recorded data in context:

12a.	*pes*	*t'*	*barba,*	*θa*	*m'*	*t'n*	*kops'n*
	IMP	PN$_{Gen}$	N$_{Gen\ Sg}$	will	PN$_{Gen\ Sg}$	PNAcc	Fut 3rd pl
	say	to him	uncle	will	of me	it	will cut

t'n	*sintaks'.*	*δe*	*θa*	*δok'ne*	*tiputa.*
ART$_{Acc\ Sg}$	N$_{Acc\ Sg}$	not	will	Fut 3rd pl	PN
it	pension	not	will	give	nothing
Say to my uncle: they will cut my pension. They will give (me) nothing.					

12b.	*m'*	*eklips*	*u*	*andrazm*	*ki*	*m'k'niγ'san*	*i*
	PN$_{Acc\ sg}$	PAST 3rd sg	Art$_{sg}$	N$_{Nom\ sg}$-Poss	Con	PN$_{Acc\ sg}$ -PAST 3rd pl	Art$_{pl}$
	me	eloped	the	husband my	and	me chased	the

θkit'.	*δe*	*mθelan*	*u*	*pateras*	*t'andram.*
PP-Poss$_{Gen\ sg}$	Neg	PN$_{Acc}$-PAST 3rd pl	Art$_{sg}$	N$_{Nom\ sg}$	Art$_{Gen\ sg}$-N$_{Gen\ sg}$-Poss$_{Gen\ sg}$
his own	not	me wanted	the	father	of husband my
My husband eloped me and his own (relatives) chased me. They didn't want me, my husband's father.					

12c.	k'epiɣa	st'n	ɣiatro	ke	t'sipa	ɣia
	Con-PAST 1st sg	Prep-ArtAcc sg	NAcc sg	Con	PNGen sg-PAST 1st sg	about
	and went	to the	doctor	and	(to) him told	about

t'sfaim.	m'ipi	pos	in	apo	punda.
ArtAcc sg-NAcc sg-PossGen sg	PossGen sg-PAST 3rd sg	that	PR 3rd sg	from	NAcc sg
the sfahti my	to me said	that	is	from	punda
And I went to the doctor and told him about my stubbing pain. He told me that it was from a cold.					

13a.[3]	m'	ena	xer'	tu	karfone	tu	velon'	t's
	conj	Num	NAcc sg	WOPNAcc sg	PST3rd sg	ArtAcc sg	NAcc sg	PossFem Gen sg
	with	one	hand	it	pinned	the	needle	her
	She pinned her needle with one hand							

ki	evɣane	olis	t's	velonies	mon'	t's
conj	PST3rd sg	AdjAcc pl	ArtAcc pl	NAcc pl	AdjNom sg	PossFem Gen sg
and	made	all	the	stitches	by herself	
and made all the stitches by herself alone.						

13b.	kentaɣane	i	kopelis	ke	fkianane	ta	prikia	t's
	PST Cont3rd pl	ArtNom pl	NNom pl	conj	PST Cont3rd pl	ArtAcc pl	NAcc pl	PossFem Gen pl
	(they) were embroidering	the	girls	and	were making	the	dowry	their
	The girls were embroidering and making their dowry.							

13c.	ke	t'n	pir'	enas	θxios	t's	iki.
	conj	WOPNAcc sg	PST3rd sg	PN	NNom sg	PossFem Gen sg	Loc
	and	her	took	an	uncle	her	there
	And an uncle of hers took her there.						

13d.	ut'	t'	δ'mot'ko	ikin'	t'n	epuxi
	conj	ArtAcc sg	NAcc sg	Adj	ArtAcc sg	NAcc sg
	not even	the	Primary School	that	the	time
	Not even Primary School that time.					

13e.	*δen*	*t's*	*pa*	*'γo*
	neg	WOPN_{Fem Acc pl}	PST_{1st sg}	Pers PN
	not	them	told	I
	I didn't tell them.			

From the documentation of 12(a-c) and 13(a-e) we have the following picture:

PERSON	SG. ACC	SG. GEN	PL. ACC	PL. GEN
1st	m' (me)	m' (mu)	mas (mas)	mas (mas)
2nd	s' (se)	s' (su)	sas (sas)	sas (sas)
3rd Msc	t'n (ton)	t' (tu)	t's (tus)	t's (tus)
3rd Fem	t'n (tin)	t's (tis)	t's (tis)	t's (tus)
3rd Ntr	t' (to)	t' (tu)	t' (ta)	t's (tus)

Table 3. Object Pronouns positioned before finite verbs and after nonfinite verbs

The items in parentheses are the object PNs in Standard Greek. 'ACC' stands for direct object markers, 'GEN' for indirect object markers.

PERSON	SG	MG	PL	MG
1st	m'	mu	mas	mas
2nd	s'	su	sas	sas
3rd Msc	t'	tu	t's	tus
3rd Fem	t's	tis	t's	tus
3rd Ntr	t'	tu	t's	tus

Table 4. Pronominal marking of possession within noun phrase

The so-called genitive pronouns, occurring at the end of a noun phrase, after the noun, are identical in form with weak indirect object markers.

Case	Singular			Plural		
	Msc	Fem	Ntr	Msc	Fem	Ntr
NOM	u (o)	i (i)	t' (to)	i	i	ta
ACC	t'n (ton	t'n (tin)	t' (to)	t's (tus)	t's (tis)	ta
GEN	t' (tu)	t's (tis)	t' (tu)	ton	ton	ton

Table 5. Definiteness within noun phrase. The so-called definite article

The items in parentheses are the definite article cases in Standard Greek.

Zwicky's criteria (e.g. binding, distribution, etc.) are bolstered here showing that dialectal clitics raise serious problems concerning the relationship between the morpho-syntactic representations of the notion of the word. We have already mentioned that clitics are syntactic affixes, in the sense that they may have the syntactic properties of words on one hand, and the phonological properties of affixes on the other. We support then that the clitic in the dialect of Lefkada plays the role of an incorporated element adjoined to the lexical verb or noun (the host) while behaving very much like a Class I affix. In this sense a clitic is a reduced form of a word which is phonologically dependent on its host. And what distinguishes them from affixes is some kind of freedom of movement concerning their attachment. Pronominal marking of possession within noun phrase, the so-called genitive pronouns, occurring at the end of a noun phrase, after the noun, are identical in form with weak indirect object markers. So are the definite articles within a noun phrase regarding case. So, the clitic **t's**, for example, can be as is shown in Fig. 1.
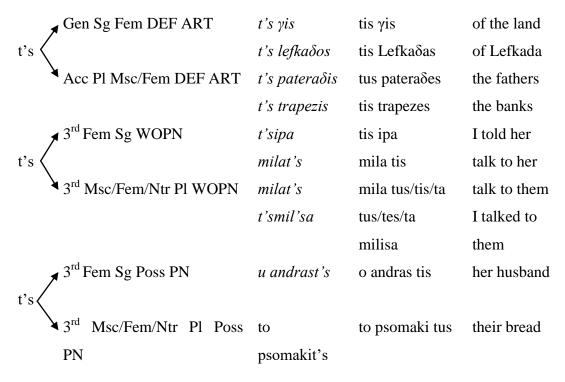
t's	Gen Sg Fem DEF ART	*t's γis*	tis γis	of the land
		t's lefkaδos	tis Lefkaδas	of Lefkada
	Acc Pl Msc/Fem DEF ART	*t's pateraδis*	tus pateraδes	the fathers
		t's trapezis	tis trapezes	the banks
t's	3rd Fem Sg WOPN	*t'sipa*	tis ipa	I told her
		milat's	mila tis	talk to her
	3rd Msc/Fem/Ntr Pl WOPN	*milat's*	mila tus/tis/ta	talk to them
		t'smil'sa	tus/tes/ta milisa	I talked to them
t's	3rd Fem Sg Poss PN	*u andrast's*	o andras tis	her husband
	3rd Msc/Fem/Ntr Pl Poss PN	to psomakit's	to psomaki tus	their bread

Fig. 1. The clitic t's in the Lefkada dialect

Here we have the issue of the phonological word (i.e. *t's*). We will start with the definite article (Table 6).

Def. Article		Gender	Case	Number	Example
	tis της	Feminine	Genitive	Singular	t's ενδομαδος/tis …
t's	tis τις	Feminine	Accusative	Plural	t's velonies/tis …
	tus τους	Masculine	Accusative	Plural	t's pateraδes/tus …
t'	tu του	Masc./Ntr.	Genitive	Singular	t' adram', t' piδγiu/tu …
	ton τον	Masculine			t'barba (ton barba)
t'/t'n	tin την	Feminine	Accusative	Singular	t'θia (tin θia)
	to το	Neutral			t'n bolia (tin bolia)
					t'piδi (to peδi)
					t'antiγraf' (to antiγrafo)

Table 6. The definite article in accusative and oblique

When combined with a preposition, the accusative *t'* or *t'n* may be lost. For example, the locative preposition *s'* or *se* < is (archaic) εις 'towards, in, on, at', in the phrases *s'to/s'ton, s'tin* < archaic, is to, is ton, is tin (dialectal *s't', s't'n*) plus Noun, deletes the definite article *t', t'n*, e.g. *s'hora* 'to, in, at the city'; whereas t's (Fem Gen Sg, Fem/Masc Acc Pl) remains, e.g. *s't's kuzinas tu mat* 'at the cooker's hot plate', *s't's trap'zis* 'at the banks', etc.

Possessive and object pronouns present formal similarities with the definite articles (Tables 3 and 4). Also first and second person singular or plural are identical. Only the 1st and 2nd person plural are the same as in Modern Greek (*mas, sas*).

Possessive Pronouns		
	Person	Example
m' (mu) 'my' (μου)	1st sg	*i manam', t'pateram'* *imana mu, tu patera mu*
s' (su) 'your' (σου)	2nd sg	*u pateras', u papus'* *o pateras su, o papus su*
t' (tu) 'his, its' (του)	3rd Msc/Ntr sg	*t'barbat', t'huraft'* *tu barba tu, to horafi tu*
t's (tis) 'her' (της)	3rd Fem sg	*u θiost's, i γunist's* *o θios tis,i γonis tis*
t's (tus) 'their' (τους)	3rd Msc/Fem/Ntr	*tu psumakit's, i θγaterest's* *to psomaki tus, i θiγateres tus*

Table 7. Possessive pronouns within noun phrases

Person	Gen sg	Acc sg	Example
1st sg	m' (mu)	m' (me)	*m'ipi* 'to me s/he said'
2nd sg	s' (su)	s' (se)	*s'ares'ne* 'to you they please'
3rd Msc sg	t' (tu)	t'n (ton)	*t'upi* 'to him s/he said' *t'n efaɣi δlia* 'him ate work'
3rd Fem sg	t's (tis) της	t's (tin)	*t's ipa* 'her I said' *t'n eliɣi nona* 'her s/he called auntie'
3rd Ntr sg	t' (tu)	t' (to)	*tirat'* 'look at it' *t'uksira* 'it I knew'
Person	Gen pl	Acc pl	Example
3rd Msc pl	t's (tus)		*δen t's ipa ɣo ets* 'not to them said I like this'
3rd Fem pl	t's (tus/tes)		*milat's* 'talk to them'
3rd Ntr pl	t' (ta)		*pulat'* 'sell them'

Table 8. Weak Object Pronouns

Moreover, the recorded data, exposing phonological phenomena (Baltazani & Topintzi 2010), such as palatalization, syncope, elision, deletion, synizesis, etc., per se, present irrefutable evidence bearing on word identification, in the Lefkada dialect, in the sense that they may affect the root itself, e.g. *k'tao, kent'ma* (syncope), the word form (shrinkage or loss of the inflectional suffix), e.g. *vlep', krion'n, her', emporis'*, etc. or the clitic, *tu'ksera, t'sipa, θa t'n pum* (WOP), *t'andram'* (Art/Poss).

Palatalization: the sounds /l/ and /n/ change into /ʎ/ and /ɲ/ respectively, e.g. *oli* → *oʎi, poli* → *poʎ', moni* → *moɲ', nifi* → *ɲif'*, etc.

Syncope: unstressed *e. i. u* are lost in interconsonantal position, e.g. *iθ'la* (iθela), *ex'te* (exete), *kent'ma* (kentima), *p'raz'* (pirazi), *k'tao* (kitao), *im'na* (imuna), *ex'ne* (exun), *kaθis'ne* (kaθisune), *orest's* (Orestis), *x'mona* (himona), *pin'n* (pinun), *krion'n* (krionun), *na par'ne, na val'ne, na δok'ne* (na parun, na valun, na δosun).

Elision: *ap'otan* (apo otan), *t'onomat's* (to onoma tis/to onomat tus), *θa t'n pum' ets'* (θa tin pume etsi), o *pateras t'andram'* (o pateras tu andra mu).

Synaliphe/apheresis: *su'pa* (su ipa), *θa s'po* (θa su po), *t'uksera* (*to 'ksera* < to iksera)

Deletion/apovoli: vowels /a/ and /i/ are lost word-finally or medially, e.g. *viloɲ'* (velona), *her'* (heri), *emporis* (emporises), *vlep'* (vlepi), *tetraɣon'* (tetraɣoni), *δent's'pa'ɣo* (δen tus/tis ipa eɣo).

Deletion of intervocalic /ɣ/ and /χ/: *oi piδim* (ohi peδi mu), *t's paine* (tis tus piɣene), *epia* (epiɣa/piɣa)

5. Conclusion

As noted so far, it may be that separate notions of 'word' need to be recognized for different levels of grammatical analysis. So, there is the notion of grammatical word, which represents the 'word' as listed in the lexicon, thus taking in the major syntactic categories. What the lexical listing consists of is the stem and inflected forms. Now with regard to clitics, many of them have grammatical function (e.g. auxiliaries in English) and so they could be inflectional morphemes properly constituting part of a grammatical word. Alternatively, they could be separate grammatical words in their own right. Another level of analysis in which a separate notion of word might be useful concerns the phonology. This depends on how all the little elements, i.e. inflected articles are analyzed. If they are inflectional affixes (the cases of PNs) then much of what might be called 'phonological word' is simply created by regular word-formation and inflectional processes. Now, to conclude, working within a restrictive framework that allows only words and affixes as basic units and degrees of atypicality within those basic categories, one can account for all the properties shown by combinations of weak pronouns with their verbal hosts, inasmuch as the evidence points towards weak pronouns as being affixes and thus the host plus weak pronoun combinations as being simply words built up in the lexicon via word-formation processes and via inflectional processes. Moreover, the indications of affixal status for the weak pronouns seem stronger in the dialects than in the standard language (Modern Greek) – perhaps due to phonetic processes described above.

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