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On the synchrony, variation and diachrony of adverbial exceptive clauses in Polish

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In this article, I examine the synchrony and the diachrony of adverbial exceptive clauses in Polish headed by the complementizer *chyba że* 'unless'. Synchronically, I argue that *chyba-że*-clauses are JudgeP modifiers in the sense claimed by Krifka (to appear) and Frey (2016; 2020; to appear(a); to appear(b)). Diachronically, I provide an analysis according to which *chyba że* 'unless' is treated as a morphologically complex C-head that developed out of the preposition *chyba* 'except' and the declarative complementizer *że* 'that' in Middle Polish (1543–1765).

1 Introduction

Consider the corpus example given in (1) taken from Present-day Polish:

(1) (*NKJP, Dziennik Zachodni*, 30/12/2004)
Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że sąd
today after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   court
zdecyduje   inaczej.
decide.3SG differently
'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

(1) consists of a matrix clause and an embedded clause introduced by the complementizer *chyba że* corresponding to the English complementizer *unless*. It has been referred to in the literature as an exceptive clause[1] (cf. Geis 1973, Brée 1985, von Fintel 1992, Declerck & Reed 2000 or Fretheim 2006). In general, exceptives are used to express exceptions to generalizations, cf. Reinhart (1991), von Fintel (1993), Moltmann (1995), Arregui (2006), Álvarez (2008), to name but a few. Concretely, (1) can be paraphrased as follows: The prisoners will be released from the prison except that/if the court will/would take a different decision. To put it differently: Let us assume Q to be the proposition of the matrix clause, and P the proposition of the subordinate clause. The subordinate relation between Q and P *chyba że* establishes (= Q *chyba że* P) is 'Q in a case other than P'. The major objective of this article is to to examine *chyba-że*-clauses at the syntax-semantics interface both from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Remarkably, Blümel & Pitsch (2019: 5) argue that the meaning of the embedded clause given in (1) cannot be

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[1] Of course, in Polish exist other adverbial clauses that can be labeled, at least from a semantic point of view, as exceptive clauses, as well. Accordingly, we can rephrase the embedded clause given in (1), for instance, by using one of the conditional complementizers and by negating the embedded proposition, as illustrated in the following example:

(i) Dzisiaj po   południu mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   jeśli sąd   nie zdecyduje inaczej.
today after midday   can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC if   court NEG decide.3SG differently
'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, if the court will not take a different decision.'

In the present study, I restrict myself to exceptive clauses in which the preposition *chyba* 'except' has been incorporated into the clause structure. However, I will compare their syntax with negated conditional clauses headed by the inherent conditional complementizer *jeśli* 'if' in order to capture their striking peculiarities (for more details, see Section 2.2). Interestingly, Fretheim (2006) argues that *unless* is truth-conditionally identical to *if … not*, although Geis (1973) delivers a strong battery of reasons not to equate them. I follow the latter view and supports Geis (1973)'s account with Polish data.

calculated from the meaning of their component parts in a compositional way. I aim at showing how the morphologically complex complementizer *chyba że* emerged and why its meaning cannot be analyzed compositionally in contemporary Polish.

This article is structured as follows. To begin with, I discuss the most important syntactic and semantic properties of exceptive clauses in Polish headed by the complementizer *chyba że* 'unless'. This is provided in Section 2. Section 3 is concerned with exceptive clauses in older stages of Polish. In Section 4, I provide a novel account of how *chyba-że*-clauses came into being and account for where their syntactic and semantic properties pointed out in Section 2 come from. In doing so, I also show how *chyba* 'except' and *że* 'that' developed into a complex complementizer, giving rise to an exceptive interpretation. Finally, I conclude the findings in Section 5.

2 Exceptive clauses in Present-day Polish

The main aim of this section is to examine the syntax and semantics of exceptive clauses in Present-day Polish headed by the morphologically complex C-head *chyba że* 'unless'. However, first it needs to be proven that *chyba że* is a frozen complex complementizer. In principle, one could intuitively argue that *chyba* is employed either as a preposition (= 'except') or as a discourse particle (= 'presumably') taking a wide scope over the embedded *że*-clause. As prepositions can select for CPs and discourse particles usually scope over propositions, such an analysis would not be surprising. As it turns out below, though, this view cannot be upheld altogether. Several empirical arguments suggest to reject this kind of analysis.

Firstly, as has been observed by Skibicki (2007: 272), among many others, *chyba* cannot be dropped:

(2) *Dzisiaj po południu mogą wyjść na wolność, że sąd zdecyduje
today after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC that court decide.3SG
inaczej.
differently
Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

The contrast between (1) and (2) illustrates already that *chyba* cannot be analyzed as a discourse particle in (1). Discourse particles are usually considered optional modal elements modifying speech acts and expressing speaker's attitude towards what is embedded. If *chyba* in (1) were a discourse particle, one should be able to drop it. This is not the case, though.

Secondly, the declarative complementizer *że* 'that' cannot be replaced by its counterpart *iż* 'that' occurring mainly in higher register texts:[2]

(3) *Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba iż sąd
today after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   court
zdecyduje   inaczej.
decide.3SG differently
Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today
afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

Again, if *chyba* and *że* would constitute two distinct heads, *że* would be expected to be replaceable with *iż*. One of the anonymous reviewers objects that occasionally one can find cases in which *chyba* and *iż* co-occur:

(4) odpowiedzialność samorządu   terytorialnego za realizację   przyznanych
responsibility   authority.GEN local   for realization.ACC assigned
mu   zadań, chyba iż   ustawowo   prawo to   mają   przyznane inne
him.DAT tasks   except that constitutionally right this have.3PL granted   other
podmioty
bodies
'the responsibility of the local authority for the realization of the tasks assigned to it,
except when constitutionally this right is granted to other bodies'

I agree that such examples can be attested, but they occur very seldom. A search query in *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* yields only 12 occurrences. As native speaker of Polish, I would judge all of them, including (4), as questionable. It might be that authors of these 12

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[2] In older stages of Polish, in particular in Old Polish, *że* was used to add emphasis. To introduce embedded clauses one usually employed *iże* 'that' which was originally a relative clause marker (cf. Meyer 2017) and which in some contexts lost the initial vowel *i* becoming homophonous with the focus particle. Traces of this development can still be observed in Present-day Polish cases in which both elements co-occur:

(i) (Bański 2000: 99, ex. 77c)
Powiedział,   że   że-ście   tam poszli.
say.*l*-PTCP.SG.M COMP FOC.PTCL-2PL there go.*l*-PTCP.PL.VIR
'He said you had gone there.'

In (i), the first *że* is a declarative complementizer introducing a subordinate clause; the second *że*, in turn, is a focus particle merging with the mobile inflection auxiliary marked for the second person plural. For more details, the interested reader is referred to Decaux (1955), Bański (2000; 2001), Migdalski (2016: 156–157 and 160, fn. 33), among many others.

corpus examples can still use *chyba* as a preposition selecting CPs headed by the declarative complementizer *iż*.[3]

Thirdly, if *chyba* and *że* in (1) are taken together to constitute a morphologically complex complementizer expressing an exception, we do not expect *chyba* to occur in combination with other clause types having a declarative sentence mood in the sense claimed by Portner (1997; 2018), and giving rise to an exceptive meaning. This prediction is borne out:

(5)   (*NKJP, Głos Siemiatycz*, 2008/10/29)
Jednak chyba   jeśli pojawiał   się uczeń   mający problem z
however presumably if   appear.*l*-PTCP.SG.M.HAB REFL student having problems with
narkotykami, to   był   to raczej ewenement w skali szkoły?
drugs   then be.*l*-PTCP.SG.M this rather sensation   in scale school.GEN
'However, presumably if a student appeared who had problems with drugs, then this would rather be a sensation by the standards of this school?'

In (5), *chyba* is used as a discourse particle meaning 'presumably' taking scope of the whole conditional clause headed by *jeśli* 'if'. But taken together they do not trigger an exceptive meaning. Instead each of them has to be interpreted on its own.[4]

Finally, the dependency of the subordinate clause given in (1) cannot be attributed only to *chyba*, as *że* cannot be omitted, either:

(6)   *Dzisiaj po południu   mogą wyjść   na wolność,   chyba sąd
today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC except court
zdecyduje   inaczej.
decide.3SG differently
Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

Cross-linguistically, it has been observed that particles of different kinds can grammaticalize into subordination conjunctions. A case in point is the German causal complementizer *zumal* 'the more so as' / 'especially since', which developed out of the use as a focus particle in the 17th century:

(7) *German* (Jędrzejowski 2017: e25, ex. 7–8)

   a. Eine Schwierigkeit stellt   für die Asylbewerber   zur   Zeit die
       a   difficulty   constitute.3SG for the applicants:for:asylum to:the time the
       Sprachbarriere   dar,   zumal   keiner Deutsch spricht.
       language:barrier VPTCL the:more:so:as nobody German speak.3SG
       'A difficulty for the applicants for asylum constitutes at the moment the language barrier, the more so as none of them can speak German.'

   b. Sorgfältig verschloß   er daher   jeden Abend   seine Thüren und Läden,
       carefully close.3SG.PST he therefore every evening his   doors and shops
       zumal   da   nur einer seiner Sklaven dienstfähig war.
       FOC.PTCL because only one   of:his slaves   fit:for:duty be.3SG.PST
       'Therefore he was closing his doors and shops every evening carefully, in particular because only one of his slaves was fit for duty.'

Accordingly, the subordinate conjunction *zumal* triggering verb-final position in (7a) is assumed to have evolved from the combination of the additive scalar focus particle *zumal* and a causal conjunction, as exemplified in (7b). Over time *zumal* itself began to be used as a subordinate C-head and to trigger the verb final-position without losing its focus interpretation (for a more detailed synchronic and diachronic analysis of *zumal*-clauses in German, the interested reader is referred to Eberhardt 2017). As (6) convincingly shows, exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses have not reached this development stage and the declarative complementizer *że* 'that' is still needed to express an exceptive meaning.

Based on what we have seen so far, we can conclude that exceptive clauses in Polish are introduced by the morphologically complex complementizer *chyba że* 'unless'. Its complexity is traced back to two functional heads, the preposition *chyba* 'except' and the declarative complementizer *że* 'that'. None of these elements can be replaced or omitted if one intends to express an exceptive meaning. In this context, it is reasonable to investigate syntactic and semantic properties of *chyba-że*-clauses in Present-day Polish. Before I elaborate on this issue in more detail, I briefly examine the variation of exceptive clauses.

2.1 Variation

As pointed out above, exceptive clauses in Present-day Polish are headed by the morphologically complex C-head *chyba że* 'unless'. I repeat the example given in (1) as (8) below:

(8) Dzisiaj po południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że sąd
today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   court
zdecyduje   inaczej.
decide.3SG differently
'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

The exceptive clause is finite. It consists of the finite perfective verb *zdecyduje* 'will decide' marked for the indicative mood. It is a preferred pattern in Present-day Polish. However and interestingly enough, the conditional clitic *by* can attach to *chyba że*:[5]

(9) Dzisiaj po południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że-by sąd
today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless-COND court
zadecydował   inaczej.
decide.*l*-PTCP.SG.M differently
'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court would take a different decision.'

The presence of the conditional morphology on the complementizer triggers a morphological change. It turns the finite verb into an *l*-participle, a common Slavic participle form inflected for number and gender (for more details on complex tense forms in Slavic languages, see Migdalski 2006). Semantically, using *by* the speaker distances himself/herself from the exception introduced in the embedded clause, and expresses a commitment to a proposition that (s)he may feel safer to defend (cf. Krifka to appear). Although (9) is grammatical in Present-day Polish, it is not used as often as its counterpart with indicative morphology is.

Remarkably, exceptive *chyba-żeby*-clauses do not force *by* to occur adjacent to *że* 'that'. It can also appear lower in the exceptive clause structure, i.e. either between the subject and the *l*-participle or on the *l*-participle itself, as, again, a slightly modified version of (1) shows (see Borsley & Rivero 1994 for more details on mobile inflection in Polish):

(10) Dzisiaj po południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że sąd   (by)
today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   court COND
zadecydował(-by)   inaczej.
decide.*l*-PTCP.SG.M-COND differently
'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court would take a different decision.'

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[5] Some authors claim that exceptive clauses headed by *unless* in English cannot be counterfactual, see in particular Geis (1973: 242–3) and Dancygier (1985: 70). Some studies show, though, that this claim cannot be upheld, cf. Whitaker (1970: 155), Fujita (1987), Declerck & Reed (2000: 228–36), and Dancygier (2002). This disagreement does not hold for Polish *chyba-że*-clauses.

The different position of the conditional morpheme *by* does not give rise to two distinct interpretations, and the exceptive meaning remains unchanged. The next two corpus examples corroborate the claim that both patterns are still available in Present-day Polish:

(11)   (*NKJP, Gazeta Krakowska*, 12/4/2002)

Gazem   nie   można   się   zatruć,   chyba że-by   była   niesprawna
gas.INS   NEG   can.PRED   REFL   poison.INF   unless-COND   be.*l*-PTCP.SG.FEM   out:of:order
wentylacja.
ventilation
'One cannot get poisoned by gas unless the air ventilation would be out of order.'

(12)   (*NKJP, Dziennik Bałtycki*, 6/3/2002)

Belgijski chłop   (…)   nie   poradziłby   sobie,   chyba że
Belgian   peasant   (…)   NEG   cope:with.*l*-PTCP.SG.M.COND   REFL.DAT   unless
był-by   zamożny.
be.*l*-PTCP.SG.M-COND   rich
'A Belgian peasant wouldn't cope with (this issue), unless he would be rich.'

Taken all together, we end up with three patterns marking an exception and containing the inherent exceptive complementizer *chyba że* 'unless':

(13)   a.   *chyba że* + indicative mood
           b.   *chyba żeby* + *l*-participle
           c.   *chyba że* + *l*-participle-(*by*)

All of them express a case in which an exception to a preceding (or following) statement will or may exist. As for (13a), I take *chyba że* to be a morphologically complex C-head occupying a single syntactic position. The second variant given in (13b) does not deviate from (13a). The only difference is that the conditional clitic *by* moves from a lower position and attaches to the C-head. Based on Migdalski (2006), I assume *by* to be a head base-generated in MoodP. Finally, when *by* occurs together with an *l*-participle, it is the *l*-participle that raises to *by*:

(14)   a. $[_{CP}$ $[_C{}^0$ *chyba że*] + indicative mood]
           b. $[_{CP}$ $[_C{}^0$ *chyba że(by)*$_i$] $[_{MoodP}$ $[_{Mood}{}^0$ t_i] + *l*-participle]
           c. $[_{CP}$ $[_C{}^0$ *chyba że*] + $[_{MoodP}$ $[_{Mood}{}^0$ *by* + *l*-participle$_i$] t_i]

In the next two sections, I examine exceptive clauses in Polish adhering to the view that they should not be considered negative conditionals, and show that *chyba-że*-clauses have the status of peripheral adverbial clauses in the sense claimed by Frey (2012; 2016; to appear(a)). In doing so, I focus on (13a), i.e. the pattern with indicative morphology, as it is the most common pattern in Present-day Polish.

2.2 Exceptive clauses ≠ negated conditionals

The main objective of this section is to figure out how *chyba-że*-clauses differ from negated conditional clauses headed by the subordinator *jeśli* 'if'. There are several reasons why negated *jeśli*-conditionals appear to be the most suitable adverbial clause type to be compared with exceptive clauses: i) they are adverbial clauses, ii) they exhibit mood alternation, and iii) – most importantly – they encode exceptions, i.e., the semantics of negated *jeśli*-conditionals is closely related to the semantics of exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses (cf. Clark-Clark 1977: 457; Brée 1985; Comrie 1986: 79; Declerck & Reed 2000; Leslie 2009; Nadathur & Lassiter 2014, inter alia). Concretely, what they have in common is negation of all alternatives being formed by substitution of the embedded clause by its alternatives, see Vostrikova (2018) for more details. While discussing selected differences of both clause types, I focus on, *jeśli* 'if', an inherent conditional complementizer disallowing any other interpretations (e.g. temporal) to avoid misunderstandings between any other adverbial clause types. Comparing them will therefore considerably help shed light on exceptive clauses. Based on the contrasts between both clause types, the question to what extent exceptive clauses in Polish are integrated into their host clause will be addressed.

Left periphery: One of the differences refers to the possibility of topicalization or focalization. Whereas *chyba-że*-clauses are strongly dispreferred on the left periphery of the matrix clause, negated *jeśli*-conditionals exhibit no restrictions in this respect:

(15)   a.   *Chyba że sąd   zdecyduje inaczej,   dzisiaj po   południu   mogą
            unless   court decide.3SG differently today   after midday.LOC may.3PL
            wyjść   na wolność.
            go:out.INF on freedom.ACC
            Intended structure: 'Unless the court will take a different decision, they are
            allowed to be released from prison today afternoon.'

        b.   Jeśli sąd   nie zdecyduje inaczej,   dzisiaj po   południu   mogą
            if   court NEG decide.3SG differently today   after midday.LOC may.3PL
            wyjść   na wolność.
            go:out.INF on freedom.ACC
            'If the court doesn't take a different decision, they will be allowed to be
            released from the prison today afternoon.'

A similar observation has been made by Dancygier (1985), who argues that Polish exceptive clauses – as opposed to their English counterparts – cannot be fronted:

(16)   (Dancygier 1985: 71, ex. 22a–b)
        a.   Unless I am very much mistaken, she is Spanish.
        b.   *Chyba że się   mylę,   ona jest   Hiszpanką.
            unless   REFL be:mistaken.1SG she   be.3SG Spanish
            Intended structure: 'Unless I am very much mistaken, she is Spanish.'

If one is inclined to assume adverbial clauses to be derived by movement of an operator to the left periphery, as has been suggested in Geis (1970), Citko (2000), Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2004), Bhatt & Pancheva (2006), Haegeman (2012), to name but a few, one could argue that movement of an exceptive operator to the left periphery is blocked in Polish by an intervening element.

Non-assertive speech acts – questions: Another difference can be observed with regard to root questions. Only *jeśli*-conditionals can be in the scope of a question operator. *Chyba-że*-clauses are prohibited in environments associated with root questions:

(17) a. *Mogą   dzisiaj po południu   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że sąd
          may.3PL today after midday.LOC go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   court
          zdecyduje   inaczej?
          decide.3SG differently
          Intended meaning: 'Will they be allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court doesn't take a different decision?'

      b. Mogą   dzisiaj po południu   wyjść   na wolność,   jeśli sąd   nie
          may.3PL today after midday.LOC go:out.INF on freedom.ACC if   court NEG
          zdecyduje   inaczej?
          decide.3SG differently
          'Will they be allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, if the court doesn't take a different decision?'

This contrast illustrates that *chyba-że*-statements presuppose assertive force in the matrix clause, whereas their *jeśli-nie*-counterparts exhibit no illocutionary restrictions, leading to the conclusion that the exceptive clause cannot be part of a root question.[6] Declerck & Reed (2000: 224) illustrate a similar contrast while discussing the semantics of nonirrealis *unless*-clauses in English (see also Fretheim 2006: 77 for another minimal pair):

(18)   (Declerck & Reed 2000: 224, ex. 40a–b)
        a. Will you help us if John doesn't ask you to?
        b. *Will you help us unless John asks you to?

Haegeman (2003: 322) shows – mainly based on conditional clauses in English – that they can be divided into two larger groups: i) event conditionals and ii) premise conditionals. Only the former, which are integrated into the host clause, however, can be in the scope of an interrogative

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[6] Brée (1985) quotes one of the potential counterexamples:

(i)   How can we have a good city unless we respect morality?

Brée (1985) himself mentions, however, that (i) is a rhetorical question. As rhetorical questions usually have the structure of a question but the illocutionary force of an assertion, cf. Stalnaker (1978) and Krifka (1995), among many others, such examples do not pose any challenge to the account proposed in the present article.

operator. Accordingly, event conditionals are taken to be central adverbial clauses, while premise conditionals are treated as peripheral adverbial clauses. Frey (2012; 2016; to appear(a)) observes a similar contrast with respect to adverbial causal clauses in German, and claims that adverbial clauses that cannot become part of a question should be analyzed either as peripheral or as disintegrated adverbial clauses in the typology advocated by Haegeman (2003; 2010; 2012). It follows then that *chyba-że*-clauses cannot be central adverbial clauses, and at the same time the example (17a) illustrates that they cannot be considered disintegrated adverbial clauses either, as they clearly depend on the assertive force of the matrix clause.

   The focus particle tylko *'only'*: Geis (1973: 245–7) observes for English that whereas *if-not*-clauses can combine with the focus particle *only*, *unless*-clauses cannot:

(19)   (Geis 1973: 245, ex. 65a–b)
      a.   I will phone you tomorrow only if you don't phone me today.
      b.   *I will phone you tomorrow only unless you phone me today.

Polish patterns with English:

(20)   a.   Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   tylko jeśli sąd
            today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC only if   court
            nie   zdecyduje inaczej.
            NEG   decide.3SG differently
            'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, only if the court won't take a different decision.'

      b.   *Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   tylko chyba że sąd
            today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC only unless   that
            zdecyduje inaczej.
            court   decide.3SG differently
            Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, only unless the court will take a different decision.'

Geis (1973) argues that that the ungrammaticality of (19b) can be accounted for by postulating some constraint on lexical insertion of *unless*. This constraint seems to follow from the fact that whereas *unless* and *chyba że* express an exception to the validity of the matrix proposition, *if … not* and *jeśli … nie*, on the other hand, specify a condition for the matrix proposition. Now, the use of focus particles, i.e. *only* in English and *tylko* in Polish, presupposes the existence of a unique condition. This unique condition determines the possible world in which the matrix proposition is true. This is not the case in the exceptive clause where it is the matrix predication that determines the world in which the embedded proposition (= exception) is valid (cf. Brée 1985 and Declerck & Reed 2000). What is interesting about the focus particles is that they cannot occur within the matrix clause. In this context, the picture does not deviate from that one above:

(21)   (Declerck & Reed 2000: 224, ex. 39a–b)

    a. The weekly meeting is only finished before 8 o'clock if it is not John who chairs it. (= *Only if it is not John who chairs the weekly meeting is the meeting finished before 8 o'clock*.)

    b. *The weekly meeting is only finished before 8 o'clock unless it is John who chairs it. (*ungrammatical if the* unless-*clause is to be the focus of 'only'*)

(22)   a. Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   tylko wyjść   na wolność,   jeśli
       today after midday.LOC can.3PL only go:out.INF on freedom.ACC if
       sąd   nie zdecyduje inaczej.
       court NEG decide.3SG differently
       'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, only if the court won't take a different decision.'

    b. *Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   tylko wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że
       today after midday.LOC can.3PL only go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless
       sąd   zdecyduje inaczej.
       court decide.3SG differently
       Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, only unless the court will take a different decision.'

These contrasts clearly illustrate that exceptive clauses – contrary to negated conditionals – cannot be in the scope of selected matrix clause operators. This, again, leads to the conclusion that exceptive clauses must attach at a higher structural position of the matrix clause.

    Emotive predicates: It is well-known that conditional clauses can be used instead of declarative complement clauses occupying one of the argument slots of a matrix verb. Concretely, in (23a) the emotive matrix verb *wnerwiać* 'annoy' selects two arguments: The internal argument is the personal pronoun *mnie* 'me' marked for the Accusative case, the external argument, in turn, is a subject clause headed by the conditional complementizer *jeśli* 'if' (cf. Williams 1974; Fabricius-Hansen 1980; Pullum 1987; Quer 2002; Hinterwimmer 2010; Thompson 2012; Onea 2015; Schwabe 2016, among many others, for possible analyses):

(23)   a. Wnerwia mnie, jeśli sąd   nie mówi   prawdy.
       annoy.3SG me.ACC if   court NEG say.3SG truth.GEN
       'It annoys me if the court doesn't say the truth.'

    b. *Wnerwia   mnie,   chyba że sąd   mówi   prawdę   / nie mówi   prawdy.
       annoy.3SG me.ACC unless   court say.3SG truth.ACC / NEG say.3SG truth.GEN
       'It annoys me the court says / doesn't say the truth.'

Remarkably, exceptive clauses cannot be embedded under emotive predicates and occur as argument clauses, as (23b) convincingly shows. In this regards Polish patterns with English:

(24)   (Declerck & Reed 2000: 221, ex. 30a)

I'll be sad / happy / satisfied / disappointed / delighted / sorry …

a.   … if that doesn't happen.

b.   … *unless that happens.

Factual conditionals: Factual conditionals (premise conditionals in Haegeman (2003)'s terms) contain a predetermined truth value. Compare the following example:

(25)   (Iatridou 1991: 58, ex. 20)

A: Bill is very unhappy here.

B: If he is so unhappy he should leave.

Uttering the B-sentence, the speaker presupposes that person A believes the content of the *if*-clause to be true. As shown by Declerck & Reed (2000), the use of negated conditionals in factual contexts does not express an exception:

(26)   (Declerck & Reed 2000: 222, ex. 33b)

a.   If he is not rich …

b. *Unless he is rich …

    … at least he's honest.

We observe a similar contrast in Polish, too:

(27)   a. Przynajmniej jest   szczery, jeśli nie jest   bogaty.

        at:least   be.3SG honest if   NEG be.3SG rich

        'At least he's honest, if he is not rich.'

   b. *Przynajmniej jest   szczery, chyba że nie jest   bogaty.

        at:least   be.3SG honest unless NEG be.3SG rich

        Intended meaning: 'At least he's honest, unless he is rich.'

What negated factual conditionals express here is a result or a fact. Since this meaning is not compatible with the inherent exceptive complementizer, the ill-formedness of (27b) straightforwardly follows.

    A final note is in order here about variable binding. The received wisdom has it that if a quantified NP can bind into a subordinate clause, it indicates that the dependent clause is integrated into its host clause. Accordingly, we expect *chyba-że*-clauses to disallow variable binding. However, (28) yields the opposite result:

(28)   Prawie [każdy pacjent]$_i$ może   opuścić szpital, chyba że jego$_i$ lekarz zadecyduje

         nearly every   patient may.3SG leave.INF hospital unless   his doctor decide.3SG

         inaczej.

         differently

         'Almost every patient may leave the hospital, unless his doctor will take a different decision.'

This is surprising if we assume a quantifier to be able to bind an agreeing pronoun in the subordinate clause iff the quantifier c-commands the pronoun. Correspondingly, the exceptive clause in (28) is c-commanded by the quantified expression, i.e. by *każdy pacjent* 'every patient', which occupies the matrix Spec,TP position. Such cases clearly speak, at least prima facie, against the analysis proposed in the present article according to which *chyba-że*-clauses are taken to attach at a higher position in the matrix clause structure. However, examples like (28) do not pose a challenge because they instantiate cases of what has been referred to as modal subordination. Roberts (1987; 1989: 718) defines modal subordination as a "phenomenon wherein the interpretation of a clause α is taken to involve a modal operator whose force is relativized to some set β of contextually given propositions." What this boils down to is that variable binding does not apply as a diagnostic test determining the status of *chyba-że*-clauses.

What we have seen so far is that in comparison to negated *jeśli*-conditionals, *chyba-że*-clauses appear 'deficient'. **Table 1** summarizes the main findings.

These differences strongly indicate that exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses cannot be treated as negated conditionals. The next section shows that *chyba-że*-clauses are peripheral adverbial clauses, and that they have the internal structure of root clauses equipped with ForceP.

2.3 Exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses as JudgeP modifiers

In this section, I discuss the external and internal syntax of *chyba-że*-clauses.

2.3.1 External syntax

As observed in the previous subsection, *chyba-że*-clauses are not sensitive to elements occurring in the matrix clause. This led us to the conclusion that they are not strongly integrated into the host clause. If this is the case, *chyba-że*-clauses are expected not to fall in the scope of a matrix

PROPERTY	exceptive clauses	negated conditionals
left periphery	–	+
non-assertive speech acts: questions	–	+
focus particle *tylko* 'only'	–	+
emotive predicates	–	+
factual conditionals	–	+

Table 1: Selected differences between exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses and negated *jeśli*-conditionals in Present-day Polish.

negation marker. To illustrate two distinct scope relationships between a matrix negation and an embedded clause, compare the following minimal pair:

(29)   (Haiman & Thompson 1984: 517, ex. 13a–b)
    a.   They don't beat us because they love us.
    b.   They don't beat us, because they love us.

At the first glance, (29a) and (29b) do not differ syntactically. There is, however, one main semantic difference. Whereas in (29a) the embedded causal clause is negated indicating that beating takes place – not due to the fact that *they love us*, in (29b) no beating is involved and only the matrix clause is in the scope of the negation operator. Remarkably, *chyba-że*-clauses pattern with (29b), as a matrix negation cannot outscope a *chyba-że*-clause:

(30)   Nie przyjdę,   chyba że mnie   zaprosisz.
    NEG drop:by.1SG unless   me.ACC invite.2SG
    'I won't drop by unless you invite me.'
    a) It is not the case [that I will drop by] unless you invite me.
    b) #It is not the case [that I will drop by on condition that you
        invite me].

The narrow scope of *nie* in (30) provides evidence for the view that *chyba-że*-clauses are not sensitive to matrix operators and that they are not integrated clauses. In other words, they must attach above NegP. To determine the attachment height of *chyba-że*-clauses, it is reasonable to check if they are sensitive to higher modifiers.

Anand & Hacquard (2013) observe that embedding of epistemic modal verbs depends on the lexical semantics of a clause-embedding predicate. Concretely, they show that epistemic modal verbs can appear in complements of attitudes of acceptance, (31a)–(31c), but not in complements of desideratives or directives, (32a)–(32c):

(22)   (Anand & Hacquard 2013: 2–3, ex. 1a–2c)
    a.   John thinks that Paul has to be innocent.   (^{OK}epistemic)
    b.   John said that Mary had to be the murder.
    c.   John discovered that Mary had to be the murderer.

(32)   a.   John wishes that Paul had to be innocent.   (*epistemic)
    b.   John wants Paul to have to be the murder.
    c.   John demanded that Paul have to be the murderer.

To account for this contrast, Anand & Hacquard (2013) divide attitudes, following Bolinger (1968), into two classes: i) representational and ii) non-representational, whereby only the former do quantify over an information state, e.g., a set of *beliefs* for *believe*, which epistemic modal

verbs can be anaphoric to. Non-representational attitudes, in turn, are taken not to quantify over an information state. In this spirit, Anand & Hacquard (2013) propose Epistemic Licensing Generalization:

(33) (Anand & Hacquard 2013: 3, ex. 4)
Epistemic Licensing Generalization:
Epistemic modals are licensed only in representational attitudes.

In this context, Lund & Charnavel (2020: 166) point out that concessive *even though*-clauses, for example, can be embedded under representational attitude predicates, but not under non-representational ones:

(34) (Lund & Charnavel 2020: 166, ex. 21a–b)
a. John thinks that Paul went for a walk even though it's raining (but it's not actually raining).
b. John wishes that Paul would go for a walk even though it's raining (*but it's not actually raining).

The contrast between (34a) and (34b) shows that *even though*-clauses pattern with epistemic modal verbs. If they were embedded, the inference that the subordinate clause holds would be cancellable. This is clearly not the case. *Czyba-że*-clauses behave similarly. They can be embedded under representational attitude predicates (e.g. *myśleć* 'think'), but not under non-representational ones (e.g. *pragnąć* 'desire'):

(35) a. Jacek myśli,   że dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,
Jacek think.3SG that today after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC
chyba że sąd   zdecyduje inaczej   (ale tak naprawdę to   sąd   nie
unless   court decide.3SG differently but so   really   then court NEG
zdecyduje   inaczej).
decide.3.SG differently
'Jacek thinks that they are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision (but in fact the court won't take a different decision).'

b. Jacek życzy   sobie, żeby dzisiaj po   południu   wyszli   na
Jacek wish.3SG REFL   that today after midday.LOC go:out.*l*-PTCP.VIR on
wolność,   chyba że sąd   zdecyduje inaczej   (*ale tak naprawdę to
freedom.ACC unless   court decide.3SG differently but so   really   then
sąd   nie zdecyduje   inaczej).
court NEG decide.3.SG differently
'Jacek wishes that they would be allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision (*but in fact the court won't take a different decision).'

Lund & Charnavel (2020) assume that *even though*-clauses attach as EpisP modifiers, i.e., they adjoin to a higher functional projection, to Mod$_{epistemic}$ in Cinque's (1999) terms:

(36) [*frankly* Mood$_{speech\ act}$ [*fortunately* Mood$_{evaluative}$ [*allegedly* Mood$_{evidential}$
[**probably** **Mod**$_{epistemic}$ [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood$_{irrealis}$
[*necessarily* Mod$_{necessity}$ [*possibly* Mod$_{possibility}$ [*usually* Asp$_{habitual}$
[*again* Asp$_{repetitive(I)}$ [*often* Asp$_{freuentative(I)}$ [*intentionally* Mod$_{volitional}$
[*quickly* Asp$_{celerative(I)}$ [*already* T(Anterior) [*no longer* Asp$_{terminative}$
[*still* Asp$_{continuative}$ [*always* Asp$_{perfect}$ [*just* Asp$_{retrospective}$ [*soon* Asp$_{proximative}$
[*briefly* Asp$_{durative}$ [*characteristically* Asp$_{generic/progressive}$ [*almost* Asp$_{prospective}$
[*completely* Asp$_{SgCompletive(I)}$ [*tutto* Asp$_{PlCompletive}$ [*well* Voice
[*fast/early* Asp$_{celerative(II)}$ [*again* Asp$_{repetitive(II)}$ [*often* Asp$_{frequentative(II)}$
[*completely* Asp$_{SgCompletive(II)}$]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

Since *chyba-że*-clauses pattern with *even though*-clauses, I analyze them, in terms of Krifka's (to appear) and Frey's (2020) approach, as JudgeP adjuncts. They are not sensitive to negation or focus operators in the matrix clause, but they do depend on the assertive illocutionary force of the matrix clause, as they cannot modify non-assertive speech acts, and they are embeddable under representational attitude predicates. Following this line of reasoning, I argue that *chyba-że*-clauses attach at JudgeP of the matrix clause:

(37)

Now, I examine the internal syntax of *chyba-że*-clauses and argue that they project up to ForceP, as suggested in (37).

2.3.2 Internal syntax

Having determined the attachment height of *chyba-że*-clauses, I now turn to their internal syntax. Epistemic and evidential adverbs expressing speaker's attitude towards what is embedded are usually taken to be base-generated within the C-domain (cf. Cinque 1999). The discourse particle *chyba* 'presumably' itself can be classified as an epistemic expression. Using *chyba*, the speaker indicates that her / his commitment towards the truth of what is embedded is speculative.

Accordingly, it contributes to a weaker commitment of the speaker to the proposition. Now, if exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses are not integrated into the host clause, they are supposed to be able to host discourse particles. This is, however, not the case, as (38) shows:

(38) Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że (*chyba)
today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   presumably
sąd   (*chyba)   zdecyduje (*chyba)   inaczej.
court   presumably decide.3SG   presumably differently
Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon,
unless (presumably) the court (presumably) will take (presumably) a different
decision.'

The impossibility of using *chyba* 'presumably' in exceptive clauses headed by *chyba że* is mainly due to the fact that the original meaning of the homophonous preposition *chyba* 'except' has not been completely bleached when it was recruited for the exceptive clause structure. But if we take *chyba-że*-clauses to be peripheral adverbial clauses, we also expect them to be able to host other speaker-oriented adverbs. This prediction is borne out:

(39) Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że sąd
today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   court
może   / prawdopodobnie / rzekomo   zdecyduje inaczej.
maybe / probably   / supposedly decide.3SG differently
'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court
maybe / probably / supposedly will take a different decision.'

In (39), we can find the epistemic adverbs *może* 'maybe' and *prawdopodobnie* 'probably' and the evidential adverb *rzekomo* 'supposedly'. In the approach taken by Krifka (to appear) such expressions are analyzed as judgement modifiers base-generated in the functional projection JudgeP placed above TP. Accordingly, *chyba-że*-clauses are at least JudgePs. In the analysis proposed by Frey (to appear[a]) JudgeP modifiers are weak root phenomena. To fully examine the internal structure of *chyba-że*-clauses, we need strong root phenomena, i.e. speech act modifiers c-commanding judgement modifiers. A sample of speech act modifiers is given in (40):

(40) *jednak* 'however', *nawiasem mówiąc* 'by the way', *innymi słowy* 'in other words', *bądź co bądź* 'anyway', *swoją drogą* 'by the way', *szczerze mówiąc* 'to be honest'

As the next three examples illustrate, they can occur in exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses:

(41) a. Bądź   szczęśliwa, chyba że jednak   masz   inne plany.
be.2SG.IMPER happy   unless   however have.2SG other plans
'Be happy, unless, however, you have other plans.'[7]

---

b. Ponadto podczas procesu   instalacji   nie trzeba   nic zmieniać,
moreover during   process.GEN installation.GEN NEG need.PRED NEG change.INF
chyba że, nawiasem mówiąc, zgadzasz się   na instalację   komponentu
unless   by the   way   agree.2SG REFL on installation.ACC component.GEN
Windows NET Framework 3.5.
Windows NET Framework 3.5

'Moreover, there is no need to change anything during the installation process, unless, by the way, you agree to install Windows NET Framework 3.5.'[8]

c. (…)– chyba że, innymi słowy, nie ma   w nim kompletnie nic, czego
(…)– unless   in other words NEG have.3SG in him completely NEG what
można   byłoby   się doszukać.
can.PRED be.*l*-PTCP.SG.COND REFL detect.INF

' (…)– unless, in other words, there is completely nothing what one could detect.' (Paweł Jędrzejko, 2008, *Płynność i egzystencja*, p. 20)

It straightforwardly follows that *chyba-że*-clauses are subordinate clauses being capable of hosting speech act modifiers, leading to the conclusion that their internal structure is like the one of root clauses, i.e. equipped with ForceP or ActP in Krifka's terminology.

3 Exceptive clauses in the history Polish

The main aim of this section is to describe the use of *chyba* in historical stages of Polish. Based on Klemensiewicz (2009), Walczak (1999), and Dziubalska-Koaczyk & Walczak (2010), I distinguish four language stages in the history of Polish as given in **Table 2**.

Language period	Abbreviation	Time period
Old Polish	OP	till 1543
Middle Polish	MP	1543–1765
New Polish	NP	1765–1939
Present-day Polish	PDP	since 1939

Table 2: Historical stages of Polish.

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[8] https://pl.telusuri.info/articles/linuxandroid/bluestacks-app-player-emulyator-android-dlya-windows-ustrojstv. html.

3.1 Etymology

Etymologically, the discourse particle *chyba* 'presumably' must have emerged out of the verb *chybić* 'to miss' / 'to mistake' / 'to lack' which is still present in PDP:

(42)   Chybiłeś.
       miss.*l*-PTCP.2SG
       'You missed.'

They can even co-occur which is mainly due to the fact that the verb *chybić* narrowed down its lexical meaning and cannot mean 'to lack' in PDP:

(43)   Chyba chybiłeś.
       chyba miss.*l*-PTCP.2SG
       'Presumably, you missed.'

Furthermore, *chyba* could also be used as a preposition selecting noun phrases marked for the Genitive case:[9]

(44)   (Andrzej Glaber, 1535; cit. in Brückner 1927: 188)
       wszelkie zwierzę chyba człowieka uszami rusza
       every   animal *chyba* man.GEN ears.INS move.3SG
       'every animal except man moves his ears'

In (44) *chyba* has a narrow scope and selects the noun *człowieka* 'man'. Its meaning can be paraphrased as 'except', 'excluding'. Brückner (1927: 188) mentions the use of *chyba* as a noun 'lack of' which is supposed to have disappeared in the 16th century, and paved the way for the prepositional use. Remarkably, the use of *chyba* as a preposition disappeared from language use. In PDP *poza* selecting noun phrases marked for the Instrumental case is used instead of *chyba*:

(45)   a. *chyba człowieka
          except man.GEN
          Intended: 'except for man'

       b. poza   człowiekiem
          except man.INS
          'except for man'

In Section 4, I show that the use of *chyba* as a preposition was crucial for the development of exceptive clauses.

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[9] I thank one of the anonymous reviewers for bringing up this issue to me.

3.2 Old Polish (until 1543)

In *Korpus tekstów staropolskich* ('Corpus of Old Polish Texts') containing 17 texts put together by the Polish Academy of Science,[10] I could not find any occurrences of *chyba* indicating that it is absent in the oldest sources, e.g. in *Kazania świętokrzyskie* 'The Holy Cross Sermons' or in *Kazania gnieźnieńskie* 'The Sermons of Gniezno'. An independent search query in the *PolDi* corpus confirms this finding.[11] In total, the query yielded 51 occurrences of *chyba* in five sources, whereby only one of the sources can be considered Old Polish according to the periodization given in **Table 2**. *Pamiętniki Janczara* 'Memoirs of a Janissary' were written by Konstanty z Ostrowicy and are supposed to have appeared around 1500. The text contains three occurrences of *chyba* used as a discourse particle (= 'presumably'). One of the examples is given in (46):

(46)   (PolDi, *Pamiętniki Janczara,* ≈ 1500)
        chyba tego jedno tylko zostawił
        chyba this one   only leave.*l*-PTCP.SG.M
        'presumably he left only this one'

Chyba occurs in front of the clause and takes a wider scope, i.e. over the entire clause. It expresses speaker's subjective attitude towards what is embedded.

3.3 Middle Polish (1543–1765)

To begin with, I discuss MP data from the *PolDi* corpus. In principle, in MP exceptive structures the conditional clitic *by* occurs adjacent to the complementizer *że*:

(47)   (PolDi, *Listy do Marysi,* mid-17th century)
        a   bić   się cale   już   nie mamy z   kim, chyba żeby
        and beat.INF REFL altogether already NEG have.1PL with whom *chyba* that-COND
        jaki zameczek   zastąpił   na drodze
        some castle.DIMIN get.*l*-PTCP.SG.M on way.LOC
        'and there is nobody altogether with whom we could fight, unless a small castle
        would show up on our way'

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[10] https://ijp.pan.pl/publikacje-i-materialy/zasoby/korpus-tekstow-staropolskich/.

[11] *PolDi* is a collection of texts from Polish language history. 40 texts, both from Old and Middle Polish, are supposed to be annotated and integrated into the ANNIS search engine. Unfortunately, I was not able to find any information about how large the corpus is in terms of word counts. According to my understanding, 22 texts are currently searchable. The 51 examples stem from these 22 texts. However, in this section I elaborate only on cases from Old Polish. For more technical details about *PolDi*, the interested reader is referred to Meyer (2012).

Exceptive structures also occur with infinitive verbal heads:

(48)   (PolDi, *Listy do Marysi*, mid-17th century)
        do jesieni mnie   wytrwać   niepodobna, chyba że-by   inną   na się
        till autumn me.ACC preserve.INF unlikely   *chyba* that-COND another on REFL
        wziąć   naturę
        take.INF nature.ACC
        'it is not likely that I will survive till autumn, unless I would adopt a different nature'

In few cases, though, the conditional morphology is missing. Instead, the indicative mood is used:

(49)   (PolDi, *Listy do Marysi*, 1668)
        poczta francuska do Warszawy chodzić przestanie, chyba że   sami kupcy (…)
        post   French   to Warsaw   go.INF cease.3SG *chyba* that alone sellers (…)
        wynajdą   jaki między sobą sposób
        find:out.3PL some among REFL way
        'the French post to Warsaw will not be delivered, unless sellers themselves (…) find another way among themselves'

The examples presented in (47)–(49) clearly indicate that adverbial exceptive clauses existed already in the MP period. Apart from this, *chyba* can be also used in other contexts. Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603) uses it not only in connection with *że* 'that' to introduce an exceptive clause, but also as a preposition:

(50)   (PolDi, *Droga do zupełney wolności*, Łukasz Górnicki, 1527–1603)
        chyba na Boże Wstąpienie, nigdzie wyjechać nie-może
        chyba on God Ascension NEG   go.INF   NEG-can.3SG
        'except for the Feast of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, [he] cannot move anywhere'

In *Listy do Marysieńki* (1665–1683) ('Letters to Marysieńka') *chyba* is attested in 39 contexts. **Table 3** shows its distribution. *Chyba* occurs as a discourse particle, a preposition and in combination with *że* 'that' as an adverbial complementizer.

discourse particle	*chyba że* + verb	*chyba żeby* + verb	preposition
25 (64%)	1 (2%)	5 (13%)	8 (21%)

Table 3: The use of *chyba* in *Listy do Marysieńki.*

The data extracted from *PolDi* resemble the use of *chyba* in another corpus.

In general, I extracted 46 cases from the *KorBa* corpus, also known as *The Baroque Corpus of Polish.*[12] An overview of how *chyba* was used in MP is given in **Table 4**.

discourse particle	*chyba że* + verb	*chyba żeby* + verb	preposition
21 (47%)	4 (7%)	1 (2%)	20 (44%)

Table 4: The use of *chyba* in the *KorBa* corpus.

Different patterns can be attested. But similar to the situation in PolDi, *chyba* is predominantly employed as a discourse particle:

(51)   (*KorBa*, Jędrzej Kitowicz, *Pamiętniki*, 1743)
chyba wtenczas   gdy   był   chory
chyba at:that:time when be.*l*-PTCP.SG.M sick
'presumably at that time when he was sick'

Exceptive structures marked for the indicative mood outnumber their conditional counterparts:

(52)   (*KorBa, Akademia dziecinna albo zbiór nauk różnych*, 1761)
nie przechodź   przed temi któryme-ś respekt winien, chyba że   tego ciężka
NEG go:by.IMPER before those whom-2SG respect own   *chyba* that his heavy
potrzeba przymusza
need   force.3SG
'don't go to those whom you have to respect, unless you are forced by a need'

Conditional exceptive clauses with the clitic *by* adjacent to the complementizer *że* occur, too:

(53)   (*KorBa*, Jeremian Niewieściński, *Prerogatywa abo wolność mężatkom*, 1684–1700)
chyba że-by   sama (…) powiedzieć raczyła
chyba that-COND alone (…) say.INF   stoop.*l*-PTCP.3SG.FEM
'unless she would stoop to say'

Two additional remarks are in order here.

Firstly, what appears to be interesting is the fact that *chyba* can occur with other complementizers giving rise to an exceptive interpretation. In (54) the preposition *chyba* 'except' combines with the conditional / temporal complementizer *gdy* 'if' / 'when' and with the conditional clitic *by*. Taken together they render the meaning of the English complementizer *unless*:

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[12] *KorBa* contains historical texts from the 17th and 18th centuries, consists of 718 texts, counts over 10 million word forms, and is available for free.

(54) (*KorBa*, Jeremian Niewieściński, *Prerogatywa abo wolność mężatkom*, 1684–1700)

Bo   się   takich plotek mężom   swym nie zwykły
because REFL such   rumors husbands.DAT their   NEG use.*l*-PTCP.PL.N-VIR

małżonki sprawować, chyba gdy-by   jeszcze młode i   głupie były.
wives   behave.INF *chyba* if/when-COND still   young and stupid be.*l*-PTCP.PL.N-VIR

'Because wives usually don't behave to their husbands this way, unless they are still young and stupid.'

Other complementizers can be attested, as well:

(55) (Łókasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, 1566, Aa5: 8)

chybá ieſli mu   ſie cżáſem   z   okná   widzieć dáłá
chyba if   him.DAT REFL sometimes from window see.INF give.*l*-PTCP.SG.FEM

'unless she allowed him to see her from the window sometimes'

Instead of the complementizer *że* 'that', a *wh*-phrase can follow *chyba*:

(56) (Łókasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski*, 1566, E2: 11–13)

Wſzákoż nie-chcę   / áby do tákowey poiedynkiem bitwy był   chćiwy
but   NEG-want.1SG / that to such   duel   battle be.*l*-PTCP.SG.M greedy

/ chybá gdzie-by   mu   ſzło   o   poczćiwość.
/ *chyba* where-COND him.DAT go.*l*-PTCP.SG.N about kind-heartedness

'But I don't want him to fight, unless the issue concerns kind-heartedness.'

Note that such constellations are not possible in PDP, neither with indicative morphology nor with conditional morphology:

(57) *Dzisiaj po południu mogą   wyjść   na wolność, chyba gdy(-by)   /
today afternoon   may.3PL go:out.INF on freedom *chyba* if / when-COND   /

jeśli(-by) / gdzie(-by) sąd zdecyduje / zdecydował   inaczej.
if-COND / where-COND court decide.3SG / decide.*l*-PTCP.SG.M differently

Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

This contrast reveals one considerable issue: In MP – as well as in OP – the exceptive meaning does not come about the inherent complementizer *chyba że* 'unless', as is the case in contemporary Polish. Rather, it is due to the compositional meaning of the preposition *chyba* 'except' and the following complementizer that in older stages of Polish was not restricted to the declarative complementizer *że* 'that.'

Secondly, *chyba* as a preposition can combine with the conditional clitic *by* and have both a narrow and a wider (= propositional) scope:

(58) (*KorBa, Rozmowa dwóch szlachty,* 1733)

ale z   nim na plac   jeszcze nie wyjeżdżają, ten cale   u dam polskich
but with him on square yet   NEG go:out.3PL this altogether at ladies Polish
nie ma   estymacji,   [chyba-by [_{PP} u starych]]
NEG have.3SG estimation.GEN *chyba*-COND   at old
'they don't go with him to the square yet, he is not appreciated by Polish ladies, except
for the old ones'

(59) (*KorBa*, Wojciech Laktański, *Czarownica powołana,* 1680)

Piąta ma   być   powołanie abo pomowa / nie tak od   tego   który
fifth have.3SG be.INF call   or opinion / NEG so from this:one who
skarży   na niego / ale od   drugich ludzi wiary   godnych; [chyba-by
accuse.3SG on him   / but from other   people belief.GEN worthy   *chyba*-COND
[_{PartP} były   insze jasne dokumenta]] / na ten czas tej   pomowy nie trzeba.
       be.*l*-PTCP.PL.N-VIR other clear documents   / on this time this opinion NEG need.3SG
'Fifth, it needs to be a call or an opinion, not from the person who is accusing but from
reliable people; unless there would be other documents, in this case an opinion is not
needed.'

In both cases, *chybaby* should be analyzed as a preposition meaning 'except (for)'. In (58), it combines
with the PP *u starych* 'by old (people)'. In (59), *chybaby* embeds a participial complement. Remarkably,
in PDP *chybaby* can only have a propositional scope; it cannot scope over smaller constituents:

(60) *Nie chodzę na imprezy, chyba-by   do Anny.
      NEG go.1SG on parties   *chyba*-COND to Anna
      Intended meaning: 'I don't go to parties, except for Anna's parties.'

And even if it takes a propositional scope, it does not mean 'unless':

(61) Nie chodzę na imprezy, chyba-by-m   oszalał.
      NEG go.1SG on parties   *chyba*-COND-1SG get:crazy.*l*-PTCP.SG.M
      'I don't go to parties, I'd get crazy.'
      Intended meaning: *'I don't go to parties, unless I'd get crazy.'

In other words, the example given in (1) cannot be used in connection with *chybaby*:

(62) *Dzisiaj po południu mogą   wyjść   na wolność, chyba-by   sąd zdecyduje /
      today afternoon   may.3PL go:out.INF on freedom *chyba*-COND court decide.3SG /
      zdecydował   inaczej.
      decide.*l*-PTCP.SG.M differently
      Intended meaning: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon,
      unless the court will take a different decision.'

Based on these differences it is tempting to examine data from NP to see how *chyba-że*-clauses developed.

3.4 New Polish (1765–1939)

I extracted and analyzed 177 *chyba*-cases from *NewCor*, a *Corpus of 1830–1918 Polish*.

The use of *chyba* as a discourse particle is strongly preferred:

(63) (*NewCor*, Jadwiga Papi, *Kopciuszek. Powieść dla dorastających panienek*, 1886)
     muszę   cię   chyba kochać
     must.1SG you.ACC *chyba* love.INF
     'I must presumably love you'

In selected cases, *chyba* occurs together with a complementizer, giving rise to an exceptive interpretation. Both conditional and indicative morphology are attested:

(64) (*NewCor*, Teodozjusz Krzywicki, *Dwa obrazy*, 1848)
     a   dziś   po cóż   grać,   chyba że-by   uśpić   słuchaczy
     and today for what purpose play.INF *chyba* that-COND put:down.INF listeners.ACC
     'and today, what is the purpose of playing? unless you want to put down listeners'

(65) (*NewCor*, Teodozjusz Krzywicki, *Dwa obrazy*, 1848)
     chyba że   duszę swoją zamknął   w tych skrzypcach
     chyba that soul   his   close.*l*-PTCP.SG.M in this   violin
     'unless he closed his soul in this violin'

As opposed to PDP, exceptive structures can still be introduced by *chyba* and conditional morphemes:

(66) (*NewCor*, Stanisław Grudziński, *Wbrew opinii*, 1881)
     chyba gdy kto   wspomniał   o   żonie zmarłéj
     chyba if   someone mention.*l*-PTCP.SG.M about wife   dead
     'unless someone mentioned his dead wife'

(67) (*NewCor*, Józef Bliziński, *Rozbitki: komedja w czterech aktach*, 1882)
     chyba by   m   sam stanął   w miejscu Maurycego
     chyba COND 1SG alone stand.*l*-PTCP.SG.M in place.LOC Maurycy.GEN
     'unless I were Maurycy'

The cases (66)–(67) convincingly show that *chyba* could still be used as a preposition selecting CPs headed by a complementizer. I was not able to find any examples illustrating the occurrence of exceptives introduced by a *wh*-phrase.

3.5 Interim conclusion

We can recapitulate our diachronic findings as presented in **Table 5**.

Language period	discourse particle	preposition	*chyba-że*	exceptive structure
Old Polish (until 1543)	+	+	–	?
Middle Polish (1543–1765)	+	+	+	+
New Polish (1765–1939)	+	+	+	+
Present-day Polish (since 1939)	+	–	+	–

Table 5: The development of exceptive clauses in the history of Polish.

What we can conclude from our diachronic findings is that exceptionality was expressed almost in all historical stages of Polish by means of the preposition *chyba* and the following complementizer which, in turn, could be a declarative complementizer, a conditional subjunction or a *wh*-phrase. I refer to these structures as *exceptive structure* in **Table 5**. Remarkably, they are not available nowadays. The prepositional use of *chyba* also disappeared from language use in the last century. The dedicated exceptive complementizer *chyba że* 'unless' must have emerged at the earliest in Middle Polish (1543–1765). Recall, in addition, that in Present-day Polish we have three patterns marking exceptionality on the clause level:

(68) a. $[_{CP} [_{C}{}^{0}$ *chyba że*$]$ + indicative mood$]$
   b. $[_{CP} [_{C}{}^{0}$ *chyba że(by)*$_{i}]$ $[_{MoodP} [_{Mood}{}^{0}$ $t_{i}]$ + *l*-participle$]$
   c. $[_{CP} [_{C}{}^{0}$ *chyba że*$]$ + $[_{MoodP} [_{Mood}{}^{0}$ *by* + *l*-participle$_{i}]$ $t_{i}]$

Diachronically, we can safely assume that (68b) occurred as first in the history of Polish. Then, indicative mood started to be preferred in the exceptive clause, (68a), whereas at the same time (68c) could be used, as well. As the next section shows, it is not surprising that the conditional clitic *by* contributed to the origin of the inherent exceptive complementizer *chyba że* 'unless'.

4 Reanalysis

Typologically, not much is known about how exceptive clauses come into being. Traugott (1997) outlines emergence circumstances of *unless*-clauses in the history of English. Soltan (2016: 50; fn. 12) mentions in passing that the Egyptian Arabic exceptive particle *ʔillaa*

is a composite form that includes the negation marker *laa* in its form. But how *laa* was incorporated into *ʔillaa* still remains an open issue. Breitbarth (2015) briefly discusses the role of negation in Middle Low German exceptives. In their syntactic approach, Martins et al. (2019) trace back the development of the exceptive marker *senão* in the history of Portuguese that emerged out of a negated conditional structure. To my knowledge, studies on how *chyba-że*-clauses came into being are completely missing. It is therefore the main aim of this section to examine the origin and the development of exceptive clauses in Polish.

Based on the data discussed in Section 3, I propose the following development steps of exceptive clauses in Polish.

Step 1: *Chyba* is used in Old Polish as a preposition meaning 'except' and embedding noun phrases marked for the Genitive case. For the sake of clarity, I repeat (44) as (69a):

(69)   a.   (Andrzej Glaber, 1535; cit. in Brückner 1927: 188)
           wszelkie zwierzę chyba człowieka uszami   rusza
           every   animal   *chyba* man.GEN   ears.INS move.3SG
           'every animal except man moves his ears'

       b.
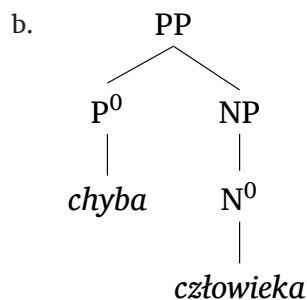
Semantically, *chyba* introduces an exception and triggers a set of alternatives. By excluding the human being, the speaker assumes the existence of other species moving their ears. In other words, *chyba* employed as a preposition fulfills already two functions important for the development of exceptive clauses. But to operate on the clausal level, its scope needs to be extended. This is achieved by the use of correlative elements referring to the content of the relative clause modifying these elements:
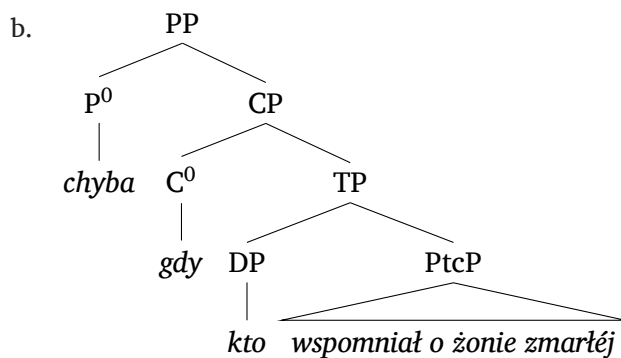
(70)   a.   (Brückner 1927: 188)
           schną   chyba [tego]$_i$ [iż-by   były   pokrapiane]$_i$
           dry.3PL *chyba* this.GEN that-COND be.*l*-PTCP sprinkled
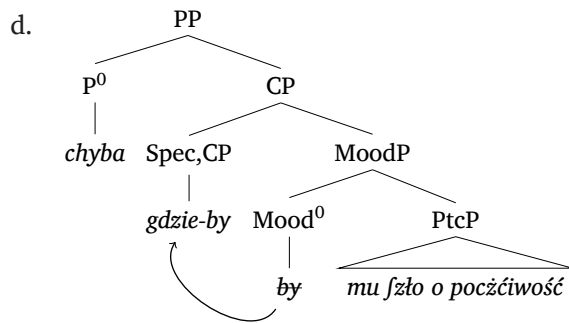   '[they] are drying off unless one would sprinkle them'

b.

```
                        XP
                   ┌────┴────┐
                  PP        CPᵢ
                ┌──┴──┐   ┌──┴──────┐
               P⁰    DP  Op        C'
               │     │         ┌────┴────┐
             chyba  D⁰        C⁰       MoodP
                    │         │      ┌───┴───┐
                  tegoᵢ     iž-by  Mood⁰   PtcP
                                    │
                                    by   były pokrapiane
```
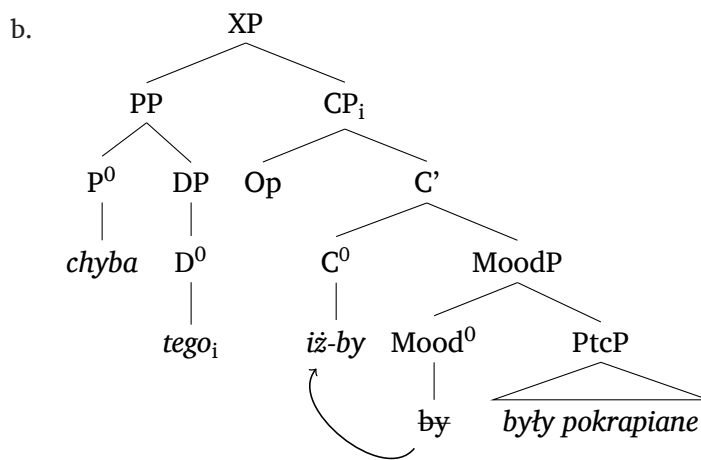
In (70a), *chyba* is still used as a preposition and its embeds the demonstrative pronoun *tego* 'this' marked for the Genitive case. The demonstrative, in turn, is co-indexed with the following *iž*-clause (for further developments of *iž* across Slavic languages, see Meyer 2017). The conditional morphology on the complementizer triggers counterfactuality, i.e. the existence of a set of alternatives (Stalnaker 1968; Lewis 1973; von Fintel 2011). What *chyba* does in this connection is that it picks out the most prominent proposition from the set of alternatives referring to the correlative element *tego* 'this'.

Step 2: *Chyba* does not change its status; it still functions as a preposition, but in addition to NP/DP complements, it can also take CP complements. What is important to keep in mind, though, is that *chyba* and the complementizer / *wh*-phrase introducing the subordinate clause do not form a single constituent. Instead, they are to be analyzed as two separate forms:

(71) a. (*NewCor*, Stanisław Grudziński, *Wbrew opinii*, 1881)
       chyba gdy kto   wspomniał   o   żonie zmarłéj
       chyba if   someone mention.*l*-PTCP.3SG.M about wife   dead
       'unless someone mentioned his dead wife'

b.

```
              PP
           ┌───┴───┐
          P⁰      CP
          │    ┌───┴───┐
        chyba C⁰      TP
              │    ┌───┴───┐
             gdy  DP      PtcP
                  │
                 kto   wspomniał o żonie zmarłéj
```

c. (Łókasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski,* 1566, E2: 11–13)

chybá gdzie-by   mu   ſzło   o   poczɕiwość

chyba where-COND him.DAT go.*l*-PTCP.SG.N about kind-heartedness

'unless the issue concerns kind-heartedness'

d.

```
                    PP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
            P⁰              CP
            │         ┌──────┴──────┐
          chyba    Spec,CP        MoodP
                      │        ┌─────┴─────┐
                   gdzie-by  Mood⁰        PtcP
                      ↑        │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                      └─────── by    mu ſzło o poczɕiwość
```

e. (*PolDi, Droga do zupełney wolności,* Łukasz Górnicki, 1527–1603)

chyba że-by   się   tak   źle   miał   na   zdrowiu

chyba that-COND REFL so   badly have.*l*-PTCP.SG.M on health.LOC

'unless he would be so sick'

f.

```
                    PP
              ┌──────┴──────┐
            P⁰              CP
            │         ┌──────┴──────┐
          chyba      C⁰            MoodP
                      │        ┌─────┴─────┐
                    że-by    Mood⁰        PtcP
                      ↑        │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                      └─────── by    się tak źle miał na zdrowiu
```
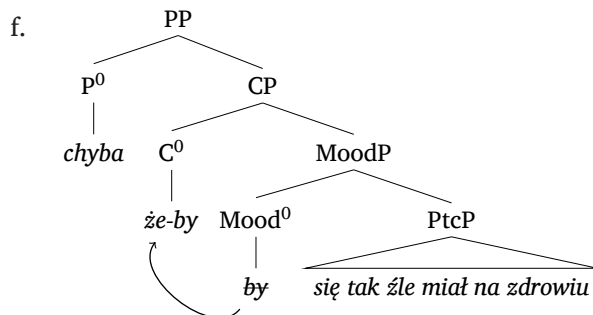
Accordingly, the declarative complementizer *że* 'that' in (71f) occupies the C head position on its own. *Chyba* does not belong to the C-domain yet, rather it selects a CP. This stage is also attested cross-linguistically. In Modern German, for example, the preposition *außer* 'except' can take CPs as its complements:

(72)   *German*

    a. (*DeReKo, Braunschweiger Zeitung,* 5/1/2006)

Montags   und   dienstags bleibt   die Gaststätte im   Winter geschlossen,

Mondays   and   Tuesdays remain.3SG the restaurant in:the winter closed

[$_P^0$ außer] [$_{CP}$ wenn sich Gesellschaften anmelden].

    except   if   REFL societies   sign:up.3PL

'On Mondays and Tuesdays the restaurant is closed in the winter time, unless societies sign up.'

b. (*DeReKo, Salzburger Nachrichten*, 28/2/1998)

[S]ie will   mehr überzeugen als befehlen   – [$_P^0$ außer] [$_{CP}$ wo   es
she want.3SG more convince.INF than command.INF –   except   where it
notwendig ist].
necessary be.3SG
'She wants to convince more than to command – except where it is necessary.'

c. (*DeReKo, Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 11/8/2006)

Eigentlich finde   ich es   ziemlich gut, [$_P^0$ außer] [$_{CP}$ dass wir so lange
actually   find.1SG I it.ACC quite   good except   that we so long
unterwegs sind].
underway be.1PL
'Actually, I find it quite good, except that we are so long on the way.'

Similar to the examples in (71a)–(71e), the German subordinate clauses express an exception and the CP complements are introduced by three different elements: i) by the conditional complementizer *wenn* 'if' in (72a), ii) by the *wh*-phrase *wo* 'where' in (72b), and iii) by the declarative complementizer *dass* 'that' in (72c). But contrary to the history of Polish, none of these elements grammaticalized with the preposition *außer* 'except' into a morphologically complex C-head. This is mainly due to the fact that German developed another exceptive connective, *es sei denn* 'unless', having also the possibility to scope over CPs (for more diachronic details on *es sei denn*, see Witzenhausen 2019).

Step 3: From late Middle Polish onwards, *chyba* and *że* occur without conditional morphology:

(73)   (*PolDi, Listy do Marysi*, 1668)
poczta francuska do Warszawy chodzić przestanie, chyba że   sami kupcy (…)
post   French   to Warsaw   go.INF cease.3SG *chyba* that alone sellers (…)
wynajdą   jaki   między sobą sposób
find:out.3PL some among REFL way
'the French post to Warsaw will not be offered, unless sellers themselves (…) find another way among themselves'

I assume (73) to be one of the first cases in which the combination of *chyba* and *że* is allowed to be analyzed as a complex C-head, i.e., as an indivisible lexical unit, (74b). In other words, due to head adjunction both functional elements grammaticalized into a single functional head, as illustrated in (74b):

(74) a.

```
              PP
           ╱      ╲
         P⁰        CP
         │       ╱    ╲
       chyba   C⁰      TP
               │     ╱╲
              że    ╱  ╲
```

b.

```
              CP
           ╱     ╲
         C⁰       TP
         │      ╱╲
      chyba że ╱  ╲
```
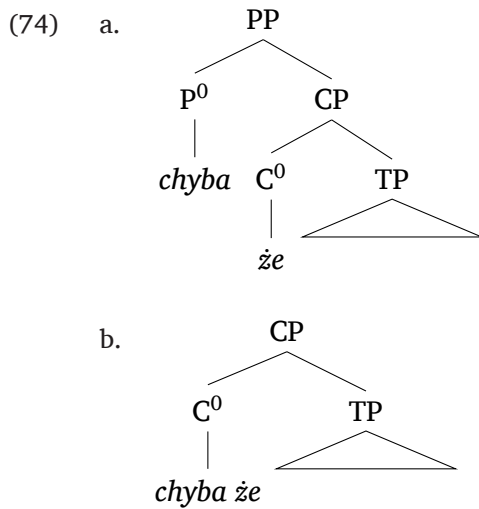
Diachronically, it is not surprising that a preposition becomes a C-head or a part of it; compare, for example, German *bis* 'until' introducing finite temporal clauses or *um* (lit. 'around') 'in order to' selecting non-finite purpose clauses (Jędrzejowski 2021) or English *for, till, like* (van Gelderen 2004: 101–7, 124–5). Blümel & Pitsch (2019: 3–4) give a rich overview of adverbial complementizers containing a preposition in selected Slavic languages. I argue that *chyba* as a preposition lost its prepositional case feature. If *chyba* were still a preposition, it would be a case assigner, which is obviously not the case:

(75) *Dzisiaj po   południu   mogą   wyjść   na wolność,   chyba że sądu
      today   after midday.LOC can.3PL go:out.INF on freedom.ACC unless   court.GEN
      zdecyduje inaczej.
      decide.3SG differently
      Intended: 'They are allowed to be released from the prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

Following van Gelderen (2010), I assume *chyba* as a preposition to have lost its [GEN]-feature, paving the way for the incorporation into the C-domain and for the adjunction to the declarative complementizer *że* 'that':

(76)   P⁰ [*u*-phi, GEN, *i*-exception] –> C⁰ [*u*-phi, *i*-exception]

Importantly, it did not loss its all features though. It keeps the interpretable feature [+exception], and changes its uninterpretable feature associated with selectional requirements (cf. P-heads taking DPs as their complements vs. C-heads taking TPs; see also Roussou 2020).

Furthermore, the following steps deserve to be accounted for. Prior to the MP period exceptive structures must have required the preposition *chyba* 'except' selecting a CP complement. The conditional clitic *by* climbed up in the structure to join the complementizer. Taken together

they compositionally gave rise to exceptive meaning which has been accommodated over time. First instances of this change are to be observed from Middle Polish onwards, as (73) clearly illustrates. Of course, it does not mean that the original structure with the conditional clitic *by* automatically disappeared. Quite the contrary, it co-exists next to the structure with the inherent complementizer *chyba że* 'unless'. But once the accommodation has taken place, the movement of the clitic *by* is not needed any longer. It can remain in-situ and attracts an *l*-participle. This scenario reminds of a cycle in the sense advocated by van Gelderen (2009, 2011:3), whereby "toward the end of the cycle, similar events start again, but they are (slightly) different and happen at a difference pace". What the conditional clitic *by* does is the same in both patterns: It introduces a set of alternatives. But whereas in older stages of Polish it goes up to the C-head to pave the way for the origin of the exceptive complementizer, in PDP it introduces a set of alternatives in relation to the exceptive clause. In this case, it is not required to move as high as the C-head is base-generated. This scenario has also another conceptual advantage. No radical reanalysis of the sentence boundary needs to be postulated as both *chyba* and *że* were constituents of the second clause before and after the reanaylsis. They did not change their positions on the surface. Only the status of *chyba* changed from that of a preposition to part of a complementizer. Main evidence for this view comes from two observations made at the beginning of the present article, viz. that *że* in *chyba że* cannot be replaced by any other complementizer and that *chyba* cannot be dropped.

Step 4: The status of the complex single complementizer makes the conditional morphology redundant. Conditional morphology introduces a silent set of alternatives, and so does the exceptive complementizer *chyba że*. As Vostrikova (2018) convincingly shows, the set of alternatives for a proposition denoted by an exceptive clause and by a negated conditional clause that are negated by an exhaustifier is constructed in the same way. In this sense, the grammaticalized complementizer *chyba że* prevails, as it incorporates the set of alternatives in its lexical meaning, whereas conditional morphology presupposes such a set. When the set of alternatives is lexically stored, there is no need to introduce it additionally in terms of a presupposition. Accordingly, from the 19th century onwards, the indicative mood is favored in exceptive clauses:

(77) a. (NKJP, *Dziennik Zachodni,* 30/12/2004)
        Dzisiaj po południu mogą   wyjść   na wolność, chyba że   sąd   zdecyduje
        today   afternoon   may.3PL go:out.INF on freedom *chyba* that court decide.3SG
        inaczej.
        differently
        'They are allowed to be released from prison today afternoon, unless the court will take a different decision.'

b.

```
                     ForceP
                   /        \
              Force⁰         TP
                |          /    \
             chyba że  Spec,TP    VP
                          |      /    \
                         sąd  zdecyduje inaczej
```
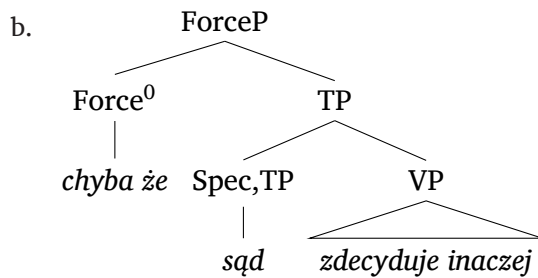
Exceptive structures containing the preposition *chyba* 'except' and other complementizers than *że* disappear (but see Footnote 3 above). The preposition *chyba* 'except' itself disappears from language use. Its meaning is covered by the preposition *poza* 'except' and by lexical expressions like *z wyjątkiem* 'with the exception of'. The presence of ForceP indicates the possibility of using speech act modifiers, as exemplified in (41a)–(41c). As exceptive *chyba-że*-clauses project up to ForceP, they are also expected to host epistemic and evidential expressions, i.e., judge modifiers in Krifka's (to appear) terms. This prediction could be borne out based on examples like the one in (39) discussed in Section 2.3.

5 Conclusion

This article was concerned with the synchrony and diachrony of exceptive clauses in Polish introduced by the morphologically complex complementizer *chyba że* 'unless'. *Chyba-że*-clauses are analyzed as JudgeP adjuncts that depend on the illocutionary force of the entire utterance and that differ from negated conditionals at the syntax-semantics interface in many respects.

Diachronically, I argued that the origin of *chyba że* was possible due to several syntactic and semantics factors: i) strict structural adjacency of the preposition *chyba* 'except' and the declarative complementizer *że* 'that' , ii) movement of the conditional clitic *by* to the C-domain giving rise to a counterfactual interpretation and triggering a set of alternative worlds, and, finally, iii) scope as well as the truth conditions of the preposition itself. The diachronic data discussed in the present article indicated that the compositional meaning of the conditional clitic and of the preposition were accommodated into the meaning of the exceptive complementizer in the Middle Polish period (1543–1765). Against this background it is therefore tempting to examine the diachrony of exceptive clauses cross-linguistically, as fine-grained analyses depicting individual micro-steps of how exceptive clauses come into being and develop may shed new light on how exceptives behave synchronically.

Abbreviations

1/2/3 – 1st/2nd/3rd person, ACC – accusative, COMP – complementizer, COND – conditional clitic, DAT – dative, FEM – feminine, FOC.PTCL – focus particle, GEN – genitive, HAB – habitual, IMPER – imperative mood, INF – infinitive, INS – instrumental, *l*-PTCP – *l*-participle (inflected for gender and number), LOC – locative, M – masculine, NEG – negation, N-VIR – non-virile, PL – plural, PRED – predicative, PST – past tense, REFL – reflexive pronoun, SG – singular, VIR – virile, VPTCL – verb particle.

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NKJP — Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego ['National Corpus of Polish']: http://www.nkjp.pl/.

PolDi — A Polish Diachronic Online Corpus: http://hu.berlin/poldi.

Competing Interests

The author has no competing interests to declare.

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