Relative constructions in European languages:
a closer look at non-standard varieties.

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1. Theoretical premises

1.1. TOPIC
Relative clauses in non-standard varieties of European languages.

1.2. APPROACH
- Integrative functionalism (Croft 1995, Bisang 2004)
- Typological-dialectological approach (Kortmann 2002)

1.3. STARTING QUESTION
Which relativization strategies are attested in non-standard varieties of European languages?

1.4. PREVIOUS STUDIES
- Smits 1989 (only West-Europe)
- Zifonun 2001 (few languages; only one East European language)
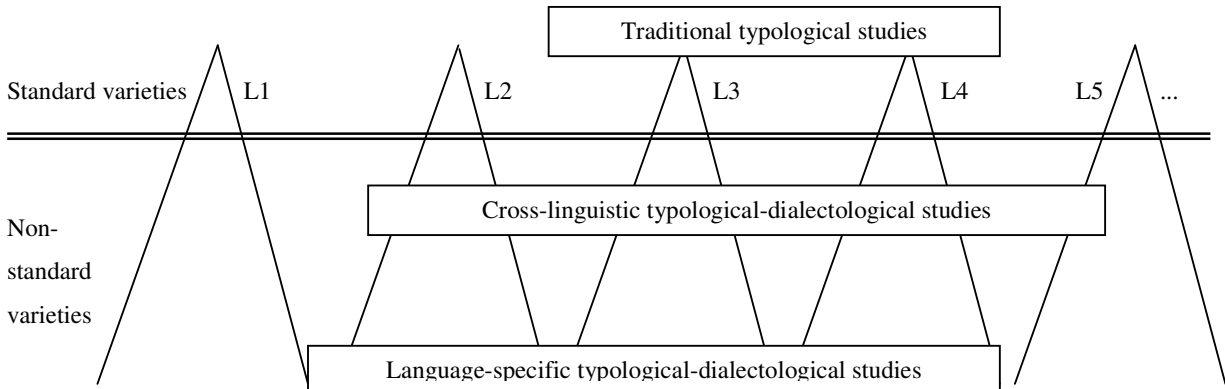- Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2007 (incomplete account)

1.5. LANGUAGE SAMPLE
Non-standard varieties of some 30 European languages.

1.6. LANGUAGE VARIETIES CONSIDERED
1.6.1. How can linguistic variation be modelled? (Dittmar 2004², Auer 2005)

DITTMAR 2004²	AUER 2005	MURELLI
Akrolekte	Standard (spoken/written)	Standard
Mesolekte	Regional standard	
Dialekte	Regiolects	Non-standard
	Dialects	

1.6.2. Which levels of analysis are possible?

Traditional typological studies

Standard varieties   L1   L2   L3   L4   L5   ...

Non-standard varieties

Cross-linguistic typological-dialectological studies

Language-specific typological-dialectological studies

2. An areal study of non-standard relative constructions

2.0. DEFINITION OF RELATIVE RELATION.
Functional definition (based on Cristofaro 2003: 195, Dasinger & Toupin 1994: 459):
a. Relative relations involve two states of affairs, a dependent and a main one.
b. The dependent state of affairs qualifies a participant of the main state of affairs.
- Either the dependent SoA identifies the main SoA inside a range of possible referents (→ restrictive relation)
- or the dependent SoA supplies further information on the main Soa (→ non-restrictive relation)
c. From a semantic-pragmatic point of view, restrictive and non-restrictive relations cannot be assimilated; still, they are syntactically expressed through relative constructions. In fact, in both cases the main and the dependent SoA share a participant (Giacalone Ramat 2006: 121)

2.1. WORK ISSUES
The investigation of non-standard varieties aims to answer following questions:
2.1.1. Which relativization strategies are attested in non-standard varieties?
2.1.2. Can a 'standardness scale' of relativization strategies be formulated?
2.1.3. What do non-standard strategies tell us on the development of the varieties of a language?

2.2. SOURCES AND DATABASE[1]

	QUANTITATIVE/QUALITATIVE	SPONTANEOUS/ELICITED
GRAMMARS & STUDIES (IDIOLECT-BASED)	Qualitative	Self-elicited
GRAMMARS & STUDIES (CORPUS-BASED)	Qualitative and quantitative	Spontaneous
QUESTIONNAIRES	Qualitative	Elicited
CORPORA	Qualitative and quantitative	Spontaneous
WORLD WIDE WEB	Qualitative (quantitative)	Spontaneous
HISTORICAL DATA	Qualitative (quantitative)	Spontaneous

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[1] According to the classification of linguistic data proposed in Penke & Rosenbach (2004).

2.3. DATA CLASSIFICATION

2.3.1. WORD ORDER, i.e. the position of the relative clause w.r.t. the matrix clause (Comrie 1981, Lehmann 1984, De Vries 2001)

Headed					Headless
Embedded			Adjoined		(Free)
Prenominal	Circumnominal	Postnominal	Preposed (Correlative)	Postposed	
TUR BAS		Vast majority of European languages (cf. Haspelmath 2001)			

2.3.2. RELATIVE ELEMENT (Comrie 1981, Lehmann 1984, Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2007)
a. *Simple strategies*: the relative marker consists of a single morphosyntactic unit.

Functions conveyed by the relative element, Lehmann 1984	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. SUBORDINATION	+	+	+	+	+	-
2. GAP CONSTRUCTION	+	+	+	∃!	-	-
3. ATTRIBUTION: GENDER	+	+	-	-	-	-
4. ATTRIBUTION: NUMBER	+	-	-	-	-	-
	CZE *který*	ENG *who*	ITA *che/cui*	DAN *der* FRE *dont* POL *gdzie*	SWE *som*	ENG, SWE
STRATEGY	Relative pronoun			Specialized relative element	Relative particle	Zero-marker

b. *Combined strategies*: the relative marker consists of more morphosyntactic units, which can be contiguous or non-contiguous.[2] Distinction between simple and combined is sometimes not clear-cut (cf. *kojto* vs. *der da*).

	RELATIVE PRONOUN or SPEC. REL. EL.	RELATIVE PARTICLE	OTHER PARTICLE	RESUMPTIVE ELEMENT
RELATIVE PRONOUN	1?	5	1	9
SPEC. REL. ELEMENT		3		8
RELATIVE PARTICLE	4		3	30
ZERO-MARKER			1	5

2.3.3. SYNTACTIC POSITIONS which a strategy can relativize (Keenan & Comrie 1977, Lehmann 1984)

Accessibility Hierarchy: SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

2.4. TYPOLOGICAL-FUNCTIONAL ISSUES

2.4.1. WORD ORDER

Headed					Headless
Embedded			Adjoined		(Free)
Prenominal	Circumnominal	Postnominal	Preposed (Correlative)	Postposed	
		TUR, BAS	RUS, HUN, GRE, LTV, (GEO)		

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[2] In the table I give the number of languages in which the relevant strategy is attested.

E1.   Gizon [karrikan   ikusi duzu- **n-** a- -k] hemen lan   egiten du.
BAS   Man   in.the.street you.have.seen-REL-the-ERG here   work is.doing.it
       'The man you saw in the street works here.' (Oyharçabal 1989: 64)

E2.   Neska **zein-i**   loreak   eman dizkiodan   hor   dago.
BAS   the.girl REL-DAT the.flowers I.gave.them.to.her there is
       'The girl I gave the flowers to is right here.' (Trask 1998: 320)

E3.   **Kotorye**   den'gi ostanutsja položi v košelëk
RUS   REL.NOM.PL money remain   put   in wallet
       'The remaining money, put it in the wallet' (Zaliznjak & Padučeva 1975: 74)

E4.   **Amelyik**   kutya ugat, az   nem harap.
HUN   REL.NOM.SG dog   barks that not bites
       'A barking dog does not bite.' (Tompa 1968: 66)

E5.   **óses**   jinékes máθane já   to moró tu   stílane δóra.
GRE   REL.NOM.PL women heard   about the baby to.him sent   gifts.
       'Those women who heard about the baby sent it gifts.' (Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 166)

2.4.2. RELATIVE ELEMENT.
Following tendencies are attested:
a. inflected elements remain uniflected;

E6.   Copilul **la care i**-ai   dat bani   e un ţigan.
RUM   The.boy to REL to.him-you.have given money is a gipsy
       'The boy you gave the money to is a gipsy.' (Mădălina Chitez, p.c.)

E7.   Čovekăt **kojto (go)** vidjachme   vs.   Čovekăt **kogoto**   (*go) vidjachme
BUL   The.man REL (him) we.saw   The.man REL.ACC.M.SG (*him) we.saw
       'The man we saw' (Miseska-Tomić 2006: 271)

b. an element conveying the syntactic role of the relativized element does not convey it;


E8.   E   poi /   tutta questa tecnologia **che** siamo invasi...
ITA   And moreover all   this   technology REL we.are invaded
       'And there's still this technology – it's invading us' (radio program, 02/06/06)

E9.   Il s'   est vendu une armoire fribourgeoise **dont** un de mes amis a   été **la** voir.
FRE   He REFL is sold   a   wardrobe Friburger   REL one of my friends has been it see
       'He sold a Friburger wardrobe, which a friend of mine went to see.' (Gapany 2004: 189)

c. generalization of a relative particle or of a specialized relative element, which becomes an unspecific connection marker (or complementizer);

E10.   Poznavam ženi   **deto** vinagi săm se   čudela   kak uspjavat   s   vsičko.
BUL   I.know   women REL always I.am REFL wondered how they.come.to.terms with everything
       'I know women that I've always wondered how they get to do everything.' (Maria Manova, p.c.)

E11.   Ich spüre Schmerz an Muskeln, **wo** ich gar nicht wusste, dass sie da   sind.
GER   I   feel   pain   in muscles REL I   at.all not   knew   that they there are
       'I feel pain in muscles whose existence I ignored' (man, 50 y.o.)

2.4.3. Relativized syntactic positions

Starting from Bernini's (1989: 88) proposal, valid for ITA and Romance languages, I check whether it is valid for European languages on the whole.

SU	DO	IO	OBL/POSS	OBL/POSS
	[-case]			
		[+case]		
				(-Rel ?)
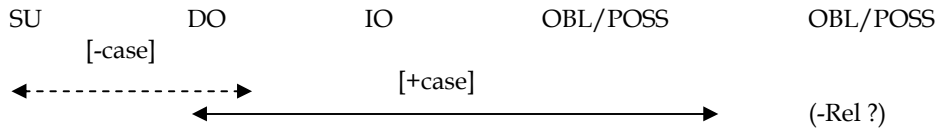
a. the syntactic role of the relativized item is expressed separately (decumulation);

E12.   Imam chimikalka, **deto** moga da   piša **s   neja** s   časove.
BUL   I.have pen   REL I.can COMPL I.write with her from hours
       'I have a pen with which I can write for hours' (Petăr Kehajov, p.c.)

E13.   ten, **co   on** potem uciekł ze   szkoły.
POL   that REL he then   escaped from school
       'The one that escaped from school then.' (Topolińska 1984: 345)

b. the syntactic role of the relativized item is expressed twice (redundancy);

E14.   Kséro tin kopéla **tis opías   tis**   éδoses   leftá.
GRE   I.know the girl   REL.DAT.F.SG. to.her you.gave money
       'I know the girl you gave the money.' (Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 27)

c. the syntactic role of the relativized item is not expressed;

E15.   Kséro tin kopéla **pú**   eksartáse   (**apó aftín**).
GRE   I.know the girl   REL you.depend on her
       'I know the girl you depend on.' (Joseph & Philippaki-Warburton 1987: 166)

d. equi type (case matching): a particular case of point **c.**

E16.   Won jezo z   tym awtom, **ako** cora   jo jeł.
LSO   He goes with the car   REL yesterday he.is gone
       'He goes with the car he went with yesterday.' (Lower Sorbian dialect, Janoš 1976: 187)

E17.   Amb els amics **que** sortie   abans, vaig arribar a avorrir-   m'   hi   molt.
CAT   With the friends REL I.went.out before I.arrived   to get.bored REFL with.them a.lot
       'I got very bored with the friends I used to go around with' (Wheeler *et al.* 1999: 538)

E18.   Bizi   naiz-**en** lagunarekin   joan naiz
BAS   Living I.am-REL with.the.companion gone I.am
       'I went with the companion I'm living with'
       vs. ??Bizi naiz-**en** laguna, 'The companion I'm living with.' (Oyharçabal 1989: 69-70)

E19.   El ga fatto baruffa col   fio **che** ti ga   fatto baruffa ti
ITA   CL3 has made quarrel with.the boy REL CL2 have made quarrel you
       'He has quarrelled with the boy you also quarrelled with.'
       vs. *El ga conossuo el fio **che** ti ga fatto baruffa ti. (Venetian dialect, Fiorentino 1999: 30)

E20.   sie gem's dem Mo (**dem**)   **wo** mir g'hoifa hom
GER   they give it to.the Mann REL.DAT.M.SG REL we helped have
       'They give it to the man that we helped'
       vs. der Mantl *(**den**) **wo** i kaffd hob, 'The coat I bought' (Bavarian dialect, Fleischer 2006)

e. elimination of the relative clause.

E21.   i   ona druga cura, ona nova, ne mogu da   joj   se   sjetim   imena
BCS   and the other girl,   the new, not I.can COMPL to.her REFL remember name
       'and the other girl, the new one, whose name I can't remember.' (Milena Marić, p.c.)

E22.   Ty   ne videl ručku Ø ja zdes' ostavila?
RUS   You not saw   pen   I here left
       'Did you see by chance the pen I left here?' (Akimova 1964: 141)

2.4.4. TYPOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS
a. Relative elements are construction-bound.
b. Competition between the particles of the "what/which"-pole and the "where"-pole for the relativization of the positions of the AH.

	"what/which"	"where"	
RUM	*ce* (decreasing) *care* (increasing)	*de* (stable; dialectal) unde (limited to LOC, but also with [+animated] referents)	languages preferring "what/which"
BSC	*što* (more frequent)	*gdje* (less used; South-Eastern dialects)	
ITA	*che* (more frequent)	*dove* (less used, but also for higher positions)	
FRE	*que* (more frequent)	*dont* (less used, but also for higher positions)	
POR	*que* (more frequent)	*onde* (used only with LOC)	
POL	*co* (more frequent)	*gdzie* (used only with LOC, but also with [+abstract] referents)	
RUS	*čto* (more frequent)	*gde* (only with LOC)	
GER	*was* (higher positions) *was* (in dialects: all positions)	*wo* (lower positions; generic connector) *wo* (in dialects: all positions)	equidistribution
DUT	*wat* (higher positions)	*waar* (lower positions)	
BUL	*što(to)* (decreasing; archaic)	*deto* (increasing)	languages preferring "where"
GRE	--	*pu* (all positions)	
ALB	--	*që* (all positions)	

c. the tendencies attested in non-standard varieties can be seen as expressing functional principles:

1	formal reduction and/or invariable relative elements	economy
2	1:1-relation between form and function	iconicity
3	regularized paradigms of relative elements	analogy
4	main clause word order	analogy

Counterexamples:
- formal non-economy

E23.   Den fyr **som at**   **der** købte bogen
DAN   that boy REL COMP PTC bought the.book
       'The boy who bought the book' (Platzack 1997: 91)

E24.   D   Kirch, **newe dere wu** er wohnt, isch im   Griech kabütt gemacht wor.
GER   The church beside REL PTC he lives is   in.the war   ruined made   been
       'The church beside which he lives was destroyed during the war' (Alemannic, Balliet 1997: 214)

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Still, the same principles are active in standard language and lead to the use of different construction! The difference between standard and non-standard needs be accounted for in partly grammar-external terms:
- morphosyntactic complexity,
- explicitness degree,
- adherence to a prestigious model (cf. Stein 1997).
d. when applying Bernini's (1989) proposal to a broader language sample, a number of counterexamples occur: relativization strategies which make the syntactic role of the relativized item explicit are attested along with strategies which do not make it explicit and non-relative constructions all over the AH. More thorough language-specific studies are needed in order to understand the link between constructions, contexts of use and speakers (this handout, section 3).

2.5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC ISSUES
2.5.1. THE STANDARDNESS SCALE
If comparing the judgements contained in grammars, relativization strategies can be set onto a standardness scale:

relative pronoun, specialized relative element > relative particle for SU/DO >
relative particle + resumptive > relative particle for IO/OBL/GEN > preposition + relative particle

2.5.2. THE POSITION OF EUROPEAN LANGUAGES ON THE STANDARDNESS SCALE

	Rel.Pro., Spec.Rel. Element	Rel.Part. (high positions)	Rel.Part+ resumptive	Rel.Part. (low positions)	Prep.+Rel.Part.
BAS	non-standard	-	-	-	-
EST, HUN	standard	-	-	-	-
FIN, LIT, LTV	standard	non-standard	-	-	-
DUT, GER	standard	non-standard	non-standard	-	-
FRE, ITA, RUS, SPA	standard	standard	non-standard	non-standard	-
POR	standard	standard	non-standard	non-standard	non-standard
ALB, BLR, BUL, CZE, POL, RUM, UKR, USO	standard	standard	standard / non-standard	-	-
CAT, LSO	standard	standard	standard / non-standard	non-standard (equi type!)	
BCS	standard	standard	standard / non-standard	non-standard	(non-standard)
SLK, SLN, MAC, DAN, ISL, NOR, SWE, ENG	standard	standard	standard	-	-
GRE	standard	standard	standard	non-standard	
MAL, IRL	-	standard	standard	-	-

2.5.2. FACTORS determining the position of a language on the standardness scale:
- the influence of a prestigious exoglossic model on the formation of the standard;
- the distinction between strategies considered 'autochthonous' and those considered 'borrowed';
- the influence of a dialectal *koiné* on the formation of the standard;
- the re-standardization of a language.

2.6. DIACHRONIC ISSUES
2.6.1. ORIGIN OF NON-STANDARD CONSTRUCTIONS

a. They witness constructions attested in previous linguistic stages, which very often developed in parallel with strategies which were to become 'standard'.

E25. A **čto** čelovek" moj Istomka Suvorov" syn" Graborukov" běgaet, i   tot čelovek ženě   moei
RUS And REL man   my Istomka Suvorov son of.Graborukij runs   and that man   to.wife my
Solomanidě […]
Solomanida
'My subject Istomka Suvorov, son of Graborukij, has to be given to my wife Solomida'
(Zaliznjak & Padučeva 1975: 75)

E26. **Čto** u tebja est' plastinka ščas budut   peredavat'
RUS REL at you is   record   now they.will broadcast
'The record that you have, it will play now on the radio' (Lapteva 1976: 303)

b. They entered the language through its non-codified varieties or adapted autochthonous constructions under the influence of language contact.

E27. To su te   gelice, **z** **tymi**   **ak** ja som do šule   chejźił
LSO That are those chaps with those.INSTR.PL REL I am   to school gone
'Those are the chaps I went to school with' (Faßke 1996: 170)
cf. *der was* in German dialects (Fleischer 2004)

2.6.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OPPOSITION 'STANDARD VS. NON-STANDARD CONSTRUCTIONS'
On the basis of Auer's (2005) model, the development of non-standard relativization strategy can be temptatively formulated as follows.
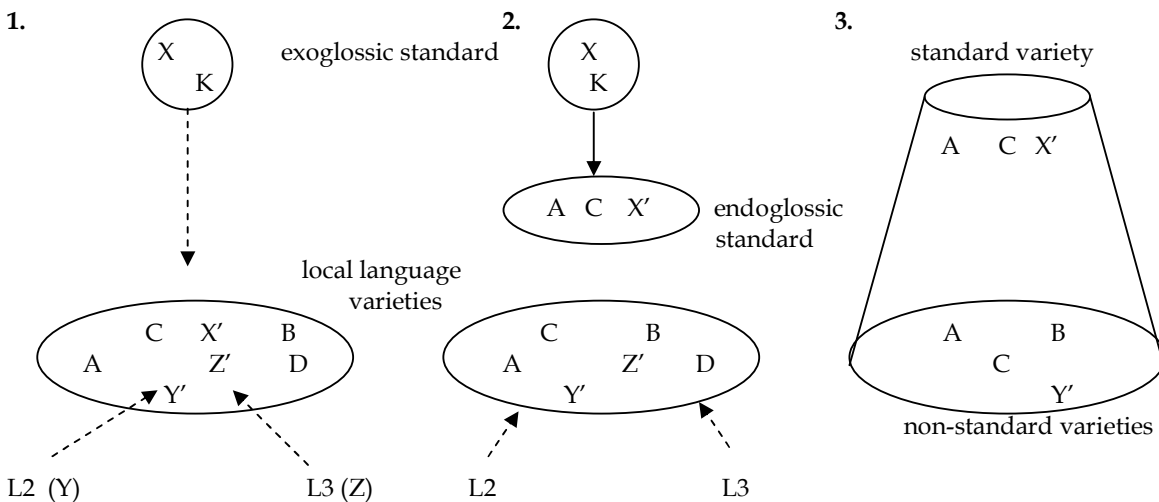
A, B, C, D…. Y, Z = relative constructions
X', Y'… = borrowed constructions modelled on X, Y…
L1, L2, L3… = languages

Examples:
- TUR: the *ki* postnominal construction entered the language through Persian influence; then, it was excluded from the standard on puristic grounds; still, it survives in dialects and in the language of poetry;

E28. O   kız, **ki**   hiç   gülmezdi, sonunda güldü
TUR   That girl REL at.all didn't.laugh at.the.end laughed
      'The girl that hadn't laughed at all, finally laughed, too' (Erkman-Akerson & Ozıl 1998: 323)

- BAS: the *zein* postnominal construction (cf. E2) entered the language through the contact with FRE and SPA, but it is rejected by codifiers on puristic grounds;
- RUS: the use of the relative particle *čto* for lower positions of the AH survives only in dialectal speech and in the language of poetry;

E29.   Gde   èta ulica, gde   ètot dom, / gde   èta devuška, **čto** ja vljublën?
RUS   Where this street, where this house where this girl   REL I in.love
       'Where is the street, where is the house, where is the girl that I'm in love with? '
       (Zaliznjak & Padučeva 1975: 89)

- BCS: the construction 'relative particle+resumptive' was banned from the standard, but appears in formal contexts, like Vuk Karadžić's translation of the Bible (Gallis 1956);

E30.   Žena,   **što** u **n'ezinoj** kćeri   bijaše duch nečisti.
BCS   Woman REL in her   daughter was   spirit impure
       'The woman whose daughter was haunted by an impure spirit' (Gallis 1956: 147)

- POL/CZE: the construction 'relative particle+resumptive', attested at least from the 15th century (Urbańczyk 1939, Lamprecht & alii 1986: 385 sgg.), has always been precariously balanced between standard and non-standard; in present-day POL it also appears in written texts oriented towards the *konzeptionelle Mündlichkeit* (Bagłaiewska-Miglus 1991).

2.6.3. CONCLUSION: the difficulties connected with the classification of relative elements and relativization strategies in the typological analysis are mostly due to the diachronic development of the relativization strategies.

3. Abbreviations

ALB	Albanian	EST	Estonian	LTV	Latvian	RUS	Russian
BAS	Basque	FRE	French	LIT	Lithuanian	BCS	Ser./Cro./Bosn.
BLR	Belarusian	FIN	Finnish	LSO	Lower Sorbian	SLK	Slovak
BUL	Bulgarian	GER	German	MAC	Macedonian	SLN	Slovenian
CAT	Catalan	GRE	Greek	MAL	Maltese	SPA	Spanish
CZE	Czech	HUN	Hungarian	NOR	Norwegian	SWE	Swedish
DAN	Danish	IRL	Irish	POL	Polish	TUR	Turk
DUT	Dutch	ICE	Icelandic	POR	Portuguese	UKR	Ukrainian
ENG	English	ITA	Italian	RUM	Rumanian	USO	Upper Sorbian

ACC	accusative	DEM	demonstrative	M	masculine	PTC	particle
CL2	clitic 2nd p.	ERG	ergative	N	noun	REFL	reflexive
COMPL	complementizer	F	feminine	NOM	nominative	REL	relative element
DAT	dative	INSTR	instrumental	PL	plural	SG	singular

4. References

Informants

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