

Opposite tendencies of placement rules for P2 clitics and the position of the finite verb

1. Preliminaries

Words, affixes, simple clitics, special clitics

The variation and gradience in the category of ‘grammatical morpheme’ is a direct result of the processes of change that affect morphemes and shape their properties of form and meaning. Lexical morphemes can become grammatical morphemes in the process of grammaticalization (as when the lexical morpheme *go* becomes part of the future construction *be going to*), and in this process gradually become more dependent upon and eventually fused with surrounding material. (Bybee 2010: 4)

This accentual test [i.e. beign unaccented, SL] is probably the most popular rule-of-thumb for distinguishing clitics from independent words, but it is most unreliable; it should never, I think, be used as the sole (or even major) criterion for a classification, though it can support a classification established on other criteria. The test has two problems, one minor and one major. ... The major problem is that many clearly independent words-e.g. English prepositions, determiners, and auxiliary verbs of English-normally occur without phrasal accent (Zwicky 1985: 287).

- 1) *Jóhn eats cákes.*
- 2) *Jóhn éats cákes* (rather than baking them)
- 3) *It vade a ca. / Ti 't vade a ca / *vade a ca.*
you(cl) you-go to home / you you(cl) you-go to home / you-go to home
“You are going home.”

Intonational units

- 4) a. [_I*My friend's baby hamster looks for food in the corners of its cage*]_I
b. [_I*My friend's baby hamster*]_I [_I*looks for food in the corners of its cage*]_I
c. [_I*My friend's baby hamster*]_I [_I*looks for food*]_I [_I*in the corners of its cage*]_I

- phonological host: the word or constituent to which the clitic attaches phonologically
- structural host: the word or constituent in the scope of the clitic

Two options for clitic placement:

- A. clitics select a specific host (e.g. Romance pronominal clitics) --> constituent based clitics

Examples:

- 5) *Non me ne è venuto niente di buono.*
not me(cl) from.it(cl) is come nothing of good
“Nothing good has come out of this for me.”
- 6) *Paolo va a scuola tutti i giorni, Maria ci va quando le pare.*
Paul goes to school all the days Mary there(cl) goes when her(cl) seems
“Paul goes to school every day, mary goes when she likes to.”
- 7) *Mia sorella ci ha cucinato una torta, sua cugina ne ha cucinate due.*
my sister us(cl) has cooked a cake her cousin part(cl) has cooked two
“My sister backed a cake for us, her cousin cooked two.”
8. *sù tò prosrēthēsómenon orthós ámeínon hēdonēs ge*
2SG.NOM ART.ACC say:FUT.PTCP.MID.ACC rightly better:ACC pleasure:GEN.F PTC
agathòn eínai nóûn
good:ACC be:PRS.INF mind:ACC

“You assert that the good which is rightly to be called better even than pleasure is mind.”
(Pl. *Phlb.* 19d).

9) *quae in amicitiam populi Romani dicionem=que essent*
REL.NOM.PL in alliance:ACC people:DAT Roman:DAT subjecthood:ACC and be:SUBJ.IMPF.3PL
‘which are allies and subjects of the Roman people’ (Cic. *div. in Caec.* 66).

10) *nu= us appa ishi= ssi pennai*
CONN 3PL.ACC back master.D/L 3SG.POSS.D/L drive:PRS.3SG
“(S)he takes them (= the oxen) back to their (sg.) owner.” *HG* § 79 (=Friedrich, 1959).

B. clitics select a specific position (typically second position) --> P2 clitics

What is second position?

- first word/first constituent

11. *Taj zadatak je veoma važan.*
that task is-Cl very important
‘That task is very important.’
12. *Taj je zadatak veoma važan*
that is-Cl task very important
‘That task is very important.’

(from Diesing, Đurđević, Zec 2009)

“The clitic cluster marks the boundaries between TOP(ic) and FOC(us) ... The elements before the clitic cluster can be interrogative XPs, TOP(ic) or C(ontrastive) FOC(us)” (Ćavar, Seiss 2011)

Types of P2 clitics

- sentential clitics --> scope: the sentence = phonological host
- pronouns, deictics --> scope a certain constituent, not (necessarily) phonological host

2. *P2 clitics in ancient IE languages*

2.1. Order

Vedic Sanskrit

Schäufele (1996) --> all sentence particles precede all clitic pronouns

Ancient Greek

Fraser (2003) particles and other items with connective function precede pronouns

“while pronouns are intonationally and syntactically part of the basic clause, particles emphasize the initial group.” (2003: 138)

Hittite

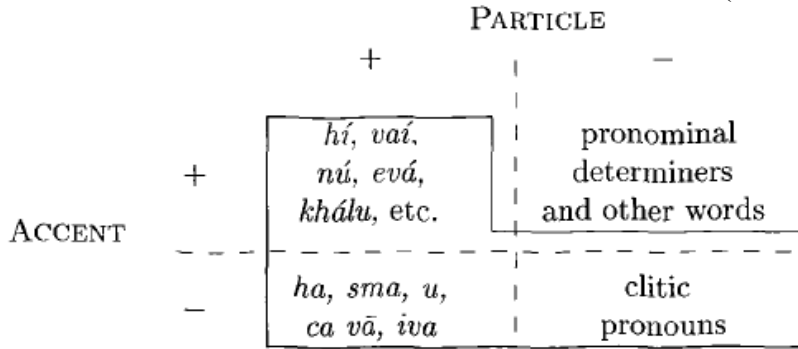
Luraghi (1990) decreasing domain, connectives precede pronouns and spatial deictics

2.2. Clitics and postpositives

‘Accented’ clitics?

Vedic: accented and non-accented sentential particles. “for characterizing all Vedic particles, therefore, a better term than “clitic”, owed to Zwicky (1982:5), would be “leaner”. ... Zwicky offers it as a label for a broader class of linguistic elements that share some, but not all, the characteristics of clitics; most importantly, they are automatically incorporated into phonological words with adjacent material, whether they themselves are (inherently) accented or not. ... [in] Fig. I ... the solid line encloses the classes of lexemes which ... are OBLIGATORY LEANERS: ... in actual usage, whether clitics or not, like clitics they *require* phonological hosts.” (Schäufele 1996: 452)

FIGURE 1. PROSODIC STATUS OF SANSKRIT LEXICAL ITEMS (from Schäufele 1996: 452)



Ancient Greek: “The term appositive is commonly used to refer to the class of nonlexicals that have the potential for losing some degree of rhythmical autonomy, or to this class of words when they actually do lose rhythmical autonomy in any particular instance. A prepositive is an appositive which, when it is not autonomous, coheres rhythmically with what follows, and a postpositive is an appositive which, when it is not autonomous, coheres rhythmically with what precedes.” (Divine, Stephens 1994: 306)

Hittite: enclitics are graphically attached to the phonological host. There is no graphic evidence for proclitics.

TABLE 1: POSITION OF HITTITE CLITICS (from Hoffner, Melchert 2008: 410)

i	ii	iii			iv	v
SENTENCE CONNECTIVES	DIRECT SPEECH	PERSONAL PRONOUNS			REFLEXIVE	SPATIAL DEICTICS
Accented Word (+ <i>-al-ya</i>)	<i>-wa(r)</i>	<i>-naš</i>	<i>-a-</i> (e.g.,	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-za</i>	<i>-an</i>
Accented Word (+ <i>-al-ma</i>)		<i>-šmaš</i>	<i>-aš, -an,</i>	<i>-ta l-du</i>		<i>-apa</i>
<i>nu</i>			<i>-at, -e, -uš</i>)	<i>-šeli</i>		<i>-ašta</i>
<i>šu</i>						<i>-kan</i>
<i>ta</i>					<i>-šan</i>	

Grammaticalization of clitics

1. *Direct discourse particle*

13) a. *nu = mu memir*

CONN 1SG.OBL speak: PRET.3PL

b. *paiueni = war = an = kan kuennumeni*

go: PRS.1PL PTC 3SG.ACC PTC kill: PRS.1PL

c. *nu = wa = tta SAG.DU-an utumeni*

CONN PTC 2SG.OBL head:ACC bring: PRS.1PL

“They told me: ‘we shall kill him and shall bring his head to you.’”, *StBoT* 24 ii 24-26 (=Otten, 1981).

14) *Hic ... “Nihil,” inquit, “de eorum sententia dicturus sum ...*

DEM.NOM.M nothing:ACC tell:PRS.3SG of 3PL.GEN opinion:ABL say:PTCP.FUT.NOM be:PRS1SG

“This one said: ‘I am not going to talk about the opinion of those ...’” *Caes. G.*

2. *Serialized motion verbs in post-P2 position*

15) a. *nu = mu = kan AMA- ŠU menahhanda para naista*

CONN 1SG.OBL PTC mother-his against towards send:PRET.3SG

b. *n = as = mu uit ĠİR.MEŠ-as katta haliyattat*

CONN 3SG.NOM 1SG.OBL come PRET.3SG foot-PL:D/L.PL down fall: PRET.3SG

“He sent his mother to me: she fell to my feet.” *AM* 70.28-29 (Goetze: 1933)

Cp. clitic climbing:

- 16) *Non te lo saprei dire. / Non saprei dirtelo.*
 Not you(cl) it(cl) I-would.know say / not I-would.know tell you(cl) it(cl)
 “I wouldn’t be able to tell you.”

3. *From local adverbs to particles*

Local adverbs

STATIC	DYNAMIC
<i>andan</i> , ‘inside’	<i>anda</i> , ‘into’
<i>appan</i> , ‘after’	<i>appa</i> , ‘afterwards’
<i>istarna</i> , <i>istarni</i> =, ‘among’	-
<i>kattan</i> , <i>katti</i> =, ‘below’, ‘with’	<i>katta</i> , ‘downwards’
<i>menahhanda</i> , ‘in front of’	-
<i>piran</i> , ‘before’, in front of’	<i>para</i> , ‘forewards’
<i>ser</i> , ‘above’, ‘over’	<i>sara</i> , ‘upwards’

NB: The forms *istarni*= and *katti*= only occur with enclitic possessives; the form *katti*= also has a special meaning, ‘with’, whereas *kattan* means ‘below’.

arha/arahza, ‘outside, out of’

tapusa/tapusza, ‘near, next to’

LOCAL ADVERBS IN LUWIAN

anda, *appa/appan/api*, *parra/parran/parri*, *sarra/sarri*

Adverbial usage in Old Hittite:

- 17) *anda= kan halinas tessummius tarlipit suwamus 2-ki petumini*
 into PTC clay-GEN bowl-ACC-PL *t*.-INSTR full-ACC-PL twice bring-1PL-PRES
 “we bring inside twice the clay vessels full of *t*.”, *StBoT* 8 i 26’-27’;

Postpositional usage in Middle Hittite:

- 18) *ÍD-i anda lahuwai*
 river-D/L into pour-3SG-PRES
 “(s)he pours into the river”, *TdH* 2 iv 3;

Preverbal usage in Middle Hittite:

- 19) *huiswatar=ma= pa anda hingani haminkan*
 life-N/A CONN PTC into death-D/L tie-PART-N/A
 “life is tied to death”, *KUB* 30.10 obv. 20;
- 20) *anda=ma= kan kissan memai petanti et= za nu= za duskiski*
 PREV CONN PTC so say-3SG-PRES place-VOC eat-2SG-IMPER PTC CONN PTC rejoice-
 2SG-IMPER
 “and he speaks as follows: ‘O place, eat and rejoice’”, *KUB* 32.137 ii 2-3;
- 21) *hrizzi prñnawi me= i ñtepi=tãti I[dã M]axzzã se ladã*
 upper-LOC building-LOC CONN 3SG-LOC PREV bury-3PL-PRES I.M.-ACC and wife-ACC
 “In the upper building they will bury Ida Maxzza and (his) wife” *TL* 57.6-7 (Lycian);

Postpositional usage of *katta* in Old Hittite:

- 22) [(LU)]GAL-*us* ^{GIS}*huluga[nnia(z)] katta u[(izzi)]*
 kingh-NOM litter-ABL downwards come-3SG-PRES
 “the king gets down from the litter”, *StBoT* 25, 25 i 28’;

Static adverbs with nominal modifiers or possessive adjectives in Old Hittite:

- 23) [*nu* ^m*Pi*]*thanas attas= mas appan saniya uitti [h]ullanzan*

CONN *P.*:NOM father:GEN my:GEN after following:D/L year:D/L rebellion:ACC
hullanun

conquer:1sg:ind:pret

"after my father Pithanas in the same year I defeated a rebellion", *StBoT* 18, 10-11;

- 24) *É-az* 1 LÚ 1 SAL *katti=ssi* *ienta*
house:ABL one man one woman with POSS:3SG:D/L:SG go:3SG:IND:PRES
"a man and a woman from the house go with him", *KBo* 23.1 13'-14';

- 25) *apas=* *a* *peran=mit* *kunnaz* *esari*
that-one-NOM CONN before 1SG-POSS-SG-N right-ABL sit-3SG-PRES-M
"he shall sit in front of me, on my right", *StBoT* 18, 78-79;

Etymology and origin of local adverbs

andan, cf. Gr. *en-don* < **en* + **dom*

appa, cf. Gr. *apó*,

istarna

katta, Gr. *katá* < **km* + *ta*

menahhanda < *mena-*, 'face', *hant-*, 'first', 'before' (Gr. *antí*)

para, Gr. *pará*; the form *piran* must be phonologically. /*pran*/

ser/sara (perhaps alternating *r/n* as in *watar/weten-as*)

arha < *arha-*, 'border', directive case; *arahza* abl. (cf. *kunnaz*, 'to the right')

tapusa < *tapus-*, 'side', directive case; *tapusza* abl.

the ending *-a* is the ending of the directive case (an allative), *-i* is the ending of the dative locative;

ser and /*pran*/ could be Ø locatives, as in *tekan*, 'earth', *takan*, 'on the ground'.

Particles:

- 26) ^{NINDA}*sarrui=ma=* *ssan* ERÍN^{MEŠ}-*az* *eszi*

*s.*bread-D/L CONN PTC troop-NOM lie-3SG-PRES

"a (clay figurine of a) troop lies on the *s.*bread", *StBoT* 8, i 30;

- 27) LUGAL-*i* *para* I-ŠU *paizzi* *appa=* *ma=* *sta* *nea* LÚ^{menean} KUŠ^{sarazzit}
king-D/L towards once go-3SG-PRES back CONN PTC turn-3SG-PRES *m-*:ACC *s.*:STRUM

walhzi *para=* *m=* *as* *paizzi* LÚ.MEŠ ALAM.KAxUS-*us* *walhzi*

hit-3SG-PRES forwards CONN 3SG-NOM go-3SG-PRES clown-ACC-PL hit-3SG-PRES

"he goes once towards the king, then he turns back, he hits the *m.* with a *s*, he goes forwards and hits the clowns", *StBoT* 25, 43 i 11-13;

- 28) *labarnas* LUGAL-*us* *inarawanza* *nu=* *sse=* *pa* *utniyanza* *humanza*
l.-NOM king-NOM be-strong-PART-NOM CONN 3SG-DAT PTC population-NOM all-NOM
anda inarahhi

into become-strong-3SG-PRES

"the king *labarna* is strong and the whole country is strengthened by him" (or strenghtens him?), *StBoT* 25.140 rev. 11-12;

- 29) *ug=* *an* *namma* *anda* [*p*]*aimi*
1SG-NOM PTC besides into go-1SG-PRES

"I go inside again", *StBoT* 8, ii 45;

- 30) *ta* LUGAL-*i* SAL.LUGAL-*ya* *kissan* *memahhi* *kasata=smas=* *kan* *utniyandan*
CONN king-D/L queen-D/L so speak-1SG-PRES behold 2PL-DAT PTC population-GEN
lalus *dahhun* *irma*<*n*>= *smas=* *kan* *dahhun* *kardi=* *smi=*
tongue-ACC-PL take-1SG-PRET illness-ACC 2PL-DAT PTC take-1SG-PRET heart-D/L POSS-2PL-D/L

ya=at= *kan* *dahhun*

and 3SG-N/A PTC take-1SG-PRET

"to the king and the queen I speak as follows: 'behold! I took away from you the bad words

- of the population, I took away illness, I took it away from your heart”, *StBoT* 8 i 9-12;
- 31)a) *a= nti=nta marhas atanti*
CONN REFL PTC god-NOM-PL eat-3PL-PRES
- b) *ni= ppa=si musanti*
NEG PTC 3PL-OBL satisfy-3PL-PRES
“the gods eat, and they cannot satisfy their hunger”, *StBoT* 10, p. 8, l. 6-7 (Palaic);
- 32) *zas= pa= ta kuwatin zammitatis^{NA4} harati auimmis*
this-NOM CONN PTC as flour-NOM grindstone-ABL come-PART-NOM
auiddu= pa= sta malhassassis EN-as haratnati waskulimmati
come-IMPER-3SG CONN PTC ritual-ADJ-NOM lord-NOM offence-ABL sinful-ABL
“as this flour has come from the grindstone, so may the Lord of the ritual (i.e. the person for whom the ritual is performed) come from sinful offence”, *StBoT* 30, p. 129 ll. 22-24 (Cun. Luwian);

With or without particle:

- 33) [3-*i*]_s LUGAL-*un* MUNUS.LUGAL-*ann=a huyanzi*
thrice king-ACC queen-ACC and run-3PL-IND-PRES
“they run three times to? the king and the queen”, *StBoT* 8 i 3;
- 34) *hassan=kan huyanzi*
hearth-ACC run-3PL-IND-PRES
“they run to the hearth”, *StBoT* 25.31 iii 8;
- 35) ^{NINDA} *sarrui=ma= ssan ERÍN^{MEŠ}-az eszi ser=samet= a GÍR ZABAR kitta*
s.bread-D/L CONN PTC troop-NOM lie-3SG-PRES over 3PL-A-POSS PTC dagger bronze lie-3SG-PRES
“a (clay figurine of a) troop lies on the *s.bread*; a bronze dagger lies over them”, *StBoT* 8 i 30-31;
- 36) *man ain wain pittuliuss=a LUGAL-i MUNUS.LUGAL=ya daskemi*
when pain:N/A:SG evil:N/A:SG fright:ACC:PL and king:D/L queen and take:1SG:IND:PRES:ITER
“whenever I take away pain, evil and fright from the king and the queen”, *StBoT* 8 i 7’-8’

Aspectual usage:

- 37) *nu sumes DINGIR^{MEŠ} DINGIR^{MEŠ}-as istanz[an]it sekten[i]*
CONN 2PL-NOM god-PL god-GEN-PL understanding-INSTR know-2PL-IND-PRES
“you gods know with the understanding of gods”, KUB xvii 21 i 6;
- 38) *nu= za DUMU-annaz kuit ŠA DINGIR-YA duddumar n= at= kan*
CONN PTC childhood-ABL which-N/A of my-god grace-N/A CONN 3SG-N/A PTC
sakhi
know-1SG-PRES-IND
“what the grace of my god has been since my childhood, I know it”, KUB xxx 10 obv. 10;
- 39) [*man=t*]_a *kan kuenta*
PTC te PTC UCCISE
“ti avrebbe ucciso”, *Madd. Ro.* 3-4;
- 40) *lalaidu= tta papraddu= tta*
take-3SG-IMPER PTC chase-3SG-IMPER PTC
“let him take (it and) chase (it)”, KUB 35.43 ii 12 (Cun. Luwian);

‘anaphoric’ usage of -*kan*:

- 41) ^{LÚ}SAGLA 1 ^{NINDA} *wagessar askaz udai LUGAL-i pai*
cupbearer one *w.-bread:N/A:SG door:ABL carry:3SG:IND:PRES king:D/L give:3SG:IND:PRES*
LUGAL-us parsiya ta= kkan waki
king:NOM cut:3SG:IND:PRES CONN PTC bite:3SG:IND:PRES
“the cupbearer brings one *w.-bread* from the door; the king cuts and bites from it”, KUB xxv

6 iv 11-14.

Etymology and possible origin of the particles:

-an, I.E. *en;
-kan, I.E. *kom;
-(a)pa, cf. Lat. ob;
-(a)sta, cf. Gr. énthēn
-san, I.E. *som
Luw. -tar, cf. Skr. tīras
Carruba (1969)

andan/anda	:	-an
appan/appa	:	-(a)pa
istarna	:	-(a)sta
kattan/katta	:	-kan
ser/sara	:	-san

Grammaticalization chain

- adverbs > prev./postp. > aspectual particles
- nouns with spacial referent > adverbs > prev./postp.

Lazard (1995): “Les préverbes ont pour la plupart une valeur locative. Ils indiquent la localisation ou la direction des procès exprimés par les verbes auxquels ils s’affixent. Souvent aussi, ils peuvent servir à marquer des nuances diverses, en particulier aspectuelles”.

Kurylowicz (1964): “[in Sanskrit] the new layer of adverbs, responsible for the rise of preverbs, is represented by forms frequently (though not always) related to the old ones, i.e. to the preverbs. ... adverbs ... derived from preverbs function as their successors and *at the same time as their expressive reinforcements.*”

cf. e.g. *úd/uccá; ní/nicá; práti/pratyak, sam/samyak, saha, abhi/abhítah*, etc.

2.3. ‘Irregular’ placement

Sanskrit

42. *mó śú nah̄ soma mṛtyáve párá dāḥ*
not=and indeed us soma.V death.D.S away give
‘And do not hand us over to death, Soma.’ (10.59.4a)
43. *utá vā yó no marcáyād ánāgasah̄*
also or who us would_harm innocent
‘or also who would harm us innocent’. (2.23.7a)
44. *divyā āpo abhí yád enam āyan*
divine waters to when him came
‘when the divine waters came upon him’ (7.103.2a)

Ancient Greek

45. *kai tote men min Lēmnon euktimenēn eperasse nēusin agōn,*
and then PTC 3SG.ACC Lemnos:ACC well-built:ACC sell:AOR.3SG ship:DAT.PL lead:PTCP.NOM
atar huios Iēsonos ōnon edōke:
even son:NOM Giason:GEN price:ACC give:AOR.3SG
keithen de xeinos min elusato - polla d’ edōken - Imbrios Ēetiōn
thence PTC guest:NOM 3SG.ACC ransom:AOR.3SG much PTC give:AOR.3SG Imbros:GEN Eetion:NOM
pempsen d’ es dian Arisbēn
send:AOR.3SG PTC to goodly:ACC Arisbe:ACC
“For that time had he sold him into well-built Lemnos, bearing [him] there on his ships, and

the son of Jason had given a price [for him]; but from thence a guest-friend had ransomed him— and a great price he gave—Eetion of Imbros, and had sent [him] unto goodly Arisbe” (Hom. *Il.* 21.40-42)

Hittite --> almost no occurrences of ‘irregular’ placement

46. *halmasuitti hassi=ya=ssan tiyanzi*
throne-D/L hearth and PTC put-3PL-PRES
‘and they (sc. the king and the queen) put (them, sc. the bowls) on the throne (and) on the hearth’, *StBoT* 8, ii 49.
47. *n= asta GIŠMÁ istappenas PA₅ -as istappenas para ÍD= kan anda pedai*
CONN PTC ship basin-GEN channel-NOM basin-ABL towards river PTC into lead-3SG-PRS
“the channel of the basin leads the ship outside toward the river from the basin”, KUB 29.7+ rev. 51-52.
48. *nu= ssan PANI DINGIR^{LIM} ANA GIŠBANŠUR.GIŠ=san ANA PANI NINDA zippinni*
CONN PTC in-fron-of god on wooden-table PTC in-front-of z.-bread
zikkizzi
put-3SG-ITER-PRES
“he puts (everything) in front of the god on a wooden table in front of the z.-bread”, KBo 21.33+ iv 10-11.

Placement options:

- sentence connective/first word
49. *nu= tta = kkan URUhattusi ANA LÚMES^{URU} hayasa=ya assuli istarna*
CONN 2SG.OBL PTC H.-D/L to people H. and good among
tekussanunun
show:1SG.PRET.CAUS
“I had you be favorably introduced in Hattusa even to the people of Hayasa” KBo 5.3. i 4-5.
50. *LÚ.KÚR^{MES} -mu= kan LÚ.MES^{URU} arsanatallus DÍŠTAR GAŠAN-YA ŠU-i dais*
enemy:PL 1SG.OBL PTC envious:ACC-PL I. Lady my hand:D/L put:3SG.PRET
“Istar my Lady put in my hand my enemies and those who were envious of me” *StBoT* 24.

3. *The position of the finite verb*

Hittite:

- strictly SOV
 - V-initial variant used for pragmatic purposes (~ 1%)
 - postverbal afterthought constituents or focused negations (< 1%)
- (51.) *iyami= man=pat=wa kuitki*
do-1SG-PRES PTC PTC PTC something-N/A-N
“if I only could do something!”, KUB 23.103 rev. 13;
- (52.) #^a *apus hantezumni tehhi #^b wes= a namma anda paiwani*
these porch-LOC I-put we PTC again inside we-go
#^c 2 *DHantasepus harwani GIŠ-as #^d harkanzi= ma= an DHantasepes*
two H-divinities-ACC we-have of-wood they-have PTC PTC H.-divinities
anduhsas harsarr= a GIŠSUKUR^{HIA} = ya #^e sakuwa= smet ishaskanta
men-GEN heads and lances and eyes their bloodstained
#^f *wesanda= ma isharwantus TÚGHIA-us #^g putaliyantess= a*
they-wear PTC purple-ACC clothes-ACC bound-NOM and

#^h *anda= kan halinas tessummius tarlipit suwamus 2-ki petumini*
inside PTC of-clay vessels-ACC t.-INSTR full-ACC twice we-carry
#ⁱ *tarueni= ma= at eshar #^l DUMU.É.GAL-is ^DHantasepan LUGAL-i*
we-call PTC it blood page-NOM H-divinity-ACC king-DAT
kissari dai #^m tessumminn= a pai #ⁿ SAL.LUGAL= ya QATAMMA pai
hand-LOC he-puts vessel-ACC and he-gives queen and the same he-gives
"#^a I put those in the front-porch. #^b We go inside again, #^c holding two H. divinities, made
of wood. #^d (The H. divinities **hold** human heads as well as spears ; #^e their eyes are
bloodstained. #^f They **are wearing** purple clothes #^g and have high belts). #^h Twice we
bring inside the clay vessels full of t. #ⁱ (we **call** it blood); #^l the palace servant puts a H.
divinity in the hand of the king #^m and gives him a vessel; #ⁿ the same he gives to the
queen" *StBoT* 8 i 21-31'.

Ancient Greek

free word order - OV only slightly more frequent than VO in classical authors:

TABLE 2 - FREQUENCY OF WO PATTERNS IN CLASSICAL GREEK (from Dover 1960: 30)

	SV	VS	OV	VO
Herodotus	75	45	85	76
Lysias	38	24	61	55
Plato	42	21	43	33

WO heavily influenced by discourse structure (Dik 1995, Matic' 2003)

4. *The diachrony of Hittite P2 clitic chains*

- ii direct speech particle: in Old Hittite limited usage, later
 - iii personal pronouns: oblique pronouns become more frequent following the loss of possessives; third person subject pronouns with intransitive verbs increasingly obligatory
 - iv reflexive: after OH obligatory with certain verbs
 - v 'local' particles loose their function as spatial deictics and become aspectual markers (obligatory with certain telic verbs, e.g. 'kill')
53. *takku LÚ.ULU^{LU}-as ELLAM-as KAxKAK=set kuiski waki*
if man-GEN free-GEN nose 3SG-POSS-N/A someone-NOM-SG bite-3SG-PRES
'if someone bites the nose of a free man', *HG* § 13 (A i 24) (=Friedrich, 1959).
54. *LÚKÚRMEŠ-mu= kan LÚ.MEŠarsanatallus DIŠTAR GAŠAN-YA ŠU-i dais*
enemy-pl 1sg-obl ptc evious-acc-pl I. Lady my hand-d/l put-3sg-pret
"Istar my Lady put in my hand my enemies and those who were envious of me", *StBoT* 24 i 58-59.
55. *man=us= kan ^mhuzziyas kuenta nu uttar isduwati*
PTC 3PL-ACC PTC H.-NOM kill-3SG-PRET CONN thing-N/A-N become-known-3SG-PRET-M
"Huzziya would have killed them, but the matter became known", *TE* iii 11;
56. *man=an= kan ^maskaliyas kuienzi s= an ANA É EN.NU.UN dais*
PTC 3SG-ACC PTC A.-NOM kill-3SG-PRES CONN 3SG-ACC to prison put-3SG-PRET
"Askaliya wanted to kill him, so he put him in prison", *KBo* 3.34 ii 17.
57. a) *mahhan=ma=za ABU-YA ^mmursilis DINGIR^{LIM} kisat*
when CONN PTC father my M.-NOM god become-3SG-PRET
- b) *ŠEŠ-YA=ma=za=kan ^mNIR.GÁL ANA^{GIS}GU.ZA ABI-ŠU esat*
brother my CONN PTC PTC M. on throne father his sit-3SG-PRET

- c) *ammuk=ma=za ANA PANI ŠEŠ-YA EN.KARAS kishahat*
1SG-NOM CONN PTC in front of brother my army-commander become-3SG-PRET
- d) *KUR UGU=ya=mu maniyahhanni pesta*
country upper and 1SG-OBL administrate-INF give-3SG-PRET
- e) *nu KUR UGU^{TI} taparha*
CONN country upper rule-1SG-PRET
- f) *piran=ma=at=mu^{mD} XXX.DU-as DUMU^{mzida} maniyahhiskit*
before CONN 3SG-N/A 1SG-OBL A.-NOM child Z.administrate-3SG-PRET-ITER
'when my father Mursili became a god (i.e. died), my brother Muwatalli sat on his father's throne while I became army commander in front of my brother, and he gave me the Upper Country to administrate. So I ruled the country. (Before me Zida's son, Armadatta, had administrated it for a long time)', *StBoT* 24 i 22-28 (= Otten, 1981).

58. a) *nu= kan INA KUR^{URU} arzauwa paranda paun*
CONN PTC in country A. upwards go-1SG-PRET
- b) *nu INA^{URU} apasa ANA URU^{LIM} ŠA^{muhha}-LÚ^{andan} paun*
CONN in A. to city of U. into go-1SG-PRET
- c) *nu= mu^{muhha}-LÚ-is UL mazzasta*
CONN 1SG-OBL U.-NOM not resist-3SG-PRET-M/P
- d) *n= as= mu= kan huwais*
CONN 3SG-NOM 1SG-OBL PTC escape-3SG-PRET
- e) *n= as= kan aruni paranda gursawanza pait*
CONN 3SG-NOM PTC sea-D/L towards sail-PART-NOM-SG-C go-3SG-PRET
- f) *n= as= kan apiya anda esta*
CONN 3SG-NOM PTC there in be-3SG-PRET

'I went up to the country of Arzawa. In the city of Apasa I went into Uhhaziti's quarters and Uhhaziti did not make any resistance. He escaped me and went sailing on the sea and stayed there', (*AM* 50).

The prosodic status of the initial connective:

nu, ta, su with clitic: *n=as, t=as, s=as*

--> *nassu, nasma*

- proclitic (Melchert 1998)
- variant used before enclitics (Eichner p.c.)

--> Modal particle *man* in complementary distribution with 'accented' connectives or P2 clitic

5. The diachrony of Ancient Greek clitics

Tendency toward contiguity:

- only sentence connectives can occur after the definite article (exception: dative of possession, Taylor 1990, genitive)
- possessive clitics occur by their head noun

59. *hē dē Puthiē sphi krâi tåde*
ART.NOM PTC Pythia:NOM 3PL.DAT prophesy:PRS.3SG DEM.ACC.PL
"The Pythia prophesies to them the following." Hdt. 1.66.2.

60. *hai gár sphi kámēloi híppōn ouk hēssontes es takhutêta eisi*
ART.NOM.PL PTC 3PL.DAT camel:NOM.PL horse:GEN.PL NEG lesser:NOM.PL in speed:ACC
be:PRS.3PL

“For their camels are not inferior to (their) horses in speed.” Hdt. 3.102.19

- 61) *kai liēn se páros g' out'eiromai ou̐te metallō*
and frequently 2SG.ACC before FOC NEG ask:AOR.1SG.MID NEG inquire:AOR.1SG
“In the past I have not been accustomed to inquire nor ask you.” Hom. *Il.* 1.553;
- 62) *hòs tóte mén moi hupéskheto kai katéneusen*
REL.NOM once PTC 1SG.DAT promise:AOR.3SG.MID and bow:AOR.3SG
“Of old he promised me, and bowed his head thereto.” Hom. *Il.* 9.19.
- 63) *ho gár toi país me ho Sáturos apédra*
ART.NOM PTC PTC child.NOM 1SG.ACC ART.NOM Satyros:NOM run.away:AOR.3SG
“The boy Satyrus ran away from me.” Pl. *Prot.* 310c3.
- 64) *áneu gár episēmou ou̐ sphi nómos estì ékhein skēptron*
without PTC image:GEN NEG 3PL.DAT custom:NOM be:PRS.3SG have:PRS.INF staff:ACC
“Indeed, it’s not their custom to carry a staff without an image.” (Hdt. 1.195.2)
- 65) a. *egō gár, ó Athēnaíoi, epeidē édoxé moi gēmai ...*
b. *epeidē dé moi paidón gígnetai, epísteuon ēdē*
c. *epeidē dé moi hē mētēr eteleútēse,*
after PTC 1SG.DAT ART.NOM mother.NOM die:IMPF.3SG
pántōn tōn kakōn apothanoûsa aitia moi gegénētai
all:GEN.PL ART.GEN.PL evil:GEN.PL die:PTCP.AOR.NOM cause:NOM 1SG.DAT become:PF.3SG
“When I, Athenians, decided to marry, [and brought a wife into my house, for some time I was disposed neither to vex her nor to leave her too free to do just as she pleased; I kept a watch on her as far as possible, with such observation of her as was reasonable.] But when a child was born to me, thence-forward I began to trust her, [and placed all my affairs in her hands, presuming that we were now in perfect intimacy. It is true that in the early days, Athenians, she was the most excellent of wives; she was a clever, frugal housekeeper, and kept everything in the nicest order.] But as soon as I lost my mother, her death became the cause of all my troubles.” Lys. 1.7
- 66) *taúta mèn d'ísa pròs ísa sphi genésthai*
that-N/A-PL-N PTC PTC same-N/A-PL-N to same-N/A-PL-N 3PL-DAT become-INF
“at that moment their condition were equal” Hdt. 1.2.1.
- 67) *ho patēr sou kagō odunōmenoi ezētoûmén se*
the father-NOM 2SG-GEN and-I-NOM suffer-PRES-PART-NOM-PL ask-1PL-PRES 2SG-ACC
‘your father and I ask you in sadness’, Lc. 2.48.
- 68) a. *eselthoûsan de kai tithēisan tà heímata*
go.out:PRT.AOR.ACC.F PTC and put:PTCP.PRS.ACC.F ART.ACC.PL clothe:ACC.PL
ethēito ho Gúgēs
see:IMPF.3SG.MID ART.NOM Gyges:NOM
b. *kai hē gunē eporâi min exiōnta*
and ART.NOM woman.NOM see:PRS.3SG 3SG.ACC go.out:PTCP.PRS.ACC
a. “When she had come in and was laying aside her garments, Gyges saw her; (when she turned her back upon him to go to bed, he slipped from the room.)”
b. “The woman glimpsed **him** as he went out. (But when she realized what her husband had done, though shamed, she did not cry out or let it be seen that she had perceived anything, for she meant to punish Candaules)” Hdt 1.10.2.
- 69) *kai hē Amēstris punthánetai min ékhousan*
and ART.NOM Amestris:NOM learn:PRS.3SG 3SG.ACC have:PRT.PRS.ACC
“(But as he [*sc.* the king] could not move her, he gave her the mantle; and she, rejoicing greatly in the gift, went flaunting her finery.) Amestris heard that she had **it**. (But when she learned the truth, it was not the girl with whom she was angry. She supposed rather that the

girl's mother was guilty and that this was her doing, and so it was Masistes' wife whom she plotted to destroy)." Hdt. 9.110.2.

5. *From null pronouns to clitics: Latin to Romance*

"...in languages with object clitics, one never finds a simple sentence where both the object clitic and the lexical NP object are missing (when the verb subcategorizes for an object)." (Roberge 1990: 177)

"... for transitive verb forms and object would be mandatory." (Lehmann 1974:40)

Dans les combinaisons *le lui, la lui, le leur, la leur, les lui, les leur*, au moyen âge, on omettait ordinairement le premier pronom; en dépit de Vaugelas (Rem, p. 33), cela se faisait parfois encore au XVII siècle: . . . *il a demandé la "Vie des Saints", on lui a donnée . . .* – Cette haplogie est restée courante dans le langage populaire ou familier: . . . – *Tu entends! Je ne lui ai pas fait dire* (J. Giraudoux, *L'Apollon de Bellac*, 8). (Grevisse 1959: 547f.)

(70.) *they gave him

(71.) *gli hanno data

(72.) *I didn't make him say

(73.) *e molto ricoverò lo 'mperio e ridusse in buono stato.* G. Villani, 3.6.32,

(74.) *conquistò Inghilterra, e _ diliberò da diverse e barbere nazioni che lla signoreggiavano* (G. Villani, 1.24)

(75.) *L'esistenza contemporanea non è minacciata ... dall'impeto delle acque profonde, ma dalla bonifica che le inaridisce e prosciuga*, C. Magris, *Dietro le parole*, Garzanti, Milano, 1978.

"Even if it is absolutely clear to everyone concerned that a particular door is in question, the remark *Did you lock? cannot be used to 'refer' to the door in question" (Fillmore 1986: 98).

(76.) Tu as fermé?

(77.) Hai chiuso?

Latin:

(78.) ... *habui contionem. omnes magistratus praesentes praeter unum praetorem et duos tribunos pl. dederunt*

"I held an oration. All the officials who were present allowed me, except for a pretor and the two tribunes of the people", Cic. *Att.* 4.1;

(79.) *P. Sextus Baculus ... et item C. Volsenus ... ad Galbam adcurrunt atque unam esse spem salutis docent*

"P. Sextus Baculus and C. Volsenus ran to Galba and explained that they only could hope to be safe in one way", Caes. *BG* 3.5.

(80.) *At Agrippina pervicax irae et morbo corporis implicata, cum viseret eam Caesar, profusis diu ac per silentium lacrimis, mox invidiam et preces orditur*

"meanwhile **Agrippina**, obstinately nursing her anger, and attacked by physical illness, was visited by the emperor. For long her tears fell in silence; then she began with reproaches and entreaties" (4.53);

(81.) *prolocuta respicit Anicetum trierarcho Herculeio et Obarito centurione classiaro comitatum: ac, si ad visendum Ø venisset, refotam nuntiaret*

"**she** said, and saw Anicetus behind her, accompanied by Herculeius, the trierarch, and Obaritus, a centurion of marines. If he had come to visit **the sick**, he might take back word that she felt refreshed" (14.8).

- (82.) *interim Piso; apud aedes Cereris opperiretur, unde eum; praefectus Faenius et ceteri accitum ferrent in castram, comitante Ø; Antonia*
 “in the meantime Piso would wait near the temple of Cereres; from there, the prefect Faenius and the others would take **him** and brought **him** away, with his wife Antonia accompanying *him*”, Tac. *Ann.* 15.53.
- (83.) *Ac primo Radamistus in amplexus eius effusus simulare obsequium, socerum ac parentem appellare; adicit ius iurandum, non ferro, non veneno vim adlaturum; simul Ø in lucum propinquum trahit*
 “the first act of *Radamistus* was to throw himself into **his** arms with affected devotion and to address **him** as father-in-law and parent. *He* followed with an oath that neither by steel nor by poison would he practice against **his** life. At the same moment, *he* hurried **him** into a neighboring grove”, Tac. *Ann.* 12.47;
- (84.) *novistine hominem? novi,*
 “did you know the man? I did (I knew Ø)”, Pl. *Bacch.* 837;
- (85.) *Milites imperat; mittunt*
 “he asks for soldiers, they send *some*”, BC 1.15;
 Italian: “chiede soldati, ne mandano” (French *en*, Spanish Ø)
- (86.) *Caesar exercitum reduxit et ... in hibernis Ø conlocavit.*
 “Cesar led his army back and lodged it in the winter camp”, BG 3.29.3.
- (87.) *or non avestú la torta? Messer sí: ebbi*
 “didn’t you have the cake? Yes Sir, I did”, Nov. 79;
- (88.) *você viu o filme ‘E tudo o vento levou’? Sim, vi.*
 “have you seen the film ‘Gone with the wind’? yes, I have” (Portuguese)
- (89.) *quibus litteris circiter media nocte Caesar adlatis suos facit certiores eosque ad dimicandum animo confirmat*
 “this letter having been brought around midnight, Cesar let his soldiers know and persuaded **them** into fighting”, BG 5.49.5.1.
- (90.) *aquam comportare in arcem atque eam munire ... coepit*
 “(he) started to carry water into the citadel and to strengthen it”, BC 3.12.2.1
- (91.) *nostri ... in hostes impetum fecerunt atque eos in fugam dederunt*
 “our soldiers attacked the enemies and put them to flight”, BG 4.27.1.1
- (92.) *Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret*
 “**Livy**, with a fame of eloquence and candor second to none, lavished such eulogies on Pompey that Augustus styled **him** ‘the Pompeian’” Tac. *Ann.* 4.34
- (93.) *accepta oratione eorum Caesar obsides imperat eosque ad certam diem adduci iubet*
 “having heard their talk, Cesar asks for hostages and orders to bring them on an established date”, BG 5.1.9.1
- (94.) *igitur P. Umbreno quoidam negotium dat, uti legatos Allobrogum requirat eosque, si possit, impellat ad societatem belli,*
 “then he orders a certain P. Umbrenus to ask the Allobroges for messengers and, if possible, to persuade them to fight together”, *Cat.* 40.1
- (95.) *Cethegus Ciceronis ianuam obsideret eumque vi adgrederetur;*
 “Cethegus broke into Cicero’s home and attacked **him**”, *Cat.* 43.2
- (96.) *itaque consulente Cicerone frequens senatus decernit Tarquini indicium falsum videri eumque in vinculis retinendum*
 “thus, on Cicero’s inquire, many members of the senate said that Tarquinius’ accusation sounded false and that he must be kept in jail”, *Cat.* 48.6
- (97.) *id ex itinere oppugnare conatus, ... paucis defendentibus expugnare non potuit.*

“he tried to take it [=the town] on his route but he couldn’t, in spite of only few men defending it”, Caes. *BG* 2.12.

- (98.) *et obtuli eum discipulis tuis et non potuerunt curare eum*
 “I took him to your pupils, and they could not heal him”, Mt. 17.16;
- (99.) *et interrogavit eum unus ex eis legis doctor tentans eum*
kaī epe:ró:te:sen eis ex autô:n peirázo:n autôn
 “and one of them, a law doctor, asked him, trying to tempt him” Mt. 22.35;
- (100.) *viderunt infantem ... et adoraverunt illum*
 “they saw a child and adored him”, Mt 2.11 (*Itala*, the *Vulgata* has *adoraverunt eum*).
- (101.) *che tutta quanta si lacerò e infranse,*
 “that she was thorn and broken completely”, Bono Giamboni *Libro de’ vizi e delle virtudi*.
- (102.) *et non sciebant unde esset, ministri autem sciebant, qui haurierant aquam, Gv. 2.9;*
 a. *che non sapeva donde questo uscisse (lo sapevan però i serventi);*
 b. *y no sabia de donde era, aunque los que servian lo sabian;*
 c. *& ne sçachant d’où venoit ce vin, quoique les serviteurs ... le sçussent bien;*
 d. *and knew not whence it was, but the waiters knew who had drawn the water.*

Direction of cliticization

- 103) *Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperi*
 frighten:IMPF.3SG 3SG.ACC nature:NOM man:GEN.PL eager:NOM power:GEN
 “(Though he was at first gratified with these circumstances, **Micipsa**, considering that the merit of Jugurtha would be an honor to his kingdom, yet, when he reflected that the youth was daily increasing in popularity, while he himself was advanced in age, and his children but young, he was extremely disturbed at the state of things, and revolved it frequently in his mind.) The very nature of man, ambitious of power, gave **him** reason for apprehension.”
Sall. Jug. 6.3;
- 104) *Eos omnis praeter Turpilius inter epulas obtruncant*
 3PL.ACC all.ACC except Turpilius:ACC among banquet:ACC.PL slaughter:PRS.3PL
 “(When the time came, they invited **the centurions and military tribunes**, with Titus Turpilius Silanus, the governor of the town, to their several houses.) They butchered **them** all, except Turpilius, while they were dining.” *Sall. Jug.* 66.3.
- 105) *Lo spaventava la natura umana stessa, avida di potere.*
 him(cl) frightened the nature human itself eager of power
- 106) *Li massacrarono tutti, tranne Turpilio, mentre cenavano.*
 them(cl) butchered all except Turpilius at+the banquet

Fillmore & Kay (1995):

- (i) Direct Instantiation
 (ii) Distant Instantiation --> relativo
 (iii) Coinstantiation --> verbi a controllo
 (iv) Double Instantiation --> (a) espletivo con sogg. postverblae (francese) (b) ripresa con clitico
 (v) Null-instantiation

the concept of ‘empty category’ as it is understood in the Governmentand-Binding framework is incompatible with the strictly mono-stratal, nonderivational framework of Construction Grammar. In the latter, the semantic interpretation of the unexpressed valence element is taken to be directly provided by the grammatical construction within which the null element occurs rather than being determined by various movement operations

- (107.) a. Je l’ai fait manger

- b. Je les lui ai fait manger
- c. Je lui ai fait manger
- d. Je lui ai fait manger chaudes

- (v_i) Indefinite Null-instantiation --> attività (es. 14)
- (v_{ii}) Definite Null-instantiation (es. 17)
- (v_{iii}) Free Null-instantiation --> generico, ma potrebbe anche essere specifico:

- (108.) Le medicine fanno bene
- (109.) Le beau temps invitait à rester.
‘The nice weather invited *(us/them) to stay.’
- (110.) Il bel tempo invita a uscire
The nice weather invites **you** to go out

One test for the (INI/DNI) distinction has to do with determining whether it would sound odd for a speaker to admit ignorance of the identity of the referent of the missing phrase. It’s not odd to say things like “He was eating; I wonder what he was eating”; but it is odd to say things like “They found out; I wonder what they found out.” The missing object of the surface-intransitive verb eat is indefinite; the missing object of the surface-intransitive verb find out is definite. The point is that one does not wonder about what one already knows. (Fillmore 1986: 97)

- (111.) John just ate
- (112.) John just ate a hamburger
- (113.) John just ate a hamburger at MacDonald’s

Each filler elaborates on a substructure of the verb ‘eat’

The event of eating requires an eater and something eaten. The former is more salient, hence the verb can be construed as denoting an activity. The event is localizable: a substructure of ‘eat’ is elaborated by the location expression, but this substructure is much less salient than those elaborated by ‘John’ and ‘a hamburger’.

- (114.)*Seymour sliced
- (115.) Seymour sliced the salami
- (116.) Seymour sliced the salami with a knife

‘recipe’ style:

- (117.) *eisi de autōn patriai treis hai ouden allo*
be:prs.3pl ptc dem.gen.pl tribe:nom.pl three:nom.pl art.nom.pl nothing:acc other:acc
siteontai ei mē ikhthūs; mounon, tous; epeite an thēreusantes
eat:prs.3pl if neg fish:acc.pl only art:acc.pl when ptc catch:prtc.aor.nom.pl
auēnōsi pros hēlion, poieusi tade: esballousi Ø_i es holmon kai
dry:prs.3pl to sun:acc do:prs.3pl dem.acc.pl throw:prs.3pl into mortar:acc and
leēnantes Ø_i huperoisi sōsi Ø_idia sindonos
pound:prtc.prs.nom.pl pestel:dat.pl drain:prs.3pl through linnen:gen
“Furthermore, there are three tribes in the country that eat nothing but fish, which they catch and dry in the sun; then, after throwing it into a mortar, they pound it with pestles and strain everything through linen”, Hdt. 1.200.

Lexically licensed DNI

- *Frame-induced referents*

(118.) Vai ad aprire!

- *Topical referents*

(119.) Vuoi un gelato? Non ho voglia.

(120.) Non ha voluto.

FNI or DNI?

(121.) I'm eating (FNI)

(122.) I'm eating a piece of bread

(123.) I picked up a piece of bread and started eating

Lexical vs. constructional DNI?

(124.) A: John married Mary.

B: I know!

(125.) A: Giovanni ha sposato Maria.

B: *(Lo) so!

(126.) A: I just can't do that!

B: I understand.

(127.) A: Non posso proprio farlo!

B: (Lo) capisco.

Different degrees of discourse salience

(128.) epexêlthon hoí te epíkouroi kai autôn
march:AOR.3PL ART.NOM PTC mercenary:NOM.PL and DEM.GEN.PL
Samíōn sukhoí_i dexámēnoi de tous
Samian:GEN.PL many:NOM.PL engage:PTCP.AOR.NOM.PL PTC ART.ACC.PL
Lakedaimoníous ep' olígon khrēnon épheugon opísō,
Spartan:ACC.PL on little.ACC time:ACC flee:IMPF.3.PL back
hoi de epispómēnoi Ø_i ekteínon Ø_i.
ART.NOM.PL PTC pursue:PTCP.NOM.PL kill:IMPF.3PL

“The mercenaries and many of the Samians themselves sallied out near the upper tower on the ridge of the hill and withstood the Lacedaemonian advance for a little while; then they fled back, with the Lacedaemonians pursuing and destroying them.” (Hdt. 3.54.2);

(129.) ei mèn oûn egò édē ēkēkōē parò Prodíkou
if PTC PTC 1SG.NOM PTC hear:PF.1SG from Prodicus:GEN
tēn pentēkontadrákhmon épideixin, hēn akóusanti
ART.ACC fifty.drachma:GEN.PL discourse:ACC REL.ACC hear:PTCP.PRS.DAT
hupárkhei perì toûto pepaideûsthai, hōs phēsin ekeînos, oudèn
be:PRS.3SG about DEM.ACC teach:PF.INF.M/P as say:PRS.3SG DEM.NOM NEG
àn ekōluán se autíka mála eidénai tēn
PTC hinder:IMPF.3SG 2SG.ACC at.once very know:INF.AOR ART.ACC
alétheian perì onomátōn orthótētos: nūn de ouk
truth:ACC about name:GEN.PL correctness:GEN PTC PTC NEG
akékoa, Ø_i allà tēn drakhmiaían.
hear:PF.1SG but ART.ACC one.drachma:ACC

“Now if I had attended **Prodicus's fifty-drachma course of lectures**, after which, as he himself says, a man has a complete education on this subject, there would be nothing to hinder your learning the truth about the correctness of names at once; now, I haven't heard

- that**, but only the one-drachma one.” (Pl. *Crat.* 384b-c).
- (130) a. Le chianti, vous le buvez? – Le chianti, vous buvez?
 b. Les bananes, tu les manges? – Les bananes, tu manges?
 c. Les Marocaines, vous les fumez? – Les Marocaines, vous fumez?
- (131) A: Le film il me semble. . .
 B: J’ai pas vu, moi.

Dependency on extralinguistic context:

- (132) a. (Speaker just about to leave a colleague’s office, placing her purse on the desk)
 Je laisse ici? (corpus Lemoine)
 b. (Mother to her son who just lifted a suitcase too heavy for him) Pose! (Fónagy 1985)

References

- Adam, J. N., 1977. *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus*. Manchester, UP.
- Adams, J. N 1994. Wackernagel’s law and the position of unstressed personal pronouns in Classical Latin, *TPhS* 92, 1994, 104–105.
- Adams, J. N 1996. Interpuncts as Evidence for the Enclitic Character of Personal Pronouns in Latin. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 111, 208-210.
- Anderson Stephen R. 2003. *Aspects of the Theory of Clitics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bauer, Anna 2011. Verberstsätze im Hethitischen. In Krisch, T. et al. (eds.), *Indogermanistik und Linguistik im Dialog*. Fachtagung Salzburg 2008. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 39-48
- Behagel, Otto 1909. *Beziehungen zwischen Umfang und Reihenfolge von Satzgliedern*, in “Indogermanische Forschungen” 25, pp. 110-142.
- Belloro Valeria A. 2007. *Spanish Clitic Doubling: A Study of the Syntax-Pragmatics Interface*. PhD Thesis, SUNY at Buffalo.
- Berretta, Monica 1985. *I pronomi clitici nell’italiano parlato*, in G. HOLTUS & E. RADTKE, a cura di *Gesprochenes Italienisch in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen, Narr, 185-224.
- Bögel, Tina. 2010. 'Pashto (Endo-)clitics in a Parallel Architecture'. *Proceedings of the LFG10 Conference*, Carleton University, Ottawa. CSLI Publications.
- Boley, Jacqueline 1989. *The sentence particles and the place words in Old and Middle Hittite*, Innsbruck, Universität.
- Bossong, Georg, 1998 “Vers une typologie des indices actanciels. Les clitiques romens dans une perspective comparative”. In *Atti del xxx Congresso della Società di Linguistica Italiana*. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Brandi, Luciana and Patrizia Cordin (1989). "Two Italian dialects and the null subject parameter." O. Jaeggli, K.,Safir (eds.) *The null subject parameter*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 111-142.
- Bybee, Joan L. 2010. *Language, usage and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Carruba, Onofrio 1969. *Die Satzeinleitenden Partikeln der indogermanischen Sprachen Anatoliens*, Roma, Ateneo e Bizzarri.
- Ćavar, Damir and Melanie Seiss. 2011. Clitic Placement, Syntactic Discontinuity and Information Structure. In Miriam Butt and Tracy Holloway King, editors, *Proceedings of LFG 2011: University of Hong Kong*, pages 131–151. CSLI Publications, 2011.
- Delbrück, Berthold 1878. *Die altindische Wortfolge aus dem Catapathabrahmana*. Halle, Waisenhauses.
- Devine, A. M. & L. D. Stephens. 1994. *The Prosody of Greek Speech*. New York-Oxford, OUP.
- Devine, Andrew M., Laurence D. Stephens (2000), *Discontinuous syntax. Hyperbaton in Greek*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Diesing, Molly, Dušica Filipovic Đurđević and Draga Zec 2009. Clitic Placement in Serbian: Corpus and Experimental Evidence. In Sam Featherston and Susanne Winkler (eds.), *The*

- Fruits of Empirical Linguistics*, pages 61–75, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dik, Helma. 1995. *Word order in Ancient Greek: a pragmatic account of word order variation in Herodotus*. Amsterdam.
- Dover, Kenneth J. 1960. *Greek word order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dressler, Wolfgang 1970. “Grundsätzliches zur Funktion der altanatolischen Satzpartikeln”, *Archiv Orientalny* 38, 385-390.
- Egerland Verner 2002. “Sull'omissione del pronome clítico oggetto in italiano antico”, *Verbum* 4/ 2, 349-366.
- Fontana, Josep (1993) *Phrase Structure And The Syntax Of Clitics In The History Of Spanish*. PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania
- Fontana, Josep M. 1996. Phonology and syntax in the interpretation of the Tobler-Mussafia law. In Halpern, Zwicky (eds.), 41-83.
- Fraenkel, E. (1933)“Kolon und Satz, II: Beobachtungen zur Gliederung des antiken Satzes” *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*: 319-354.
- Fraser, Bruce 2003. The clause start in Ancient Greek: Focus and the second position. *Glotta* 77, 138-177.
- Garrett, Andrew 1996. “Wackernagel’s Law and unaccusativity in Hittite,” in Halpern and Zwicky (eds.): 85-133.
- Goldstein, David M. 2010. *Wackernagel’s Law in Fifth-Century Greek*. PhD Thesis, University of California at Berkeley.
- Halpern, Aaron 1995. *On the placement and morphology of clitics*. Stanford: CSLI Publications
- Halpern, Aaron L. and Arnold M. Zwicky (eds.), *Approaching Second: Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Hock, Hans Henrich 1996. “Who’s on First? Toward a Prosodic Account of P2 Clitics,” in Halpern and Zwicky (eds.): 199-270.
- Hoffner, Harry A. and H. Craig Melchert 2008. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Hopper, Paul and Elizabeth Traugott 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Janse, Marc 2000. Convergence and Divergence in the Development of the Greek and Latin Clitic. In R. Sornicola, E. Poppe, A. Shisha-Halevy (eds.), *Stability, Variation and Change of Word-Order Patterns over Time*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 231-258.
- Jelinek, Eloise 1996. Definiteness and Second Position Clitics in Straits Salish. In Halpern and Zwicky (eds.):.
- Johnson, Ruth, 1991. *The Direct Object Pronoun as Marker of Transitivity in Latin*. Ph.D. Diss. UCLA.
- Joseph, Brian 2002. ‘Word’ in Modern Greek. In R.M.W. Dixon, A. Aikhenvald (eds.) *Word: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 243-265.
- Josephson, Folke 1972. *The function of the sentence particles in Old and Middle Hittite*, Uppsala, Skriv service AB.
- Klanvans, Judith 1985. “The Independence of Syntax and Phonology in Cliticization,” *Language* 61: 95-120.
- Krisch, Thomas 1990. “Das Wackernagelsche Gesetz aus heutiger Sicht”, in H. Eichner & H. Rix, Hrsg., *Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 64-81.
- Kurylowicz, Jerzy 1964. *The inflectional categories of Indo-European*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz.
- Lazard, Gilbert, 1995. *Préverbes et typologie*. In Rousseau (ed.), 23-30.
- Luraghi, Silvia, 1990a. *Old Hittite Sentence Structure*. London-New York, Routledge.
- Luraghi, Silvia, 1990b. “Osservazione sulla Legge di Wackernagel e la posizione del verbo nelle lingue indoeuropee”. In P. Ramat, M. E. Conte & A. Giacalone, eds., *Dimensioni della Linguistica*, Milano, Franco Angeli, 31-60.

- Luraghi, Silvia, 1993. "Verb serialization and word order. Evidence from Hittite". In H. Aertsen & R. Jeffers, eds., *Historical Linguistics 1989*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, 1993, 267-281.
- Luraghi, Silvia (1995), *The function of verb initial sentences in some ancient Indo-European languages*, in M. NOONAN & P. DOWNING, a cura di, *Word Order in Discourse*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, pp. 355-386.
- Luraghi, Silvia 1996. "Processi di grammaticalizzazione in ittita". *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* 81/1, 45-47
- Luraghi, Silvia 1997a. "Anatolian", in P. Ramat & A. Giacalone Ramat, eds., *The Indo-European Languages*. London - New York, Routledge, 169-196
- Luraghi, Silvia 1997b. *Omission of the direct object in Classical Latin*. "Indogermanische Forschungen" 102, pp. 239-257.
- Luraghi, Silvia, 1998a. "Omissione dell'oggetto diretto in frasi coordinate: dal latino all'italiano". In *Atti del xxx Congresso della Società di Linguistica Italiana*. Roma: Bulzoni.
- Luraghi, Silvia 1998b. "The grammaticalization of the left sentence boundary in Hittite". In A. Giacalone Ramat & P. Hopper, eds., *The Limits of Grammaticalization*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, 189-210
- Luraghi, Silvia 2000. *Hittite*. München/New Castle, Lincom Europa.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2001. "The development of local particles and adverbs in Anatolian as a grammaticalization process". *Diachronica* 28/1, 31-58.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2003. "Definite referential null objects in Ancient Greek". *Indogermanische Forschungen* 108, 169-196.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2010a. "The rise (and possible downfall) of configurationality". In S. Luraghi, V. Bubenik (eds.) *Continuum Companion to Historical Linguistics*. London/New York, Continuum, 212-229.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2010b. "Transitivity, intransitivity and diathesis in Hittite". In *ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙСКОЕ ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ И КЛАССИЧЕСКАЯ ФИЛОЛОГИЯ – XIV*, vol. 2. St. Petersburg, Nauka, 133-154.
- Matić, Dejan. 2003. "Topic, focus, and discourse structure: Ancient Greek word order", *StudLang* 27(3):573-633.
- Melchert, Craig 1998. "Poetic Meter and Phrasal Stress in Hittite" In J. Jasanoff, H. C. Melchert & L. Oliver (eds.), *Mir Curad. Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*. Innsbruck, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 483-494
- Mišeska Tomić 1996. The Balkan Slavic nominal clitics. In Halpern and Zwicky (eds.): 511-535.
- Neu, Erich 1993. "Zum hethitischen Ortspartikeln". *Linguistica* 33, 137-152.
- Philippaki-Warbuton, Irene and V. Spyropoulos 1998. On the boundaries of inflection and syntax. In Booij, G. & van Marle, J. (eds.) *The yearbook of morphology 1998*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 45-72.
- Pinault, George (1995), 'Le problème du préverbe en indo-européen', in Rousseau (ed.), 35-59.
- Radanović Kocić, Vesna 1996. The placement of Serbo-Croatian clitics: a prosodic approach. In: Halpern and Zwicky 1996: 429-446.
- Renzi, L. e Vanelli, L. (1983), "I pronomi soggetto in alcune varietà romanze", In AA.VV. (a cura di), *Scritti in onore di G.B. Pellegrini*, Pisa, Pacini, pp. 120-145.
- Rothe, Wolfgang, 1966. "Romanische Objektkonjugation". *Romanische Forschungen* 78, 530-547.
- Rousseau, A. ed., 1995. *Les préverbes dans les langues d'Europe*, Villeneuve d'Asq, Septentrion
- Ruijgh, Cornelis J., 1990. "La place des enclitiques dans l'ordre des mots chez Homère d'après la loi de Wackernagel", in H. Eichner & H. Risch, eds., *Sprachwissenschaft und Philologie*, Wiesbaden, Reichert, 213-233.
- Russi, Cinzia 2008. *Italian Clitics. An empirical study*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Salvi, Giampaolo 2004. *La formazione della struttura di frase romanza: ordine delle parole e clitici*

- dal latino alle lingue romanze antiche*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Schäufele, Steven 1996. 'Now That We're All Here, Where Do We Sit? Phonological Ordering in the Vedic Clause-Initial String'. In Halpern and Zwicky (eds.), 447–475.
- Steele, Susan 1977. Clisis and diachrony. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Mechanisms of syntactic change*. Austin: Texas UP, 539-79.
- Sznajder, Lyliane, forthcoming. "Conditions d'effacement des compléments d'objet et agencement des propositions en latin". In *Papers from the viiith Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Madrid, April 1997*.
- Taylor, A. 1990. *Clitics and Configurationality in Ancient Greek*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, PA.
- Tegey, Habibullah. 1977. *The Grammar of Clitics: Evidence from Pashto and Other Languages*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois.
- Van Reimsdijk, Henk 1999. *Clitics in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wackernagel, Jacob (1892), Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1, 333-435.
- Wanner, Dieter 1987. *The Development of Romance Clitic Pronouns from Latin to Old Romance*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- Wurff, Wim van der, 1994. "Null objects and learnability: The case of Latin", *Working Papers of Holland Institute for Generative Linguistics* 1/4.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. *On Clitics*. Bloomington.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1985. Clitics and Particles. *Language* 61: 283-305.