

## On two types of Wackernagel cliticization in Slavic

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The talk will argue for the existence of two distinct types of Wackernagel clitics (2P) in Slavic on the basis of synchronic and diachronic evidence. It will also show that the way they emerged resembles the development of V2 in Germanic, giving support for the hypothesis of a uniform source of V2 and 2P (cf. Anderson 1993, Bošković 2001, Wackernagel 1892).

Traditional grammars (cf. Lunt 2001) describe Old Church Slavonic (OCS) as a 2P language. However, detailed corpus studies (Pancheva et al 2007ab, Radanović-Kocić 1988) indicate that OCS has only three clitics that are always 2P: *li*, *bo* ‘because’ and the focus particle *že* (cf. 1). Note that they all specify the Illocutionary Force/Clause Type, in the sense of Cheng (1991). Other clitics may move to 2P in specific Force-related contexts: the conditional auxiliary clitic *bi* appears in 2P after the conditional complementizer *a* (cf. 2a), but not obligatorily after the indicative complementizer *da* (cf. 2b; cf. Večerka 1989; Willis 2000). Other clitics are postverbal (cf. 3). Given this, I propose that OCS has “Force” 2P clitics, which move to a Force-related head ( $\Sigma^0$ , cf. Laka 1994) to mark the clause type whenever it deviates from declarative. A similar operation takes place in contemporary Slavic languages that are never 2P otherwise. For instance, *li*, which marks interrogation or focus, appears in 2P in Bulgarian, unlike pronominal and auxiliary clitics, which are verb-adjacent. *Li* is also the only clitic that need not cluster with other clitics in Bg (cf. 4). Correspondingly, auxiliaries in Polish are normally affixed to the *l*-participle, but are 2P clitics in Force-marking contexts (cf. Migdalski 2006: 250ff). Furthermore, on a par with OCS (cf. 2b), Polish expresses different Clause Type specifications via 2P: the conditional auxiliary clitic is 2P in subordinate subjunctive and optative clauses, but not in subordinate indicative clauses (cf. 5). Even in languages in which all clitics are 2P, Force-related 2P clitics have a distinct distribution. For instance, unlike all other 2P clitics in Serbo-Croatian, *li* may never be preceded by any XP elements, but only by heads (cf. 6).

The second type of Wackernagel cliticization, “Generalized 2P”, requires all clitics to appear in 2P. It emerged only in some Slavic languages, independently of Force-related 2P cliticization. Radanović-Kocić (1988) points out that pronominal clitics began to uniformly occur in 2P with Force-clitics only in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. Serbian (cf. 7), but cases of non-2P pronominal clitics are still found as late as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. 8). Note that this process matches the emergence of V2 in Germanic. In Old Germanic, V2 was restricted to Force/Operator contexts, similar to those triggering V2 (V-to-C movement) in Modern English. It was generalized to all environments in some Germanic languages only at a later stage (cf. Kiparsky 1995; Fuss 2003).

Unlike in the Force-related 2P cliticization, there is no uniform syntactic trigger for the “generalized” 2P cliticization: the clitics do not share any morphosyntactic features, and do not target a designated syntactic position. Franks (1998) and others account for the “generalized” 2P via a “scattered deletion” approach, assuming that the clitics target the highest position in the clause, but the lower, second copy of a clitic is pronounced for PF reasons. The talk will show that this approach faces empirical challenges. For example, clause-initial pronominal objects are interpreted as contrastively focused in Serbo-Croatian. If pronominal clitics moved to the highest head in syntax and were interpreted in this position at LF, but became pronounced in 2P at PF, all pronominal clitics in Serbo-Croatian should have contrastive focus interpretation, contrary to fact (cf. 9). More challenges for the approach will be provided on the basis of data from Czech.

- (1) a. Iže *bo* *se* *sъmĕritъ* *ĕko* *otročę* *se*  
 he +<sub>FOC</sub> because<sub>CL</sub> REFL humble<sub>FUT</sub> like child<sub>NOM.N.SG</sub> this<sub>NOM.SG</sub>  
 “For who humbles himself like this child” (OCS, Pancheva et al 2007b)
- b. Ašte *li* *že* *ni* *i* *novōjō* *razderetъ*  
 if <sub>Q</sub> FOC not also new tear<sub>FUT</sub>  
 “Or else the new one will tear” (OCS, Pancheva et al 2007a)
- (2) a. A *bi* *bylъ* *prorokъ* [conditional]  
 if <sub>COND.3SG</sub> be<sub>PART.M.SG</sub> prophet  
 “If he had been the prophet” (OCS, Vaillant 1977: 219)
- b. Dръžaaхō *i* *da* [*ne bi*] / [*bi ne*] *otъšelъ* *otъ* *nixъ* [indicative]  
 held<sub>3PL</sub> him that NEG <sub>COND.3SG</sub> NEG leave<sub>PART.M.SG</sub> from them  
 “And they held him, so that he would not leave them” (OCS, Willis 2000: 330)
- (3) Ašte *desnaĕ* *tvoĕ* *rōka* *sōblažbaetō* *tę*  
 if right<sub>NOM.F.SG</sub> your<sub>NOM.F.SG</sub> hand<sub>NOM.F.SG</sub> sin<sub>PRES.3SG</sub> you<sub>ACC</sub>  
 “If your right hand causes you to sin” (OCS, Radanović-Kocić 1988: 154)
- (4) Včera *li* *Penkaja* *e* *dala* *knigata* *na* *Petko?*  
 yesterday <sub>Q</sub> Penka<sub>CL.ACC</sub> be<sub>AUX.3SG</sub> give<sub>PART.F.SG</sub> book-the to Petko  
 “Was it yesterday that Penka gave the book to Petko?” (Bg, Tomić 1996: 833)
- (5) a. Basia *mówiła*, *że-by-ś* *ja* *obudził* /\**obudził-by-ś* [subjunctive]  
 Basia say<sub>PART.F.SG</sub> that + <sub>COND.AUX.2SG</sub> her wake<sub>PART.M.SG</sub> wake<sub>PART.M.SG</sub> + <sub>COND</sub> + <sub>AUX.2SG</sub>  
 “Basia told you to wake her up”
- b. Basia *mówiła*, *że(\*-by-ś)* *ja* *obudził-by-ś* [indicative]  
 Basia say<sub>PART.F.SG</sub> that + <sub>COND.AUX.2SG</sub> her<sub>ACC</sub> wake<sub>PART.M.SG</sub> + <sub>COND.AUX.2SG</sub>  
 “Basia said you would wake her up” (Pl, cf. Dogil 1987: 40)
- (6) a. Skupe (*li*) *knjige* (*\*li*) *Ana* *čita*  
 expensive <sub>Q</sub> books <sub>Q</sub> Ana reads
- b. Skupe (*je*) *knjige* (*je*) *Ana* *čitala*  
 expensive be<sub>AUX.3SG</sub> books be<sub>AUX.3SG</sub> Ana read<sub>PART.F.SG</sub> (S-C, Bošković 2001: 27)
- (7) On *bo* *je* *tako* *htil*  
 he because is<sub>AUX.3SG</sub> so want<sub>PART.M.SG</sub>  
 “Because he wanted so” (post-15<sup>th</sup> c. Serbian, Radanović-Kocić 1988: 163)
- (8) Da *su* *u* *ono* *doba* *molili* *se*  
 that be<sub>AUX.3PL</sub> at that time pray<sub>PART.M.PL</sub> REFL  
 “That at that time they prayed” (19<sup>th</sup> c. Serbian, Radanović-Kocić 1988: 174)
- (9) a. Nju *je* *Petar* *zagrljo*  
 her<sub>ACC</sub> be<sub>AUX.3SG</sub> Petar hug<sub>PART.M.SG</sub>  
 ‘It was HER that Petar hugged.’ (S-C, Stjepanović 1999:73)

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