

## Unintegrated *co* relative clauses in conversational Polish

Wojciech Guz (The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin)

This paper discusses a colloquial variety of Polish relative clauses introduced by the uninflected relative marker *co*, which is an alternative to the standard inflected relative pronoun *któr-y*. Both variants are illustrated in (1).

- (1) To jest ta sukienka którą / co kupiłam.  
this is this dress which<sub>ACC.SGF</sub> CO I bought [trace<sub>ACC</sub>]  
'This is the dress that I bought'

Unlike previous accounts of *co* clauses (e.g. Bondaruk 1995; Mykowiecka 2001, Lavine 2003), the paper draws on corpus data. Much in the vein of Miller and Weinert (1998), the analysis concentrates on authentic spoken utterances marked by structural unintegration – a common feature of spontaneous speech. The study shows that *co* relative clauses can display unintegration features that go beyond the mere absence of agreement features in the network of grammatical relations between the head, the complementizer *co* and the trace. This is related in general to the loose syntactic relationship of the head NP to the *co* clause, which, for example, can be a main clause with its own object, as in (2).

- (2) o tym terminie co nie przysyła jej tych alimentów  
about this deadline CO not he sends her this alimony  
'about this deadline that he doesn't send her the alimony'

The paper explores several types of this loose structural connectivity of *co* clauses. In a corpus-derived sample of 257 unintegrated *co* clauses, specific features of unintegration include (i) *co* clauses as main clauses with no gaps, (ii) interpretational idiosyncrasy and context-dependency, (iii) non-matching case forms between the head and the trace, and lack of required resumptive pronouns, (iv) lack of a nominal head, (v) preposition ellipsis, (vi) long-distance relationship between the head and *co* clause, and (vii) ambiguity in the semantic contribution and categorical status of *co*. The nature of these unintegration features is such that for some *co* clauses a relative clause reading is untenable. The word *co* may be better seen as a conjunction or a general discourse-linking element rather than a relativizing complementizer. In such conjunction-like uses, *co* may also act as a time/place conjunction similar to English *when* and *where*. There may even not be a nominal head associated with the *co* clause, as in (3).

- (3) to tutaj mieszkają co mają co taka cysterna stoi?  
so here they live CO they have CO such cistern truck stands  
'So they live where they have, where the cistern truck is?'

As a result, a significant proportion of *co* clauses (257 out of 802 (32%)) depart from the traditional perception of what function *co* relative clauses perform. The advantage of using corpus data is that they offer insight into a wider range of functions of *co* than previously reported on the basis of introspection. It is argued that there is a cline of uses of *co* ranging from a straightforward complementizer, through ambiguous conjunction/relativizing uses, to time- or space-reference conjunctions. It is assumed that the uninflected *co*, a diachronic development of the pronominal and inflected *co*, has been grammaticalized to perform these other functions besides the basic relativizing function.

## References

- Bondaruk, A. 1995. "Resumptive Pronouns in English and Polish". In *Licensing in Syntax and Phonology. PASE Studies and Monographs*, vol. 1, edited by Edmund Gussmann, 27–55. Lublin: Folium.
- Lavine, J. E. 2003. "Resumption in Slavic. Phases, cyclicity and case". In: Browne, W. (ed.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics* 11. Ann Arbor Michigan Slavic Publications, 355–72.
- Miller, J and R. Weinert. 1998. *Spontaneous Spoken Language. Syntax and Discourse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mykowiecka, A. 2001. "Polish Relatives with the Marker *co*". In *Generative Linguistics in Poland. Proceedings of the GLiP-2 Conference*, edited by Adam Przepiórkowski and Piotr Bański, 149–57. Warszawa: Instytut Podstaw Informatyki PAN.