Assessing the role of pattern and matter replication in the development of Polish discourse structuring elements based on non-finite *verba dicendi*

Part 2 – Historical development

3. Historical development

The analysis of synchronic data has shown that the syntactic integration of the elements under inspection must have been dissolved, i.e. the adverbial participles *mówiąc* and *powiedziawszy* have lost the status of secondary predicate, and the infinitives *powiedzieć* and *rzec* are no longer part of a subordinate clause controlled by an argument of the superordinated clause. The speaker has become the first argument of all the items in question. Consequently, the first research question concerns the morphosyntactic and semantic processes that led to these changes. Secondly, DSE in Contemporary Polish are based on non-finite inflectional forms of just three *verba dicendi – mówić, powiedzić* and *rzec*. The question therefore arises whether more competing constructions based on other *verba dicendi* ever existed in the history of the Polish language. Furthermore, the historical development of similar constructions in Russian (cf. Birzer 2012a; b) and Croatian (cf. Birzer accepted b) shows that language contact exerted decisive influence on the development of these structures, as it resulted in the emergence of a borrowed construction (Russian borrowed the construction ADV + INF from French and Croatian the construction ADV + PTCP.PASSIVE from German). The question of whether language contact played a similar role in the history of Polish DSEs thus has to be verified.

3.1. Used data

Like the synchronic part of this paper, the diachronic part is also based on corpus data. Some words are thus in order of the research object limitations and the corpus data used accordingly.

As one of our research questions concerns competing *verba dicendi* and their inflectional forms in the historical development of DSE, another important issue is identifying the *verba dicendi* to be searched for in the data collected. Since the contemporary DSEs are based on inflectional forms of *mówić* 'say / tell, '*powiedzieć* 'say' and *rzec* 'say,' it goes without saying that these verbs were sought after in historical texts. In pursuit of identifying diachronically competing forms of other *verba dicendi*, neither introspective data from present-day speakers nor information from synchronic dictionaries of synonyms are of any help, as they do not incorporate *verba dicendi* that have fallen out of use, but played some role in the history of Polish. To this end, we decided to draw on historical bilingual dictionaries, and specifically,

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on the Latin-Polish dictionaries of Bartłomiej z Bydgoszczy (Kędelska et al. 1999-2009), Franciscus Mymerus (1997) and the *Lexicon Latino-Polonicum* (Mączyński 1973). In these volumes, we searched for Polish translations of the following Latin *verba dicendi*:

– *dicere* 'say' as the probably most versatile Latin *verbum dicendi* that forms all kind of inflectional forms and may occur in a wide range of contexts;

– *loqui* 'say,' a deponens that is consequently only able to form semantically active forms and thus restricted in its contextual usage;

– *inquit* say-PRS.3SG, a lexicalized form used predominantly for the quotation of direct speech;

– *ait* say-PERF.3SG, the preterite counterpart of *inquit*, to be used in the same contexts.

From these sources, we settled on the terms, *powiedzieć* 'say', *mówić* 'say, speak', *rzec* 'say' and *rzekać* 'say, speak' as the *verba dicendi* to be examined.

Since DSEs are rather infrequent items in comparison to other linguistic (core) structures, a massive amount of data is necessary for gathering together a sufficient number of instances. To make amends, we combined research in several media.

The *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* comprises all noted lexemes from the 16th century, but suffers from two major drawbacks. Firstly, the edition of the dictionary is still the latest version and the last available volume covers the lexemes up to *Ro-*. That is, *rzekać* and *rzec* have not yet been incorporated. Secondly, the *Słownik* offers several instances of each lexeme and word form. The amount of data involved is still nonetheless insufficient for reconstructing the development of DSEs, the more so, as not instances of prototypical usage, but bridging contexts are of interest. For that reason, we had to draw on other sources as well.

By the time of data retrieval, the diachronic Polish corpus PolDi encompassed 40 texts ranging from the 14th to 19th centuries. This database was complemented by texts of prose and dramas from the electronic version of the *Biblioteka zabytków Polskiego piśmiennictwa średniowiecznego* (2006; www.staropolska.pl).[1] Poetry was however excluded, since our experience with similar research in Russian and Croatian showed that the structures under investigation usually do not occur in poetry, probably due to the incompatibility involved in such lengthy expressions with metrics.

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[1] We are aware of the fact that some of the texts from the *Old Polish Period* offer modern translations of the respective originals. Due to the bibliographic standards of the website, which conceives of itself as a service for scholarly and educational purposes, these texts can be identified and excluded from the corpus. Another issue of interest is normalization. All texts are to some extent normalized orthographically, but since we are interested in syntactic issues, this fact is of minor consequence to us and even reduces the complexity of queries, as no variants have to be considered.

To retrieve all inflectional (and orthographical) forms of the verbs mentioned above, we searched the texts for the stems of the verbs *mówić* and *rzec* in all orthographic variants.

Since macaronic literature is known to integrate Latin stems into Polish morphologically and vice versa (cf. Keipert 1988), we also searched our corpus for all stems Latin *verba dicendi* and for *ait*.

The results were then processed manually after the fact.

3.2. Historical development

3.2.1. Marking of direct and indirect speech

This is the first function evidenced in the texts. In early Slavonic texts overall, the distinction between direct and reported speech cannot be drawn clearly for several reasons. Firstly, sentence and clause boundaries cannot be identified clearly – a problem that concerns not only the rendering of speech, but all syntactic issues. Secondly, reported speech is marked by the characteristic that the speech content forms a subordinate clause which is an argument of the *verbum dicendi* in the superordinate clause and is consequently introduced by a complementizer. However, this criterion was not yet obligatory in historical contexts (cf. Daiber 2009 for Russian Church Slavonic and Birzer 2012b for Old Church Slavonic; Pisarkowa 1984: 208-212 gives a rather superficial survey of the development in older stages of Polish), which makes the discrimination against direct and reported speech impossible in cases when the third characteristic, namely, the shift of grammatical person (the probably most systematic description of shift has been given by Večerka 2002, 416-423 for Old Church Slavonic), cannot be clearly determined. This problem is especially notorious in texts with a non-participatory observer as narrator. That is, all characters of the narration are then referred to in the third person, which makes it impossible in many contexts to identify the participants of the original communicative situation (compare the two examples from Modern Polish: *Adam powiedział, że Anna przyjdzie jutro,* implying the two possible original communicative situations a) *Adam powiedział: "Przyjdziesz jutro."* where Anna is Adam's interlocutor, and b) *Adam powiedział: "Anna przyjdzie jutro."* where Anna is a third person absent in the original communicative situation. Just as well, *Adam powiedział, że przyjdzie jutro.* denotes both (the less probable) situation a) *Adam powiedział: "Przyjdzie jutro."* where Adam speaks about a third, absent person, or b) *Adam powiedział: "Przyjdę jutro."* where Adam gives information about himself). The vast majority of texts analyzed for this paper features a non-

participatory observer as narrator and thus entails the problems described above. Hence, we address direct and reported speech together.

The marking of direct and indirect speech is affected by two constructions. The first construction consists of two *verba dicendi*; the first one relates the manner of content rendering and takes any inflectional form, while the second one is an (adverbial) participle in immediate precedence of the speech content (1).

(1)　　*… áby ſię wypełniło to co ieſt rzeczono przez Proroká mowiącego: Rozdźielili ſobie odżenia moie* (Wuj NT Matth. 27/35)

'… in order to become true, that which is said by the Prophet saying: They will divide my garments among themselves.'

In the second construction, a noun from the semantic field of *dicendi* or *cogitandi* is accompanied by the (adverbial) participle of a *verbum dicendi* (2-3).

(2) *… usłyszeli głos z obłoku rzekący : Toć jest syn moj namilejszy.*

'… they heard a voice from the cloud saying: this is my most beloved son.'

(RozmPrzem)

(3)	POL	*… oto*	*głos*	*z*	*obłoku*	*mowiący:*
		DEM	voice-NOM	from	cloud.GEN	speak-PTCP.NOM.SG.M
		Ten	*ieſt*	*moy*	*Syn*	*miły.*
		DEM.NOM	is	my-NOM.SG.M	son-NOM	dear-NOM.SG.M
	LAT	*… ecce*	*vox*	*de*	*nube*	*dicens*
		DEM	voice-NOM	from	cloud-ABL	speak- PTCP.NOM.SG

hic est filius meus dilectus.

this one is my dear son

'… there was a voice from the cloud, saying: This one is my dear son.'

(WujNT Matth 17/5)

The construction with two *verba dicendi* continues to be used well into the 18th century (4-5), and went through several developments of various impact on syntax.

(4) *Przyjechał znowu ... Straszewski, listy oddał, ... i prosi **mówiąc**: Qui cito dat, bis dat.*

'Straszewski arrived again, handed over the letters and asks, saying: Who gives fast gives twice.'

(Pasek. *Pamiętniki*.)

(5) *Alexander Wielki słysząc z ust Filozofa, że wiele jest Światów, płakał, że i jednego nie zawojował, **mówiąc**: Heu me miserum, qui nec uno quidem potitus sum.*

'Alexander the Great, hearing from the philosopher's mouth that there are many worlds, cried that he had not conquered even one, saying: Oh, what a poor lad I am, as I have conquered not even one.'

(Chmielowski. *Nowe Atheny*.)

The first development to be mentioned is the insertion of cataphoric expressions before or after the *verbum dicendi* that refers to the content of the following utterance. Most commonly used are deictic *tak(o)* 'so' (9) – also an element of the modern DSE *aby / by / żeby tak powiedzieć / rzec* 'so to say' – or NPs containing the demonstrative *ten* 'this' (6-8). The cataphoric expressions occur in both religious and worldly texts.

(6) *... masz krolewstwo , tedy jeś ty krol . Miły Krystus **mowiąc to słowo**: Krolewstwo moje nie jest [z] tego świata.*

' 'You have a kingdom, thus you are a king.' Dear Christ speaking this word: 'My kingdom is not of this world.''

(RozmPrzem)

(7) *Po tym tedy krótkim poswarku .... **powiedział** pan Lupa **w te słowa***:

'After this short quarrel ... Mister Lupa said in these words:'

(Górnicki. Dworzanin Polski.)

(8) *Tu zaś pan Dersniak **to powiedział**: Radbych ja wiedział, panie Wapowski, ...*

'And to that Mister Dersniak said this: I would like to know, Mister Wapowski, ...'

(9) *Pan Myszkowski **tak** na to **powiedział**: ...'*

'Mister Myszkowski answered (lit. spoke) this so: ...'

Let us now turn to other, "competing" developments that are all linked to the encoding of utterance content and exert influence on syntax. As far as our data allows for reconstruction of these developments, they take place simultaneously; hence, their results may be subsumed under the label (avoidance of) syntactic hybridity.

The first syntactic development to be discussed is the *Accusativus cum infinitivo* construction, which is the result of literacy contact with Latin (cf. Dubisz 2007, 9). *Without doubt*, (2) *and*

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(3) are two Polish translations of the same Bible citation which scrupulously follow the Latin syntactic pattern. Translations of religious, especially biblical texts, and the pattern replications therein have already received considerable attention (cf. Moszyński 1994), as they play a special role in the discussion about the exactness of syntactic replication. Since one aim of our paper is assessing the role of language contact in the development of the DSEs under investigation, it seems worthwhile to compare our findings from religious translations with those of worldly ones.[2] Since DSEs based on *verba dicendi* are the focus of this paper, we will also concentrate on them in our analysis of translation strategies. This, however, does not exclude the highlighting of other phenomena that help to paint a fuller picture.

In the worldly texts, we observe the coexistence of con- and divergence with the Latin original, often within the same sentence. As a general rule, we can say that Latin uses the NcI and (preferably) the AcI construction to set reported speech apart from direct speech, and that the Polish translations by and large follow that model.

The Latin original of (10) is characterized by very complex sentence structure consisting of a NcI with the matrix verb *constat* 'it is clear' and an AcI with the matrix verb *dictum esse* 'to be said.' Clear convergences with Latin that may not be explained by similar Slavonic syntactic structures are the following:

  dictum esse is translated with the *–no/-to* form *powiedziano* 'said,' which at that time most probably still expressed passive diathesis. In Modern Polish, it is usually not accompanied by the demoted agent. Here, the demoted agent is realized syntactically in the PP *od niektórego* 'by somebody'. As Szlifersztejnowa (1968, 133) and Meyer (2011, 242) note, variation between the prepositions *pzrez* and *od* for the encoding of the demoted agent can be witnessed in older stages of Polish, whereas *przez* is the only acceptable variant in Modern Polish. Since both Polish *od* and Latin *a* also have the spatial meaning 'from,' it is entirely possible that this

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2   It is rather difficult to identify non-religious texts, whose Latin original and Polish translation have both been preserved and which are both accessible. Our corpus of parallel texts is thus confined to the following texts:

- *Collationes quas dicu[n]tur fecisse mutuo rex Salomon sapientissimus [et] Marcolphus facie deformis et turpissimus* … and the Polish translation *Rozmowy, który miał król Salomon mądry z Marchołtem grubym a sprosnym* … by Jan z Koszyczek (1521);
- Andrzej Wolan. *De libertate politica sive civili* (Kraków 1572) and the Polish translation *O wolności Rzeczypospolitej albo szlacheckiej* by Stanisław Dubingowicz (Wilno 1606);
- Wespazjan Kochowski. *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislai IV Climacter primus* (1683) and the Polish translation *Roczników polskich od śmierci Władysława IV Klimaktery* by Szymon Zabiełła (18th century)

We are aware of the fact that the translations analyzed stem from roughly two centuries and that differences in the translation strategies thus might be induced by changes in translation practices or their philosophic background. However, the Bible translations analyzed cover the same time span and are nonetheless uniform in the applied translation strategies. We may therefore assume that variance in the translation strategies is not due to the time factor, but rather the text genre.

coincidence lead to *od* as second variant for denoting the demoted agent in Polish (cf. Rabus 2013, 283 for a similar semantic development of the preposition *do* 'to, for' as a result of Russian-Polish language contact).

Case assignment in the subordinate sentence introduced by *że* constitutes another issue of convergence: In (10), the nominative is chosen, which results in a parallel to Latin where the subject and the predicative noun display the same case despite the fact that it is the accusative. Meanwhile, the rendering of NcI and AcI constitute clear cases of divergence. The NcI is not rendered at all, and the AcI is paralleled by a complement clause, which is the regular means for realizing the semantic role 'content' of *verba dicendi* in Slavonic.

(10) POL

A	*tak*	*prawdziwie*	*jest*		*od*	*niektórego*
CONJ	so	true-ADV	be-3SG.PRS		by	somebody-GEN.SG
powiedziano,		*że*	*barzo*	*rzecz*		*jest*
say-PTCP.PASS.IMP		COMP	very	thing.NOM.SG.F		be.3SG.PRS
smaczna		*wolność ...*				
flavorful-NOM.SG.F		freedom-NOM.SG				

LAT

[*Verissime*	*itaque*	*dictum*		*a*
true-SUPERL.ADV	therefore	say-PTCP.PASS.NOM.SG.N		by
quodam	*esse]*NcI	*constat*:		
somebody-ABL.SG	be-INF	be_clear-3SG.PRS		
[*dulce*	*nimirum*	*bonum*	*esse*	*libertatem]*AcI ...
sweet-NOM.SG.N	indeed	good-ACC.SG	be-INF	freedom-ACC.SG

'Thus, clearly it has been said most rightfully that freedom is a very sweet good.'
(Wolan, Andrzej. *De libertate politica sive civili*)

Example (11), however, replicates the Latin AcI for the encoding of the semantic role 'content' in two cases. At first glance, the replications are not that obvious, as both *nazywać* 'call' and *rozumieć* 'understand,' govern the accusative. At second glance, the two renderings differ structurally, as the second one with *rozumieć* 'understand,' as matrix verbs clearly replicate the Latin structure with a noun and predicative adjective in the accusative. The first case with *nazywać* 'call' as a matrix verb is a hybrid between Latin and Polish syntactic structures. The predicative adjective is in the instrumental, as secondary predicates in Polish usually are. The copula however is in the infinitive, as required for the Latin AcI.

Furthermore, the chosen equivalents for the Latin *verba dicendi* likewise deserve mention. *Nazywać* 'call' for *dicere* 'say, speak' is not a literal translation, but results in rather idiomatic Polish. The possible reasons for translating the present tense *inquit* 'he is saying' with preterite *rzekł* 'he said' will not be discussed here, as this might constitute a deliberate decision grounded in narrative effects.

(11) POL

I	*dlatego,*	*gdy*	*Kallistena*	*filozofa*		*przeto*
and	because	when	Kallisten-NOM	philosopher-NOM		therefore
szczęśliwym		*niektórzy*	*być*	*nazywali,*	*iż*	
happy-INSTR.SG		some-NOM.PL	be-INF	call-PST.3PL	that	
u	*Aleksandra*	*barzo*	*hojnie*	*i*	*rozkosznie*	*żył,*
at	Alexander	very	lavishly	and	luxuriously	lived,
"i	*owszem,*	*ja* –	*rzekł* –		*biednego*	*i*
and	yes	I-NOM	say-PST.3SG		poor-ACC.SG.M	and
nieszczęśliwego		*być*	*rozumię ...*			
unhappy-ACC.SG.M		be-INF	understand-PRS.1SG			

LAT

Ac	*proinde*	*cum*	[*Callisthenem*	*philosophum*	
and	therefore	when	Callistenis-ACC.SG	philosopher-ACC.SG	
hoc		*nomine*	*beatum*]AcI	*quidam*	
this.ABL		pretext-ABL	happy-ACC.SG.M	some-NOM.PL	
dicerent,		*quod*			
say-CONJ.PST.3PL		because			
apud	*Alexandrum*	*lautissime*	*ac*	*splendide*	*viveret,*
at	Alexander	most_respectably	and	lavishly	lived,

,

	Immo	*ego,*	*inquit,*	[*miserum*	*et*
in_contrast		I-NOM	say-PRS.3SG	miserable-ACC.SG.M	and
infelicem]AcI	*puto ...*				
unhappy-ACC.SG	consider-PRS.1SG				

'And therefore when some call the philosopher Callisthenes happy under the pretext that he lives at Alexander's place most respectably and lavishly, I, in contrast -- he says -- consider him miserable and unhappy.'

(Wolan, Andrzej. *De libertate politica sive civili.*)

In contrast, example (12) shows strict adherence to the formal composition of the Latin original:

(12) *Marchołt*   *odpowiedział*   *i*   *rzekł:...*
     Marchołt-NOM   answer-PST.3SG   and   say-PST.3SG
     Marcolphus   *rˉndit [respondit]*   *7*   *ait: ...*
     Marcolphus-NOM   answer-PST.3SG   and   say-PST.3SG
     'Marchołt answered and said: ...'
     (Jan z Koszyczek. *Rozmowy które miał król Salomon mądry z Marchołtem grubym a sprosnym ...*)

In sum, the translations analyzed show Latin influence predominantly at the syntactic level, especially the marking of indirect speech, and this influence also affects how the arguments of *verba dicendi* are realized syntactically. Regarding lexical choices, idiomaticity seems to prevail over adherence to the Latin model.

Another important contact language for Polish is namely German, which also features the AcI construction. Yet, in contrast to Latin, it is restricted to verbs of perception. In our corpus data of original Polish texts, AcI constructions are witnessed both for verbs of perception (13) and *verba dicendi* (14-15). This fact, and the more so macaronic clauses where the AcI is built with Latin lexical material (14), can be considered evidence that Latin influence lead to AcI constructions in Polish. It cannot be ruled out, however, that German fostered this (temporary) development.

At the same time, the AcI helps to resolve the aforementioned syntactic hybridity that usually arises in speech act rendering contexts where the narrator and the subject of the rendered situation are both in the third person, as the AcI marks reported speech (11-12).

(13) *... przeto*   *Orpheus*   *powiedział,*   [*Jovem*   *być*
     therefore   Orpheus-NOM   say-PST.3SG.M   Jupiter-ACC   be-INF
     masculum   *et*   *feminam*]AcI.
     male-ACC   and   female-ACC
     '... therefore Orpheus said that Jupiter was both male and female.'
     (Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski*.)

(14) *Niechaj*   *pirwej*   *tym*   *panom*   *odpowiem*,
     let   at_first   that-DAT.PL   gentleman-PL.DAT   answer-FUT.1SG

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którzy	[*piękność*	*nie*	*zawdy*	*dobrą*	*być*]	

którzy   [*piękność*   *nie*   *zawdy dobrą*   *być*]AcI *powiedają* ...
who-NOM.PL   beauty-ACC.SGnot   always good-ACC.SG   be-INF   say-PRS.3PL
'Let me first answer those gentlemen who claim that beauty is not always good ...'
(Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski.*)

If the AcI may be considered a means of marking indirect speech, then the process that *mówiąc* 'speaking' loose the status as a secondary predication may be described as the development of a direct speech marker.

The first step in this direction is illustrated by example (6), where the sentence containing the AP *mówiąc* 'speaking' features *miły Krystus* 'dear Christ' as a canonical subject in the nominative, but lacks a matrix verb. In other words, the AP still has a point of co-reference, but can no longer be classified any more as secondary predication, as the sentence lacks a primary predication.

Finally, (15) illustrates the complete loss of subject co-reference: *mówiąc* 'speaking' constitutes a sentence of its own with no NP, not to mention a matrix verb that might serve as point of co-reference. Furthermore, the context makes clear that the covert subject of the adverbial participle refers to *niektorych* 'some [Lutherans]', i.e. the object of the preceding sentence. Hence, we may state that in contexts of this kind, *mówiąc* may be regarded as a speech-marker, but no more as an adverbial participle *in sensu stricto*.

(15)   *Papież poſłał do Niemiec trzech Biſkupow z Indultem / áby namawiáli Luteryany kapłany ná Rzymſką wiárę / [...] ále niekthorych*-ACCⱼ *ná tho niemogli przywieść / **mowiącⱼ**: lepiey ieſt Bogá ſlucháć niż ludzi.*
'The Pope sent to Germany three bishops with an indult / that they persuade the Lutherans of the Roman Rite / but someⱼ they could not persuade of this / speakingⱼ: it is better to obey God than humans.'
(BielKron 234, 30v, 41)

Another issue that needs to be addressed here is the semantic erosion of *verba dicendi* on their way to becoming a part of DSEs. This is best illustrated by *mówiąc* as a quotation marker (16-17), i.e. a function that develops out of speech-marking, but may be considered the precursor of the modern quotative DSEs.

The semantics of the verb *mówić* 'speak' with the government pattern *X mówi Y / o Y-u* can be rendered with the following preliminary explication: 'with the help of their voice apparatus, X

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produces sounds conveying content Y.' The meaning of the speech and citation marker *mówiąc* (government pattern *mówiąc$_x$ Y*) can be described as follows: "X produces language-based content Y'. As a result, the development of the marker *mówiąc* goes along with the loss of the semantic component 'mode of articulation'.

(16) *… [w] dzisiejsze ewanjelije było pisano **rzekąc** tako , iże wyszło jest przykazanie było*
'… in today's gospel was written speaking so, that an order had been issued …'
(KazGn)

(17) *O RZECE SABBATICUS, albo SABBATIUS, od sabaszu żydowskiego rzeczonej, **pisze** Starożytny Author Pliniusz lib. 31, cap. 2, **mówiący**: in Judaea rivus Sabbatis omnibus siccatur.*
'About the word sabbaticus, or sabbatius, derived (lit. said) from the Jewish Sabbath, the ancient author Plinius, lib 31, cap.2, writes speaking: in Judaea rivus Sabbatis omnibus siccatur.'
(Chmielowski. *Nowe Ateny...*)

In connection with the development of the speech-marker *mówiąc.* we would like to point out a particular case of syntactic hybridity in the rendering of speech (18-19). That is, although the pronoun shift leaves no doubt that we are dealing with direct speech, both the marker *mówiąc* and the complementizer *że* 'that' are used. *Że* 'that' of course usually otherwise introduces reported speech. Since we were confronted with this phenomenon only in Pasek's work, it is most likely an idiosyncrasy of this author, but it nevertheless underlines the striving to set the protagonists' utterances apart from the narration as such.

(18) *... i tym **gloriabantur mówiąc** to, że "my w to wierzymy, co i wy, daremnie nas nazywacie odszczepieńcami".*
' ... and they boasted, saying this, that "we believe in the same as you do, in vain you call us apostates."'
(Pasek. *Pamiętniki*.)

(19) *... król **ucieszył się** nadzieją **mówiąc**, że "mnie pan Pasek dawno znajomy; wiem, że mi jej nie odmówi."*
' … the king was pleased by the hope, saying that "I have been acquainted with Mister Pasek for a long time; I know that he will not refuse me this.'
(Pasek. *Pamiętniki*.)

Another method for distinguishing the narration from the utterances embedded therein is the juxtaposition of Polish and Latin. To the best of our knowledge, studies on the linguistic aspects of macaronism are rather rare and have been concerned mainly with morphological issues. Thus, based on the literary work of Orzelski, Keipert (1988) gives an account of the morphological means for Latinizing the inflection of Polish lexical material, with a focus on the declension of nouns, the declension and gradation of adjectives and adverbs, and the conjugation of verbs. This means that, so far, the focus has been on the mutual morphological integration of lexical items but not on the distribution of Polish and Latin lexical items and the functional aspects thereof. As our examples show, the juxtaposition of Polish and Latin is used in two types of speech-marking. Specifically, the first and probably most natural case are citational contexts, where quotes from Latin sources are rendered in the original (4-5; 17; 20). Instances like (13) are of another type, as we are not dealing with a *verbatim* citation, but a reported speech in the form of an AcI construction that stands apart from the general narration by using Latin. Hence, in the terminology of language contact studies, we may describe this phenomenon as an instance of functional code-switch (cf. Riehl 2004, 23).

(20)   *... jakiś Heretyk ... wolałby był być Jeremiaszem, **mówiącym***: A, A, A, Domino DEUS
          ecce nescio loqui, w takiej materyi którą posuit Pater Celestis in sua dispositione.
          '... some heretic … would have preferred to be Jeremias, who speaks (lit. speaking) A, A,
          A, Domino DEUS ecce nescio loqui, in the material form which Pater Celestis gave in his
          disposition.'
          (Chmielowski. *Nowe Ateny*...)

In summary, the development of DSEs based on verba dicendi begins with a construction for the marking of direct and reported speech. It consists of two *verba dicendi*, one of which is semantically more complex and renders the mode of speaking, whereas the second *verbum dicendi* is characterized by its non-finite morphology, usually in the form of the (adverbial) participle. This construction is ambiguous in the sense that it does not allow for distinction between direct and reported speech if the protagonists of the narration and the situation rendered via speech are both in the third person, or if they coincide. Two strategies for disambiguating direct and reported speech evolve therein. The first one constitutes the usage of the AcI construction for the encoding of reported speech, most probably due to literacy contact with Latin. Secondly, through the loss of syntactic co-reference and the erosion of the

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semantic component 'mode of articulation,' the adverbial participles *mówiąc* 'speaking' and *rzekąc* 'saying' turn into markers of direct speech and quotations.

Furthermore, the functional code-switch to Latin serves to set apart utterances – either in the form of *verbatim* quotations or in the form of reported speech – as an additional means, just like the AcI construction – that was used mainly in the 17th and 18th century when macaronism was the preferred literary style. It seems that as an extralinguistic factor, or literary style, it exerted influence on the syntax of Polish.

In one way or another, all functions and constructions described below take constructions used for speech-marking as a point of departure. The data at hand varies in the sense that it does not allow complete reconstruction of the historical development of each function and construction. We will therefore set out the stance-marking function of the construction based on *mówiąc*, as these data are most comprehensive and the construction serves as a point of departure for other functions.

3.2.2. The stance-marking function of the construction based on the adverbial participle

At the turn of the 15th to16[th] centuries, we witness the parallel occurrence of constructions based on finite verb forms and the AP of *verba dicendi* respectively. These constructions are modified not by cataphoric elements, but adverbs (21-22; 24) and, to a much lesser extent, NPs (23). They all classify text segments according to metatextual information, namely, their length or interdependence with other text segments. For two reasons, this also implies the expression of the speaker's stance: the classification of a text segment as long or short is based on personal judgement, if no *tertium comparationis* is available. Objective length is one thing, and content the other. As a result, even if a *tertium comparationis* for classifying length is available (22), one text segment can be considered a shortened version of a preceding text segment only if they render the same content. Whether contents coincide is, however, subject to personal judgement and therein expresses the speaker's stance.

Quite interestingly, the constructions with finite verb forms and the AP differ respectively in their scope and valency structure. The construction with finite verb forms has opened up a valency slot for one constituent of its host utterance (18), whereas the construction based on the AP is bivalent and applies to two text segments of different size (19-20). A possible explanation for this difference will be discussed below.

(21)   *Kiedy tu pan Wapowski przestał, jakoby, rzeczy swej dokończywszy, dalej*
mówić niemiał, powiedział pan Bojanowski: **Inaczej tego** *żaden tu rzec nie może, panie*
Wapowski miły, ...

'When Mister Wapowski stopped here, as if, having finished his issue, he had nothing
more to say, Mister Bojanowski said: 'In another way than that, no one here can say it,
dear Mister Wapowski, …'

(Górnicki. *Dworzanin polski*.)

(22)   *Lecż te inne cżtery [punkty wyznania wiary]/ wolnie á vprzemymie Ø$_j$ wyználi-*PST.3PL$_j$
/ iż tak ieſt / á **inacżey mowiący-**NOM.PL$_j$ */ przeklęći ſą.*

'But the other four ones [principles of the confession of faith] / they confessed freely and
friendly / that it is so / and in other words (lit. otherwise speaking) / that they are damned.'
(SkarJedn 275)

(23)   *Bo* **mowiąc ku prawdzie** *, kto taką rzecz słyszał : Cztyrzy dni   leżał umarły w grobie*
a on ji skrzesił?

'Because speaking the truth, who has heard such a thing: For four days he had been lying
dead in the grave and he has resurrected?'

(*Rozmyślanie Przemyskie*)

(24)   *... dawszy sie pirwej długo prosić, nakoniec przyzwoliła. I kazała to Sinorixowi*
powiedzieć, który z wielką radością począł sie hnet starać, aby ta rzecz rychły skutek swój
wzięła. Owa **krótko powiedając** *przyszedł czas ślubu ...*

' ... after letting him beg for a long time at first, she finally agreed. And she ordered to tell
this Sinorix, who immediately and with great pleasure started efforts to ensure that this
endeavor take haste. So, in short (lit. shortly speaking), the time of the wedding
approached …'

(Górnicki. *Dworzanin polski*.)

As with the speech-marker described above, the development of the stance marker also goes
along with the gradual dissolution of co-reference between the subjects of adverbial participle
and the matrix verb, and with the gradual loss of the AP's status as secondary predication.
This process must have taken place between the 15th and 16th century, as our examples show.
In (22) we are dealing with a present participle (out of which the adverbial participle
developed) that agrees in case and number with the (elliptic) subject of the matrix clause. Co-
reference of subjects is thus still maintained, although the function of *inaczej mówiący* is that
of its modern equivalent *inaczej mówiąc* 'in other words (lit. in another way speaking),' it

connects two text segments and marks the latter as a reformulation of the former one's content. Example (23) represents the next step in the dissolution of the subject co-reference, as it allows two readings. If we assume that the subject co-reference is still maintained and the AP clause bears a conditional reading, the whole sentence can be interpreted as 'who, if he speaks the truth, has heard such a thing: …'. However, if we assume that subject co-reference applies no more and that the speaker is the covert subject of the AP, the only possible reading is 'honestly speaking (lit. speaking the truth), who has heard such a thing: …'. (24) are clear examples for the speaker as a covert subject, because *mówić* requires an animate first argument, whereas the subjects of the matrix clauses – *ślub* 'wedding' and *małżeństwo* 'marriage' – are inanimate abstracts.

In our data for the 15th and 16th century, the stance-marking construction based on *mówiąc* 'speaking' was represented by three types: *krótko mówiąc* 'in short (lit. shortly speaking)', *inaczej* mówiąc, 'in other words (lit. in another way speaking) and *ku prawdzie mówiąc,* 'speaking the truth.' All three convey the speaker's stance; additionally, the two former ones function as reformulating connectives.[3] Connectivity implies two argument slots. Although *verba dicendi* are ascribed as (at least) two argument slots (namely the agentive speaker X and the content Y as in *X mówi Y / o Y-u* 'X speaks Y / about Y'), this cannot be the reason for the bivalency of the discussed reformulating connectives. The speaker serves as the covert subject of the adverbial participle *mówiąc* which has already taken slot X. Rather, the two argument slots of the reformulating connective seem to result from a blending of syntactic and semantic argument structures. That is, the adverbial participle as a syntactic structure opens an argument slot for its matrix clause. The semantics of the verbum dicendi *mówić*, furthermore, takes on the form of the adverbial participle, which opens the semantically founded argument slot Y for content.

In comparison to the three types evidenced in the 15th and 16th century, we witness a considerable rise of type frequency in the 18th century. In order to better appreciate the development in the 18th century, some words are in order of the definition of *type*. We can define types on formal grounds, i.e. their orthographic and morphological form, or on semantic (and thus functional) grounds.

In the 18th century, we count ten formal types, but only seven semantic types (cf. Table 1), which means that there must exist some synonyms that formally differ. In the case of

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3   These findings verify the hypothesis put forward in (Birzer 2015), where, based on semantic bridges and the distribution of functions across spoken and written Modern Polish, stance-marking in general and the reformulating connective, in particular, have been identified as the points of departure for the development of all other functions fulfilled by DSEs.

'honestly speaking,' we are confronted with a morphological difference, as the two synonyms are based on two different inflectional forms of the same base word. The picture for 'exactly speaking' is another one, since the stems of the two bases – *właściw-* and *partykularn-* – bear the Polish adverb ending *–ie* (*partykularnie* also the stem-building suffix *–n-*), but the third base – *in particulari* – is Latin in stem, orthography, and morphology, and must be the source for the orthographically and morphologically integrated Polish loan word *partykularnie*. If we have a closer look at the types, two more bear similar characteristics. *Generalnie* is derived from the Latin root *general-* with the help of Polish suffixes, and *genuine* is Latin in both stem and suffix morphology (which is, however, orthographically very close to the Polish ending *–ie*). Since four out of ten types are clearly influenced by Latin, we need to address the question which overall role Latin played in the development of stance-markers based on the adverbial participle.

Table 1. Formal and semantic types of stance markers based on the adverbial participle in the 18th century[4]	
formal types	**semantic types**
inaczej mówiąc	'in other words (lit. in another way speaking)'
krótko mówiąc	'in short (lit. shortly speaking)'
po prawdzie mówiąc	'honestly speaking (lit. the truth speaking)'
prawdę mówiąc	
rzetelniej mówiąc 'besser gesagt'	'in a better formulation (lit. better speaking)'
właściwie mówiąc	'exactly speaking'
partykularnie mówiąc	
mówiąc in particulari	
generalnie mówiąc	'generally speaking'
genuine mówiąc	'straightly speaking'

Given that the same construction based on an adverbial participle can also be found in other Slavonic languages (cf. Birzer 2012a for Russian and Birzer (accepted b) for Croatian), we can rule out that the general syntactic pattern for this construction was replicated from Latin. Nonetheless, we found a Latin stance marking parenthesis in our corpus (25), which is quite

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[4]   For reasons of space, we use *mówiąc* as placeholder for all three attested APs *mówiąc*, *rzekąc* and *powiedziawszy*.

remarkable, as the ten stance-markers from Table 1 produce an overall token frequency of just 16. The Latin parenthesis is based on the optative of *dicere* 'say' in the first-person singular. That is, it is clearly produced by the speaker and not by a protagonist of the narration. The *verbum dicendi* is modified by an adverb, which is prototypical for the stance-marking construction. Due to this structural parallel, it is likely that the array of Latin modifiers that was transferred to Polish served as resource for the growing type frequency of the Polish construction. Our corpus data for the types with the meaning 'exactly speaking' backs this hypothesis. In Chmielowski's *Nowe Ateny…* , published in 1745, we find both the Latin source word in its Latin morphological shape (26), and the orthographical and morphological adaptation of its stem into Polish (27). Four years later, Kitowicz uses the same semantic type in his *Opis obyczajów…* but with an originally Polish adverb as a modifier (28).

(25)   …. *wszystka kompanija – **verius-ADV dicam-CONJ.PRS.1SG** – pouciekała …*

  '… the whole company – I shall tell most truefully – deserted …'

  (Pasek. *Pamiętniki*.)

(26)   *A dopieroż tyle było Atheńskich, Lacedemońskich, Rzymskich […] Rzeczypospolitych, które […] żyły wolnością. A jak tylko umbra, a bardziej larwa niewoli w Senat Rzymski **(mówiąc in particulari** zazierać poczęła,* …

  'And at first there were so many Athenian, Lacedemonian and Roman republics, which lived in freedom. But when only the shadow, or rather the ghost of illiberty in the Roman Senate (began precisely speaking to lurk …'

  (Chmielowski. *Nowe Ateny…*)

(27)   ***Partykularnie mówiąc** o Wolności Polskiego Narodu, klejnotem takim ją nazywam, któremu żaden Jubiler nie znajdzie szacunku.*

  'Precisely speaking about the freedom of the Polish people, I call it a treasure whose value no jeweler can estimate.'

  (Chmielowski. *Nowe Ateny…*)

(28)   *W osobie albo właściwie mówiąc w wizerunku osoby … wyrznięta była dziura okrągła … tak wielka jak hostia …*

  'In the person or, more precisely, in the picture of the person … a round hole the size of a host was cut out …'

  (Kitowicz. *Opis obyczajów…*)

This leads us to the hypothesis that the expansion of the prototypical stance-marking construction ADV + AP is the result of the intricate interplay between catalyzation and matter replication (in Sakel's (2007) sense). Most probably, the structural and functional parallels between the Latin parenthetical construction and the Polish ADV + AP construction lead to matter replication from Latin, which resulted in rising type frequency. It follows then, that the Latin parenthetical construction as such was the catalyzer for the expansion of the Polish ADV + AP construction, and the concrete types of the Latin construction served as a resource for matter replication.

Our corpus material from the 18th century includes two more instances of matter replication, namely *generalnie mówiąc* 'generally speaking' and *genuine mówiąc* 'speaking straight.' Unfortunately, our 18th century data does not feature any synonyms to these types, and the structure of NKJP does not allow conducting a sensible real-time study of the developments in the 19th century for the following reasons:

The PELCRA interface of the NKJP offers the *konkordancje* and the *kolokator* function; both functions can be applied to the so-called balanced subcorpus, which contains texts generated after 1945, and to the full corpus. The *konkordancje* function allows the user to define their own subcorpora by time spans[5], and offers a wpm-frequency chart for the searched item via the *czas* function. The *czas* function is available only for texts from the years 1988 to 2010 and works only with single words, not collocations. The *kolokator* function for research on collocations works only with the balanced corpus, which makes it non-utilizable for research on data from the 19th century.

We therefore opted for a "retrospective" approach, i.e. we identified all constructions of the type ADV + *mówiąc / powiedziawszy* with the help of the query [orth=",|.|-"] [pos=adv] [orth="(mówiąc|powiedziawszy)"] [orth=",|.|-"], identified groups of synonymous types and filtered out groups where at least one type features an adverb with Latin roots (Table 2). By this method, we identified twelve relevant groups. For some of them, including *kolokwialnie, cynicznie, elegancko, metaforycznie, konkretnie, precyzyjnie* and *technicznie*, it is rather likely that they are not direct Latin loans, but rather came into Polish via contact with other languages. Nonetheless, they all show that the stance-marking construction expanded with the help of matter replication that were then doubled by types with an originally Polish adverb. The *trywialnie / banalnie* group is the only exception to this rule in the sense that *banalnie* is

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[5] Our query for *mówiąc* in texts from the full corpus written between 1800-1900 gave some matches, so we may conclude that the full corpus contains some texts from the 19th century. Another drawback of the NKJP is the fact that no information on the corpus size – in the form of the respective corpus predefined or personalized – is given, which makes wpm counts and thus the comparison of subcorpora covering different time spans impossible.

also a loanword also from French. The 'precisely / exactly' group is an interesting continuation of the group described in examples (26-28), as the original matter replication *in particulari / partykularnie* did not survive into Contemporary Polish. The semantic pattern was nevertheless maintained with *właściwie(j)* as a continuous representative that was backed by later synonymous types that were the result of new matter replication.

Table 2. Groups of synonymous construction types with at least one Latin adverbial root			
adverb	semantics	Latin source word	token frequency of construction type
kolokwialnie	colloquially	*colloquium*	21
cynicznie	cynically	*cynicus*	8
elegancko	elegantly	*elegans*	6
generalnie	generally	*generalis*	14
(naj)ogólnie(j)	generally		160
metaforycznie	metaphorically	*metaphora*	10
obrazowo	metaphorically		44
(naj)delikatnie(j)	mildly	*delicatus*	194
(naj)łagodnie(j)	mildly		30
popularnie	popularly	*popularis*	5
po_ludzku	popularly		32
konkretnie(j)	precisely / exactly	PPP *concretus*	15
precyzyjnie(j)	precisely / exactly	PPP *praecisum*	15
dokładnie(j)	precisely / exactly		76
właściwie(j)	precisely / exactly		18
brutalnie(j)	roughly	*brutalis*	27
serio	seriously	*serius*	26
poważnie(j)	seriously		66
technicznie	technically	*technicus*	1
trywialnie	trivially	*trivialis*	1
banalnie	trivially		1

We would like to close our observations on the role of language contact in the development of the stance-marking construction with some considerations on why we deem Latin to have been both a catalyzer and a source language for the matter replications, despite the fact that Polish was likewise in long-lasting contact with other languages, foremost among them Czech, German, Ruthenian and Russian 6. This question is the more legitimate, as three of the aforementioned languages are Slavonic, and both Czech and Russian are also known to have a stance-marking construction based on the adverbial participle.

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6 For a comprehensive survey of all contact situations with a special focus on the those within in the Slavonic language family, see cf. Rabus 2013, 202-316.

German features a semi-productive stance-marking construction based on the passive participle *gesagt* 'said' with the syntactic structure ADV + PTCP.PASS, i.e. the degree of structural similarity between the Polish and the German construction is roughly the same as between the Latin and the Polish ones. Yet our historical corpus data does not display traces of German influence in this realm, i.e. we have not found stance-marking constructions based on the passive participles *mówion-*, *powiedzian-* or *rzeczon-* and we have furthermore failed to find any instances of matter replication. This makes it rather implausible that German exerted influence on the development of the stance-marking construction.[7]

Czech exerted considerable influence on Polish up to the 16th century and all the while faced intensive contact with German. Just like Croatian, which was also part of the Holy Roman Empire, Czech possesses two competing stance-marking constructions – one based on the adverbial participle and the other one based on the passive participle, which are most probably the result of language contact with German. Since the Polish stance-marking construction started developing only very slowly in the 16th century □ i.e. at a time when Czech influence on Polish was already on the verge of decreasing □ it is rather unlikely that Czech influence catalyzed the expansion of the Polish construction. This is all the more so true, as, the structurally similar Czech construction was itself competing with the construction ADV + PTCP.PASS replicated from German.

Just like in Polish, the ADV + AP construction is the semi-productive means of forming stance markers in Contemporary Russian. This fact renders the role of East Slavonic varieties as having been a catalyst for the spread of its Polish equivalent to be a rather probable one. To check this assumption, we drew on data from Karłowicz (1984) and Karaś (1996).

Karłowicz (1984) is the publication of the dictionary manuscript *Podręcznik czystej polszczyzny dla Litwinow i Petersburszczan* that must have been compiled in the late 1870ies or very early 1880ies (cf. Kaupuż & Smułkowa 1984, 87), i.e. at a time when DSEs based on *verba dicendi* were growing rapidly in number. Since Matras (1998) demonstrated that discourse-structuring elements are affected by language contact rather early, it is hardly

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7   Even if there was some appreciable German influence which we could not trace due to the corpus size, Nowowiejski's (2007) findings might explain why the results of this influence have not made their way into Contemporary Polish. Nowowiejski (2007, 17) states that especially in the Austrian Partition of Poland, German exerted not only lexical influence, but influenced also the stylistic-syntactic level. Among others, pattern replications took place that led to phraseological expressions belonging to the official register. Nowowiejski highlights that quite a lot of pattern replications survived purist endeavors in the second half of the 19th century, as they were considered a "minor evil" and were used as a regular means of replenishing the lexicon (2007, 17). We may draw the conclusion from this that DSEs based on the past participle – if such had ever existed in Polish – were recognized as Germanisms and became subject to purification, all the more so, as Polish displayed no lexical "gap" due to the existence of the parallel construction based on the adverbial participle.

surprising that Karłowicz features three conjunctions (*między tem* 'meanwhile' (1984, 50); *tak jak* 'because'(1984, 67) *tem nie mniej* 'nonetheless' (1984, 68) and two DSEs (*po drugie* 'secondly'(1984, 57); *po pierwsza rzecz .... po druga rzecz* 'firstly ... secondly' (1984, 57) whose source is Russian.

Karaś (1996) is concerned with Russicisms in the Polish of the Partition period. Karaś's major merit lies in the fact that – although the monograph title speaks of *rusycyzmy słownikowe* 'lexical Russicisms' – she also discusses structural borrowings and, based on the analysis of a press corpus, establishes their first occurrence. Just like Karłowicz (1984), Karaś identifies a whole number of conjunctions and DSEs (partially the same as Karłowicz) of Russian origin (cf. Karaś 1996, 314-315), but also prepositions based on adverbial participles, such as *nie bacząc na* 'regardless of'; *nie patrząc na* 'regardless of'; *nie zważając na* 'regardless of' (1996, 313), yet no DSEs based on *verba dicendi*. The prepositions mentioned came into Polish between 1864-1905 (cf. Karaś 1996, 324), i.e. at a time when DSEs based on *verba dicendi* were already fairly well-rooted in the language and Russian had already exerted influence on Polish for more than half a century.

In both Karłowicz (1984) and Karaś (1996), no DSEs based on *verba dicendi* are listed. We may regard this fact as evidence that no matter replication took place. This finding is confirmed by the matches of our aforementioned NKJP query *[orth=",|.|-"] [pos=adv] [orth="(mówiąc|powiedziawszy)"] [orth=",|.|-"]* that produced no lexical elements that had obviously been borrowed from East Slavonic varieties. However, on the basis of the given empirical evidence, we cannot rule out that East Slavonic varieties had some catalyzing effect on the Polish ADV + AP construction.

Finally, some words are in order on the adverbial participles *powiedziawszy* 'having spoken' and *rzekąc* 'speaking,' as they are potential competitors of *mówiąc* as the basis for the semi-productive ADV + AP construction. *Rzekąc* can be observed as a speech-marker until the 16th century (2; 16), but not as a basis for the stance-marking construction. Due to the size of our diachronic corpus, we cannot rule out that its occurrence in this function is not simply mirrored in the corpus. Two scenarios are thus possible. Since the stance-marking function developed out of the speech-marker, it might be that *rzekąc* was also used as a basis for the stance-marking function, but was ultimately supplanted by the productive pattern based on *mówiąc*. This development could be described as a tightening of the paradigm in the sense that the number of adverbial participle forms that serve as a basis for the stance-marking construction decreases. On the other hand, it is also possible that *rzekąc* never touched off the

stance-marking construction, but specialized as a speech-marker and consequently went out of use when this function was taken over by other structural means.

The case of *powiedziawszy* – the perfective adverbial participle – is different, as it has not manifested as a speech-marker, but it occurs in contexts where it marks the end of an utterance, which is referred to anaphorically with *to* 'this' (29-30). As a result, the syntactic structure and ergo the possibility to take on the stance-marking function stand as the same for the speech-marker, where only the position in the text differs.

(29)   *A to powiedziawszy wstał i onej rozmowie uczynił koniec.*
         'And having said this, he got up and made an end to this conversation.'
         (Górnicki. *Dworzanin polski*.)

(30)   *Powiedziawszy to pan Wapowski, umilkł.*
         'Having said this, Mister Wapowski became silent.'
         (Górnicki. *Dworzanin polski*.)

Yet in contrast to *rzekąc*, *powiedziawszy* is observed as the basis for the stance-marking construction. This is despite the fact that only in the case of a few types that are also doubled by types which are based on *mówiąc,* is a much higher token frequency ultimately demonstrated (cf. Table 3).[8] Quite interestingly, the number of types based on *powiedziawszy* is not only low, but the types also differ significantly in terms of token frequency.

Table 3. Token frequencies for *powiedziawszy*-based types in comparison to *mówiąc*-based ones		
Modifier	*powiedziawszy*	*mówiąc*
prawdę 'truly (lit. the truth)'	314	712
szczerze 'frankly'	84	845
ściśle(j) '(more) strictly'	5	223
inaczej 'otherwise'	3	666
prosto / najprościej 'plainly / most plainly'	2	66
dokładniej 'more precisely'	1	56
lepiej 'better'	1	3

This allows the construction of two possible historical scenarios. In the first one, *powiedziawszy* served as basis of the stance-marking construction at different historical stages of Polish (but is not observed due to corpus size) but for some reason became unproductive. Consequently, the remaining types in Contemporary Polish are to be considered (petrified)

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8   The corpus query used was *[orth=",|.|-"] [] [orth=powiedziawszy] [orth=",|.|-"] [orth!=że]*

lexicalized items, and the fate of *powiedziawszy*, just like that of *rzekąc*, represents part of the tightening of the paradigm. This explanation would be very plausible if it were not for the five types with a token frequency of five and below. The petrification of highly frequent items is not uncommon. Note, specifically, that the type with *prawdę* / *po prawdzie* is one of the first types seen and that *szczerze* 'frankly' stems from the same semantic field. There is nevertheless no obvious explanation for why the types with low token frequency should have petrified. On the other hand, they can be explained away with occasional analogies.

Analogy is also the driving force in the second scenario. Here, the types based on *powiedziawszy* are built analogous to those based on *mówiąc* only at a rather recent stage in the history of Polish, which would also explain occasionalisms.[9]

However, a final answer to this question can only be given once a much more comprehensive diachronic corpus is available.

3.2.3. Development of the contextualizing construction based on *mówiąc* 'speaking'

In the 16th century, we find several examples that allow reconstruction of the emergence of contextualizing parentheses, yet with finite verb forms. In the three examples to be discussed (31-33), the clause containing the *verbum dicendi* identifies the source of knowledge for the facts related to other parts of the sentence, but its degree of syntactic integration varies. It is highest in example (31), where the relationship between the point of information reference (*złoty wiek* 'golden age'), the source of information, and the information itself are organized in a complex hypotactic construction. The point of information reference forms the head noun for a relative clause indicating the source of information; the information itself is encoded in a complement clause dependent on the *verbum dicendi powiedać* 'speak, say,' which constitutes the predicate of the relative clause. This syntactic structure clearly separates information reflecting the speaker's own line of thought from related information. Casually speaking, one could say that the indication of the information source only applies to the content of the complement clause.

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9   Both scenarios are unsatisfactory with respect to the question of why the perfective adverbial participle remaining becomes the second base, as its anteriority is contradictory to the commentary function of DSEs.

    One explanation might be language contact with German. Apart from the ADV + PTCP.PASS construction, in German, the second construction *um es (mal) (ADV) gesagt zu haben* 'to have it said (once) (ADV)' exists, originally a purpose clause with the perfective verb form *gesagt haben*. The perfective German verb form allows drawing a parallel to the Polish perfective adverbial participle. Although Rabus (2013, 55) notices that „[g]rammatical replication im engeren Sinne findet […] vermutlich eher im nichtslavisch-slavischen Kontakt statt [grammatical replication in sensu stricto presumably takes place rather in non-Slavic – Slavic language contact – translation S.B.]", the question remains how far-fetched this explanation is, as the replication process described requires very profound knowledge of both German and Polish and the German construction mentioned is less frequent in 20th century German than the ADV + PTCP.PASS construction.

Example (32) is ambiguous as the dependence of the complement clause introduced by *iż* 'that' is unclear. In the case of interpretation a., the complement clause has to be considered an argument of *powiedać* 'say / speak,' and only the contents of the complement clause are drawn from the source of information indicated. Interpretation b., which seems to be the more plausible one, assigns parenthetical status to *jako powiedają ludzie* 'as people say,' and the complement clause explains what *to* 'this' refers to. In this case, the parenthesis is the information source for the whole utterance, i.e. it applies to the whole sentence. In example (34), we are clearly dealing with a parenthesis. Again, it applies to the whole utterance. As a result, the syntactic disintegration that leads to the parenthetical status of the *verbum dicendi* goes along with an extended scope: elements preceding the parenthesis may also fit within the scope, whereas only the (subsequent) complement clause fills the argument slot of a *verbum dicendi* in a complex clause like (31).

Since the parentheses can be described as indefinite-personal clauses (*ludzie* 'people' is just as indefinite as the 3PL-ending of the verb without a corresponding overt subject), it is clear that the first argument of the *verbum dicendi* is identical neither with the speaker nor with the subject of the clause into which the parenthesis is inserted.

(31)   *... sposób panowania a sprawowania ludzi, jako przystoi, co samo może przywieść ludzie ku błogosławieństwu, a wrócić nazad on złoty wiek, **o którym powiedają**, że na ten czas był, kiedy Saturnus królował.*

'... the way of reigning and leading people, as it befits, which is the very thing that can lead people to beneficence, and return to that golden age, about which they say that it was at the time when Saturnus reigned.'

(Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski*.)

(32)   *... jeśliż to tak ma być, **jako powiedają ludzie**, iż i nieprzyjaciela swego zdradzać nie przystoi ...*

a. '... if this really has to be so, (just) as people say that it is not befitting to deceive even one's antagonist …'

b. '... if this really has to be so, as people say, (namely) that it is not befitting to deceive even one's antagonist …'

(Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski*.)

(33)   *... nakoniec, Jowisz sam, **jako powiedają**, królestwa swego bez niej nie mógł by dobrze sprawować ...*

'... finally, Jupiter himself, as is said (lit. they say), could not lead his kingdom well without her …'

(Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski*.)

Our first example for a AP-based type of the contextualizing function comes from the 18th century (34). It already represents the final stage of development, as the context makes clear that the speaker is the covert subject of the AP, and not the first argument of the matrix verb. In other words, just as in the case of the stance-marking construction, the AP has lost subject co-reference and the status of secondary predication. This allows us to draw the conclusion that with respect to these issues, the steps of syntactic development must have been the same as for the speech-marker and the stance-marking construction. Concerning valency, however, the contextualizing construction differs from the stance-marking one, as, it only has one argument slot. This can be described as the result of inheriting only the semantically motivated argument slots of the AP *mówiąc* 'speaking,' whereas the stance-marking construction inherits the syntactically motivated one as well. A closer look at the semantics of the contextualizing construction reveals that the respective construction does not indicate the source of information, i.e. of some content – as the indefinite-personal parenthesis does – but rather indicates the source (discourse or semantic frame) of some lexical item which the speaker uses to convey his/her own information. That is, the contextualizing construction is used when one content is conveyed with the help of lexical material from two items of discourse – the current one produced by the speaker and another one, technical as in (34) – and marks the lexical material from the "foreign" discourse by scoping over it. In contrast, the stance-marking construction connects two variants of the same content to each other, both stemming from the same discourse and differing only concerning the degree of subjectivity attached.

(34)   *... dywdyk z materii takiejż bogatej okrywał konia, cały zad aż po kostki zadnich nóg, czyli **mówiąc po rostrucharsku**, aż po pętlinę.*

' ... a comparison out of equally opulent material covered the horse, the whole croup down to the bones of the hindlegs or, speaking in horseman's language (lit. in the horseman way), down to the fetlocks.'

(Kitowicz. *Opis ...*)

3.2.4. The quotative construction based on *mówiąc*

As was mentioned in section 3.2.1., the speech-marking function can also be used to mark citations. How exactly does this function (16-17; 35) differ from the quotative construction (36)? The speech- or citation-marker introduces new information that originates from another discourse. In (35), specifically, a citation from the Bible is given which is then interpreted by the sermonizer, i.e. neither the content nor its wording is conceived by the speaker of the current discourse. In the case of the quotative construction, however, the speaker seeks to convey his/her own content by using the wording from another discourse to this end (cf. 36-38, but also the contemporary example 39). This allows drawing a parallel between the contextualizing and the quotative construction, as, the conveying of one piece of content with the help of lexical material from two discourses is typical.

(35)   *[S]łyszeliście iże **rzeczono***: *Miłuj bliznego twego a nienaźry nieprzyjaciela swego.*
        'You have heard that it was said: Love your neighbor and hate your enemy.'
        (RozPrzem)

The usage of another speaker's wording for conveying one's own content can be observed as early as the 16th (36) and 17th centuries (37-38), where the parenthesis indicating the source of quotation is formed with a finite *verbum dicendi*.

(36)   *Potrzeba,* **jako filozof rzekł***, justum animatum, to jest sprawiedliwości żywej i mówiącej.*
        'It is required, as a philosopher said, a just mind-set, that is justness in life and speech.'
         (P. Skarga. *Kazania sejmowe. Kazanie siódme.*)

(37)   *... drugim niektórym ch<c>ąc się w tym równać, cum puderet non esse impudentem –* **jako Augustyn ś. mówi***.*
        '... some others wishing to draw level in this respect, because it embarrasses not to be impudent – as St. Augustinus says.'
        (Twardowski, Kasper. *Łódź młodzi z nawałności do brzegu płynąca.*)

(38)   *Także Kongregacyjej W[asz]m[oś]ciów, moich M[iłoś]ciwych Panów, barzo dobrze służyć może, co* **ś. Bonawentura mówi***: „Qui potentem (natalibus vel ingenio) in bono promovet, multos iuvat. Et e converso, ipsius subversio multo<r>um est detrimentum"; bo innego, który taki nie jest, „salus sibimet prodest", a z owych zaś każdego „multis, tam propter – jako tenże przydaje – exemplum aliorum, qui inde*

aedificantur et provocantur ad bonum, quam propter alia bona, quae per eum promoventur in aliis et mala impediuntur".

'Just as well, it could be of very good service to the Congregation of Well-Born, my gentlemen, what St. Bonaventura says: Who brings forward his power (lit. powerful) (of ships or intellect) with good intent, helps many. And on the contrary, the ruin of that person is a harm for many"; because for another, who is not like this, "the welfare is of profit to himself only," and of these, each one [is of profit] "„multis, tam propter – jako tenże przydaje – exemplum aliorum, qui inde aedificantur et provocantur ad bonum, quam propter alia bona, quae per eum promoventur in aliis et mala impediuntur'''

(Twardowski, Kasper. *Łódź młodzi z nawałności do brzegu płynąca.*)

As with the speech marker, Latin plays a special role. Without doubt, it is the original language of the quotations in examples (37-38). In the case of rather longish quotations (38), it is surely economical not to translate, if the readers – as was the case – know Latin anyway. However, the quotation (37) is so short that an economical motivation can be doubted[10] – not to speak of (36), where the information about the quoted philosopher is so sparse that we cannot even infer the original language of the quotation. Hence, it seems that in this context, Latin has a second role of demarcation of narration and quotation, and thus of the two examples of discourse. If one considers that quotation marks and mandatory rules for their usage developed late in the history of language (cf. Finnegan 2011, 79-95), it is not surprising that graphical means were used to mark quotations in historical texts, especially biblical texts (cf. Finnegan 2011, 82-84). Consequently, one could describe the resorting to Latin as means of marking quotations as a special kind of graphical marking rather than a graph in and of itself. The arrangement of graphemes in Polish and Latin differ however fundamentally. Notably, the AcI falls out of use at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century (cf. Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006, 481), i.e. at a time when punctuation becomes normalized and direct speech as well as *verbatim* quotations thus become identifiable by this means.

Unfortunately, our diachronic corpus data from the 18th century does not yield any search results for the quotative construction, which makes it impossible to delineate the individual steps of its development. However, since it is formally and functionally rather close to the

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[10]   Furthermore, the provisional examination of one (!) edition of St. Augustinus showed that the original wording seems to be *pudet non esse impudentem*, i.e. the quotation has been amended by inserting the conjunction *cum* 'because' and adapting the mood to it as to better integrate it into the "host" discourse.

contextualizing construction, we may assume that it developed in the same way, or even analogous to it.

Finally, some words are in order about the fate of the parenthesis with a finite *verbum dicendi* (henceforth finite parenthesis), which we have described as a predecessor of the quotative construction. Data from Contemporary Polish suggests that the finite parenthesis (40-42) was not only the predecessor, but also the competitor of the quotative construction, which is gradually being replaced by the latter. [11]

(39)   *Ja myślę, że obaj mają swoje - **mówiąc językiem Lecha Wałęsy** - plusy dodatnie i plusy ujemne.*

'I think that both have their – using Lech Wałęsa's wording (lit. speaking with Lech Wałęsa's language) – positive pluses and negative pluses.'

(*Dziennik Polski*. 2001-05-18)

(40)   *I rozszedł się zapach nieopisany, zapach miły Gilgameszowi, starotestamentowym prorokom, spragnionym Orientu biznesmenom. A że – **jako rzecze przysłowie** - nie ma zapachu bez dymu, objawił się i dym, wznoszący się prosto ku sufitowi.*

'An indescribable smell began to spread, a smell pleasurable to Gilgamesh, to the prophets from the Old Testament, and to businessmen thirsty for the Orient. And since – as the proverb says – there is no smell without smoke, smoke also appeared, simply ascending to the ceiling.'

(Ignacy Karpowicz. 2007. *Nowy kwiat cesarza (i Pszczoły)*)

(41)   *Ja żyję w okropnym okresie, bo żądają ode mnie 20-minutowego przemówienia, czego nigdy nie robiłam, wystąpienia w telewizji, czego do tej pory unikałam, wywiadów, których z zasady nie udzielałam. Jednym słowem "każdemu to, na czym mu mniej zależy", **jako rzecze Rudnicki**.*

'I am having a terrible time, because they're demanding a 20-minute address from me, which I have never done before; they're demanding a TV appearance, which I have so far avoided, they're demanding interviews, which I have not conceded to out of principle. In one word, "everyone gets, what he deems least important", as Rudnicki says.'

(Ryszard Matuszewski. 2004. *Alfabet : wybór z pamięci 90-latka*.)

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[11]   Our query *jako [base="(rzec|mówić|powiedzieć)" & person=ter]* gave only two relevant matches, which are cited in examples (85-86).

3.2.5. The constructions based on the infinitive

Our research hypothesis for these constructions (henceforth infinitive-based constructions) states that they developed out of purpose clauses with an infinitive as the predicate (henceforth infinitival purpose clauses), whose (syntactically non-realized) first argument is a co-referent with the first argument of the superordinate clause. It is thus necessary to discuss the history of this type of purpose clause before we can go on to the development of the constructions under investigation. According to Bajerowa (1964, 99), the infinitival purpose clause replaced a finite one; this process lasted about three centuries, from the second half of the 16th to the middle of the 19th century. Information about its peak varies: Jodłowski (cited in Bajerowa 1964, 100) identifies the 17th century as the period of the most intensive change processes, whereas Bajerowa's empirical data show that the development arrived at its peak after 1770 (Bajerowa 1964, 100). These findings coincide with those of Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz (2006, 480), which leads us to take them as the point of departure for the interpretation of our data. One possible explanation for the development of infinitival purpose clauses is German influence (Bajerowa 1964, 99).

Given the history of infinitival purpose clauses as such, it is not too surprising that our corpus data from the 16th century yields no examples of the infinitive-based constructions. Instead, we find two other constructions that fulfill its function. They use the same *verba dicendi* as the infinitive-based constructions in three inflectional forms – the 1SG.COND (42), the 1SG.PRS (43-44) and an ambiguous form (43; 45) that can be analyzed as the old form of the adverbial participle in the NOM.SG.M on –*ę* or as 1SG.PRS. In our data, the ambiguous form occurs both with (45) and without (43) the complementizer *iż*. The former makes the interpretation as 1SG.PRS more likely, while the latter has the interpretation pointing toward AP. However, we also cannot exclude that we are in fact dealing with an AP – the more so, as non-coreferential APs in the speech marking function, often modified by *tak(o)* 'so,' are observed – that was misinterpreted as 1SG.PRS and therefore furnished with the complementizer *iż*. The fact that Czech features the AP-based construction *tak říkajíc* 'so to say' supports the assumption that Polish *rzekę* has to be considered an AP. Due to its formal conflation with the 1SG.PRS, the old AP form on -*ę* falls out of use (cf. Długosz-Kurczabowa & Dubisz 2006, 322); Weiss (1984, 175) notes the middle of the 16th century, i.e. the period our examples stem from, as the date of their extinction. It is therefore possible that the construction based on the 1SG.PRS came into being as analogy to the alleged 1SG.PRS *rzekę,* which fell out of use due to its ambiguity. The conditional form in (42), in turn, forms part of a purpose clause und thus may be considered a predecessor of the infinitival purpose clause.

Note that the AP-based constructions (43; 45) occur from the very beginning in the positions where modern hedges and fillers occur, namely directly before (43) or after (45) the element of scope.

(42)   *... to Jest rzecz tak trudna, **iż** ledwo **bych nie rzekł** nie można ku uczynieniu.*

       '... this thing is so difficult that I would rather say (lit. that I would hardly not say) impossible to accomplish.'

       (Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski*.)

(43)   *... ono **nie rzekę** zuchwalstwo, ale błazeństwo było, kiedy Alexander wielki ... zapłakał.*

       '... it was not to say a danger, but stupidity when Alexander the Great … started to cry.'

       (Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski*.)

(44)   *Do tego jeszcze przyłożę koszt a utraty ... bo chocia sie tak zda, iżby nic na tym nie należało, ale **ja tak powiedam**[12], iż takowe zbytki niszczą królestwa;*

       'To this I still add expenditures and losses … because although it seems that nothing depends on it, but I do say that such luxuries ruin a kingdom;'

       (Górnicki. *Dworzanin Polski*.)

(45)   *... to takie wymyślone (**iż tak rzekę**) dworzaństwo ...*

       '... such a devised (so to say (lit. that so saying)) caste of courtiers …'

Our corpus size does not allow for argument on quantitative grounds, but it is nonetheless notable that the ambiguous form *rzekę* is evidenced only in the construction preceding the infinitive-based construction. It is thus possible that the following scenario took place: Up until the 16ᵗʰ century, a construction based on the old AP on *-ę* developed, which fulfills the functions of the modern infinitive-based construction. The AP is non-coreferential and modified by *tak(o)* 'so' or *nie* 'not'. The missing co-referentiality as well as the modification by *tak(o)* 'so' are also characteristic of the speech-marking construction, but the two constructions are disambiguated by the complementary distribution of the AP suffixes *–ę* and *–qc*. Additionally, two more constructions enter into the equation that may be considered the predecessors of the modern infinitive-based construction. The first one, based on the 1SG.PRS, is analogous to the second reading of the form on *–ę*; the second one is in the conditional and

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12   Apart from 'say,' *powiedać* is also observed with the meaning 'think, consider'. However, this does not weaken our argumentation since many hedges and fillers based on *verba cogitandi* occur in various languages, e.g. English 'I think', so the interpretation of *powiedać* as *verbum cogitandi* would not contradict its status as the point of departure for the development of *aby / by / żeby tak powiedzieć / rzec* with the hedging and filler function.

thus a predecessor of the infinitival purpose clause (the intersections are illustrated in Chart 1). Both are theoretically able to function as parentheses. When the old AP on –ę goes out of fashion because of its ambiguity, the stage for a new construction is prepared. Yet what exactly is the decisive factor that makes the conditional and thus ultimately the infinitive-based construction succeed?
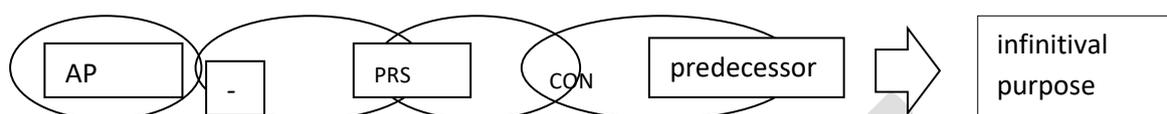

Chart 1. Intersections between observed preceding forms of the infinitive-based construction.

Our diachronic corpus data cannot provide an answer to this question, as it offers no relevant matches. We therefore have to follow the hints which Bajerowa (1964) offers. As mentioned above, the infinitival purpose clause evolves between the middle of the 16th and the middle of the 19th century, with a peak of most intensive development in the period after 1770. German influence is considered one possible motivational factor for the development of the infinitival purpose clause. The question thus arises whether it is indeed plausible that language contact played a role, and whether this assumption also applies to the development of the infinitive-based construction. In answering this question, we will take the scheme for detecting calques proposed in Weiss (2009) as our guiding orientation.

The other important contact languages for the 18th and 19th century apart from German were French and Russian. Polish had only literary contact with French, whereas the contact with German and Russian was face-to-face. Furthermore, it is highly probable that German often functioned as the mediator language for loans from French (cf. Rabus 2013, 218); Raecke (1984, 226) goes as far as to state that no imitation of French syntax took place during the 18th century. These facts make German influence on the development of the infinitival purpose clause more likely than French influence. If we take into consideration the structural characteristics of the German (46-48), French (49-50) and Russian equivalents (51-52) of Polish *aby / by / żeby tak powiedzieć / rzec* 'so to say / in order to say so' and *aby / by / żeby nie powiedzieć / rzec* 'in order not to say', it turns out that the German equivalents are structurally closest to the Polish constructions, followed by Russian and French: German *um ... zu* 'in order to' is the direct equivalent of Polish *aby / by / żeby* 'in order to,' whereas French *pour* 'for' equals the Polish preposition *dla* 'for,' which is supposed to be followed by a verbal noun instead of the infinitive.

(46) *so-zu-sagen*

so-to-say.INF

‚so to sayÄ

(47) *um   es   so   zu   sagen*

in_order   it-NOM so   to   say-INF

'so to say (lit. in order to say it so)'

(48) *um   nicht   zu   sagen*

in_order   not   to   say-INF

'not to say (lit. in order not to say)'

(49) *pour   ainsi   dire*

for   so   say-INF

'so to say'

(50) *pour   ne   pas   dire*

for   not   NEG   say-INF

'not to say'

(51) *tak   skazat'*

so   say-INF

'so to say'

(52) *čtoby   ne   skazat'*

in_order-COMPL   not   say-INF

Although the same structural differences exist between Russian and French, Russian is known to have taken French as a model (cf. Birzer 2012a). This does not hold true for Polish due to the differing degree of French influence on Polish and Russian. Rabus (2013, 219) describes this difference as follows:

Der strukturelle Einfluss des Französischen auf das Polnische war im Hinblick auf seine Nachhaltigkeit insgesamt geringer als der auf das Russische, wo dieser Einfluss die russische Syntax europäisierte. Beim französisch-polnischen Kontakt unterstützten häufig die nachhaltigen Erscheinungen lateinische Phänomene katalytisch.

[With respect to its sustainability, the structural influence of French on Polish was altogether lower than on Russian, where this influence *europeanized* Russian syntax. In the French-Polish contact, the sustainable phenomena supported Latin phenomena as catalyzers. Translation – S.B.]

The constructions under investigation confirm these findings. That is, firstly, they are not influenced by Latin, and secondly, their Russian equivalents are representatives of the pattern ADV + *skazat'*-INF that was semi-productive in the second half of the 18ᵗʰ and the first half of the 19ᵗʰ century and included many semantic equivalents of the corresponding French pattern (cf. Birzer 2012a: chapter 4.2). Polish, in contrast, displays only the two constructions *aby / by / żeby tak powiedzieć / rzec* 'so to say / in order to say so' and *aby / by / żeby nie powiedzieć / rzec* 'in order not to say' which are structurally identical to their German equivalents.

We can therefore assume that German influence played the decisive role in the development of the infinitive-based constructions.

4. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to assess the role language contact played in the development of the following four functional types of DSE based on non-finite forms of the *verba dicendi mówić* 'speak', *powiedzieć* 'say' and *rzec* 'say': the stance-marking function with the prototypical construction ADV + *mówiąc*, the contextualizing function with the prototypical construction *mówiąc* + ADJ.INSTR + NOUN.INSTR, the quotative function with the prototypical construction *mówiąc* + NOUN.INSTR + PROPER_NOUN.GEN, as well as the infinitive-based constructions *aby / by / żeby tak powiedzieć / rzec* 'so to say / in order to say so' and *aby / by / żeby nie powiedzieć / rzec* '(in order) not to say' with hedging and filler as primary functions. We have carried out this assessment first from an inner-Polish perspective and will now, in a second step, give an external perspective that will incorporate the analysis of similar constructions in Russian (Birzer 2012a) and Croatian (Birzer accepted b).

For all the Polish constructions mentioned, we have to assume the adverbial participle as the point of departure, which gradually loses subject co-reference with the first argument of the matrix sentence and thus takes on the status of a secondary predication.

Up to the 16ᵗʰ century, we observe the development of a speech-marker that is applied to mark both direct and reported speech and, in a later step, also citations. At even rather early stages, structural parallels between the speech-marking in Latin original texts and their Polish translations are obvious, especially in the case of clerical texts. Through the 16ᵗʰ century, a construction based on the old AP on -*ę* developed, which fulfills the functions of the modern infinitive-based constructions. In the relevant contexts, the AP on -*ę* is non-coreferential and modified by *tak(o)* 'so' or *nie* 'not'. The missing coreferentiality and modification by *tak(o)*

'so' are also characteristic of the speech-marking construction, yet the two constructions are disambiguated by the complementary distribution of the AP suffixes *–ę* and *–qc*. This may be considered a morphological means of disambiguation.

On the other hand, at the older stages of Polish, just as in other languages (cf. Večerka 2002, 416-423 for Old Church Slavonic or Daiber 2009 for Russian Church Slavonic), the border between direct and reported speech was rather unclear. Latin, in contrast, has the AcI as a means of encoding reported speech; the infinitive is clearly distinct from the finite verb forms to be expected in direct speech. In the period of macaronism, Polish replicates the syntactic pattern of the Latin AcI - sometimes using Latin, sometimes Polish lexical material – and thus acquires a means of differentiating between direct and reported speech. Interestingly, in the quotative construction which develops out of the speech marking construction, Latin insertions are also recurrent. This is not too surprising if the original language of the quotations is Latin, but this is observed also in contexts where the information about the quoted author is so sparse that the original language of the quotation can no longer be inferred. Again, Latin has a distinctive function; in the given case, it demarcates the narration (in Polish) and the quotation (in Latin). Quite notably, the AcI falls out of use at the turn of the 18th to the 19th century, i.e. at a time when punctuation becomes normalized and direct speech as well as *verbatim* quotations thus become identifiable by this means.

The literary ouput of the 16th century is usually labeled with the keyword *macaronism*, yet Dubisz distinguishes between "Latinzim to element językowy (najczęściej wyraz) zapożyczony z łaciny i przystosowany do polskiego system językowego; makaronizm to obcy element językowy (w naszym przypadku – łacinski), występujący w polskim tekście w oryginalnej obcojęzycznej postaci językowej [Latinism is a language item (most often a word) that is borrowed from Latin and integrated into the Polish language system; makaronism is a foreign language element (in our case – a Latin one) that occurs in the Polish text in its original foreign linguistic form – translation S.B.]" (2007, 10). The AcI as a pattern replication can neither be labeled as a Latinism nor a macaronism in Dubisz's sense, whereas the usage of Latin without morphological integration into Polish corresponds to a macaronism. In the terminology of contact linguistics, the latter phenomenon can be described as a functional code-switch (cf. Riehl 2004, 23) that serves as the demarcation of two text segments authored by different persons.

Latinisms, on the other hand, can be considered a case of matter replication. The expansion of the prototypical stance-marking construction ADV + AP is the result of the intricate interplay between catalyzation and matter replication (in Sakel's (2007) sense). Most probably, the

structural and functional parallels between a semantically corresponding Latin parenthetical construction and the Polish ADV + AP construction led to matter replication from Latin, which resulted in rising type frequency. It follows then, that the Latin parenthetical construction as such was the catalyzer for the expansion of the Polish ADV + AP construction, while the concrete types of the Latin construction served as a resource for matter replication.

Finally, concerning the modern infinitive-based constructions, pattern replication from German has to be assumed for the development of the infinitival purpose clause, which serves as basis of the respective constructions. Additionally, the two infinitive-based constructions *aby / by / żeby tak powiedzieć / rzec* 'so to say / in order to say so' and *aby / by / żeby nie powiedzieć / rzec* '(in order) not to say' themselves display a direct syntactic and semantic parallel to their German counterparts *sozusagen* 'so to say' and *um nicht zu sagen* '(in order) not to say'. Hence, one may assume that the pattern replication of the infinitival purpose clause served both as a syntactic model and catalyzer for the semantically motivated replication of the two infinitive-based constructions.

To summarize the inner-Polish perspective on the role of language contact, the development of the constructions under investigation involved both pattern and matter replication. The pattern replication processes can be differentiated into structural and semantic ones. The result of the syntactic pattern replications can be roughly described as the crystallization of functions, whereas the semantic pattern replication and the matter replications always went along with a catalyzing effect.

Let us now turn to the outer perspective. Just like Polish, Russian and Croatian have several metatextual constructions based on *verba dicendi*, among them several (in each language) based on the AP. Due to this distribution, the AP-based constructions can be identified as genuinely Slavonic. One of them is the stance-marking ADV + AP construction, which is semi-productive and unchallenged by competing replicated constructions in Polish. In contrast, language contact led to competing stance-marking constructions in both Russian and Croatian. In the case of Russian, language contact with French resulted in the pattern replication of the ADV + INF construction already described in section 3.2.5. Since the ADV + AP construction already existed in Russian at that time, there was no "functional gap" in Russian (which in the older literature on borrowing has often been assumed to be the motivation for replications). In Modern Russian, the pattern replicated is no more productive, but the genuinely Slavonic ADV + AP construction turns out to be semi-productive, as in Polish. As a result, the replicated pattern can be considered as having catalyzed the expansion of the already existent ADV + AP construction.

The Croatian setting is different in the sense that it is the only of the three languages investigated that has preserved the "bare" AP as a speech-marker, which to a certain degree results in the formal under-specification between the speech-marking and the stance-marking function. Language contact with German resulted in the syntactic replication of the stance-marking construction ADV + PTCP.PASS (e.g., Croatian *iskreno rečeno*-PTCP.PASS analogous to German *ehrlich gesagt*-PTCP.PASS 'frankly speaking (lit. spoken)'). A functional motivation for the replication process can be ruled out, as, the originally Slavonic construction ADV + AP already existed. However, the availability of two distinct syntactic patterns for marking the same function prepared the ground for dissolving the aforementioned formal under-specification between the speech-marking and the stance-marking function. Consequently, in Modern Croatian, the AP is preferably used as speech-marker, i.e. it has retained (or rather returned to) its initial function, whereas the replicated ADV + PTCP.PASS construction has become the semi-productive means of forming stance-marking expressions. We may thus speak of a crystallization of functions, as every function has become linked to a specific construction.

If we compare the findings from Polish, Russian and Croatian, we may conclude the following: in language contact situations, replications take place independent of "gaps" in the language system, but their fate seems to be linked to the structural specificities of the given system. If the target language already features a functionally identical construction, then the replicated construction seems to be confined to the role of a catalyzer for the expansion of the "native" construction, as the stance-marking constructions in Polish and Russian demonstrate. However, if the construction is replicated in a situation of functional under-specification, it leads to a crystallization of functions, as each of the functions becomes linked to one specific construction. The functionally specific construction replicated may in turn fall out of use again if another marker for the same function evolves (as seems to have been the case with the Polish AcI construction as a marker of reported speech) or becomes firmly settled as the only (or at least preferable) marker of the given function, as was the case with the Croatian ADV + PTCP.PASS construction for stance-marking.

Furthermore, our data support Rabus's (2013, 55) finding that "[g]rammatical replication im engeren Sinne findet somit vermutlich eher im nichtslavisch-slavischen Kontakt statt [grammatical replication in sensu stricto presumably takes place rather in non-Slavonic-Slavonic language contact – translation S.B.]", as all replicated structures discussed stem from non-Slavonic languages.

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Abstract

Das Polnische kennt eine ganze Reihe von diskursstrukturierenden Elementen (DSE), die auf den non-finiten Verbformen *mówiąc* oder *powiedziawszy* bzw. *powiedzieć* oder *rzec* basieren und parenthetisch verwendet werden. Die Bildungen mit *mówiąc* formen dabei ein semiproduktives Muster. Historisch entwickeln sich die DSE aus Konstruktionen zur Markierung von Redewiedergabe und Zitaten, wobei lateinischer Einfluss im Sinne von *pattern* und *matter replication* auftritt. So wird die in frühen Sprachstufen anzutreffende Uneindeutigkeit zwischen direkter und indirekter Rede durch die Replikation des lateinischen AcI aufgelöst, wobei der AcI selbst sowohl auf Latein als auch mit polnischem lexikalischem Material gebildet werden kann. Es kann davon ausgegangen werden, dass lateinische Einfügungen die Unterscheidung von eigentlicher Narration (auf Polnisch) und Zitat (bzw.

indirekter Rede; auf Latein) bezwecken und somit als funktionale Code-Switches beschrieben werden können. Darüber hinaus wird aus dem Lateinischen lexikalisches Material zur Bildung von DSE des Typs ADVERB + ADVERBIALPARTIZIP entlehnt, das schrittweise morphologisch integriert wird und schließlich noch einmal mit lexikalischen Mitteln des Polnischen repliziert wird (z.B. *mówiąc in particulari > partykularnie mówiąc > ściśle(j) / konkretnie(j) / dokładnie(j) mówiąc* ˈgenau(er) gesagt').