

Modern Greek word order in the process of syntacticization: preliminary evidence from Late Byzantine and Early Modern Greek

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1 Introduction

A recurring commonplace in descriptions of Greek word order is that all six logically possible permutations of the major clausal constituents [S V O] yield grammatical linearization patterns. This general observation seems to hold true for all historical stages of the language.

Nonetheless, there are major arguments that point towards word order reorganization in Greek during the Hellenistic period¹. These are often amplified by suggestions that Modern Greek progresses towards a rigid SVO language type². Triggered from the above, this study asserts that there is a move towards syntacticization in Modern Greek. Such a claim can be empirically verified if an unmarked word order can be clearly identified, which is used in a variety of pragmatic contexts. Concurrently, all the alternative orderings are reserved for specialized pragmatic functions.

Greek is specially well-suited for diachronic study, due to its long written history (8th c. BC onwards). It is this continuous attestation which has rendered possible the compilation of a broadly representative corpus of historical narrative texts. Data analysis is placed within Knud Lambrecht's information structure (henceforth IS) theoretical framework (1986, 1987, 1994), which had to be specially adapted for the diachronic study of Greek. The interaction of three interrelated parameters was investigated: functional structure, which describes the actual order of elements in the clause (i.e. S-V-O), syntactic structure, and information structure.

The research hypothesis has been fully substantiated by the preliminary data analysis. In Classical Greek (CG), on the one hand, it is not possible to identify a single word order pattern as the unmarked one. SV(O) is restricted to shifted topic-comment clauses, a topic-comment subcategory. Besides, there is no direct mapping between syntactic constructions and pragmatic contexts. In Modern Greek (MG), on the other hand, SV(O) has been 'promoted' to the status of the unmarked word order type. This is typically linked to topic-comment clauses. It is also associated with other IS types, that is, it has a far wider distribution. Furthermore, there is a more direct correlation between syntactic configurations and pragmatic functions.

¹ See Taylor (1994), Horrocks (1997) and Atchison (2001) among others.

² See Georgakopoulos *et al.* (2006).

In view of these findings, it becomes imperative to shed further light on the mechanisms behind such a word order change; I thus decided to examine more closely the stages of historical development in Greek which are immediately prior to MG, namely Late Byzantine (LByz) and Early Modern Greek (EMG). Primarily, I set out to assess the compensation strategies for less flexible word order: first, the ‘specialized’ use of marked word order constructions like preposing, inversion and clitic doubling; second, the precedence of passivization over object-first constructions; and third, a greater freedom in the choice of subject.

2 Methodological issues

Lambrecht’s (1994) theory of IS generates a taxonomy of three basic IS types, each with two subtypes: *topic-comment* [TC] is divided into shifted topic (TCS) and continuing topic (TCC), in relation to whether the topic is the same or not as in the preceding discourse; *thetic* [Th] bifurcates into presentational (TP) and event-reporting (TE), according to whether a new entity or a new event has been introduced into the discourse; and, lastly, *identificational* [Id] into subject identificational (IS) or complement identificational (IC), according to whether the missing bit of information for the hearer is encoded as the subject or the complement of the clause.

Lambrecht’s theoretical framework had to be specially adapted to accurately describe Greek data. As evidenced from above, Lambrecht views topicality as a binary system which consists of continuing topic comment (TCC) and shifted topic comment (TCS). As data analysis suggests though, this concept can more accurately be conceived as a gradient notion³. New topic-comment categories were thus extrapolated, namely semi topics (TC_{semi}) and subtopics (TC_{SUB}). The former label is used for ‘semi-topical’ referents in presupposed constructions (Lambrecht’s backgrounded clauses⁴) encoded by subordinate clauses, whereas the latter is used for inferrable topics⁵ in main clauses.

The database for LByz and EMG consists of ten text extracts, five selected from each period. The primary criterion for text selection was, apart from the availability of material, the choice of linguistic code. I meticulously opted for texts closer to the vernacular end of the continuum. Any of the secondary restrictions, like non-dialectal literature, had to be revoked due to data unavailability. This relative scarcity of textual sources is further accentuated by the fact that LByz is the least studied period of Greek according to Markopoulos (2009: 116n 2). As for EMG, only recent years have seen a growth of interest in its study. Even so, both historical periods have yet to be fully documented.

³ This view is also advocated by the psycholinguistic research on reference (See Givón 1983; Ariel 1990; Prince 1981, 1992, Gundel *et al.* 1993).

⁴ Lambrecht (1994: 125–26).

⁵ Prince (1992), Chafe (1994).

LByz texts have been classified under two subcategories: the declassifying metaphrases of the Palaiologan period (13th–14th c. AD), and the chronicles about the Fall of the Byzantine Empire (15th c. AD). The term *declassifying metaphrasis*⁶ is attributed to ‘linguistically simplified’ versions of works written in the classicizing *Hochsprache* (hence the term de-classicizing). Such demotic translations involved “the transposition into a more reader friendly register...”, as they were intended for a wider reading public (Horrocks 1997: 196). The single common theme of the 15th c. histories about the fall of the Byzantine Empire is the capture of Constantinople as chronicled by post-Byzantine historical writers. These works fall chronologically outside the limits of the Late Byzantine period. In fact—in strictly chronological terms—they should be counted as EMG texts, given that LByz ends with the Siege of Constantinople in 1453. Nevertheless, it cannot be emphasized enough that these are conventional distinctions; texts defy any strict linguistic categorization based on historical boundaries. The linguistic code used is the sole determinant for the preservation or innovation linguistic features (see also Thoma 2007: 160n 2).

3 Greek in the process of syntacization

3.1. Distribution of SV(X) in LByz and EMG

One of the most solid and obvious arguments in favour of the hypothesis that Greek is in the process of syntacticization comes from the cross-diachronic and cross-constructural distribution of overt subjects in the language. It is therefore a matter of priority to assess whether there is a rise in SV(X)⁷ frequency in comparison to previous historical periods examined. According to the obtained data, SV(X) is prevalent only in topic-shift contexts (TCS) in both main clauses (MC1) and subordinate clauses (SubCl). For the two intermediate periods examined, the total of preverbal subjects in main clauses is 70, as opposed to 35 for postverbal ones. This shows that the preverbal subjects are half as frequent. This difference is even higher in the context of SubCl, where less than one third of the subjects occur postverbally.

Semi-topics (TC_{semi}) seem to be even better represented in the SV construction at approximately 79 %, but this is due to the contribution of relative pronouns or relative adverbials in the count, which have a fixed position in the clause. If we left these out, then their representation would drop to nearly 55% (only 19 instances). In the remaining topic-comment classes, namely TCC and TC_{SUB}, the numerical difference between preverbal and postverbal placement of the subject is minimal. The total distribution of SV(X) in LByz and EMG main clauses only is summarized in the table below:

⁶ J. Davis (2004).

⁷ Please note that X can stand for either argument or adverbial; hence SV(X) includes both intransitive and transitive constructions.

[SV(X)]	<i>n</i>	%
Hist. periods		
LByz (I)	52/207	25.12
LByz (II)	32/120	26.66
EMG	50/319	15.67

Table 2. Distribution of SV(X) MCI in LByz & EMG

For the sake of a more accurate evaluation, and in order to obtain a more complete picture of the diachronic fluctuation of SV(X), data from CG and MG have also been imported in the following graph:

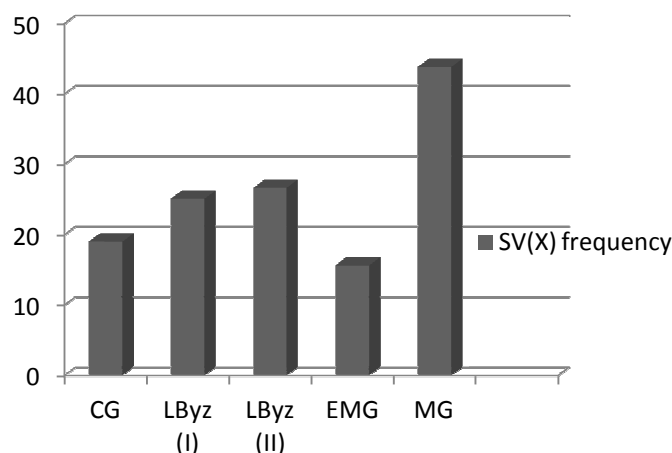


Figure 1. Diachronic distribution of SV(X) construction in Greek

On moving from CG to MG, we note a significant increase in the attestation of the SV(X) construction, which goes up to nearly 45 %, which is more than twice as frequent as in CG. The Latin numbers I and II on the graph stand for the two different subcategories of LByz, namely the declassicizing metaphrases, and the 15th century chronicles about the Siege of Constantinople. The total percentages for both groups of LByz texts are almost identical with an insignificant statistical difference of 1.54 % (LByz (I): 25.12%; LByz (II): 26.66%). In EMG, the statistical frequency of SV(X) is 15.67%, which is even lower than the corresponding percentage in CG (19.04%).

As I have already mentioned in the section on methodology, I had to make great concessions during the data selection process due to lack of data availability. I decided to solely abide by one key, uncompromising criterion: the linguistic medium of the selected texts, which had to be close to the vernacular of each

historical period examined. Non-compliance to all the set criteria was not without its repercussions though.

First, the inclusion of texts in my corpus which would not be selected otherwise was rendered inevitable. One case in point is Soumakis' chronicle *The Revolution of Popolari*. Soumakis is a representative example of dialectal literature, as his work is written in the language of the Ionian islands (i.e. the Heptanese). His rather idiosyncratic linguistic traits are his particular idiolect and his excessive use of subordination. Nevertheless, I decided to include Soumakis' chronicle in my corpus, as there was no other alternative, or to put it more accurately, it was the best option among even less suitable alternatives.

Another major issue arose from the subgenre of autobiography. This text type almost by definition, involve a major discourse referent, which typically occurs as the topic/subject; since Greek is a so-called pro-drop language (i.e. the subject is indicated by verbal agreement) the frequency of constructions with overt subject is significantly lower than in historical texts. Even though this observation was seriously taken into account, I decided to include autobiographical texts in my corpus for two reasons: first, it seemed that this was the only viable option for historical periods where vernacular texts of any genre are unavailable. Second, that it could actually be a positive attribute of my research to collect data from a different subgenre, so as to avoid my results being viewed as skewed for genre.

SV(X) underrepresentation in EMG logically points to a number of issues. Primarily, it has to be determined whether this is due to genre or stylistic considerations. More specifically, this could be accounted for by a shift of balance towards autobiographical texts or even the idiosyncratic variation in individual writers. Then, it is worth investigating whether the texts which are closer to the vernacular 'polarize' towards MG, whereas texts of the so-called 'middle styles' are a slight progression from CG texts. However, none of these premises seems to be warranted by the data at hand.

There is an oscillation between SV(X) and VS(X) constructions in EMG more than in any other historical period examined. SV reversal extends across all IS types. Corpus data shows the following distribution (out of a total of 65 main declarative clauses):

<i>topic-comment</i>			<i>thetic</i>		<i>identificational</i>	
TCC	TCS	TCSUB	TE	TP	IS	IC
10	19	3	14	7	9	3

Table 3. Distribution of SV inversion across all IS types in EMG

Monoargumental structures constitute a 66.15% [43] of the total number of SV inverted constructions. We cannot fail to notice the unusually high incidence of SV inversion in the contexts of topic continuity (TCC) and topic shift (TCS) in particular when compared to previous periods. In all attested TCC clauses with

SV inversion the restatement of an active, topical referent-involved in a new action or event-is either in contexts of referent disambiguation, or at the beginning of a new paragraph or section.

In general, a possible explanation for SV low attestation is the phenomenon of labile orders, which predicts a fluctuation between SV and VS in intransitive clauses for languages with a dominant SVO word order. According to Sornicola (1999, 2000, 2006), the abovementioned language types exhibit strong divergence when it comes to monoargumental structures. Nevertheless, SVO has not yet emerged as the statistically more frequent order in the language. According to the data, this has only been established in the immediately following historical period of MG.

Another issue to consider is whether VS is used for textual demarcation. All attested examples tend to occur in turning points in narration and in contexts of thematic discontinuity. Therefore, we could argue that SV inversion is used to formally signal an episode boundary. Relatedly, Sornicola (2006: 446) remarks that “... in the Indo-European languages with dominant SVO order, VS order is often associated with narrative progression”.

In the period under examination, an abrupt increase has been attested in the frequency of thetics and subject identificational. These are the very constructions, in the context of which VS has acquired a specialized pragmatic function in MG. A daring theoretical claim would be that it is such an overwhelming VS frequency which has led to its syntacticization in MG. It should be pointed out though that VS is also quite frequent in the context of shifted topic-comment clauses in EMG, where SV clearly prevails in MG.

3.2 Distribution of SVO in LByz and EMG

One way round this is to refer back to the corpus and tease out only transitive main clauses (SVO). Even though SVO statistical frequency is slightly higher in EMG than in previous historical periods (namely CG and LByz), it is still lower than expected, that is less polarized towards MG data.

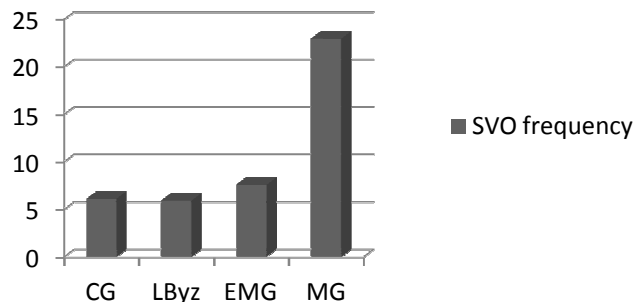


Figure 2. Diachronic distribution of SVO construction in Greek

A few notable observations can be made from the changing distribution of IS types associated with SVO constructions, as we move from CG to MG. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition, it has to be kept in mind that these findings are only relevant for SVO configurations only.

Primarily, the overwhelmingly most frequent IS classification in CG main clauses is TCS (21/24 or 87.5%). This seems hardly surprising, given that new or resumed topics require overt syntactic manifestation of their referents. Nevertheless, its statistical prevalence is steadily reduced to reach a 34.84% attestation [23/66] in MG, as can be deduced from the table below:

	TCS		TCSUB		TCsemi	
	<i>MCl</i>				<i>SubCl</i>	
	no.	%	no.	%	no.	%
CG	21/24	87.5	1/24	4.16	18/30	60
LByz	13/20	65	1/20	5	5/13	38.46
EMG	12/19	63.15	3/19	15.78	10/14	71.42
MG	23/66	34.84	29/99	43.93	17/21	80.95

Table 4. Diachronic distribution of SVO construction across all TC types in Greek

Reversely, subtopics (classified under the TCSUB type) have progressed from a lesser represented IS subgroup up to LByz, to the most prevalent one in MG. In the domain of embedded clauses, semi-topics (classified under the TCsemi type) have always had the highest rate of occurrence. From EMG onwards though, TCsemi can be pinpointed as the overwhelmingly most frequent IS type for SUBClS.

4. Compensation strategies for less flexible word order

4.1 Preposing

The term preposing⁸, as formulated by Ward (2008: 1), refers to “a class of constructions sharing a common syntactic structure: the occurrence of a lexically-overnerved postverbal phrasal constituent occurring in preverbal position”. Two major types of preposing have been identified in the literature: focus preposing and topicalization or topic preposing⁹ (see Prince 1981, Ward 1988, Birner and

⁸ The term *preposing* is more appropriate for a language with a syntactically word order like English. In the context of a discourse governed language like Greek in the periods examined, I will use it as an interchangeable term with *preverbal*.

⁹ I will refrain from using the term *topicalization*, as it has been used to refer collectively to both types of preposing constructions in the literature. Topicalization points to a single syntactic

“such things were accomplished by bad advice” [EMG]-*Ecth* (3; 26)

The first is an instantiation of a preposed object, whereas the second of a preposed complement in LByz and EMG respectively.

The preposed object in topic preposing constructions encodes the topic of a clause. All three TC types are represented in the data in the following order: TCS>TCSUB>TCC. The most representative type of topic preposing is the encoding of the preverbal constituent by a clitic pronominal, as in the following example from Manasses (13th c):

(3) ta epêren o Nabouchodonosor proton
CLT

O V S A

them he.took the Nebuchadnezzar first

“Nebuchadnezzar took them first” [LByz] *Man* (344)

There are also two instances of clitic reduplication, two with elliptical NPs, and one with a personal pronoun.

4.2 Clitic reduplication¹⁰

Another argument in support of the view that topic is in the process of grammaticalizing as a subject comes from clitic-doubled constructions which involve object promotion to a topic. Clitic reduplication will be used in this context as an overarching term for all clausal constructions which involve the co-occurrence of a pronominal clitic with a coindexed direct or indirect object NP. There is a proliferation of research on the formative role of clitics in Greek linearization (see Horrocks 1990 in particular), which is, incidentally, diachronically attested. Through this clitic interposition, two constructions have emerged, namely CL (Clitic Doubling) and CLLD (Clitic Left Dislocation) in MG. All the identified examples are elicited from the autobiographical texts in my corpus. The following two instances of the constructions constitute two consecutive clauses in the MG text of Makriyannis’s *Memoirs* (19th c.):

(4) ta xetimisamen ta dyo merdika pentakosia grosia
O_iPRO_{cl} V O_iART(+)_{NUM}(+)_{Nc} C_{NUM}(+)_{Nc}

these we.sold the two rations five.hundred groschen

“we sold the two rations at five hundred groschen”

¹⁰ I use the term *clitic* in a theoretically non-committal sense (see Pappas 2004).

(5) ki afta opote arrostaina t' aphina eis tin diathikin mou
 OiPROpers OiPROcl V CPP
 and these whenever I.became.ill them I.left in the will my

“and when I became ill, I left them (i.e. the money) in my will”
 (Makr 1957: 53; transl. by Lidderdale 1966: 34¹¹)

In the case of CL, the object topic occurs as the focus in the immediately preceding clause. This construction is used to establish it as a topic outside the focus domain. In the immediately following CLLD, the anaphoric pronoun and its clitic copy are referentially linked to an inferrable nominal ‘the money’, evoked by the antecedents ‘two rations’ and ‘five hundred groschen’. In general, both CL and CLLD are used to promote the object rather than the subject (the default option) as a topic expression. Their functional difference seems to be that the clitic-doubled NP is associated with different pragmatic roles: CL is used to mark out a secondary topic, whereas CLLD a primary one (Deligianni 2010).

Only two examples of clitic reduplication seem to be identified in the two historical stages of Greek under study. Both originate from the texts which are closer to the vernacular, each in its respective period, namely Manasses in LByz and Avatios in EMG.

(6) pantas tous ex aimatos kai genous basilikou apêre tous aichmalôtous doulous
 OiNP V OiPROcl C
 all the from blood and lineage royal he.took them captives slaves

“he took all those from royal blood and lineage as captive slaves”
 [LByz]-*Man* (363)

(7) ola ta eida gkemnismena
 OiADJQ OiPROcl V C
 all them I.saw demolished

“I saw them all demolished” [EMG]-*Ceph* (172)

¹¹ General Makriyannis, *Απομνημονεύματα* (Memoirs), Athens: 1957 (first published 1907; preface by S. Asdrachas).

As long as the clitic follows the coindexed NP in both cases, both (6) and (7) could be classified as instances of clitic left dislocation (CLLD). However, these two examples depart from the examples of clitic reduplication presented in the previous section, in one important respect: the quantifiers *pantas* and *ola* ‘all’ usurps the pragmatic role of focus in the proposition. All instances of clitic-doubled nominals though are only compatible with a topical status. This is also one of Tsakali’s (2006: 4, 2008: 194–95) arguments on which she bases the theoretical claim that clitic doubling (CL) constructions with floating quantifiers have an underlying structure which is similar to a single clitic construction. She also remarks therein that quantifier ‘all’ is obligatorily accompanied by a clitic, even in languages which do not have clitic doubling (like French and Italian). This adequately explains why she uses the term ‘pseudo-doubling’ as the more appropriate label for this construction (Tsakali 2007). There are also a few instances of clauses in the corpus, which would be obligatorily encoded by either CL or CLLD in MG. One such example has been extracted from the paraphrase of Alexius Comnena:

- (8) kai emathe touto Isangeles (*Comn* 33)
 and found.out this [PROdct] Isangeles
 “and Isangeles found out about it”

The MG equivalents are illustrated below:

- (9) * emathe auto o Isangeles
toi emathe *autoi* o Isangeles (CD)
 [PROcl] [PROdct]
autoi *toi* emathe o Isangeles (CLLD)
 [PROdct] [PROcl]

The only two undisputed instances of CLLD occur in the context of relative clauses:

- (10) ton opoion ton elegasi kai Skenteri
 [PROrel] [PROcl] they.called and Skenteri
 “whom they also called Skenteris” (*Sult* 30)
- (11) to opoion monastirion to ektise...o Agios Gerasimos Notaras
 the [PROrel] monastery [PROcl] he.built the saint Gerasimos Notaras
 “which monastery was built by saint Gerasimos Notaras” (*Ceph* 174)

4.3 SV inversion

SV inversion has not yet acquired a specialized pragmatic function as in MG. It is attested in all IS types, even though with variable frequency. The IS types most typically encoded by a VS configuration in both LByz and EMG are TCS and TE. The major difference between LByz and EMG is in the IS type which figures as the third best represented one, which is TCSUB for the former, and TCC for the latter. A numerical representation of the data follows immediately below:

<i>topic-comment</i>			<i>thetic</i>		<i>identificational</i>	
TCC	TCS	TCSUB	TE	TP	IS	IC
<i>LByz</i>						
3	15	6	7	4	4	4
<i>EMG</i>						
10	19	3	14	7	9	3

Table 5. Distribution of SV inversion across all IS types in EMG

4.4 Passivization

In order to assess whether there is a rise in passivization for TC clauses, we need a far more expansive database. Current evidence does not point to this direction, even though preverbal passive subjects as topics are too sparse to yield statistically significant results. Besides, passive constructions tend to occur in the context of thetic IS types, which are typically encoded by SV inversion. There seems to be a functional explanation for the underrepresentation of passives in TC types. The topic promotion of the object in MG is carried out by means of clitic reduplication. The motivation for passivization is therefore removed.

4.5 Greater freedom in the choice of subject

In Classical Greek, on the one hand, the vast majority of subjects in the SVO construction (47/54 tokens or 87.03%) tend to conform to the following hierarchy: *proper noun/kinship term* > *human PRO*. There is only a sparse representation of other semantic categories like human common nouns, human collective nouns, non-human pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. As derived from the above, the subject is preferentially definite, animate, and an agent.

In Modern Greek, on the other hand, indefinite, inanimate and patient subjects are readily acceptable. Proper names/kinship terms and human pronominals comprise nearly half of the total number of subjects. Human common nouns and inanimate abstract nouns are also well represented subcategories. Other than a higher statistical frequency in comparison to previous eras, they also have a wider distribution, as they spread out throughout all MG texts examined. Their frequency rate places them right behind proper names in the animacy hierarchy.

Logically, we would expect that LByz and EMG, as representative of the intermediate period between CG and MG, would fall somewhere in between. This question is not as straightforward though. SVO construction is not as frequently

attested as we would be led to infer. This is also linked to the SV(X) underrepresentation in EMG touched upon in the preceding section under 3.1. More specifically, the hierarchy presented above for CG is still prevalent in LByz. Its two animacy values comprise 73.52% [25/34] of the total subjects in SVO. The only divergence from CG is the unusually high occurrence of indefinite pronominals typically in event-reporting IS types (TE), which reaches one third [3/9] of the remaining and less-represented semantic categories.

In EMG, there are no attested examples of SVO from the single historical/autobiographical account of the corpus (*Avatios Earthquake of Cephalonia*). The human common nouns [5] and the inanimate concrete nouns [6] compete with human pronouns [6] for the privileged second position in the hierarchy presented above for CG. These two are actually the categories that lag behind human proper nouns in the Animacy Hierarchy (AH)¹². Some representative examples follow immediately below:

- (15) CG: o de Kuros ouk eia kôluein [TCS]
 “But Cyrus would not permit him to interfere” (Xen. *Cyr.* 1.4.14)
- (16) EMG: kai oi archontes esterxan dia vasilea tous ton kyr Manouil
 ton Palaiologon [IC]
 “The noblemen chose Lord Manuel Palaeologus to be their emperor”
 (*Sult* 2.30)
- (17) MG: i italiiki synthikologisj elyse ta cheria sti SD [TCSUB]
 “The Italian capitulation set the SD free (lit. unchained)” (*Shoah*¹³, 57)

In Xenophon’s *Anabasis*, a 4th century BC CG text, the typical subject is a proper name like ‘Cyrus’. The most representative transitive subject for EMG is a human common noun like ‘the noblemen’. Lastly, an inanimate abstract noun like ‘the Italian capitulation’ can be legitimately accepted as a subject in MG.

5. Concluding remarks

This work purports to examine whether there are any traces of the syntacticization process in the historical periods immediately prior to Modern Greek. First the distribution of preverbal subjects had to be assessed. SV was clearly prevalent in topic-shifting contexts only. Results have been equivocal in relation to all other IS types. Statistical results are also affected by the observed VS propensity in all

¹² I have adopted the version of the animacy hierarchy proposed in König and Gast (2006: 244):
 1,2 > 3 [human] > human proper nouns > human common nouns > animate common nouns >
 inanimate common nouns (concrete) > inanimate common nouns.

¹³ “Shoah-the genocide of Greek Jews” is an article from the encyclopedia *History of Greek nation* (Ekdotiki Athinon).

EMG texts. More likely, this tendency is related to the macrostructure of the narrative. The theoretical proposal of any other explanation, like genre or stylistic considerations for example, could not be warranted by the data. A theoretical surmise, which has also been entertained in this work, is that the ubiquitous use of SV inversion in EMG might be linked to its syntacticization in MG.

This apparent reversal of the trend towards greater distribution for preverbal subjects in Greek as we move towards present day Greek was somehow compensated by the examination of SVO constructions only. Even though the attestation of the latter is slightly higher than that in previous periods, it is still less polarized towards MG data.

The second major argument for Greek syntacticization comes from the use of compensation strategies for less flexible word order. Preposing, clitic reduplication, SV inversion, passivization and greater freedom in the choice of subject were examined each in due turn.

Passivization seems to be in complementary distribution to clitic reduplication in Greek. Object topic promotion is carried out by the latter only. In fact, CLLD construction is obligatory when the shifted topic or the subtopic is the object and not the subject of the proposition in question. There are only two examples of CLLD-ed object topics in EMG relative clauses. Passivization is restricted tothetic IS types. Furthermore, SV inversion has not yet acquired the specialized pragmatic function it does in MG.

The first evidence for Greek getting more syntactical in the intermediate period examined comes from preposing and the greater semantic range of the preverbal subject. The fact that the preverbal focused element can be interpreted as complement identificational only, as in MG, has already been established. Topic preposing is also used in contexts of both topic continuity and topic shift as in MG. Topic maintenance is sustained by a preverbal object clitic in the former case. Topic shift also typically involves the promotion of a minor participant as a primary topic. The main difference between this intermediate period and MG in terms of object topic promotion lies in the fact that the requirement for clitic reduplication does not have to be met.

All in all, unequivocal evidence that Greek is in the process of syntacticization come solely from MG. SV(X) has been undeniably identified as the most frequently occurring syntactic structure. Furthermore, all compensation strategies point towards a less flexible word order in MG. Data from LByz and EMG point solely toward greater pragmatic specialization for preposing and a greater semantic range of the preverbal subject.

Symbols

[]: numerical value

(): percentage

*: pragmatically less acceptable

List of abbreviations

-Text:

-IS types:

CL: clitic doubling
CG: Classical Greek
CLLD: clitic redublication
EByz: Early Byzantine era
EMG: Early Modern Greek
IS: information structure
LByz: Late Byzantine era
MCl: main clause
MG: Modern Greek
S: subject
SubCl: subordinate clause
O: object
V: verb
X: any other argument

TC: topic-comment
-*TCC*: topic-continuing
- *TCS*: shifted topic
- *TCSUB*: subtopic
- *TCsemi*: semi-topic
Th: thetic
-*TE*: event-reporting
-*TP*: presentational
Id: identificational
-*IS*: subject identificational
-*IC*: complement identificational

-Glosses:

ADJQ: adjectival quantifier
ART: article
C: complement
Nc: common noun
cl: clitic
dct: deictic
NP: noun phrase
NUM: numeral
pers: personal
PP: prepositional phrase
PRO: pronoun
rel: relative

-Textual sources:

Ceph: AVATIOS-Earthquake of Cephalonia
Comn: Anon-Anna Comnena Alexias
Duc: DUCAS-Historia Turcobyzantina
Ecth: Anon-Ecthesis Chronica
Makr: MAKRIYANNIS-Memoirs
Man: Anon-Manasses Breviarum Chron.
Sult: Anon-Chronicle of Turkish Sultans
Xen.Cyr: XENOPHON-Cyropedia

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