Relative Constructions in European Languages: A Look at Non-Standard

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with relative constructions in non-standard varieties of European languages, which will be analyzed on the basis of three typological parameters (word order, relative element, syntactic role of the relativized item). The validity of claims raised in studies on the areal distribution of relative constructions in Europe will be checked against the results of the analysis, so as to ascertain whether they still hold when non-standard varieties are examined.

1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to show which kinds of relative constructions are found in non-standard varieties of European languages. Non-standard varieties are often neglected in typological and areal studies on European languages, where data from grammars describing the standard variety are usually relied on. However, as pointed out in Cheshire & Stein (1997), Van Marle (1997) and Weiß (2003), a standard variety is often the result of deliberate language control, manipulation and/or embellishment. This means that if we investigate non-standard varieties we may find structures which are not attested in their standard counterparts.

Non-standard varieties have been the object of increasing interest in functional-typological linguistics for the past decade: among others, Kortmann (2002: 193-194; 2009: 858-859) argues that morphosyntactic data from non-standard varieties and particularly from dialects should be included in typological studies, as they may help to refine or redefine typological hierarchies and to attain a more detailed picture of the European linguistic panorama. Kortmann's (2002) typological-dialectological approach will be adopted here as a theoretical frame.

The database of this study consists of 22 European languages for which reliable data on non-standard varieties were available: data were mostly gathered from grammars, syntactic atlases and studies on dialect syntax and spontaneous spoken language. Examples were also quoted from questionnaires[1]. The languages included in the database are listed in Appendix 2.

Literature devoted to relative constructions in European languages, though extensive, suffers from a striking West-European bias: Smits's *Eurogrammar* (1989) ignores Slavic languages; Zifonun's (2001) investigation includes five Germanic, four Romance and only one Slavic language (Polish); in Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat's (2007) concise overview, information about Slavic languages is partially incomplete or inexact. The same is true for broader typological studies: Lehmann's (1984) major work contains only a few examples from Russian; De Vries's (2002) typological synopsis is

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[1] Questionnaires consisted of English sentences containing non-standard relative clauses, which the informants had to render into their mother tongue. All informants were graduate students of linguistics.

based on Gołąb & Friedman's (1972) interesting but scant data on Slavic languages. Additionally, these investigations are nearly exclusively based on standard varieties. Cross-linguistic typological-dialectological investigations are virtually inexistent as yet: relative constructions in non-standard varieties are investigated on a language-specific level, for instance in Herrmann (2005)[2]. So, in order to fill this gap in research, this study is exclusively devoted to non-standard constructions. As will become clear in the next sections, the focus on non-standard discloses a picture much more articulated than is traditionally assumed.

This paper is organized as follows: in section 2 the parameters of analysis will be introduced; section 3 will be devoted to the typological investigation of relative constructions; finally, in section 4 the results will be discussed.

2   Parameters of analysis

In order to classify relative constructions occurring in non-standard varieties, three parameters will be considered which are commonly used in typological literature to describe the cross-linguistic variation of relativization strategies in the world's languages: word order (2.1), the relative element (2.2) and the syntactic positions that a strategy can relativize (2.3).

2.1   Word order

A relative construction can be seen consisting of a main and a relative clause, as in (1) or (2)[3]. In (1) the main clause follows the relative clause; in (2) the relative clause is embedded in the main clause.

(1)   RUS (dialect)

    *[**Kotory**   staruchi   ne   ušodci,]$_{RC}$ [tak   so*
    PRO.NOM.M.PL   old.ladies   not   gone   PAR   with

    staruškami   pogovorit'.]$_{MC}$
    old.ladies   talk.INF

    'Let's have a talk with the old ladies who haven't gone (yet).' (Avanesov & Orlova 1965[2]: 199)

(2)   GRE

    *[To   peðí   [**pu**   éðoses   ta   leftá]$_{RC}$ íne   jiftáki.]$_{MC}$*
    DET   child   RPAR   you.gave   DET   money   is   gipsy
    'The boy you gave the money to is a gipsy.' (Nikolaos Mytilinaios, questionnaire)

The mutual position of the relative clause with respect to the main clause can be described through our first parameter, word order. Following Lehmann (1984: 48-49) and De Vries (2002: 22-23), an initial distinction can be made between embedded and adjoined relative clauses: embedded relative clauses are constituents of the NP containing the head noun, adjoined ones are not. Within these two groups further

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[2] Herrmann's (2005) analysis shows that English dialects display greater variation than Standard English for what concerns relative elements. This is a point which regards non-standard varieties in general, as will be discussed in section 3.2.

[3] In all examples relative elements are marked in bold.

distinctions can be made. Embedded relative clauses can be classified according to the position they have with respect to the head noun: if they precede it, they are prenominal; if they follow it, they are postnominal; if the relative clause "surrounds" the head noun, the RC is circumnominal. Adjoined relative clauses can be further divided into two subgroups: if they precede the main clause, as in (1), they are correlative, if they follow it, they are extraposed. In typological literature on relative clauses, the great majority of European languages are said to display the postnominal embedded strategy; only Turkish and Basque rely on a prenominal strategy.

2.2   The relative element

As discussed in Lehmann (1984: 248-252) and Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007), relative elements can be regarded as encoding a number of morphosyntactic features. Cross-linguistically, elements vary according to whether individual features are explicitly encoded or not. The features considered in this study largely coincide with those identified in Lehmann (1984) and Cristofario & Giacalone Ramat (2007):

(i)   the link between the main clause and the relative clause;

(ii)   the syntactic role of the relativized item in the relative clause;

(iii)   the co-reference with the head noun in the main clause, distinguishing between
        a.   gender[4] and
        b.   number agreement .

For instance, the element *který* in (3) conveys all four features: it signals that the relative clause is semantically linked to the main clause; its case, nominative, expresses the syntactic position that the relativized item has in the relative clause – subject; its gender and number (masculine, singular) agree with the head noun *člověk*, which, too, is masculine and singular.

(3)   CZE

Člověk,   ***který***   *nekouří,*   *ušetří.*
man   RPRO.NOM.M.SG   not.smokes   saves
'A man who doesn't smoke saves money.' (Petr 1987: 524)

A major distinction can be made between simple and combined relative elements. Elements of the former group consist of a single morphosyntactic unit, those of the latter group of at least two morphosyntactic units, which can be contiguous or non-contiguous. In simple relative elements all features are expressed through a single syntactic unit, whereas in combined elements the features can be distributed onto different morphosyntactic units.

Simple elements will be discussed first. As shown in Table 1, the possible combinations of the four features mentioned above features yield six kinds of relative elements.

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[4] Following Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007), the feature 'gender' applies to both 'pure' gender oppositions (masculine vs. feminine vs. neuter) and semantic oppositions typical of noun class systems, like [+human] vs. [–human] or [+animate] vs. [–animate].

Encoding of:	1	2	3	4	5	6
- link between MC and RC	+	+	+	+	+	-
- syntactic role of the relativized item in the RC	+	+	+	+ ($\exists$!)	-	-
- gender agreement	+	+	-	-	-	-
- number agreement	+	-	-	-	-	-
Simple relative element →	Relative pronoun			Specialized relative element	Relative particle	Zero-marker

Table 1: The morphosyntactic features encoded by simple relative elements

The elements in columns 1 to 3 in Table 1 can be subsumed to the category 'relative pronoun'. That is, a relative pronoun explicitly expresses at least the link between the main and the relative clause and the syntactic role of the relativized item. We can distinguish between different kinds of relative pronouns according to whether these also encode gender and number agreement: the relative pronoun in (3) conveys all features, including gender and number agreement; instead, English *who* conveys gender (in this case the [±animate] distinction) but does not convey number agreement, as it can be used with both singular and plural head nouns. However, this additional distinction is not central to the examples presented in this paper, so it will not be further discussed here.[5]

The elements in column 4 in Table 1 were labelled as 'specialized relative elements': they convey the link between the main and the relative clause and the syntactic position of the relativized item, but can only relativize a single syntactic position. Polish *gdzie* in (4) is a case in point: it can be used to relativize locatives and no other syntactic positions.

(4)　POL

Przewodnik	*pokazał*	*nam*	*pomieszczenia,*	**gdzie**	*właśnie*
guide	showed	us	rooms	SRE	just

odbywa	*się*	*remont.*
runs	refl	repair

'The guide showed us the rooms where repairs are being done just now.'(Anna Górska, questionnaire)

Relative particles (column 5 in Table 1) encode even less features: they only convey the link between the main and the relative clause, as can be seen in (2) above or in (5). In (5) Portuguese *que* is used in all three relative clauses irrespective of the fact that in the first two we have to do with oblique relativization and in the third one with subject relativization. The same form is used to relativize all syntactic positions with all kinds of head nouns.

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[5] For a detailed discussion cf. Murelli (2011: Ch. 3).

(5)   POR

Ele	*era*	*um*	*homem*	**que**	*você*	*se dava*	*bem,*	**que**
he	was	DET	man	RPAR	you	got.along	well	RPAR

você	*podia*	*rir*	*junto,*	**que**	*estava*	*sempre*
you	could	laugh	together	RPAR	was	always

bem humorado.
well-tempered.

'He was a man that you got along well with, that you could laugh with, that was always well-tempered.' (Albertino Moreira, questionnaire)

Finally, there is also an element which conveys no morphosyntactic features: it is traditionally labelled as 'zero-marker'; it is found for instance in English, as shown in (6).

(6)   ENG
The woman Ø we met yesterday at the movies is John's new girlfriend.

The relativizers exemplified in (3) through (6) are instances of simple elements: the features they encode are expressed by means of a single morphosyntactic unit. Combined relative elements are composed of at least two morphosyntactic units, and each unit conveys from 0 to 4 of the morphosyntactic features listed in Table 1. It may also occur that individual features are encoded twice, as in (7): *som*, a relative particle, encodes the link between the main clause and the relative clause; *der*, a specialized relative element, conveys again the link and, additionally, the syntactic role of the relativized item (i.e. subject).

(7)   DAN

Kender	*du*	*den*	*mand*	**som**	**der**	*talte*	*me*	*hende?*
know	you	that	man	RPAR	SRE	spoke	with	her?

'Do you know the man who talked to her?' (Platzack 2002: 83)

Combined elements may consist of two simple relative elements, as in (7), of a simple relative element and a non-relative particle, as in (8), or of a simple relative element and a resumptive element, as in (9). In (8) the relative particle *co* conveys the link between the main clause and the relative clause and the non-relative particle *to* conveys none of the four morphosyntactic features: as a result, the combined element encodes only one of the four features. In (9) the relative particle *deto* conveys the link between main and relative clause, the resumptive element *s neja* the syntactic role (oblique) as well as gender and number agreement (feminine singular) with the head noun. So, the combined element in (9) encodes all four features and is functionally equivalent to a gender and number inflecting relative pronoun, like the one occurring in (3).

(8)   POL (dialect)

Duży	*Albin,*	**co**	**to**	*doskonale*	*czyta.*
big	Albin,	RPAR	PAR	wonderfully	reads

'Big Albin, who can read very well.' (Urbańczyk 1939: 31)

(9)   BUL

*Sega   imam   chimikalka,   **deto**   moga   da   piša   s*
now   I.have   pen   RPAR   I.can   COMP   I.write   with

***neja**   s   časove.*
her   from   hours

'Now I have a pen with which I can write for hours.' (Petăr Kehajov, questionnaire)

Studies on relative clauses in Europe often stress the predominance of one particular relative element, the relative pronoun: for instance, Comrie & Kuteva (2005: 498) claim that "in Europe, the relative pronoun strategy dominates". In other studies, relative pronouns and relative particles are seen as concurring with each other; still, this concurrence is restricted to a well-defined area: "invariable relative elements are exclusively found in Western Europe" (Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2007: 84). As will become clear in section 3.2, the validity of these claims may be questioned when non-standard varieties are considered.
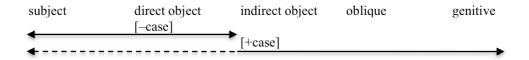
2.3   The syntactic positions relativized

Relativization strategies in European non-standard varieties will be further classified according to the syntactic positions which they can relativize. Keenan & Comrie's (1977: 66) Accessibility Hierarchy will be taken as a starting point:

subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique > genitive > object of comparison

Through the Accessibility Hierarchy predictions can be made about the accessibility of syntactic positions to relativization. The hierarchy is to be read that if a syntactic position can be relativized by means of a strategy, then all positions to its left can also be relativized by means of the same strategy: if e.g. a strategy can relativize indirect objects, then it can also relativize direct objects and subjects.

In this study the rightmost position of the Accessibility Hierarchy, object of comparison, will be disregarded, since no sufficient information on it was available in the database. Instead, locative, a position not included in the original version of the hierarchy, will be considered, because relative elements originally specialized for locative relativization often occur in non-standard varieties, as will be shown in section 3.2.

In literature on relative clauses, a major distinction is commonly drawn between [+case] and [–case] strategies: the former explicitly encode the syntactic role of the relativized item, the latter do not. Consequently, [+case] strategies may apply to all positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy, whereas [–case] strategies would be preferred when it comes to relativizing high positions, i.e. subject, direct object and, partially, indirect object (Figure 1). This is due to the fact that high positions are more easily retrievable by the hearer as they encode central semantic-syntactic relations (verbal arguments) and, as such, they are among the most frequently relativized ones (Givón 1990: 650).

subject	direct object	indirect object	oblique	genitive

Figure 1: The applicability of [+case] and [-case] strategies to the AH in European languages.

As for the distribution of [+case] and [–case] strategies in Europe, Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007) identify two areas:

> [The first area] roughly cover[s] Eastern Europe, and includ[es] Slavic languages, Finnish, Hungarian, and Rumanian. German and Greek also follow this pattern. Languages in this area typically present an inflected relative element that can be used for all syntactic roles. [The second area] roughly corresponds to Western Europe, and includes Romance and Germanic languages (except German), Greek and Irish. In this area, a variety of strategies are found that provide an overt indication about the syntactic role and possibly the gender and number of the relativized item […]. These strategies alternate with strategies that provide no indication about the syntactic role, gender and number of the relativized item. (Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat 2007: 83-84)

Now, if we consider not only standard varieties but also non-standard ones we will see that assumptions on the applicability of strategies to the positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy and on their geographical distribution not always hold. Relevant data will be presented in section 3.3.

3 Analysis

In this section data on relative constructions attested in European non-standard varieties will be analyzed according to the three parameters introduced in section 2: the peculiarities that non-standard varieties show compared to their standard counterparts will take central stage: section 3.1 will be devoted to word order, section 3.2 to relative elements and section 3.3 to the syntactic positions relativized.

3.1 Word order

As mentioned in 2.1, the vast majority of European languages exhibit postnominal relative clauses; only two languages, Bask and Turkish, have prenominal ones. If considering non-standard varieties, two phenomena can be highlighted:

(i)   in some languages adjoined strategies occur beside embedded ones;

(ii)   in languages that have a default prenominal strategy the postnominal strategy may also occur.

The first phenomenon is attested for instance in Russian[6] and Ukrainian dialects, as can be seen in (1) and (10). Here we have to do with instances of the correlative adjoined strategy: the whole relative clause precedes the main clause.

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[6] In Russian the correlative strategy occurs in a number of slightly different variants: cf. Lapteva (1976: 144, 302-303).

(10)   UKR (Dnipropetrovsk dialect)

V	***jaku***	*storonu*	*vinok*	*poplyve,*	*tudy*	*divka*
in	RPRO.ACC.F.SG	side	garland	will.flow	there	girl

zamiž	*pide.*
in.marriage	will.go

'The direction that the garland flows on water, in that direction the girl will get married.'
(Mel'nyčuk 1962: 114)

The second phenomenon regards Basque and Turkish. In standard Basque relative clauses are prenominal, as in (11a); in dialects, they may also occur postnominally, as in (11b). In both cases, definiteness and case markers remain strictly NP-final, thus signalling also in (11b) that the relative clause belongs to the NP headed by *gizon*.

(11)   BAS

a.

Beha	*gauden*	*lagun-a-k*	*erranen*	*dauku.*
wait	we.are.RPAR	friend-DET-ERG	will.tell	he.has.it.to.us

'The friend we are waiting for will tell us.' (Oyharçabal 1989: 68)

b.

Gizon	*karrikan*	*ikusi*	*duzu-**n**-a-k*	*hemen*
man	street.DET.in	seen	you.have.him-RPAR-DET-ERG	here

lan	*egiten*	*du.*
work	doing	he.has.it

'The man you saw in the street works here.' (Oyharçabal 1989: 64)

Additionally, in postnominal relative clauses the relative pronoun *zein* can be inserted, as in (12). The pronoun conveys explicitly the syntactic role of the relativized item, which is not the case when the relative clause only contains the clause-final affixal relative particle *-n*. Structures like (12) were most probably borrowed from Spanish or French (Trask 1998: 320) and are formally quite different from postnominal relative clauses like (11b): not only is a relative pronoun inserted, but definiteness and case markers directly follow the head noun. Only the clause-final affixal relative particle *-n* is preserved in both cases.

(12)   BAS

Neska	***zeini***	*loreak*	*eman*	*dizkioda-**n***
girl.DET	RPRO.DAT	flowers.DET	given	I.have.them.to.her-RPAR

hor	*dago.*
there	is

'The girl I gave the flowers to is right here.' (Trask 1998: 320)

Also in Turkish relative clauses may occur in postnominal position: in this case they are not formed by means of deranked verb forms (like the participle *gülmeyen* in 13a), but display finite verb forms and are introduced by a relative particle, like *ki* or *hani*. See for instance (13b).[7]

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[7] The status of these particles is quite controversial. *Hani* is originally a discourse particle (Slobin 1986: 279-280); *ki* originates from Old Turkic *kim* and underwent a number of changes during the history of

(13)   TUR

a.   *Hiç*   *gülmeyen*   *o*   *kız*   *sonunda*   *güldü.*
       at.all   not.laughing   that   girl   at.the.end   laughed

b.   *O*   *kız,*   **ki**   *hiç*   *gülmezdi,*   *sonunda*   *güldü.*
       that   girl   RPAR   at.all   didn't.laugh   at.the.end   laughed

       'That girl who hadn't laughed at all, eventually laughed.' (Erkman-Akerson & Ozıl 1998: 323)

If we are to tentatively account for the existence of these constructions in Basque and Turkish, we may first notice that they share a common feature: they shift the relative clause after the head noun and qualify it *ex post*. This may be due to the organization needs of spoken discourse, which tends to expand to the right. In particular, these constructions are used as afterthoughts or when the speaker wants to give additional information on a referent. Moreover, in the Turkish constructions the relative clause shows a main clause-like structure (the verb is finite): speakers may find it easier to build chains of main clauses rather than resort to deranked verb forms (cf. also Auer 1990).

3.2   Relative element

The most noticeable divergences between standard and non-standard varieties are found in the use of relative elements. To start with, elements that are attested in standard varieties may show a different morphosyntactic behaviour in non-standard: in standard they are inflected, whereas in non-standard they remain uninflected. This is for instance the case with Bulgarian and Rumanian. In (14a) and (15a) the relative elements *kogoto* (from *kojto*) and *căruia* (from *care*) are full-inflecting relative pronouns. In (14b), (15b) and (16) the same elements do not inflect, but appear in the base form. The syntactic role of the relativized item is conveyed through the optional resumptive clitic *go* in (14b) and the pronominal PP *cu ea* in (16). Consequently, *care* in (16) has been glossed as relative particle, because it conveys only the link between the main and the relative clause. Instead, (15b) takes an intermediate position: the relative pronoun does not inflect, but it is combined with a preposition to relativize an indirect object – a position for which the inflected form *căruia* had been used in (15a). So, *care* has been glossed as relative pronoun because it conveys both the link between main and relative clause and (combined with *la*) the syntactic position relativized.

(14)   BUL

a.   *čovekăt,*   **kogoto**   *(*go)*   *vidjaxme...*
       man.DET   RPRO.ACC.M.SG   CL3.ACC.M.SG   we.saw

       'The man we saw.'

b.   *čovekăt,*   **kojto**   *(go)*   *vidjaxme...*
       man.DET   RPRO.M.SG   CL3.ACC.M.SG   we.saw

       'The man we saw.' (Mišeska-Tomić 2006: 270-271)

Turkish. The use of *ki* in relative clauses was also influenced by the Persian strategy with the relative particle *ke*. See Haig (1998: 121-128) for further discussion.

(15) RUM

a.
Conferinţa	*de*	*săptămâna*	*viitoare*	*e*	*sigur*
conference.DET	of	week.DET	next	is	surely

un	*eveniment*	*căruia*	*trebuie*	*să-*	*i*
DET	event	RPRO.DAT.M.SG	is.necessary	COMP	CL3.DAT.SG

dedicăm	*toate*	*eforturile.*
we.devote	all	efforts.DET

'The conference we have next week is surely an event that we need to devote all our efforts to.'

b.
Copilul	*la*	*care*	*i-*	*ai*	*dat*	*bani*
boy.DET	to	RPRO	CL3.DAT.SG	you.have	given	money

e	*un*	*ţigan.*
is	DET	gipsy

'The boy you gave the money to is a gipsy.' (Mădălină Chitez, questionnarie)

(16) RUM

Fata	*care*	*m-*	*am*	*plimbat*	*cu*	*ea.*
girl.DET	RPAR	REFL	I.have	walked	with	her

'The girl who I went for a walk with.' (Nilsson 1969: 12)

A similar phenomenon is observed also in English, French and Italian. For instance, in Italian dialects the oblique form of the relative pronoun, *cui*, is virtually absent and substituted by the combination of *che*, acting here as a relative particle, with a resumptive element, as can be seen in (17).

(17) ITA (Lombard dialect)

Al	*marc*	*che*	*ta*	*volesch*	*de-ghi*	*al*
DET	boy	RPAR	you	wanted	give.INF-CL3.DAT.SG	DET

libro	*lè*	*partì.*
book	is	left

'The boy you wanted to give the book to has left.' (ASIt)

The second peculiarity concerns specialized relative elements: in some languages, these elements may act as specialized elements in the standard variety and as relative particles in non-standard varieties. Take a look for instance at (18) to (20): here, relative elements that usually can relativize a single syntactic position (locative in the case of *wo* and *waar*, genitive in the case of *dont*) actually encode only the link between the main and the relative clause. That is, they behave as relative particles. The other three morphosyntactic features (syntactic role, gender and number agreement) remain unexpressed, as in (18), otherwise a resumptive element (the adposition *mee* in (20),[8] the clitic *la* in (19)) is inserted in order to convey them.

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[8] It must be pointed out that the stranded preposition *mee* in (20) could not formally be defined as a resumptive element. Resumptives always contain a deictic-anaphoric component. However, stranded prepositions may be functionally assimilated to resumptives as they convey the syntactic role of the relativized item (in (20), an oblique).

(18) GER (Alemannic dialect)

Das	*isch*	*e*	*Fisch*	***wò***	*fliegt*
that	is	DET	fish	RPAR	flies

'That's a fish which can fly.' (Fleischer 2004: 75)

(19) FRE (non-standard spoken)

Il	*s'*	*est*	*vendu*	*une*	*armoire*	*fribourgeoise*	***dont***	*un*
he	REFL	is	sold	DET	wardrobe	Fribourger	RPAR	one

de	*mes*	*amis*	*a*	*été*	***la***	*voir.*
of	my	friends	has	been	CL3.ACC.F.SG	see

'He sold a Fribourger wardrobe, which a friend of mine went to see.' (Gapany 2004: 189)

(20) DUT (spoken)

De	*man*	***waar***	*ik*	*in*	*de*	*winkel*	***mee***	*stond*	*te*	*praten,*
DET	man	RPAR	I	in	DET	shop	with	stayed	to	talk

is	*mijn*	*oom.*
is	my	uncle

'The man who I was talking with in the shop is my uncle.' (Donaldson 1997: 72)

The third peculiarity of non-standard varieties concerns the great number of relative particles that they exhibit. Relative particles are attested in all the languages in the sample. Still, there are some languages that possess more than one relative particle: they are reported in Table 2. As can be seen, this is the case with East-European languages and in English.

Language	Relative particles
Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	*što, te, da*
Bulgarian	*deto, det(u), što(to), deka, da*
Czech	*co, jak, že*
English	*that, as, what, which*
Lower Sorbian	*kenž, což, ako, hač, (h)až*
Macedonian	*što, da*
Polish	*co, že*
Rumanian	*ce, de, că, să*
Upper Sorbian	*kiž, kož, štojž*

Table 2: The languages in which more than one relative particle is attested

It needs to be stressed that even in languages displaying more than one relative particle these particles are not randomly used, but typically show a specific distribution. Some particles are variety-bound: either they are widespread in some dialectal areas but not in others, or they are used in local varieties but not in supraregional ones. This is for instance the case with English and with Lower and Upper Sorbian dialects. The frequency of relative particles in English dialects is investigated in Herrmann (2005): Herrmann states that *that* is most widespread in Northern Ireland and in Northern and Central England; *as* can be found prevalently in Central England; *what* is widespread in Southern and Eastern England; the use of *which* is equally distributed throughout England, but is very rare in Northern Ireland (Herrmann 2005: 25-26). The distribution of relative particles in Lower and Upper Sorbian dialects is at issue in Faßke (1996): in standard Lower Sorbian and standard Upper Sorbian the particles *kenž* and *kiž* are used

respectively. In Lower Sorbian dialects the particle *ak(o)* is gaining importance and has begun to be accepted also in standard Lower Sorbian. In Upper Sorbian dialects, the particles *kož* and *štojž* are used beside *kiž*. Also in Bulgarian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Czech, particles show a geographical distribution: in Bulgarian, the particles *det* and *detu* occur in eastern dialects, the particles *deka* and *što* in western ones (Stojkov 1993[3]: 273); Gołąb & Friedman (1972: 46) state that Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian *te* is more widespread in Montenegro, whereas Czech *jak* is attested only in dialects, but not in colloquial varieties, where *co* dominates. However, Petr (1987: 528) claims that *jak* has found its way into supraregional non-standard varieties. So, in (21) below *co* may also be used instead of *jak*. This represents a rare case of free interchangeability.

(21) CZE

To	*je*	*ten*	*chlapec,*	**jak**	*jsem*	*ti*	**o**	**něm**
that	is	that	boy	RPAR	I.am	CL2.DAT.SG	about	him

říkal.
spoken

'That's the boy I told you about.' (Gołąb & Friedman 1972: 37)

In other languages, particles are semantics-bound: one particle is used to encode a 'pure' relative relation, another one to encode a 'mixed' relative-consecutive or relative-final relation. This is for instance the case with Czech *co* vs. *že*, Polish *co* vs. *że*, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian and Macedonian *što* vs. *da*, and Rumanian *ce/de* vs. *că/să*. For example, in (22) the relative clause has a consecutive nuance ('a man such that he sleeps with open eyes...'), which would not have been present if *ce* or *de* had been used instead of *să*.

(22) RUM

da	*om*	**să**	*doarmă*	*cu*	*ochii*	*deschişi*	*n-*	*am*	*văzut.*
but	man	RPAR	sleeps	with	eyes.DET	open	not	I.have	seen

'But a man who sleeps with open eyes, well, I have never seen this.' (Vulpe 1980: 136)

Finally, a full variety of combined relative elements is attested in non-standard varieties. A couple of examples for each combined element attested in the sample will be provided. First, a relative pronoun can combine with a relative particle: in this case the feature 'link between the main and the relative clause' is encoded twice, all other features once. This element is attested among others in German dialects, as shown in (23).

(23) GER (North Bavarian dialect)

s	*Hulz,*	**ás**	**deən**	**wos**	*dös*	*gmàcht*	*is.*
DET	wood	from	RPRO.DAT.N.SG	RPAR	that	made	is

'The wood with which it is made.' (Fleischer 2004: 65)

A relative pronoun can also combine with a resumptive element: this happens for example in Rumanian and Bulgarian, as shown in (14b) and (15b) above. Specialized relative elements, too, can combine with resumptive elements, as in the Polish example below, where the syntactic role of the relativized item (locative) is expressed twice (by *gdzie* and *tam* respectively).

(24) POL (dialect)

Przyjachał	*na*	*jednę*	*zieloną*	*łąkę,*	***gdzie***	***tam***	*nigdy*	*drógi*
he.came	on	one	green	meadow	SRE	there	never	street

nie	*było.*
not	was

'He arrived at a green meadow where there had never been any streets.' (Urbańczyk 1939: 30)

Also relative particles combine with other elements: in Russian dialects, they may combine both with relative pronouns, as in (25), and with specialized relative elements, as in (26). In both cases the link between the main clause and the relative clause is conveyed twice.

(25) RUS (Kursk dialect)

Dyk	*edit'*	*ža*	*on*	*von*	*na*	*toj-ta*	*lošadi,*	***štu***	***u***
PAR	goes	PAR	he	there	on	that-PAR	horse	RPAR	at

kakoj	*dva*	*ž'rjabënka*	*ž'rjabilis'.*
RPRO.GEN.F.SG	two	foals	were.foaled

'There he goes on that horse that gave birth to two foals.' (Akimova 1964: 142)

(26) RUS (Kursk dialect)

Da	*pašli*	*my*	*pa*	*tej-*	*ta*	*darogi*	***štu***	***jde***	*tada*
PAR	went	we	on	that-	PAR	street	RPAR	SRE	then

mjašok	*patirjali.*
sack	we.lost

'And we went on that street where we had lost the/a sack.' (Akimova 1964: 142)

Further, relative particles also combine with non-relative particles, as can be seen in (8) above, and with resumptive elements, as was shown in (16), (17) and (21). The latter combination is the most frequent in the languages of the sample.

If considering all phenomena described so far, we may argue that in European non-standard varieties a number of forms occur that are usually excluded from traditional typological studies: a great typological variability in the realm of relative elements seems to characterize the varieties examined in this study.

3.3   Syntactic position relativized

After focussing on relative elements, in this section special attention will be paid to the encoding of the syntactic role of the relativized item in the relative clause. As in the previous section, significant phenomena occurring in non-standard varieties will be considered individually.

The first phenomenon attested in European non-standard varieties is decumulation: in this case, the syntactic role of the relativized item is expressed through a resumptive element. Decumulation occurs in all languages where the relative element 'relative particle + resumptive element' is attested: see for example (16), (17) and (21). The relative particle encodes the link between the main and the relative clause, the resumptive element may encode up to three of the remaining morphosyntactic features (syntactic role, gender and number agreement). Interestingly, decumulation is attested

not only for lower positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy, when the syntactic role of the relativized item is more difficult to retrieve (cf. (28), where an oblique is relativized), but also for higher ones, like subject (cf. (27)).

(27) BLR

Znaci	*čašnika*	*maladzen'kaha,*	***što***	***ën***	*žonki*	*ne*	*mae?*
you.know	butler	young	RPAR	he	wife	not	has

'Do you (pl.) know the young butler that has no wife?' (Atrachovič 1966: 609)

(28) BLR

Toj	*stary*	*dom,*	***što***	*ja*	***u***	***jaho***	*zašla,*	*nichto*	*ne*	*pomnic'.*
that	old	house	RPAR	I	in	it	entered	nobody	not	remembers

'Nobody remembers the old house where I entered.' (Akimova 1964: 142)

In some of the languages in the sample, double encoding of the syntactic role of the relativized item occurs. That is, the syntactic role is encoded by means of two different morphosyntactic elements in the relative clause: once by means of a simple relative element (relative pronoun, specialized relative element), and once by means of a resumptive element. Again, this phenomenon is attested for all positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy, starting with subjects, as in (29), and going down the Hierarchy up to indirect objects, as in (15a) above, obliques, as in (30), genitives, as in (31), and locatives, as in (24) above. In the former three examples resumptives combine with relative pronouns, in the latter two with specialized relative elements

(29) ENG

*But anyway there was so many people and one chap **who he he** was, as a matter of fact, he was organizer with Communist Party, for whom I've got the very greatest respect.*
(Herrmann 2005: 47)

(30) RUM

am	*crezut*	*că*	*ia...*	*lucruri*	*de-a*	*lu...*	*femeia /*
I.have	believed	COMP	he.took	things	from	DET	woman.DET

cu	***care-***	*o*	*trăit*	***cu***	***ea*** //
with	RPRO	he.has	lived	with	her

'I thought he took... things from... the woman he lived with.' (Vulpe 1980: 129)

(31) FRE

Une	*réalité*	***dont***	***sa***	*compréhension*	*n'*	*est*	*pas*	*à la portée*
DET	reality	SRE	her	comprehension	not	is	not	suitable

de	*tout le monde.*
of	everybody

'A reality that cannot be comprehended by everybody.' (Gapany 2004: 186)

The opposite phenomenon occurs, too: the syntactic role of the relativized item may not be encoded at all in the relative clause. This can be labelled as 'no-encoding'. In this case, [–case] strategies are used. Hearers have to resort to different strategies in order to retrieve the syntactic role. As predicted by the generalization in Figure 1, no encoding occurs with high positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy, for instance with subject, as

in (32)[9] and in the third relative clause in (5), repeated here as (33), or indirect object, as in (2), repeated here as (34).

(32)   SWE (Burträsk dialect)

Vi	*ha*	*en*	*ganska*	*häfti*	*kyrkoherde* **Ø**	*spela*	*golf.*
we	have	DET	pretty	cool	vicar	plays	golf

'We have a pretty cool vicar who plays golf.' (Karlsson & Sullivan 2002: 104)

(33)   POR

Ele	*era*	*um*	*homem*	***que***	*você*	*se dava*	*bem,*	***que***
he	was	DET	man	RPAR	you	got.along	well	RPAR

você	*podia*	*rir*	*junto,*	***que***	*estava*	*sempre*	*bem humorado*
you	could	laugh	together	RPAR	was	always	well-tempered.

'He was a man that you got along well with, that you could laugh with, that was always well-tempered.' (Albertino Moreira, questionnaire)

(34)   GRE

To	*peðí*	***pu***	*éðoses*	*ta*	*leftá*	*íne*	*jiftáki.*
DET	child	RPAR	you.gave	DET	money	is	gipsy

'The boy you gave the money to is a gipsy.' (Nikolaos Mytilinaios, questionnaire)

High positions on the hierarchy are most likely to be easily retrieved as they constitute core verbal arguments. However, it appears that in a number of languages the same strategy can be used also for low positions of the hierarchy: oblique, as in the first two relative clauses in (33), and locative, as in (35).

(35)   RUS (dialect)

Naš	*dom*	*u*	*bajny*	**Ø**	*vy*	*vcera*	*kupalis'.*
our	house	at	bath		you	yesterday	had.a.bath

'Our house (is) near the bath where you had a bath yesterday.'(Šapiro 1953: 58)

Retrieving information on the syntactic position relativized is not immediate in examples like (33) and (35), where non-argumental complements are relativized. Still, speakers seem not to restrain from using them. Analyzing case recoverability in Turkish, Haig (1998: 128-146) identifies four different strategies which speakers resort to in order to retrieve the syntactic role: they may be considered valid not only for Turkish, but for all languages in which no-encoding occurs. They are listed here below:

(i)   Argument filling: if in the relative clause all verbal arguments are filled but one, this one is likely to be the constituent relativized.

(ii)   Preferred interpretation: if in the relative clause more than one verbal argument is not filled, one syntactic position may be preferred to another depending either on the semantics of the verb in the relative clause or on the head noun;

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[9] It may be further noticed that in Swedish (and English) dialects a sort of 'paradigm regularization' takes place: in standard Swedish and standard English the zero-marker can relativize direct and indirect objects, whereas subject relativization is ruled out. Instead, relativization on subjects through this strategy is possible in non-standard, which in this respect appears more consistent than standard.

(iii) Semantic predictability: if in the relative clause all verbal arguments are filled, the syntactic position relativized may be a circumstantial, whereby the semantics of the head noun plays a central role.

(iv) Contextual information: hearers retrieve the role of the relativized item on the basis of their encyclopaedic knowledge and of their knowledge of the communicative situation.

Strategy (i) may be at work in (34): the only argument of the verb *ðino* 'to give' which is not filled is the indirect object; hence, this could well be the position relativized. Strategy (iii) may be applied in (35): *kupat'sja* 'to have a bath' is usually done in a place (in this case, *banja* 'bath'), so locative has a high chance of being the position relativized.

A further strategy consists in what is known as "case matching": in this case the syntactic role of the relativized item is not encoded in the relative clause, but is immediately retrievable as it has the same syntactic function in the main and the relative clause. For instance, in (36) both the head noun and the relativized item in the relative clause are obliques.

(36) LSO

*Won   jezo   z   tym   awtom, **ako**   cora   jo   jeł.*
he   goes   with   DET   car   RPAR   yesterday he.is   gone
'He goes with the car he went with yesterday.' (Janaš 1976: 187)

4   Discussion

The phenomena illustrated in section 3 showed that relativization strategies in European non-standard varieties do not fully pattern with generalizations based on data from standard varieties. The parameters analyzed will be now discussed individually.

First, in 3.1 it was shown that in a group of languages alternative word orders are attested. Then, the analysis in section 3.2 yielded two important points concerning relative elements:

(i) The relative pronoun strategy does not dominate in Europe, contrary to what Comrie & Kuteva (2005: 498) claim. In non-standard varieties additional and/or alternative relativizers are attested, some of which are at least as frequent as relative pronouns in the languages of the sample, as it is for instance the case with relative particles or the combination of a relative particle with resumptive elements.

(ii) Invariable relative elements are found all over Europe, not only in the western area. Contrary to what Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007: 84) claim, these elements seem to be widespread particularly in Eastern Europe, where several languages display more than one relative particle (recall Table 2 above).

In sum, the inclusion of non-standard varieties led to identifying far more relative elements in European languages than is commonly assumed when only standard varieties are considered. In particular, it was shown that simple elements can combine with particles, resumptives and also with one another to form a combined element. Double encoding of one of the features expressed by relative elements does not appear

to be ruled out; on the contrary, in many cases the link between the main and the relative clause or the syntactic role of the relativized item are encoded twice.

If turning now to the syntactic positions relativized, we may draw a similar conclusion: the investigation of non-standard varieties does not confirm claims based on data from standard varieties. So, no evidence could be found for the East-West areal division introduced in Cristofaro & Giacalone Ramat (2007: 83-84). In all languages both strategies that make the syntactic role of the relativized item in the relative clause explicit (decumulation, double encoding) and strategies that do not make it explicit (no-encoding) are attested. Additionally, both groups of strategies seem to apply to the whole Accessibility Hierarchy: both high and low positions can be relativized through both [+case] and [–case] strategies. Of course, the occurrence of each strategy may significantly vary from language to language: For instance, in Russian dialects the relative pronoun, the relative particle, the zero-marker, and the correlative strategy are attested (Šapiro 1953); in English dialects only the relative particle and the zero-marker occur, whereas relative pronouns are virtually absent (Herrmann 2005). Quantitative language-specific studies would surely be needed to establish the ranking of relativization strategies within non-standard (and standard) varieties of individual languages.

We may now tentatively compare the strategies attested in European non-standard varieties with those occurring in the world's languages to relativize subjects and obliques as they are illustrated in Comrie & Kuteva's (2005) survey. The results of the survey for the world's languages are reported in Table 3 below.

Relativization on subjects	attested in *n* languages	Relativization on obliques	attested in *n* languages
gap*	125	gap*	55
nonreduction	24	pronoun retention*	20
relative pronoun*	12	nonreduction	14
pronoun retention*	5	relative pronoun*	13
		not possible	5

Table 3: Strategies used to encode the syntactic role in the world's languages (Comrie & Kuteva 2005).

As may be seen, European non-standard varieties pattern ambiguously: both for subject and for oblique relativization they exhibit three of the relativization strategies attested in the world's languages (marked with * in Table 3). That is, European non-standard varieties exhibit the cross-linguistically most frequent 'gap' strategy (which we called 'no-encoding'), but also rarer strategies, like 'pronoun retention' (i.e. decumulation). Additionally, we also find the 'non-economic' strategy of double encoding, which does not occur outside Europe – at least not in Comrie & Kuteva's (2005) sample. So, we may argue that the ambiguous patterning of European languages is mainly due to the presence of more than one relative strategy within individual languages. As mentioned above, it may be the task of further research to establish the frequency and geographical distribution of strategies in non-standard varieties, as has already been done for English and Sorbian dialects (Herrmann 2005, Faßke 1996: 170-176).

The general conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that including data from non-standard varieties in typological research on relative clauses unveils a number of relativization strategies which are neglected in traditional typological studies. As a consequence, Europe's panorama appears less atypical than is commonly assumed. The relative pronoun strategy has always been considered the hallmark of European

languages, i.e. a typological feature which sets these languages apart from the other world's languages. For instance, Haspelmath (2001: 1494) includes postnominal relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns among the features characterizing Standard Average European. Still, it seems that 'Non-Standard Average European' is partially less idiosyncratic and typologically more similar to non-European languages – although it shows its own peculiarities, like the strategy of double encoding.

5   Outlook

The approach adopted in this study was a typological(-dialectological) one: relativization strategies in non-standard varieties were classified on the basis of typological parameters. However, nothing was said on the sociolinguistic status of relative constructions: why are some constructions regarded as non-standard? Why did they fail to enter the standard variety? And: do European languages show a certain degree of variation as to which structures are considered non-standard? In order to answer these questions, it may be useful to follow the development of relativization strategies across time and to examine which strategies were attested in different language varieties in previous linguistic stages. This may help us to reconstruct the path leading to the present-day sociolinguistic situation and to achieve a full-fledged picture of the distribution of relativization strategies in European languages.

Abbreviations

2	second person	MC	main clause
3	third person	N	neuter
ACC	accusative	NOM	nominative
CL	clitic	PAR	particle
COMP	complementizer	PL	plural
DAT	dative	RC	relative clause
DET	determiner	REFL	reflexive
ERG	ergative	RPAR	relative particle
F	feminine	RPRO	relative pronoun
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	SRE	specialized relative element
M	masculine		

The language sample

BAS	Basque	ITA	Italian
BLR	Belarusian	LSO	Lower Sorbian
BCS	Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	MAC	Macedonian
BUL	Bulgarian	POL	Polish
CZE	Czech	POR	Portuguese
DAN	Danish	RUM	Rumanian
DUT	Dutch	RUS	Russian
FRE	French	SWE	Swedish
ENG	English	TUR	Turkish
GER	German	UKR	Ukrainian
GRE	Greek	USO	Upper Sorbian

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