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The diachronic syntax of perfective auxiliaries in Polish

The talk will examine the syntactic variation in the distribution of the perfective auxiliary ‘to be’ in Polish. It may appear in two forms, either as a clitic following the initial word or as an affix on the *l*-participle lower in the clause (cf. 1; see Mikoś & Moravcsik 1986, Rappaport 1988, Borsley & Rivero 1988, Witkoś 1998, Bański 2000). It is assumed that the former option is the original and diachronically older variant of the two forms, and that these forms represent the historical process of a morphological shift of a clitic into an affix, which started in the 16th century, has proceeded slowly over time, and is still far from completion. According to Franks & Bański (1999), this process involves “Grammar Competition” (Kroch 1989) between the two forms of the auxiliary. The affixed variant enjoys a predominant position in the grammar, as it constitutes 97% compound tense formations in Modern Polish (cf. Kowalska 1976:63), so it is surprising that the clitic variant still exists and that the diachronic process has not been completed. Bański (2000:195) argues this is so because the grammar competition involves not two but three options, the third one being the present tense copula ‘be’, constructed with an old strong form of the verb ‘be’ *jest* and person-number affixes (cf. 2a) that are morphologically the same as the affixes on the *l*-participle (cf. 1a), but different from the ones found on finite verbs (cf. 2b). It is unclear, though, why the special verbal form of the copula should hinder the reinterpretation of the auxiliary clitics as affixes.

The talk will argue that while there is a diachronic morphological change concerning the reanalysis of the auxiliary clitic as an affix, there is no syntactic change with respect to the auxiliary position in the clause. The auxiliary may appear after the initial word (always as a clitic) or after the *l*-participle (as a clitic, but usually as an affix, reflecting the morphological change), but these two variants represent independent syntactic processes, so there is no competition between them. The proposal is supported by diachronic facts concerning the development of cliticization in Slavic. Radanović-Kocić (1988:151) and Migdalski (2007) point out that only three clitics (termed “operator” clitics) uniformly occupied the Wackernagel position in Old Church Slavonic: *li*, *bo*

‘because’, and the focus marker *že* (cf.3). Observe that each of them specifies the Illocutionary Force/Clause Type, in the sense of Cheng (1997). In some languages (Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Czech), the Wackernagel law was extended to all clitics at a later stage. In Polish the main diachronic change concerned the weakening of the auxiliary clitic and its reanalysis as an affix on the *l*-participle. However, the ratio of 2nd position occurrences of the auxiliary clitic has remained roughly constant throughout the centuries (cf. Rittel 1975:91, Andersen 1987:29). Moreover, the semantic effects of the 2nd position auxiliary placement have remained similar in the history of Polish and preserve the original Old Church Slavonic pattern (cf.4). This suggests that the current syntactic variation in the auxiliary placement is a continuation of the Old Slavic distribution. I propose that the auxiliary clitics target a Force-related head (Σ^0 , cf. Laka 1994) to mark the Clause Type (focus, topicalization, conditional or optative mood) or clause deviation from declarative. I will also show that a related movement occurs in other Slavic languages without Wackernagel clitics (e.g. Bulgarian, Russian) with respect to operator clitics, which target the second position, whereas in Wackernagel clitic languages the operation has different properties from the Wackernagel cliticization affecting pronominal and auxiliary clitics (e.g. in Serbo-Croatian operator clitics can only be preceded by heads, not XPs). Finally, I will also demonstrate that in comparison to auxiliary and pronominal clitics, operator clitics in Slavic have distinct requirements regarding the categorial and syntactic status of their host, and that auxiliary encliticization on the clause initial element in Polish shares some of these requirements. The hypothesis that the auxiliary cliticization on a clause-initial element is unrelated to auxiliary affixation on the *l*-participle in Polish makes two predictions. First, it should be possible to find contexts in which only the auxiliary encliticization is available. This is the case in conditional constructions, optative and subjunctive mood, (cf. 5), where the verb of volition *chcieć* requires that the auxiliary be encliticized on the complementizer. Second, it predicts cases of simultaneous auxiliary encliticization and affixation. This holds older variants of Polish, (cf. 6), where the auxiliary appears simultaneously on the *l*-participle and the clause-initial element that is interpreted as focused.

- (1) a. Kiedy przyjechali-*śmy*?
 when arrive_{PART.VIR.PL}+AUX.1PL
 “When did we arrive?”
- b. Kiedy-*śmy* przyjechali?
 when+AUX.1PL arrive_{PART.VIR.PL}
 “When did we arrive, after all?”
- (2) a. Jest-*eśmy* zmęczeni
 be+_{1PL} tired
 “We are tired”
- b. Jedzi-*emy* do Krakowa
 go+_{1PL} to Kraków
 “We are going to Kraków”
- (3) Ašte *li že ni i novōjō razderetъ*
 if Q FOC not also new tear_{FUT}
 “Or else the new one will tear” (OCS, Pancheva 2007)
- (4) Ju-*že-ście* sie go dośyzt namęczyli
 already+_{FOC}+AUX.2PL REFL him_{ACC} enough tire_{PART.PL}
 “You have tired him enough already” (PI 1522; Kowalska 1976:43)
- (5) a. Chcę, że-*by-ś* przestał mi przeszkadzać
 want_{1SG} that+_{COND}+AUX.2SG stop_{PART.M.SG} me_{DAT} disturb
 “I want you to stop disturbing me”
- b. *Chcę, że przestał-*byś* mi przeszkadzać (cf. Borsley&Rivero 1994)
- (6) Tedy-*m* ja owszeki stracił-*em* miasto
 then+_{AUX.1SG} I irretrievably lose_{PART.M.SG}+_{AUX.1SG} city
 “Then I irretrievably lost the city” (16th c.PI, Decaux 1955:34; cf. Bański 2000:125)

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