THE NATURE OF CAPPADOCIAN CLITICS

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Abstract. Cappadocian is a peripheral Asia Minor Greek dialect heavily influenced by Turkish at every linguistic level. The Cappadocian clitic pronouns, however, have retained their original Greek characteristics, although their syntactic behaviour differs substantially from Standard Modern Greek and most of its core dialects. This paper will discuss the following aspects of the grammar of Cappadocian clitics:

1. Clisis, what clisis? Enclisis, proclisis, synclisis, metaclisis, diaclisis *und kein Ende...*
2. Word or affix? The "clitic cline" and the status of clitics.

1. Clisis, what clisis?

1.1. Clitics: definition

 "Any grammatical unit that is not straightforwardly either an affix or a word on its own. E.g. in Ancient Greek *nêsós tis* 'a (certain) island', the clitic *tis* is not an affix since, among other things, it is itself inflected as nominative singular. Neither, as a word, is it entirely independent, since it forms a single accentual unit with the preceding word for 'island' (basically *nêsos*)."

 "From the Greek word for 'leaning': thus unaccented *tis* 'leans on' *nêsos*. Enclitics are clitics linked phonologically, as here, to the word preceding, proclitics those linked to the word following. The distinction between clitics and affixes is naturally fluid: e.g. English *-n't* in *haven't* or *aren't* is a clitic by some criteria but has been claimed as an affix by others. So too is the boundary between clitics and full words: e.g. unstressed *to* is a clitic, by some relevant criteria, in *I have to* [haftə] *go*."

"Clitic": *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*. P. H. Matthews. Oxford University Press, 2007. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

1.2. Clitics: status

 "[T]he relative ordering of affixes and of clitics are both quite rigid [which] contributes to the conclusion that clitic placement and word-level morphology are parallel phenomena" (Anderson 1992: 222)

 "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" (Halpern 1995: 192)

Zwicky's criteria (selected):

a. Combinatorial selectivity (affix: high; nonaffix: low)
b. Morphophonology (affix: high; nonaffix: low (sandhi, fast speech)
c. Ordering (nonword: strict; word: (relatively) free)
d. Phonological dependence (nonword: dependent; word: independent)

1.3. Greek Clitics: weak object pronouns (WOPs)

1.3.1. Ancient Greek: WOPs syntactically pre- or postverbal, phonologically enclitic, Φ-phrase ≠ Σ-phrase

ἥψατό	=μού	=τις
hé:psató	*=mú*	*=tis*
s/he-touched	1sg	someone.nom.
"someone *touched* me" (Lk 8.46)		

τίς	=μου	ἥψατο
tís	*=mu*	*hé:psato*
who	1sg	s/he-touched
"*who* touched me?" (Mk 5.31)		

μή	=μου	ἅπτου
mé:	*=mu*	*háptu*
not	1sg	touch
"*don't* touch me!" (Jn 20.17)		

ἐρῶ	=σοι
erô:	*=soi*
I-will-tell	2sg
"I'll *tell* you" (Meno 76b3)	

ἐγώ	=σοι	ἐρῶ
egó	*=soi*	*erô:*
1sg	2sg	I-will-tell
"*I* will tell you" (Crito 44a2)		

ἐγώ	=σοι	ἔφη	ἐρῶ
egó	*=soi*	*éphe:*	*erô:*
1sg	2sg	s/he-said	I-will-tell
"*I*," he said, "will *tell* you" (Phaedo 71c10)			

1.3.2. Byzantine Greek: WOPs syntactically immediately pre- or postverbal, phonologically enclitic, Φ-phrase ⇒ Σ-phrase: {ἐγώ =σοι} λέ(γ)ω ⇒ ἐγώ [σοι= λέ(γ)ω]

1.3.3. Modern Greek: WOPs syntactically pre- or postverbal, phonologically pro- or enclitic, Φ-phrase = Σ-phrase

θa=	mu=	to=	pís
prt	1sg	3sg	you-tell
"I'll *tell* you it"			

esí	θa=	mu=	to=	=pís
2sg	prt	1sg	3sg	you-tell
"*I* will tell you it"				

pés	=mu	=to
tell	1sg	3sg
"*tell* me it!"		

1.4. Cappadocian WOPs = Byzantine WOPs: syntactically immediately pre- or postverbal, phonologically enclitic (always?)

1.4.1. Postverbal syntax = unmarked (generalized): grammaticalization (syntacticization)

díçñi	=se	=to
s/he shows	2sg	3sg
"s/he shows you it"		

⇔

su=	to=	δíçñi
2sg	3sg	s/he shows
"s/he shows you it"		

1.4.2. Preverbal syntax I: grammaticalization (syntacticization) of Wackernagel's Law (P2)

a. Modal & negative particles: proclisis (modal) ~ enclisis (negative)
b. Subordinating conjunctions: enclisis ~ proclisis?
c. Relative pronouns: proclisis?
d. Interrogative words: enclisis?

ás	=to	fáγo	=m	mí	=to	fáγo	=m
prt	3sg	I eat	prt	not	3sg	1sg	prt
"shall I eat him?"				"shall I not eat him?"			D336

an=	du=	vγális		na=	mi=	páris
if	3sg	you take out		prt	1sg	you-marry
"if you take it out"				"you will marry me"		D386

n-o=	skotósan	=ton	ce	dén	=do	skotósan
prt-3sg	they killed	cop.3sg	and	not	3sg	they killed
"they would have killed him but they didn't kill him"						Arch.Z.Dawk (unpublished)

vavá	=sas	óti	=sas	ípen	a=	sas=	ta=	çpó
father	2pl	whatever	2pl	s/he said	prt	2pl	3pl	I tell
"whatever your father told you, I'll tell you it"								Arch.Z.Dawk (unpublished)

ta	klátša	=mas	škólja	dén	=da	sáldanam	polí
the	children	1pl	school	not	3pl	we sent	much
"our children, we didn't send them to school a lot"							Misiotika (unpublished recording 2005)

tí	=to	píces
what	3sg	you did
"what did you do to him?"		D436

1.4.3. Preverbal syntax II: discourse remnants of Wackernagel's Law (P2)

a. Subject pronouns
b. Echo answers
c. Focus

eγó	=ta	léo	eγó	=t'	akúo
1sg	3pl	I say	1sg	3pl	I hear
"*I* say it"			"*I* hear it"		

léo	=ta	akúo	=ta
I say	3pl	I hear	3pl
"I say it"			PK76

tšís	=s'	épce	mávro
who	2sg	s/he made	black
"*who* made you black?"			

etó	=m'	épce	mávro
3sg	1sg	s/he made	black
"*she* made me black"			D334

tís	=t'	álakse
who	3pl	s/he changed
"*who* has changed them?"		

oγó	=d'	álaksa
1sg	3pl	I changed
"*I* have changed them"		D356

tís	=to	skótose
who	3sg	s/he killed
"*who* killed it?"		

oγó	=to	skótosa
1sg	3sg	I killed
"*I* killed it"		

eší	=to	skótoses
2pl	3sg	you killed
"*you* killed it"		D394 / 396

tíala	=du	píris
how	3sg	you took
"*how* did you win her?"		

mi=	du=	meló-s	=du	píris
with	the	brain-2sg	3sg	you took
"*with your brains* you won her"				D388

itó	to=	ráma	atí	=do	sardás
this	the	yarn	why	3sg	you wind
"this yarn, why are you winding it?"					

na=	fotíš	=to	sardó
prt	s/he gives light	3sg	I wind
"*for it to give light* I am winding it"			D356

itúta	ta=	prámata	vúla	=ta	pírin
these	the	things	all	3pl	s/he took
"these things, he took them *all*"					

itúta	vúla	laxtá	ta	mésa
these	all	s/he pushes	3pl	inside
"all these he pushes them inside"				D406

1.5. Synclisis

mu=	to=	ípe
1sg	3sg	s/he said
"s/he told me it"		

⇔

*to=	mu=	ípe
3sg	1sg	s/he said
"she told it to me"		

díçñi	=se	=ta
s/he shows	2sg	3sg
"s/he shows you it"		

⇔

na=	se=	ta=	díksi
prt	2sg	3sg	s/he shows
"s/he will show you it"			

ípa	=se	=ta
I told	2sg	3sg
"I told you it"		

⇔

dé=	se=	ta=	ípa	mï
prt	2sg	3sg	I told	prt
"didn't I tell you it="				Arch.Z.Dawk (unpublished)

1.5.1. Metaclisis (clitic metathesis)

péz	=mu	=to
tell	1sg	3sg
"*Tell* me it!"		

⇔

pés	=to	=mu
tell	3sg	1sg
"*Tell* it to me!"		

pé(z)	=me	=to
tell	1sg	3sg
"*Tell* me it!"		

⇔

pés	=to	=me
tell	3sg	1sg
"*Tell* it to me!"		

Farasiot (Dawkins 1916: 510 & 518)

džo	puá	=mes	=ta
not	you sell	1pl	3pl
"will you not sell us it"			

⇔

džo	puás	=ta	=mas
not	you sell	3pl	1pl
"will you not sell it to us"			

Languedocian (Hetzron 1977: 195)

te=	la=	dirai
2sg	3sg	I will say
"I'll tell you it"		

⇔

la=	te=	dirai
3sg	2sg	I will say
"I'll tell it to you"		

1.5.2. Diataclisis (split cliticization)

a=	se=	to=	díkso		as=	to=	díkso	=se
prt	2sg	3sg	I show	⇔	prt	3sg	I show	2sg
"I'll show you it"					"I'll show it to you"			

D308

a=	se=	to=	féro		as=	to=	dókum	=se
prt	2sg	3sg	I bring	⇔	prt	3sg	we give	2sg
"I'll bring you it"					"we'll give her to you"			

PK102 / 192

an=	da=	fériz	=me	na=	se=	dóko	s'	esé
if	3pl	you bring	1sg	prt	2sg.	I give	to	2sg
"if you bring them to me"				"I will give [her] *to you*"				

D340

Byzantine Greek (Joseph 1990: 132)

καὶ	τῶϱά	με	εἶπε	το
ce	*tóra*	*me*	*ípe*	*to*
and	now	1sg	say	3sg
"and *now* you must *tell* me it!"				

East Flemish (Janse 1998a: 274)

zeg	= d	='t	gij	'em		zeg	jij	='t	='m
say	2sg	3sg.n	2sg	3sg.m	⇔	say	2sg	3sg.n	3sg.m
"will you tell it him?"						"will you tell it him?"			

1.5.3. Endoclisis

dé-m	⇐	dé(z)	=me		de-m-ét	⇐	déz	=me	-ét
give-1sg		give	1sg	⇔	give-1sg-2pl		give	1sg	2pl
"gimme!"					"gimme!"				

D139

Northern Greek (Thavoris 1977: 86f., cf. Joseph 1989)

ðó-m-ti	⇐	ðó(z)	=mi	-ti		ðóm-ti		=mas
give-1sg-2pl		give	1sg	2pl	⇔	give-1sg-2pl		1pl
"gimme!"						"give us!"		

Albanian (Demiraj 1985: 1125)

merr-e-ni	⇐	merr	=e	ni
give-1sg-2pl		take	3sg	2pl
"take it!"				

jep-ma-ni	⇐	jep	=më	=e	-ni		ma=	jep-ni
give-1sg/3sg-2pl		give	1sg	3sg	2pl	⇔	1sg/3sg	give-pl
"gimme it!"							"gimme it!"	

2. Word or affix?

2.1. Trisyllabic rule in Modern Greek

éðosa	⇔	ðósame		ðóθika	⇔	ðoθíkame
I gave		we gave		I was given		we were given

2.2. Suffixation vs. encliticization in Modern Greek

éðos-a	⇔	ðós-a-me		éðos-a	⇔	éðosá	=to
I gave		we gave		I gave		I gave	3sg

péz	*=mu*	*=to*
tell	1sg	3sg
"*Tell* me it!"		

⇔

ðóse	*=mú*	*=to*
give	1sg	3sg
"*Give* it to me!"		

2.3. Suffixation vs. encliticization in Modern Greek

éðos-a
I gave

⇔

ðós-a-me
we gave

éðos-a
I gave

⇔

éðosá	*=to*
I gave	3sg

2.4. The "clitic cline" in Cappadocian

2.4.1. Encliticization vs. "agglutination"

édocén	*=do*
s/he gave	3sg
"he gave it"	

⇔

édocen	*=do*
s/he gave	3sg
"he gave it"	

D342 / 344

jómosén	*=do*
s/he filled	3sg
"she filled it"	

⇔

jómosen	*=da*
s/he filled	3pl
"she filled them"	

D398 / 400

díçnun	*=se*	*=to*
they show	2sg	3sg
"they show you it"		

⇔

díçñi	*=se*	*=to*
s/he shows	2sg	3sg
"s/he shows you it"		

D306

polí	*=d'*	*ayápanan*
much	3sg	they loved
"they loved him *very much*"		

ull'	*ayápanan*	*=du*
all	they loved	3sg
"they *al* loved him*l*"		

Misiotika (unpublished recording 2005)

2.4.1. Encliticization vs. affixation?

éfayán	*=do*
they ate	3sg
"they ate it"	

⇔

efáyan	*-do*
they ate	3sg
"they ate it"	

D306 / 308

édocén	*=do*
s/he gave	3sg
"he gave it"	

⇔

edócen	*-do*
s/he filled	3sg
"he gave it"	

D342 / 344

sérepsán	*=da*
they gather	3pl
"they gathered them"	

⇔

serépsan	*-da*
s/he filled	3pl
"they gathered them"	

D398

ésirén	*=da*
s/he shot	3pl
"he shot it"	

⇔

ésiren	*=da*
s/he shot	3pl
"he shot it"	

⇔

esíre	*=me*
s/he shot	1sg
"he shot me"	

D558

épjasén	*=do*
s/he took	3sg
"he took it"	

⇔

pjásen	*-do*
s/he took	3sg
"he took it"	

D138

3. Conclusion?

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