

POSSESSOR RELATIVIZATION IN THE BALKAN LANGUAGES (with special reference to word order variation)

0. Introduction

0.1. Basic notions

- Possessive construction (following Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2002 among others), any construction that can render the core possessive meanings (ownership, inalienable possession, kinship relations).



e. g. for English not only *woman's house*, but also *woman's appearance* or *Friday's performance*

- Relativized position, possessor relativization

(1) *He bought this woman's house.*



(2) *The woman [whose house he bought] is here.*

- Accessibility hierarchy (Keenan, Comrie 1977; Comrie, Keenan 1979)

(3) SU > DO > IO > OBL > **GEN** > OCOMP

- Pied-piping

(4) **The woman whose he bought house is here.*

- Classification of non-zero relativizers according to (Murelli 2011: 88):

– relative pronoun encodes the syntactic position inside the relative clause;
can be used to relativize multiple positions

ROMANIAN

(5) *Un om a cărui poveste fantastică...*
INDEF.NOM man.SG(M) of.F.SG which.GEN.SG.M story fantastic

'A man whose fantastic story...'. {was known to virtually every man, woman and child in the civilized world}

– specialized relative element associated with one relativized position;

SERBIAN

(6) *Kameleoni, čije se1 oči nezavisno pokreću2*
chameleons whose eyes independently move1,2

'The chameleon, whose eyes move independently, ...'

– relative particle does not agree with the head of the relative clause
can be used to relativize multiple positions.

MODERN GREEK

(7) *Και τους φίλους μου, που ούτε τα ονόματά*
and DEF.M.ACC.PL friend.ACC.PL I.GEN that not.even DEF.N.ACC.PL name.ACC.PL

τους δε θυμάσαι!
that.GEN.PL and you.remember

'...and my friends, whose names you can't even remember' (Intercorp)

0.2. Balkan relativization

Probable Balkanisms in relative clauses:

- ‘where’ as a generalized indeclinable relativization marker (see among others Gołąb, Friedman 1972: 45; Tomić 2006):
 - Modern Greek *που*, Bulgarian *demo*, etymologically also Albanian *që* (Tomić 2006: 315), Romanian *de* (Murelli 2011: 191).
- the relative pronoun contains a marker, etymologically related to the definite article (Ramat 2008: 149):
 - Balkan languages:
 - Albanian *i cili* (Bianchi 1999: 82–85);
 - Modern Greek *ο οποίος* (Bianchi 1999: 82–85);
 - (Eastern dialects of) Bulgarian (see also Mladenova 2007: 241, 243 on dialectal and historical forms: *koi-te* (who-DEF.PL), *aži-te* (which-DEF.PL) < *iže*);
 - European Non-Balkan languages:
 - some Romance languages (eg. French *lequel*) (according to Ramat 2008: 149 possibly not an independent feature);
 - Hungarian *aki*, *ami* (Bianchi 1999: 82–85).

A minor Balkan areal pattern:

- ‘what’ used as the general relativizer and as part of relative pronouns: Macedonian and Turkish dialects influenced by Macedonian (Matras, Tufan 2007: 224)

0.3. Disclaimer

- Work in progress, comments and corrections are welcome.
- As for now, only the Balkan language varieties easily accessible via parallel corpora, namely, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Croatian, Serbian, Romanian, Greek, and Albanian.

1. The distribution of strategies

Table 1. Reported strategies of relativization in the Balkan languages
(not only possessor relativization)

Language	Specialized relative element	Relative pronoun	Particle
Bulgarian	+ (<i>уиџмо</i>)	+ (<i>коџмо</i>)	+ (<i>demo</i>)
Macedonian	+ (<i>чиј, чиџумо</i>)	+ (<i>кој, којумо</i>)	+ (<i>умо</i>)
BCMS	+ (<i>џији</i>)	+ (<i>који</i>)	+ (<i>što</i> et al.)
Greek		+ (<i>ο οποίος</i>)	+ (<i>που</i>)
Romanian		+ (<i>care</i>)	+ (<i>ce, de</i>)
Albanian		+ (<i>i cili</i>)	+ (<i>që</i>)

Study design:

- Intercorp (via <https://kontext.korpus.cz>);
- Subtitles or Core (i. e. fiction);
- “whose” in English;
- Concodance > Shuffled;
- Save > ...
- The first 50 examples of internal possessor relativization (only 21 available for Albanian);
 - NB: Albanian data could be unreliable, a few examples discarded as ungrammatical according to grammatical judgements¹;
 - I do not consider the constructions with external (“dative”) possessor.

¹ I would like to thank Maria Morozova for her help with Albanian data.



Map 1. Possessor relativization strategies in the Balkan languages and selected genetically related languages²

2. Word order in relative possessive constructions (in the Balkan languages and elsewhere)

The basic idea of “pied-piping with inversion” (Broadwell 2016):

- a constituent is pied-piped;
- the word order does not coincide with that observed outside of pied-piped constituents of the same type.

ROMANIAN (Giurgia 2013)

- (8) a. *a căruî casă*
 al. F. SG which. GEN house (F)
 ‘whose house’
- b. (*)*ai patriei apărători* (only poetic)
 al. M. PL fatherland. DEF. GEN defenders (M)
 ‘the defenders of the fatherland’

Reported in the literature (in these or other terms) for:

- Zapotec languages (Broadwell 1999; 2016; Broadwell, Key 2004);
 - Latin (Danckaert 2012);
 - **Serbo-Croatian** (Kordić 1999);
 - Polish (Rappaport 1995);
 - other West Slavic languages and Slovene (Беличова 1988);
 - earlier varieties of East Slavic languages, see (Plisko 1958) for Ukrainian, (Круглов 2003; Лютикова 2009) for Russian;
 - **Romanian** (Heck 2008; Grosu 2013);
 - **Modern Greek** (Chatsiou 2010, noted in passing).
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- Some discussion in (Rappaport 1995; Heck 2008)
 - To the best of my knowledge, no prior study has considered variation in such structures, which is regularly observed in different languages, cf. Table 2.

² Map 1 is with R package “lingtypology”. Moroz G (2017). `_lingtypology`: easy mapping for Linguistic Typology_. <URL: <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=lingtypology>>

Table 2. Preposition and postposition of Slavic relative pronouns in random 50-sentence samples from modern original texts

Language	Preposition	Postposition
Polish (Intrcorp)	44	6
Slovene (Nova beseda)	43	7
Slovak (Intercorp)	40	10
Croatian (riznica.ihjj.hr)	27	23

Possible (semi-)functional accounts for pied-piping with inversion:

- the possessive relative pronoun tends to behave like an adjective rather than a genitive form;
- the possessive relative pronoun is much like a personal pronoun in its word order preferences;
- the word order in relative clauses is more conservative than in usual NPs;
- the relative pronoun is necessary at the beginning of the clause to mark the boundary.

2.1. Relative pronoun ~ adjectives and/or possessive pronouns

Pro:

- «If the pronominal object follows the verb, so does the nominal object» (Greenberg 1990: 56).
- reported cases of relative pronouns in the genitive being reanalyzed as declinable adjectives:

Czech: *jejž* (which.F.SG.GEN) >

jejž (whose.NOM) / *jejihož* (whose.GEN) ... (Беличова 1988; Rappaport 2000)

Latin: *cuius* (which.SG.GEN) >

cuius (whose.M.SG) / *cui* (whose.F.SG) ..., see e.g. (Wills 1993) >

Spanish *cuyo* (whose.M.SG) / *cuya* (whose.F.SG)...

- (Lander 2010): the possessors high on the animacy hierarchy tend to be more adjective-like (for instance, take agreement markers);
- high position of relative pronouns on this hierarchy is independently motivated, cf. animacy marking in BCMS and Slovene (van Tilburg 1988; Kordić 1993, 1995; Stefanovic 2000: 146–163)

ХОРВАТСКИЈ (Franks 2013: 75)

- (9) *stol kojega* / *koji sam prevrnuo*
 table which.ACC.SG.M.ANIM whic.ACC.SG.M.INAN be.PRS.1SG turn.over.PTCP.PST
 ‘the table which I turned over...’

Contra:

Modern Greek and especially Romanian data:

Table 3. Some relevant word order patterns

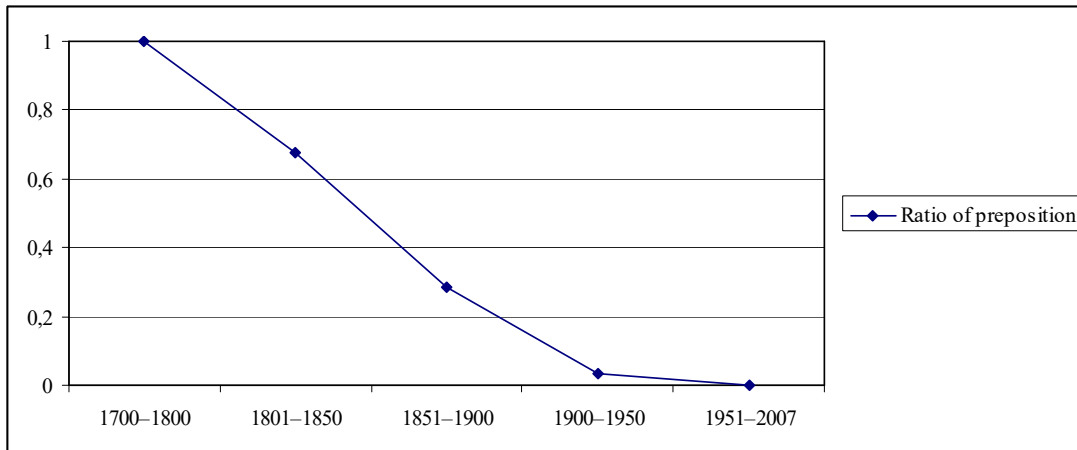
Language	Order of adjective and noun (WALS)	Possessive pronouns / personal pronouns as possessors
Romanian	NA	NGen
Modern Greek	AN	NGen
Croatian	AN	GenN
Slovene	AN	GenN
Polish	AN	GenN
Czech	AN	GenN

2.2. Conservativeness of word order in RC

Pro:

- There is a known tendency for dependent clauses to be more conservative, see e.g. (Bybee 2002);

- known changes (in Slavic languages) seem to favour the word order with postposition, according to (Minlos 2011), medieval Slavic languages showed some variation in the placement of nominal possessors:
 - recent changes in Polish (Milewska 2004);
 - East Slavic languages (at least partly independently);
- cf. the diachronic data on the distribution of preposition and postposition in Russian (Russian National Corpus):



2.3. The relative pronoun marks the boundary of the relative clause

- According to (Lehmann 1984), one of the primary functions of relativizers is encoding subordination;

Pro:

- Common tendencies for “pied-piping with inversion” and preposed special relative elements:
 - postposed relativizers inside PP’s are more frequent or acceptable
 - an earlier variety of Russian: postposed *которого* tends to appear inside PP’s (Круглов 2003);
 - Modern Polish: arising tendency for postposition of the relativizer inside PP’s (Milewska 2004);
 - cf. Dutch: postposed possessors are only possible inside PP’s (De Vries 2006).
- Postposition favoured in non-restrictive relatives
 - Croatian

Table 4. The word order and restrictiveness in Croatian relative clauses (Fisher’s exact test, $p < .05$)

Restrictiveness	Postposition	Preposition	Ratio of postposition
Restrictive	6	16	0.3
Non-restrictive	17	8	0.7

- Modern Greek

Table 5. The word order and restrictiveness in Modern Greek relative clauses (Intercorp, Subtitles or Core, Fisher’s exact test, $p < .05$)

Restrictiveness	Postposition	Preposition	Ratio of postposition
Restrictive	5	42	0.1
Non-restrictive	13	32	0.3

- Pied-piping is known to be dispreferred in restrictive relative clauses (Bianchi 1999: 195). The tendency in Table 5 shows that this restriction is weaker or non-existent for pied-

piping with inversion, which could suggest that the placement of the relative pronoun at the beginning of the clauses makes the processing of pied-piping easier.

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