

Contents

Acknowledgments	9
Abbreviations	11
Introduction	13
0.1. The empirical domain and research questions	13
0.2. Theoretical assumptions concerning language change and variation and research methodology	18
0.3. Organization of the book	30
Chapter 1. Properties of the V2 order	33
1.1. Introduction	33
1.2. General properties of V2 orders	34
1.3. Non-syntactic analyses of the V2 order	41
1.3.1. “Prosodic” V2 in Northern Norwegian	41
1.3.2. Non-syntactic analyses of V2 in other Germanic languages	48
1.4. Syntactic analyses of V2	50
1.4.1. General syntactic properties of the V2 order	50
1.4.2. V2 as illocutionary force-marking	53
1.4.2.1. Force and V2 syntax	53
1.4.2.2. Force-related semantics in V2 structures	58
1.4.2.3. Problems with V2 as a Force marking licenser	60
1.4.3. The position of the verb and prefield elements in V2 structures	64
1.4.3.1. Syntactic position of the verb in V2 clauses	66
1.4.3.2. Verb agreement marking in Dutch and West Germanic dialects	70
1.4.3.3. The distribution of the complementizer and the verb in subordinate clauses	74
1.4.4. Ways of filling the prefield – Frey’s (2006) taxonomy	78
1.4.4.1. Base Generation	79
1.4.4.2. Formal Movement	80
1.4.4.3. A’-movement	81
1.5. Summary	83
Chapter 2. Diachrony of the V2 order in Germanic	85
2.1. Introduction	85

2.2. Word order in Old Germanic — general patterns	86
2.3. V2 in Gothic	89
2.3.1. The position of pronominal clitics and the verb	89
2.3.2. Clitic particles in Gothic	91
2.3.2.1. The conjunctive clitic <i>uh</i> (<i>h</i>) and the interrogative clitic <i>u</i>	91
2.3.2.2. Properties of the particles <i>uh</i> (<i>h</i>) and <i>u</i>	92
2.4. Diachrony of the V2 order in English	94
2.4.1. Generalizations about word order in Old English	95
2.4.2. Generalizations about verb placement in Old and Middle English	96
2.4.2.1. The position of the verb in main clauses in Old English	97
2.4.2.1.1. WH/NEG/ <i>pa/ponne</i> –V–nominal subject/subject pronoun	97
2.4.2.1.2. XP–V–nominal subject	99
2.4.2.1.3. XP–(subject) pronoun–V...	100
2.4.2.1.4. XP–nominal subject–V...	100
2.4.2.1.5. XP (XP)–V–subject	101
2.4.2.2. The loss of the V2 pattern in English	102
2.4.2.3. The modification of the TP-system in Middle English	109
2.5. V2 placement in Old High German	116
2.5.1. Properties of V2 in Old High German	117
2.5.2. V2 violations in Old High German — V1 orders	119
2.5.3. V2 violations in Old High German — V3 orders	122
2.5.3.1. V3 after two XP elements	122
2.5.3.2. V3 structures involving pronouns	124
2.5.4. Sentential particles in Old High German	127
2.5.5. An overview of analyses of V2 placement in Old High German	129
2.5.5.1. Axel's (2007) and Fuss's (2008) analyses of V2 in Old High German	130
2.5.5.2. Problems with Fuss's (2008) analysis of V2 orders in Old High German	136
2.5.5.3. A note on a prosodic account of the development of the V2 grammar	138
2.6. Summary	140
Chapter 3. Properties of second position cliticization in Slavic	143
3.1. Introduction	143
3.2. Defining second position cliticization	144
3.3. Patterns of second position cliticization in Slavic	147
3.3.1. Properties of second position clitics	149
3.3.2. Different interpretations of the pre-clitic material	151
3.4. Force and second position cliticization	153
3.4.1. Diachronic evidence for the distinction between operator and non-operator clitics	154
3.4.2. The distribution and interpretation of operator clitics in Modern Slavic	155
3.4.3. Properties of operator clitics in Slavic	157
3.4.3.1. Syntactic status of the host	158
3.4.3.2. Categorial status of the host	160
3.4.3.3. Position in the structure	161
3.4.3.4. Special prosodic properties	163
3.4.3.5. Semantics of the host	167
3.4.4. A note on operator cliticization in Sanskrit	172
3.5. Analyses of generalized cliticization in Slavic	176
3.5.1. Phonological analyses of second position clitic placement	178
3.5.1.1. Heaviness of the pre-clitic element	178

3.5.1.2. Apparent constituent splits	181
3.5.1.3. Splitting of proper names	183
3.5.2. Syntactic analyses of second position clitic placement	185
3.5.2.1. Clitics located in C ⁰	186
3.5.2.2. No uniform position for Wackernagel clitics	190
3.5.2.3. Roberts's (2010) analysis of Wackernagel cliticization in Slavic	194
3.5.2.4. Scattered deletion approach to Wackernagel cliticization	200
3.5.2.4.1. Conceptual problems with the scattered deletion approach	203
3.5.2.4.2. Empirical problems with the scattered deletion approach	205
3.5.2.4.3. A phonologist's view on the scattered deletion approach	212
3.6. Summary	213
Chapter 4. Diachrony of second position cliticization in Slavic	215
4.1. Introduction	215
4.2. Verb-adjacent and second position cliticization — syntactic and semantic contrasts	216
4.2.1. Ellipsis	216
4.2.2. Clitic splits	218
4.2.3. Clitic climbing	219
4.2.4. Interaction of clitics with negation	222
4.2.5. Person Case Constraint	224
4.2.6. Clitic interpretation	226
4.3. Diachrony of cliticization in Slavic	227
4.3.1. The distribution of clitics in Old Church Slavonic	230
4.3.2. The distribution of clitics in Old Serbian	234
4.3.3. Towards an analysis	241
4.3.3.1. Tense marking in Old Slavic	242
4.3.3.2. Tense marking in Modern Slavic	243
4.3.3.3. The derivation of temporal interpretation in Slavic	251
4.3.4. Loss of tense morphology reflected through the loss of TP	253
4.3.4.1. Diachronic studies questioning the universality of TP	256
4.3.4.2. Bošković's (2012) postulate of the non-universality of TP	258
4.4. Tense marking and cliticization	262
4.4.1. Background assumptions about cliticization	262
4.4.2. The relation between the richness of tense and the cliticization pattern	265
4.5. Alternative analyses of the diachrony of cliticization in Slavic	269
4.5.1. Zaliznjak's (2008) analysis of cliticization in Old Russian	269
4.5.2. Tomić's (2000, 2004a) analysis of Old Slavic cliticization	271
4.5.3. Pancheva's (2005, 2008) analysis of the diachrony of cliticization in Bulgarian	273
4.5.3.1. General assumptions and description of the data	273
4.5.3.2. The mechanism of cliticization	275
4.5.3.3. Evaluation of Pancheva's (2005) account	281
4.5.3.4. Pancheva's (2008) arguments related to the distribution of negation and participle-auxiliary orders	284
4.5.3.4.1. Participle-auxiliary orders in Old Church Slavonic	284
4.5.3.4.2. Participle-auxiliary orders in Modern Slavic	287
4.5.3.4.3. The position of negation in Old Church Slavonic	290
4.5.3.4.4. Empirical problems with Pancheva's (2008) analysis of the distribu- tion of negation	291
4.6. Degrammaticalization of pronominal clitics in Slavic	293
4.6.1. Grammaticalization and degrammaticalization	294

4.6.2. Properties of weak pronouns in Slavic	296
4.6.2.1. The development of weak pronouns in Macedonian	299
4.6.2.2. The emergence of weak pronouns in Slovenian	300
4.6.2.3. The emergence of weak pronouns in Old Polish	302
4.7. Summary	305
Conclusion	309
References	315