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The rise of complementizers
and their relation to subjunctive mood
and (ir)realis distinctions

The workshop addresses issues of the diachronic development of complementizers against other clause-linkage devices relevant for realis—irrealis distinctions and/or the lowering of assertiveness. The issues fall into two groups. First, we inquire how the distinction between complementizers and subjunctive markers can be compared crosslinguistically more coherently, so that variation on a scale between free and bound morphemes and their relation to the aforementioned distinctions can be correlated with diachronic pathways. This is tantamount to asking whether 'dependent predicate markers' code "at the level of the D[ependent] C[lause] as a whole" or only „at the level of its nucleus" (van Lier 2009: 69f.) and what conditions language-specific preferences for one of these coding levels.

Second, we ask for falsifiable methods suited to discern complementizers from other connectives (like clause-initial particles), marking speaker's stance, quoted speech, *de dicto* vs. *de re*-readings and similar distinctions. Thus, while approaching a comparative concept of the notion 'complementizer', we ask for diagnostic criteria and the theoretical premises that should be applied in historical morphosyntax, semantics and pragmatics, but also in discourse-oriented studies on ongoing or recent change interested in the identification of (potential) complementizers and how clausal complementation emerges from juxtaposition or adverbial subordination. Especially this concerns the rise of complementizers used in contexts of event or propositional modality.

Subjunctive (alias 'conditional', 'Konjunktiv'; Rothstein/Thieroff 2010) morphemes and complementizers are conceived of as clause-linking devices that explicitly mark the dependence of one clause on some other clause. On the one hand, complementizers are defined as "a word, particle, clitic or affix, one of whose functions it is to identify the entity as a complement" (Noonan 2007[2]: 55; similarly Nordström 2010: 94). This definition does not restrict the range of units on a cline from free to bound morphemes (or: words to affixes), although typically linguists describe as complementizers units with free word status (e.g., Engl. *that*, Russ. *čto*, French *que*). On the other hand, subjunctives are usually regarded as a morphological category marked by (a set of) inflectional endings on the verb (Bybee et al. 1994: 213, Thieroff 2010: 2). Thus, typical subjunctive (mood) markers belong to the opposite pole of the free—bound cline. See Figure 1:

Relation between grammatical status and morphological format
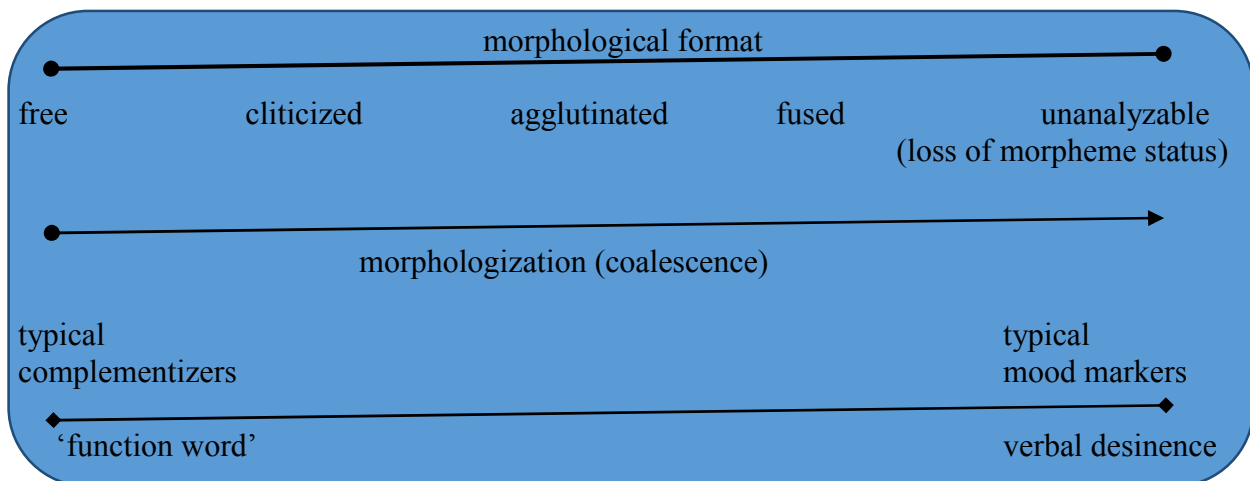
However, the distinction between subjunctive markers and complementizers becomes blurred, if mood is understood primarily as a clausal phenomenon and complementizers as lexical(ized) manifestations of a set of functional distinctions (illocutionary force, different parameters of 'finiteness') covered also by (epistemic) modal markers. This common relation to some vague realis—irrealis notion is characteristic not only of generativist literature (Nordström 2010: 95-98 for a survey), but is practised in functional typology as well (e.g., Noonan 2007[2]). As a consequence, both mood markers and complementizers can occur "scattered" over clausal constituents; in descriptions one comes across (I) complementizers that are cliticized or agglutinated to verb stems (clausal nuclei), while in other descriptions (II) subjunctive markers are identified with a morpheme agglutinated or cliticized to some other connective (clause-initial particle, sentence adverb) or even with a synchronically unanalyzable segment of such a connective.

Instances of (I) are 'bound complementizers' of Turkic languages in Johanson's (2013) treatment. Instances of (II) are numerous accounts of 'analytical mood/subjunctive' markers identified with clause-initial (usually proclitic) particles in South Slavic and Balkan languages, as in the following Macedonian examples:

(1a) *Nareduvam   Marija   da   dojde   vednaš.*
     order:IPFV.PRS.1SG   PN   COMP   come:PFV.PRS.3SG   immediately
     'I order Maria to come immediately.'
(1b) *Da   gi   prečekate!*
     PTC   them.ACC   wait:PFV.PRS.2PL
     'Wait / May you wait for them!'

Da belongs to the left half of Figure 1, but it also behaves like a verbal proclitic. Even more extreme instances of (II) are elements of complementizers or conjunctions (adverbial subordinators) that cannot anymore be treated as distinct morphemes. See Russian or Polish -*by* in connectives such as Russ. *čtoby, kak by...ne...* 'lest' (Dobrushina 2012, 2015) or Pol. *żeby, aby,* 'in order to', *jakoby* 'as if'. These lexical units with „incorporated" -*by* require the same restricted inventory of verb categories (ex. 2) as does the enclitic subjunctive marker *by*, from which the mentioned connectives with -*by* diachronically derive (ex. 3):

Russian

(2) *On   prosil,   čto**by**   emu pomogli. / ... *čto   emu   pomogli   **by**.*
    he   ask.PST COMP.SUBJ him help.PST.PL /   COMP   him   help.PST.PL   SUBJ
    'He asked them for help.'

(3) *Čto ja sdelal   **by**   bez   tebja?!*
    What I do.PST   SUBJ   without you
    'What would I do without you?'

By has fused with a non-verbal host to an extent that it cannot anymore be separated or treated as a morpheme, many of such items do not have synchronic equivalents (e.g., Pol. *o-by* vs. *o, *jako-by* vs. *jako, or Russ. *kak by...ne* vs. **kak...ne...*). The fact that such connectives restrict the verbal categories of the predicate in "their" clause otherwise available in the given language ('deranking', cf. Cristofaro 2003, or loss of properties of 'finiteness', cf. Nikolaeva 2013), has led many researchers to treating such connectives as 'analytical subjunctive markers' (Gołąb 1964, Friedman 1993, Noonan 2007[2]), while others have approached them as 'modalized' complementizers (Frajzyngier 1995, Hansen 2010a,b, Boye et al. 2015, Wiemer 2015). Nonetheless, there is consensus that such clause-linkers modify some sort of factive, or realis, status of the described state-of-affairs. However, as concerns the propositional level, apart from the THAT/IF-contrast (Nordström 2010, Boye et al. 2015) contrasts pertaining to the epistemic or evidential modification of speaker's stance (cf. Frajzyngier/Jasperson 1991, Wiemer 2010, 2015) have remained understudied.

All this demonstrates that complementizers and mood markers should be considered as two sides of the same coin: 'analytical mood markers' and affixed (or cliticized) complementizers should be understood as untypical exponents of their respective category (see lower part of Figure 1). Simultaneously, these sides should not be mixed up, and there appears to be a language-specific equilibrium between both coding techniques. Languages seem to differ as for whether they prefer to mark the aforementioned clausal distinctions on the predicate (mood, e.g. Romance), on the connectives (complementizers, e.g. Slavic) or can combine both (e.g., Romanian: *că* + IND vs. *să* + SUBJ).

These rough comparisons open up questions concerning (a) the equivalence of mood (indicative—subjunctive) and complementizer (±factive, *de re/de dicto*, etc.) contrasts, both crosslinguistically and within the same language, (b) the diachronic conditions that lead to different hosts of ±realis/assertiveness marking.

We invite abstracts touching upon one of the following research questions:

1. To which extent is the preference for predicate- vs. clause-level coding an outcome of the enclitic / proclitic behaviour of morphemes marking some sort of realis—irrealis distinction? Does this behaviour, in turn, result from more general conditions of clause prosody and/or morphosyntax?

2. Which discourse and morphosyntactic conditions favour the rise of complementizer contrasts – in particular those pertinent to an epistemic or evidential modification of the proposition – from juxtaposition, coordination or adverbial subordination?

3. Can we establish diachronic layers (a relative chronology) on the way to clausal complementation marked by complementizers from „looser syntax" (e.g., quotation)?

4. Which diagnostics can be formulated to distinguish (a) clausal complementation from juxtaposition and (b) complementizers from other kinds of connectives (particles, sentence adverbs etc.)? What criteria have hitherto (implicitly) been applied in distinguishing complementizers from other clause-linking devices? Which criteria should be used in particular in diachronic studies and the study of oral and/or non-standard speech?

We invite papers by representatives of all theoretical convictions and from different methodological frameworks. We equally welcome crosslinguistic and language-specific contributions that address any questions related to the issues sketched above (not restricted to those formulated in questions 1.-4.).

Abstracts (max. 300 words, inclusive of references and examples) should be sent **by November, 10th, 2015** to at least one of the following e-mail addresses:

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