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Ann Taylor

1 Introduction

It has long been recognized that pronominal clitics in Greek show a progression over time away from the fairly strict adherence to Wackernagel's position found in Homeric Greek (8th century BC). Indeed, Wackernagel himself comments on this fact (Wackernagel 1892). It is not at all clear, however, how to characterize the post-Homeric situation. Past attempts to address this question (e.g., Dover 1968, Dunn 1988) generally speak in rather vague terms about "tendencies" for the clitic to appear in this or that position. This approach, however, while it serves to highlight individually some of the more recognizable positions, doesn't give any account of their overall distribution or address the question of how the positions are related to one another and to the structure of the language as a whole. This paper is a first attempt to provide a systematic description of the distribution of object clitics in the Koiné period (particularly the first three centuries AD) and to account for their distribution in terms of what we already know about the syntax and prosody of this stage of the language.

1.1 Background

In previous work (Taylor in press) I've looked at the distribution of clitics which have a semantic relation with noun phrases, which I'll call NP-clitics. These are, *tis* 'some/any/a certain/a' used as a modifier, as in *tis anēr* 'some/any/etc man', or as a head taking a genitive complement *tis tōn anthrōpōn* 'some/any/etc of the men', as well as the genitive of the personal pronoun (*mou, sou*) which comes into common use as a possessive in the Koiné. When these clitics do not appear in Wackernagel's position (second position in the clause), they appear in well-defined positions within the NP they belong to. The general rule is that they appear as either the first word in the phrase, a position I will refer to as 1W, or following the first stressed word, 2W. Examples of are given in (1) and (2).

(1) clitics in 1W¹

- a. kai peisthēsontai [_{NP} =sou tais rhēmasin]
and trust-3pl your-G the-D words-D
"and they will trust your words" (sh.p12.III,3)
- b. hoti poiēsei [_{NP} =ti kakon] tois doulois tou theou
because do-3sg some-A evil-A the-D servants-D the-G god-G
"because he will do some evil to the servants of God" (sh.p4.III,4)

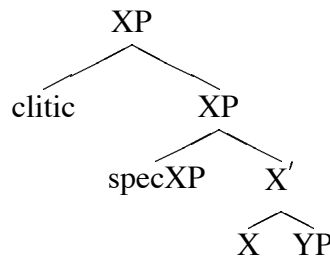
¹In the examples '=' indicates a clitic and its direction of attachment; N = nominative, A = accusative, G = genitive, D = dative; • indicates the original (syntactic) position of a clitic moved by Prosodic Inversion; in the example references sh = Shepherd of Hermas, let = Papyri Letters, New Testament books are referred to by name (Timothy, Romans, etc.)

(2) clitics in 2W

- a. hotan ho dipsukhos epibalētai [NP praksin =tina]
 when the-N doubter-N takes-on-3sg affair-A some-A
 “when the doubter takes on some affair” (sh.p10.II,2)
- b. pro tōn holōn errōsthe se eukhomai meta kai [NP tōn=
 before the-G all-G be-well-INF you-A pray-1sg with also the-G
 abaskantōn =mou adelphōn]
 unharmed-by-the-evil-eye-G my-G brothers-G
 “before all things I pray that you are well with also my brothers unharmed by
 the evil eye” (let.121.3-4)

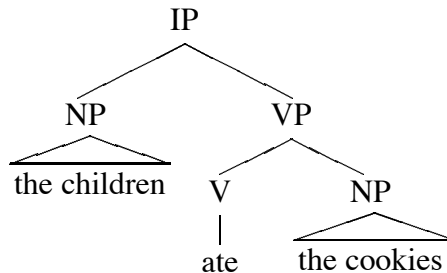
In my view (and that of some others, such as Halpern 1992) the 1W position is syntactically generated by the left-adjunction of the clitic to a maximal projection, as illustrated in (3).²

(3)



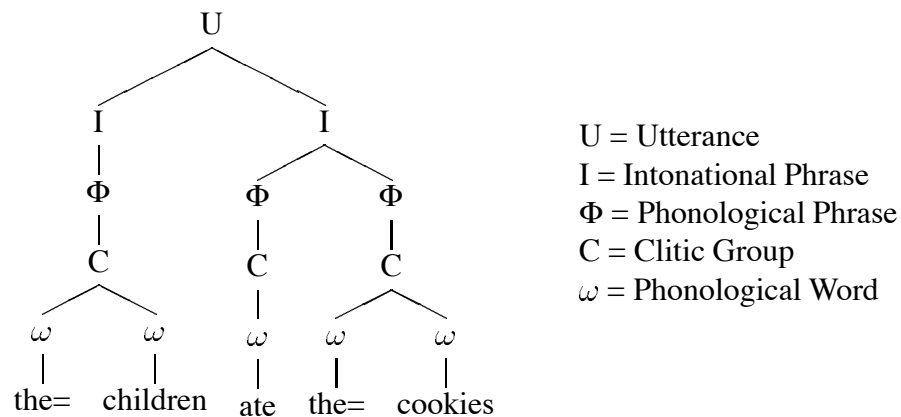
The 2W position, on the other hand, is prosodically determined. Just as every utterance has a syntactic structure, it also has a prosodic structure and although the two are related and often isomorphic, they aren't necessarily so. Thus the utterance in (4a) has the syntactic structure in (4b), and the prosodic structure in (4c).

- (4) a. The children ate the cookies
- b.



c.

²Note that in positional terms this is equivalent to the clitic occupying a head position dominating the maximal projection in question. Since this paper is entirely concerned with the surface position of clitics, which of these approaches is right is completely irrelevant.



In all the cases in Greek in which the NP-clitics appear in the 2W position, a prosodic boundary, that of the phonological phrase, which is symbolized by Φ , precedes the clitic's syntactic position. It has long been recognized cross-linguistically that enclitics cannot stand first following a pause, that is an U(tterance) boundary, because the pause prevents them from taking the preceding word as a host. This situation results in the classic Wackernagel position. I propose, however, that in Greek the boundary needn't be that strong to prevent attachment, and in fact only a phonological phrase boundary is necessary to prevent a clitic taking the previous word as a host. When the clitic cannot attach to the previous word because a Φ boundary intervenes, it appears after the first stressed word to its right. Following Halpern (1992), I will refer to this process as Prosodic Inversion (PI).

2W is always a possibility for clitics in Greek NPs, and it is, in fact, the most common position. This is simply because in the general case NPs are isomorphic with phonological phrases, as can be seen in example (4) above. The first position (1W), on the other hand, is limited to only two environments, in which it alternates with 2W. These are: (1) in NPs immediately following the verb; and (2) in NPs immediately following a complementizer. The first is illustrated in (1) above and the second in (5). The 2W version of both types is given in (6).

- (5) a. ean [_{NP} =tines lithoi] saproi heurethōsin
 if-PTC any-N stones-N worn-out-N find-3pl
 “if any stones were found to be worn out” (sh.s9.V,2)
- b. ean [_{NP} =mou tēn entolēn] phulaksēi
 if-PTC my-G the-A commandment-A keep-3sg
 “if he keeps my commandment” (sh.s5.II,7)
- (6) a. alla tisousi [_{NP} dikēn =tina]
 but pay-3pl penalty-A some-A
 “but they will pay a/some penalty (sh.s9.XIX,3)
- b. ean [_{NP} tas= entolas =mou] phulaksēis
 if-PTC the-A commandments-A my-G keep-2sg
 “if you keep my commandments” (sh.p4.IV,4)

Although the two 1W cases in (5) have similar surface orders, they in fact arise in entirely different ways. The first case is the result of a process called Phonological Phrase Restructuring, described by Nespor and Vogel (1986) for Italian.

(7) Φ restructuring (N&V 1986, p.173)

A nonbranching Φ [i.e., one which contains a single Clitic Group] which is the first complement of X on its recursive side is joined in to the Φ that contains X.

Since the object is the first complement of the verb, Φ restructuring may occur in this configuration, resulting in the verb and object forming a single Φ . When this happens, there is no Φ boundary preceding the NP and PI is not triggered.

(8) $*(\phi \text{ hoti poiēsei})(\phi =\mathbf{ti} \text{ kakon}) \rightarrow (\phi \text{ hoti poiēsei} =\mathbf{ti} \text{ kakon})$

The second case is entirely different. Here I argue that lexical clitics (i.e., not particles), require a stressed host in Greek. In Homeric Greek it appears that even most function words had sufficient stress to host lexical clitics. Over time, however, many of the function words, such as conjunctions, articles, prepositions, etc, have become unstressed and by the Koiné period they can no longer host clitics at all. I propose that complementizers are undergoing the same change, but the process is not yet complete in the Koiné. Thus at this period, complementizers can be either stressed or unstressed. When stressed they host lexical clitics, as in (9a), giving rise to 1W, but when they are unstressed PI is triggered and clitics appear in 2W after the first stressed word, as in (9b).

(9) a. ean =**mou** tēn= entolēn phulaksēi

b. *ean= =**mou** tas= entolas phulaksēsīs \rightarrow ean= tas= entolas =**mou** phulaksēsīs

1.2 Summary

- Syntactically clitics adjoin to the left edge of a maximal phrasal projection.
- Clitics undergo Prosodic Inversion (PI) when preceded by a Φ boundary.
- Φ restructuring operates in Greek.
- Lexical clitics require a stressed host.

2 Object Clitics

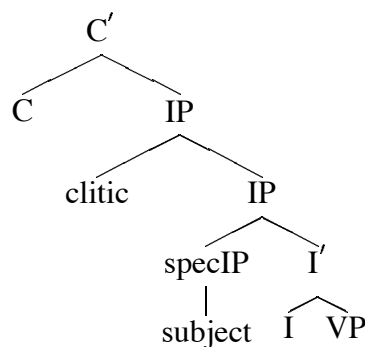
In the remainder of this paper I discuss the distribution of object clitics in light of the account just given for NP-clitics. First I give a description of the distribution of object clitics in the clearest case, that is, SVX clauses, and demonstrate that these clitics, just like the NP-clitics, can be described as appearing in 1W or 2W in a phrasal unit, in this case the domain of the verb. For concreteness I'm going to assume that this phrase is the VP, but it could as well be one of the projections of an exploded INFL. I then address the 1W/2W alternation and show that the prosodic account given for the NP-clitics can be extended to the object clitics, but that a revision of the syntactic requirements of restructuring in terms of c-command rather than a head-complement relation is necessary.

The data for this study are taken from three texts of the Koiné period: the New Testament (1st cent. AD), the Shepherd of Hermas (2nd cent. AD) and a selection of private papyri letters from Egypt from the first three centuries AD.

2.1 Wackernagel's Position

Although, as I mentioned above, the trend for clitics over time is away from Wackernagel's position, they do still appear in this position at a low rate in the Koiné. Wackernagel defined this position as the second word in the sentence, but later work (Taylor 1990) has shown that it is in fact a structural position and not primarily dependent on numbers of words. While no consensus on the exact nature of this position has yet been reached, it clearly lies between C(OMP) and its complement phrase. For the sake of concreteness I assume that this complement phrase is IP and that the clitic attaches to it by left-adjunction. As far as I can tell, however, nothing I claim in this paper crucially depends on this being the right analysis.

(10)



By the Koiné period, movement away from IP-attachment is almost but not quite complete. A very small number of unambiguous cases can still be found, as for example in (11). Crucially in these cases the clitic precedes all or part of the subject, making it possible to distinguish IP from VP.

- (11) a. kai [_{IP} oudepote **=moi** oudeis [_{VP} anteipen]]
 and never-yet me-D noone-N contradict-3sg
 “never yet has anyone contradicted me” (sh.p3.I,3)
- b. [_{IP} tauta **=moi** ta eskhata [_{VP} arestei]]
 these-N me-D the-N last-N please-3sg
 “these last things please me” (sh.v1.IV,2)

Subjects in Greek, however, sometimes appear post-verbally or more commonly not at all, and there are thus many superficial cases of Wackernagel's position which are in fact structurally ambiguous. In these cases the distinction between IP and VP is neutralized because the subject position is empty. Thus in a case such as (12), whether the clitic is first in IP or VP makes no difference in the surface order.

- (12) a. ha **=moi** edeiksen dia tēs hagian Ekklesiās autou
 which-A me-D showed through the-G holy-G church-G his-G
 “which he showed to me through his holy church” (sh.v4.I,3)
- b. [_{CP} ha [_{IP} **=moi** [_{IP} e [_{VP} edeiksen dia tēs hagian Ekklesiās autou]]
- c. [_{CP} ha [_{IP} e [_{VP} **=moi** [_{VP} edeiksen dia tēs hagian Ekklesiās autou]]

When an overt subject is lacking, 2W cases can also be ambiguous between IP- and VP-attachment. Here, whether the syntactic position of the clitic (symbolized by ●) is as in (13b) or as in (13c), that is, adjoined to IP or VP, the outcome after PI is the same since the specIP position contains no overt material (symbolized by *e*).³

- (13) a. apokalupsō gar =soi panta
 show-1sg PTC you-D everything-A
 “for I will show you everything” (sh.v3.III,2)
- b. [_{IP} ● [_{IP} e [_{VP} apokalupsō =soi panta]]
- c. [_{IP} e [_{VP} ● [_{VP} apokalupsō =soi panta]]

2.2 Clitics in the VP

The most common unambiguous VP case is that in which the clitic appears post-verbally, in 2W in the VP, as in (14).

- (14) hē pistis sou [_{VP} sesōken =se]
 the-N faith-N you-G save-3sg you-A
 “your faith has saved you” (Matthew 9.22)

Another type that I would claim for the most part show VP- attachment are the pre-verbal cases, as in (15a). Here the clitic is between the subject and the verb, and it thus appears that it is ambiguous between an analysis in which the clitic is in 2W within IP, as in (15b), and one in which the clitic is in 1W of VP, as in (15c). Crucially, this ambiguity only arises in cases in which the subject contains a single stressed word.

- (15) a. su gar =moi deiknueis panta
 you-N PTC me-D show-2sg everything-A
 “for you show me everything” (sh.s5.IV,5)
- b. [_{IP} ● [_{IP} su =moi [_{VP} deiknueis panta]]
- c. [_{IP} su [_{VP} =moi [_{VP} deiknueis panta]]

In fact, however, there is reason to think that the majority of these cases are VP- not IP-attachment. The ambiguity in these cases arises because the subject contains only a single stressed word; but when the subject is longer this ambiguity doesn’t arise because IP-attachment in cases with longer subjects results in the clitic interrupting the subject, as in (16) as well as (11b) above.

³I have omitted the particle *gar* from (13b) and (13b) for clarity. Sentential particles, at least in my opinion, always attach to the highest phrasal unit; thus, in this example the syntactic position of *gar* is adjoined to IP and like *soi* it undergoes PI ending up in the position following the verb.

- (16) [_{SUBJ} oudemia =**moi** ekklēsia] ekoinōnēsen eis logon doseōs kai
 no-N me-D church-N join-3sg into partnership-A giving-N and
 lēmpseōs ei mē humeis monoi
 receiving-N if not you-N alone-N
 “no church joined into partnership with me giving and receiving except you alone”
 (Philippians 4.15)

We can thus get an idea of the rate of IP-attachment in the Koiné from the unambiguous cases, i.e., main clauses with long subjects. Taking the number of cases in which a clitic interrupts a long subject divided by the total cases of long subjects (2/26), we get a frequency for IP attachment of about 8%. Given, therefore, that about 92% of the cases which have a clitic following a single word subject are in fact VP- and not IP-attachment, this type must be taken into consideration with the other cases of VP-attachment.

While verb-complement order is fairly consistently VX in Koiné Greek, SXV clauses do occur at a low rate. There are 5 examples of this order in my data, all with the clitic in preverbal position. Representative examples are given in (17).

- (17) a. S =cl X V
 oudeis gar [_{VP} =**ti** en kruptēi poiei]
 noone-N PTC anything-A in secret-D do-3sg
 “for noone does anything in secret” (John 7.4)
- b. S X =cl V
 hoti to khrēston tou theou [_{VP} eis= metanoian =**se** agei]
 that the-N kindness-N the-G God-G to repentance-A you-A lead-3sg
 “that the kindness of God leads you to repentance” (Romans 2.4)
- c. S X =cl X V
 Alexandros ho khalkeus [_{VP} polla =**moi** kaka enedeiksato]
 Alexander-N the-N coppersmith-N much-A me-D harm-A show-3sg
 “Alexander the coppersmith did me much harm” (2 Timothy 4.14)

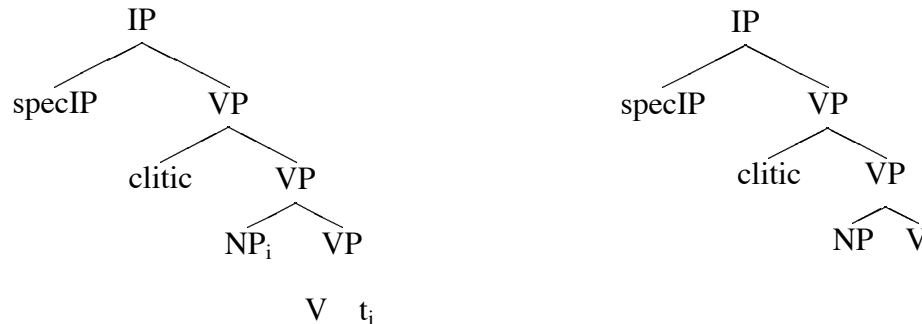
The syntax of such clauses is not entirely clear. If Koiné Greek is underlyingly VX, as seems likely given that this is by far the majority pattern, then the position of the object in these cases must be derived, perhaps by some kind of preposing with adjunction to VP. On the other hand, earlier stages of Greek have much higher rates of XV order, suggesting that the language is changing from verb-final to verb-medial. If this is the case, then XV clauses could be remnants of an earlier grammar. Or, of course, both constructions might be available. The two possibilities are illustrated in (18).

- (18)



For the purposes of this paper it doesn't matter which of these possibilities turns out to be the right one, or even if both are possible. My assumption is that clitics always attach to the highest segment of their domain. This assumption is based on the fact that in Homeric Greek, where the domain of clitics is IP, clitics clearly always attach as far to the left in the IP as possible, no matter how much scrambling has taken place. Assuming that this aspect of clitic behaviour has remained unchanged, the surface results in the two cases will be identical, as shown in (19).

(19)



Returning now to the position of the clitic in the examples in (17), (17a) is in fact ambiguous, since it could be either 1W of VP or 2W of IP, while in (17b) and (17c), the clitic must be in the VP (since both have long subjects). Example (17c) shows clearly the operation of Prosodic Inversion since the clitic appears between the two words of the object. (17b) is also consistent with an inversion analysis. The PP *eis metanoian* contains a single stressed word and thus the clitic is here also in 2W of the VP.

2.3 Summary

The previous discussion covers all the finite verb cases with an overt preverbal subject. They can be summarized as follows (where S = Subject):

1. IP-attachment

- (a) 1W $[_{IP} =cl\ S\ V, XP]$
 (b) 2W $[_{IP} S =cl\ (S)\ V, XP]$

2. VP-attachment

- (a) SV(X)
 i. 1W $S [_{VP} =cl\ V\ (XP)]$
 ii. 2W $S [_{VP} V =cl\ (XP)]$
 (b) SXV
 i. 1W $S [_{VP} =cl\ XP\ V]$
 ii. 2W $S [_{VP} X =cl\ (X)\ V]$

3 The 1W/2W alternation

The outline in the previous section demonstrates that object clitics alternate between 1W and 2W, just like NP-clitics, and that when they do not attach to IP, not surprisingly, they attach to VP (or whatever maximal projection constitutes the domain of the verb).

Recall that in the NP case, 2W is the default and 1W can only occur in specific environments. The first of these environments is in post-verbal position where Φ restructuring can take place. Since Φ restructuring is only possible when the object is a non-branching Φ , that is, consists of only a single stressed word along with any associated clitics, the possibility of 1W in NPs in post-verbal position depends on the length and complexity of the object. In this context I define 'short' as meaning that the whole constituent is contained within a single non-branching Φ , and 'long' as meaning that the constituent is either not contained within a single Φ , or that the Φ is branching. Thus 1W is possible in a case like (20a) but not in (20b).

- (20) a. hoti poiēsei [_{NP} =ti kakon] tois doulois tou theou
 because do-3sg some-A evil-A the-D servants-D the-G God-D
 “because he will do some evil to the servants of God” (sh.p4.III,4)
- b. mē euporēsas ploion en tōi Arsenoeidēi egrapsa [_{NP} tōi= kuriōi =mou
 not finding-N boat-A in the-D Arsinoite-D write-1sg the-D lord-D my-G
 Klēmatiōi tōi arkhieri]
 Klematius-D the-D chief priest-D
 “not finding a boat in Arsinoite I wrote to my lord Klematius the chief priest”
 (let.156.3)

In the VP case, it turns out that it is the length of the subject that determines the possibility of 1W. With two exceptions to be discussed below, all the long subjects have clitics in post-verbal position, as in (21), while short subjects allow clitics in both pre- and post-verbal position, as in (22a) and (22b). Table 1 shows the distribution of clitic position by length of subject.

- (21) tois gamois sou hē gunē Diskatos tou adelphou mou [_{VP}
 the-D wedding-D you-G the-N wife-N Discas-G the-G brother-G my-G
 ēnegke =moi r
 bring-3sg me-D 100
 “at your wedding the wife of my brother Discas brought me 100 drachmas”
 (let.114.9)
- (22) a. all' ekeinos [_{VP} =me apesteilen]
 but that-N me-A send-3sg
 “but that one sent me”
- b. kai humeis [_{VP} atimazate =me]
 and you-N dishonour-2pl me-A
 “and you dishonour me” (John 8.49)

	1W in VP	2W in VP
short subject	64	49
long subject	2	31

Table 1: Clitic position by length of subject ($\chi^2=26.376$, $p < .001$)

From the prosodic point of view this looks like Φ restructuring with two non-branching Φ s being restructured into a single one, as in (23).

(23) $*(\phi \text{ all}' = \text{ekeinos}) (\phi = \mathbf{me} \text{ apesteilen}) \rightarrow (\phi \text{ all}' = \text{ekeinos} = \mathbf{me} \text{ apesteilen})$

There is a problem with this approach, however. The syntactic requirement for Φ restructuring as it was formulated for Italian, is that the two Φ s be in a base-generated head-complement relation. Verbs and objects stand in a head-complement relation, but subjects and verbs do not, and thus the syntactic requirements for restructuring are not met in this case.

I'm going to argue, however, that the syntactic requirement of a head-complement relationship for Φ restructuring in Greek is too narrow, and that a simple c-command relation is sufficient. Using the definition of c-command in (24) taken from Sells (1985:39), we can see that the subject position c-commands the verb in the same way as the verb c-commands the object, as in (25).

(24) Definition of c-command: α c-commands β iff every maximal projection dominating α dominates β .

(25)



A look at the position of object clitics in a number of environments shows that in every case in which there is an alternation between 1W and 2W, the alternation takes place in an environment in which c-command holds, while in environments in which there is no c-command, 2W is the rule.

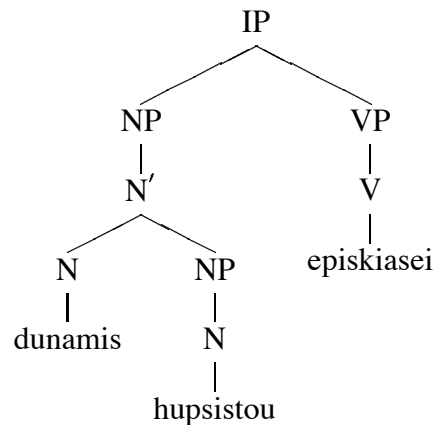
3.1 Restructuring and C-Command

First let's look in more detail at the SV cases discussed in the preceding section. As (25) shows, the subject position c-commands the verb. However, if the subject is complex, not all individual parts of the subject will c-command the verb. Take, for instance, the NP with a genitive complement as in (26).

(26) a. kai dunamis hupsistou episkiasei **=soi**
 and power-N most-high-G overshadow-3sg you-D
 "and the power of the Most High will overshadow you" (Luke 1.35)

b. (Φ kai= dunamis)(Φ hupsistou)(Φ episkiasei =soi)

c.



In this case the Φ that immediately precedes the verb, that is, *hupsistou*, is only part of the subject and does not itself c-command the verb. The same holds true of other types of complex subjects. Some common types are given in (27).

(27) a. N + PP complement

kai *heis ek tōn presbuterōn* legei =**moi**
 and one-N out the-G elders-G say-3sg me-D

“and one of the elders says to me” (Revelation 5.5)

b. NP + dependent participle

hē gar hamartia aphormēn labousa dia tēs
 the-N PTC sin opportunity-A taking-N through the-G
entolēs eksēpatēsen =**me**
 commandment-G deceive-3sg me-A

“Sin taking an opportunity through the commandment deceived me” (Romans 7.11)

c. Conjoined Subjects

Argurion kai khrusion oukh huparkhei =**moi**
 silver-N and gold-N not be-3sg me-D

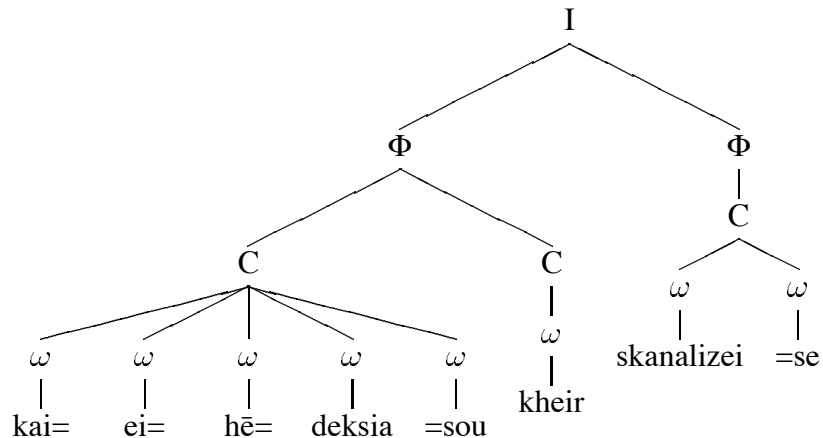
“silver and gold have I none” (Acts 3.6)

The only case in which a long subject is contained in a single Φ and c-commands the verb is that in which the noun is modified by an adjective, as in (28).

(28) kai *ei hē deksia =sou kheir* skandalizei =**se**
 and if the-N right-N you-G hand-N cause-to-sin-3sg you-A
 “and if your right hand causes you to sin” (Matthew 5.30)

In this case, however, although the syntactic conditions for restructuring are met, the Φ is branching, that is, made up of more than one Clitic Group, and so it does not meet the prosodic conditions.

(29)



The SXV cases work in much the same way. The clitic is attached syntactically just after the subject, to the left of all the material in the VP. If the subject and following constituent meet the conditions for restructuring, the clitic may remain in this position, as in (17a), above. If the conditions are not met, PI is triggered and the clitic appears after the first stressed element in the VP, as in (17b) and (17c).

There are a small number of exceptions to the account just outlined. Half of them (2 examples), however, are of the type in (30), in which a demonstrative follows the rest of the subject.

- (30) a. ho poiēsas =me hugiē *ekeinos* =**moi** eipen
 the-N making-N me-A well-N that-N me-D said
 “that one making me well said to me” (John 5.11)
- b. ho embapsas met’ emou tēn kheira en tō trubliōi *houtos* =**me**
 the-N dipping-N with me-G the-A hand-A in the-D dish-D this-N me-A
 paradōsei
 betray-3sg
 “this one dipping his hand in the dish with me will betray me” (Matthew 26.23)

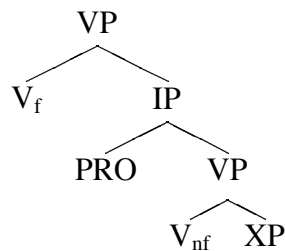
It seems possible that these are not in fact long subjects but left- dislocation structures, in which the “real” subject is *ekeinos* or *houtos*. Under this analysis, these examples cease to be exceptional. The remaining two examples, however, are true exceptions as far as I can tell. One involves conjunction (31a), and the other a genitive complement (31b). The exception rate, however, is very low, just over 1% (2/154), and thus well within the range found in other studies using written texts (Santorini 1992).

- (31) a. hoti *desma kai thlipseis* =**me** menousin
 that imprisonment-N and afflictions-N me-A await-3sg
 “that imprisonment and afflictions await me” (Acts 20.23)

- b. *hōs ēkhos phōnēs =moi* apekrithē
 like sound-N voice-G me-D answer-3sg
 “like a sound of a voice answered me” (sh.v4.I,4)

The 1W/2W alternation in the VP is easiest to see in clauses with an overt preverbal subject since the boundary of the VP is generally clear. There are other environments, however, which seem to show the same kind of pre-/post-verbal alternation. Infinitives, for instance, most commonly act as complements to finite verbs. When the non-finite verb follows the finite verb immediately, a clitic associated with the non-finite verb can either precede or follow it. Since the finite verb c-commands the non-finite verb, as illustrated in (32), this is just as expected. Examples are given in (33)

(32)



- (33) a. *kai mēd’ holōs dipsukhēsēis aitēsasthai =ti* para tou theou
 and don’t at all hesitate-2sg ask-INF anything-A from the-G god-G
 “and don’t hesitate at all to ask anything from God” (sh.p9.I,1)
- b. *takha dunatai =se eleēsthai*
 perhaps able-3sg you-A take pity-INF
 “perhaps he will be able to take pity on you” (let.107.15)

When some constituent other than the finite verb precedes the infinitive, however, c-command does not generally hold and so the clitic appears after the verb, in 2W. Some examples are given in (34).

- (34) a. *ērōtēsa de kai Hermian ton adelphon dia graptou anēgeisthai*
 asked-1sg PTC also Hermias-A the-A brother-A by letter-G inform-INF
=soi peri toutou
 you-D about this-G
 “I also asked your brother Hermias by letter to inform you about this” (let.106.4)
- b. *hotan thelēi ho despotēs tēs poleōs tautēs ekbalein =se*
 when wants-3sg the-N master-N the-G city-G this-G throw-out-INF you-A
antitaksamenon tōi nomōi autou
 breaking-A the-D law-D his-G
 “when the master of this city wants to throw you out for breaking his law”
 (sh.s1.I,6)

The final restructuring case I want to discuss is in clauses without preverbal subjects. Although, as I noted above, most clauses of this type are verb-first, there are quite a number

in which a constituent, most commonly some sort of adverbial but occasionally the object or some other constituent, appears before the verb. These work more or less identically to the SV cases discussed above, since the clitic appears either before or after the verb, as illustrated in (35).

(35) a. XP-clitic-V

ou= pantote =se enetrapēn hōs adelphēn;
not always you-A respect-1sg like sister-A

“did I not always respect you like a sister?” (sh.v1.I,7)

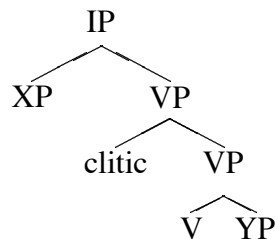
b. XP-V-clitic

All' oukh heneka toutou orgizetai =soi ho theos
but not because-of this-G be-angry-2sg you-D the-N god-N

“But God is not angry with you because of this” (sh.v1.III,1)

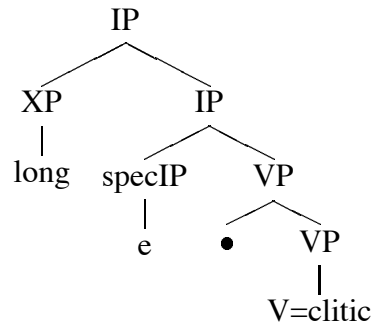
There is no structural information in these clauses which distinguishes whether the pre-verbal constituent is in the VP or the IP. If it is indeed the case, as I'm assuming, that the clitic always adjoins syntactically to the left-most edge of the VP, however, then the position of the clitic itself can give us some information. When the clitic is post-verbal, pre-verbal constituents must be outside the VP, as in (36), since Prosodic Inversion can never move the clitic more than one word to the right of the left-most edge of the VP. When the clitic is preverbal, on the other hand, it gives us no information about the position of the preverbal XP.

(36)

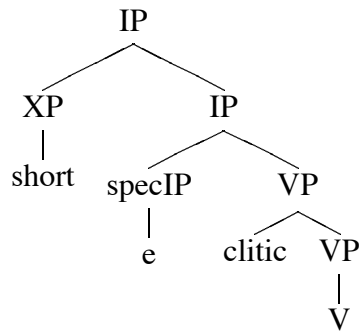


We are therefore left with the following situation. The syntactic configuration in (36) in which the preverbal constituent is attached to IP allows for two clitic positions depending on the length of the preverbal constituent. If it is long, PI is triggered and the clitic must appear in postverbal position, as in (37a). If it is short, PI may or may not be triggered, depending on whether restructuring occurs. If it does, the clitic remains in preverbal position, as in (37b); if not, PI is triggered and the clitic appears postverbally, as in (37c).

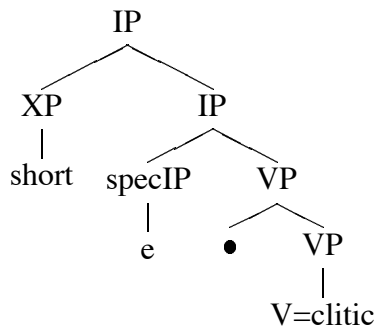
(37) a.



b.

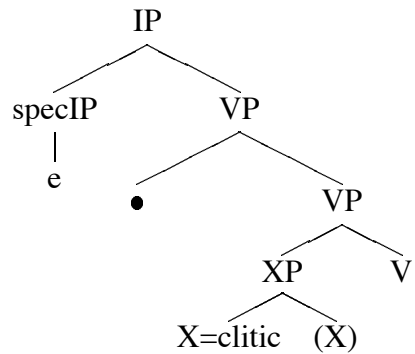


c.



In the other possible configuration, where the preverbal constituent is within the VP, as in (38), PI must take place since there is nothing before the clitic for it to lean on.

(38)



When the preverbal constituent is short, this gives rise to XP-clitic-V order. We might also expect cases in which the preverbal constituent is long and the clitic therefore interrupts it, as we saw with SV clauses. There are no cases of this sort in my data, however. Unfortunately, since at present I have no way to tell how many of the XP-clitic-V cases represent (36), that is IP-attachment, and how many (38), that is VP-attachment, there is no way to tell how significant this is. However, the fact that very few preverbal constituents are long (since most are adverbs) suggests that this is most likely an accidental gap.

Despite these problems with structural ambiguity, we should still expect the overall pattern in the XV clauses to be the same as for the SV clauses. That is, the position of the clitic in these cases depends on the length and complexity of the constituent preceding the verb. When this constituent is short and c-commands the verb, the clitic alternates between pre- and post-verbal position, but when it is long and/or complex, so that the Φ immediately preceding the verb is either branching or does not c-command the verb, the clitic is post-verbal. Some examples are given in (39) and (40). Table 2 gives the distribution of clitics in pre- and post-verbal position by length of preceding constituent. The distribution of the clitics in 1W and 2W in this table does not differ significantly from that found with SV clauses ($\chi^2 = 3.454$ p < .30 (3df))

(39) short preverbal constituent

- a. *Palin =moi* legei
again me-D say-3sg
“again he said to me” (sh.p3.I,1)
- b. kai *euthus* parekathisen **=moi**
and straightaway sit-3sg me-D
“and straightaway he sat beside me” (sh.v5.I,2)

(40) long preverbal constituent

- a. *Eis meson de tou pediou* edeikse **=moi** petran megalēn leukēn
in middle-A PTC the-G plain-G show-3sg me-D rock-A great-A white-A
ek tou pediou anabebēkuian.
from the-G plain-G risen-A
“in the middle of the plain he showed me a great white rock risen up from the plain” (sh.s9.II,1)
- b. kai *peri hōran pemptēn* emphanisthēsomai **=soi**
and about hour-A fifth-A appear-1sg you-D
“and about the fifth hour I will appear to you” (sh.v3.I,2)

	XP-clitic-V	XP-V-clitic
short XP	32	14
long XP	2	17

Table 2: The distribution of clitics in XP-V clauses by length of the preverbal constituent ($\chi^2 = 18.78$, p < .001)

As can be seen from Table 2, there are two exceptions to my hypothesis, that is, cases in which the preverbal XP is long but the clitic precedes the verb. The two examples

are given in (41). In both cases the preverbal constituent is *autēi tēi nukti* 'this night' which seems rather suspicious. Apart from the unlikely possibility that *autēi* is not stressed, however, I have no explanation for these at present.

- (41) a. *kai autēi tēi nukti =moi* *ōphthē neaniskos*
 and this-D the-D night-D me-D appear-3sg young-N
 "and on this night a young man appeared to me" (sh.v3.X,7)
- b. *autēi tēi nukti =moi* *ōptai hē presbutera*
 this-D the-D night-D me-D appear-3sg the-N old-N
 "on this night the old woman appeared to me" (sh.v3.I,2)

It is also possible, of course, to have more than one non-subject constituent before the verb. In these cases the clitic can appear in 1W before all the constituents, as in (42a), after the first one, as in (42b), or following the verb (42c). In the first case it must be assumed that all the preverbal constituents are within the VP. In the second, either all the constituents are within the VP and PI has taken place (42bi), or the first constituent is outside the VP and restructuring has occurred (42bii). In the third case, all the constituents must be outside the VP and the clitic position is derived by PI.

- (42) a. *egō thelō* [_{VP} **=se** [_{VP} *pantote kalōs ekhein hōs emauton*]]
 I-N wish-1sg you-A always well have-INF as myself-A
 "I wish you always to be well, as myself" (let.151.8)
- b. i. [_{VP} • [_{VP} *ou= pantote =se hōs thean hēgēsamen*]]
 not always you-A as goddess-A regard-1sg
 "did I not always regard you as a goddess?" (sh.A.1.7d)
- ii. *ou= pantote* [_{VP} **=se** [_{VP} *hōs thean hēgēsamen*]]
 not always you-A as goddess-A regard-1sg
 "did I not always regard you as a goddess?" (sh.A.1.7d)
- c. *peri toutou dia proteras epistolēs* [_{VP} • [_{VP} *edēlōsa =soi*]]
 about this-G by earlier-G letter-G inform-1sg you-D
 "I informed you about this in an earlier letter" (let.150.4)

3.2 The Stressed Host Requirement

As I mentioned in the introduction, a Φ boundary is not the only thing that can cause inversion. If a clitic is positioned syntactically following an unstressed word (that is, another clitic), inversion also occurs. Thus in verb-first clauses preceded by the conjunction *kai*, although the clitic is generated syntactically before the verb and following *kai*, it never remains in this position, but rather inverts with the verb, as in (43).

- (43) *kai=* [_{IP/VP} • [_{IP/VP} *agei =me pros to sumpselion*]]
 and lead-3sg me-A to the-A chair-A
 "and led me to the chair" (sh.C.1.7b)

Clitics in NPs never lean on the definite article, and this is also true of object clitics in articular infinitives and participles. Some examples are given in (44).

- (44) a. hoti aksion se hēgēsato [NP tou= [VP • [VP prodēlōsai
that worthy-A you-A consider-3sg the-G show-before-INF
=soi tēn thlipsin]]
you-D the-A tribulation-A
“that he considered you worthy of showing to you beforehand the tribulation”
(sh.s7.I,5)
- b. Hēraklidēs [NP ho= [VP • [VP apodidous =soi tēn epistolēn]] estin
Heraklides-N the-N bearing-N you-D the-A letter-A be-3sg
mou adelphos
my-G brother-N
“Heraclides the one bearing this letter to you is my brother” (let.106.2)

When an NP follows a complementizer, the clitic can appear 1W or 2W, as I showed in the first section. The same holds for object clitics in subordinate clauses. Both V-clitic and clitic-V orders occur in this position, as illustrated in (45), suggesting that unlike conjunctions and the definite article which are never stressed in the Koiné, complementizers can be either stressed or unstressed.

- (45) a. [CP ha =moi edeiksen dia tēs hāgias Ekklēsia autou]
which-A me-D show-3sg through the-G holy-G Church-G his-G
“which he has shown me through his holy Church” (sh.v4.I,3)
- b. kai mnēstheis [CP hōn= edidaksen =me megaleiōn]
and remembering-N which-G show-3sg me-A marvels-G
“and remembering which marvels he had shown me” (sh.v4.I,8)

There is one exception to this pattern, given in (46). Interestingly, the order of the NP is rather archaic, with the participle between the article and the noun rather than following the noun, as is usual in Koiné Greek. Given that in earlier stages of Greek, articles could host clitics, it is possible that this is an archaic construction, rather than a true exception.⁴

- (46) kai kath' hekastēs hēmeras kai opsias to proskunēma sou puō
and on every-G day-G and evening-G the-A supplication-A you-G make-1sg
para [NP tēi= [VP =se philousēi] Thoēri]
before the-D you-A loving-D Thoeris-D
“and every day and evening I make your supplication before Thoeris who loves you” (let.125.3)

4 Conclusions

In this paper I have shown that the distribution of object clitics in Koiné Greek is determined by the same syntactic and prosodic constraints that govern the distribution of NP-clitics. These are: (1) clitics are positioned syntactically at the leftmost edge of their phrasal domain;

⁴puō in (46) is a misspelling for poiō

(2) clitics cannot attach to a host across a Φ boundary; (3) Φ boundaries can be eliminated by restructuring, which is limited to syntactic configurations in which c-command holds; (4) lexical clitics require a stressed host.

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