

Anchoring patterns in emerging complement clauses in Slavic

Complement structures are considered to consist of a complement-taking predicate (CTP) and an element indicating the subordinated/complement status of the clause it introduces (Schmidtke-Bode 2014, Kehayov/Boye 2016). However, in actual discourse we regularly come across cases that do not allow an easy categorization of these elements (and their relation). This holds in particular for diachronic data. The challenge arises from the fact that the categorization of complementizer and CTP in a potential complementation structure is subject to a certain circularity. In standard cases this does not present a problem because we have strong paradigmatic and preference-based evidence for the functional loads of the respective units. In less obvious cases, however, it becomes more difficult. This is particularly true for the Slavic languages, which possess very few clear-cut indicators of subordination (for preliminary findings cf. Sonnenhauser 2021 on Sln. *naj*, Wiemer 2021; forthcoming).

In our presentation we aim to identify the impact of various types of predicates on the inference of cross-clausal discourse relations and the eventual emergence of structures with clausal complements in Slavic. Special attention is given to predicates which usually do not join the list of ‘classic’ CTPs. We focus on the relation of clausal structures containing optative / directive expressions such as Po. *niech*, Ru. *pust’*, Sln. *naj* to clauses preceding them. The categorization of a clause-initial element as an untypical complementizer might be based on the presence of a typical CTP in the preceding clause, whereas the identification of an untypical CTP might be triggered by a subsequent typical complementizer. Cf. example (1) with a directive-optative marker (DIR) like Russ. *pust’* and the regular CTP *poželat’* ‘wish’ and (2) with the atypical CTP *nie dość* ‘not enough’ and a standard complementizer (COMP) like Pol. *że*:

- (1) Russian (RNC; T.N. Tkačenko, 1995)
Ja poželala [ej skorej opraviti’sja] i [pust’ segodnjašnee DTP budet ej v nazidanie] [...]
‘I wished.CTP [her a fast recovery] and [may.DIR today’s accident be a lesson for her]’
- (2) Polish (PNC)
Nie dość, [że jest to bardzo niewygodne dla samych obywateli], to jeszcze urąga samej powadze sądu okręgowego, [...]
‘Not only.QUASI-CTP [that.COMP this is very inconvenient for the citizens themselves], it also hurts the very authority of the district court’

To avoid the pitfalls of circular argumentation we refrain from assumptions about the categorial affiliation of the elements in question. We explore the relation between predicates that have the potential of serving as anchors for cross-clausal discourse continuation and clause-initial elements that introduce non-first clauses in a chain of clauses, regardless of their mainstream classification. This includes an account of combinations of COMP elements (Po. *że*, Ru. *čto*, Sln. *da*) and DIR elements (Po. *niech*, Ru. *pust’*, Sln. *naj*), adjacent as well as non-adjacent.

Using sets of random samples from two periods (17th-19th c. vs. contemporary stage; see References) we aim to identify possible correlations between the (type of) predicate of a preceding and a following clause containing a DIR-element, with respect to the following criteria concerning the anchoring element: (i) lemma, (ii) semantic class, (iii) PoS, (iv) inflectional form. On this basis, we explore whether the identified anchoring patterns bear on structural features within the subsequent clause, such as the (non)-initial appearance of the DIR-element and the distance between this element and the finite verb. Initial position of DIR-elements has been considered favorable for them to function as complementizers, non-initial as favorable for AUX status.

References

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Corpora

Polish

<http://nkjp.pl/>

https://korba.edu.pl/query_corpus/

Russian

<https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>

Slovene

<http://nl.ijs.si/imp/>

<http://www.gigafida.net/>