

**From an inferential to a hearsay complementizer.
Evidence from the diachrony of evidential *jakoby*-clauses in Polish**

Introduction In this talk, I examine the use and the development of dependent evidential clauses in Polish headed by the complementizer *jakoby* (lit. ‘as if’). The aim of this talk is twofold. First, I investigate properties of *jakoby*-clauses in Modern Polish at the syntax-semantics interface. Second, I show which factors in the lexical meaning of *jakoby* were responsible for the semantic change that it underwent.

Phenomenon In the Old Polish example given in (1), the dependent clause is introduced by the hypothetical comparative complementizer *jakoby* (‘as if’) and it is embedded under the matrix predicate *widzieć* (‘seem’), expressing indirect inferential evidence:

- (1) *ludziem na ziemi tako było widziało*
 people.DAT on earth.LOC so be.I-PTCP.3SG.N seem.I-PTCP.3SG.N
jakoby się ono na nie obalić było chciało
 jakoby REFL it on them slay.INF be.I-PTCP.3SG.N be.I-PTCP.3SG.N
 ‘the people on earth interpreted it as if it wanted to slay all of them’
 (KG, *Kazanie I: Na Boże Narodzenie* 26-7)

In Modern Polish, in turn, as illustrated in (2), the *jakoby*-clause is embedded under the speech verb *zaprzeczać* (‘deny’):

- (2) *Firma zaprzeczała, jakoby były*
 company deny.I-PTCP.3SG.N jakoby be.I-PTCP.PL.N-VIR
zgłoszenia o wadliwych kartach
 reports about faulty cards.LOC
 ‘The company denied that there supposedly were any reports about faulty prepaid cards’
 (NKJP, *Dziennik Zachodni*, 27/9/2006)

The complementizer *jakoby* is not interpreted as a hypothetical comparative conjunction *as if* any longer, but as a hearsay complementizer (\approx *that* + *allegedly*). In Modern Polish *jakoby*-clauses cannot be selected by verbs of seeming:

- (3) **Firmie wydaje się, jakoby ...*
 company.DAT seem.3SG REFL jakoby
 Intended meaning: ‘It seems to the company as if ...’

Diachronic observation The Old Polish hypothetical comparative complementizer *jakoby* developed into a hearsay complementizer. Remarkably, neither Czech nor Slovak have experienced this change.

Synchronic analysis Syntactically, *jakoby*-clauses are restricted in their use in many respects. As opposed to canonical *że*-clauses (*that*-clauses), *jakoby*-clauses a) cannot combine with the future auxiliary verb *będzie* ‘will’, b) block the subjunctive morphology on the embedded verbal head, c) disallow root phenomena, e.g. the discourse particle *chyba* (\approx *probably*)

- (4) a. ^{OK}*Dorota powiedziała, że chyba pójdzie do kina*
 Dorota say.I-PTCP.3SG.F that DP go.3SG to cinema.GEN
 ‘Dorota said that she probably will go to the cinema’
 b. **Dorota powiedziała, jakoby chyba pójdzie do kina*
 Dorota say.I-PTCP.3SG.F jakoby DP go.3SG to cinema.GEN

d) cannot occur as complements in questions, e) disallow epistemic modal verbs, giving rise to circumstantial readings of modal verbs:

- (5) *Dorota powiedziała, jakoby Jan musi być chory*
 Dorota say.I-PTCP.3SG.F jakoby Jan must.3SG be.INF sick
 ‘Dorota said that supposedly Jan must be sick’ -> ^{OK}deontic/*epistemic

Semantically, *jakoby* contributes a dubitative component that is likely related to the subjunctive character of its hypothetical-comparative use in Old Polish. There is a clear difference between *jakoby*-clauses and regular subjunctive clauses as complements to speech verbs: If the speaker

wants to distance herself from the content of the reported proposition, *jakoby* has to be used instead of a regular subjunctive complement clause:

- (6) a. *Anna twierdzi, jakoby wygrała w lotka*
 Anna claim.3SG *jakoby* win./PTCP.3SG.F in lottery.LOC
 ‘Anna claims to have won the lottery’
 b. **Anna twierdzi, że wygrałaby w lotka*
 Anna claim.3SG *jakoby* win./PTCP.3SG.F.SUBJ in lottery.LOC

Cross-linguistically, there are two types of reportative evidentials, depending on whether they involve some kind of speaker commitment to the reported proposition (cf. Kratzer 2012, Faller 2011 and Murray 2017). *Jakoby* as a complementizer clearly does not require any degree of speaker commitment:

- (7) *Mówi się, jakoby Jacek został wybrany na naczelnika,*
 say.3SG REFL *jakoby* Jacek PASS.AUX./PTCP.3SG.M elected on chief.ACC
ale ja w to nie wierzę
 but I in this NEG believe.1SG
 ‘It is said that reportedly Jacek was elected chief, but I don’t believe that’

Diachronic analysis Etymologically, *jakoby* is traced back to the fusion of the preposition *jako* ‘as’ and the subjunctive clitic *by*. I argue that these components contributed two semantic seeds that determined the further development of *jakoby*: a) equative comparison, and b) subjunctive/counterfactual meaning. The meaning of *seem* expressing indirect evidence is given in (8):

- (8) $[[seem]]^{c,w} = \lambda p$. the context c provides a perceptual or epistemic modal base B and a doxastic ordering source S such that for all worlds v in $\min_{S(w)}(\cap B(w))$ it holds that p is true in w

In this connection, the following question arises: If the matrix verb already expresses indirect evidence, what is the contribution of *jakoby*? In order to answer this question, one needs to look at a broader range of *seem* constructions:

- (9) a. *The cat seems happy.* b. *The cat seems to be happy.*
 c. *It seems that the cat is happy.* d. *It seems as if the cat is happy.*
 e. *It seems as if the cat were happy.*

Accordingly, the contribution of *jakoby* is to map (9c)-type meanings to (9e)-type meanings, which is given in (10):

- (10) $[[seem\ as\ if]]^{c,w} = \lambda p$. the information (evidence) that speaker(c) has in w is **just like** the information that speaker(c) **would have** if p were the case

The general idea is that *seem as if p* is used instead of *seem that p* if what the available evidence suggests is somehow in conflict with what the speaker (used to) believe(s). Hence, the contribution of *jakoby* in Old Polish does not seem to be genuinely evidential, but naturally arises from the meanings of the two elements it is composed of: equative comparison and subjunctive meaning. Following Faller (2011), we can picture the development of *jakoby* contexts as follows:

	Modal Base	Ordering Source
Old Polish	perceptual/conceptual	doxastic
Transition	perceptual/conceptual/reportative	doxastic
Modern Polish	reportative	-

Table 1: Diachrony of *jakoby* in terms of admissible information types in the modal base

Mainly, the transition involved two main developments. First, the meaning of *jakoby* was broadened to allow for inferences from reportative information (compatible with, but not enforced by its *seem*-type embedding verbs). Second, the reportative flavor acquired by *jakoby* licensed its use in complements of speech verbs. Since these new contexts were no longer compatible with the original inferential meaning, they ultimately lead to the inability to use *jakoby* in its original contexts, cf. (3).

References: Faller, M. (2011): A possible worlds semantics for Cuzco Quechua evidentials, in: *Proceedings of SALT 20* ed. by Nan Li and David Lutz, eLanguage, 660-683. Kratzer, A. (2012): *Modals and Conditionals: New and Revised Perspectives*. Oxford: OUP. Murray, S. (2017): *The Semantics of Evidentials*. Oxford: OUP.