

# Potential relative pronouns & related problems

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# Problematic *iže*

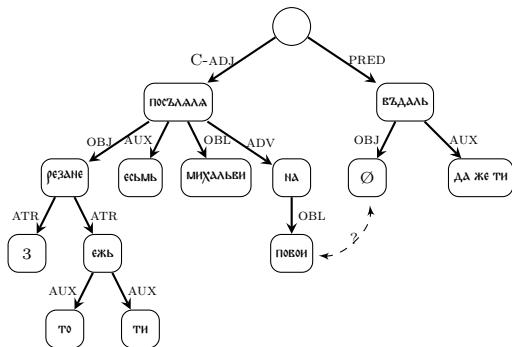
- **Slight change of the topic:** while looking for non-relative uses of *iže*, I got interested in sentences of the following type

(1) (BBL 682, end of 12<sup>th</sup> c.)

ЕЖЬ ТО ТИ ЕСЬМЬ ПОСЪЛАЛА 3 РЕЗАНЕ МИХАЛЬВИ НА ПОВОИ ДА ЖЕ ТИ ВЪДАЛЪ

a. 'the 3 *rezany* I have given to Michal for the scarf, he should hand [it] over'

b. Cf. also ex. (8)



# Problematic *iže*

- Can be found in...
  - the birchbark letters (BBL)
    - early examples with *eže*, later ones with *čto*
  - but also in charters (*gramoty*)
  - in the First Novgorod Chronicle etc.
- but also in 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century texts (cf. Troickij 1968)

## *іže* & *čto*: not RP but topic marker?

- Many researchers classify *čto* in such constructions **not as relative pronoun** (RP), but as a **topic marker** (‘союз вводящий тему’)
  - (Potebnja 1958), Sreznevskij, Troickij (1968), Zaliznjak (2004)
    - Potebnja (1958, 204): союзы **а что**
    - Usual translation: ‘что касается...’, ‘что до...’, ‘относительно’
  - Mendoza (2007): the same can be said for *іže* & *оže* which are used in similar constructions
    - ⇒ the first element in the sentence  $\neq$  RP, but topic marker; clause  $\neq$  RC, but topic
  - Zaliznjak (1981: 103)

*“Заметим, что предложение с оже то (ex. 8) не является здесь в полном смысле придаточным: оно близко к независимому назывному предложению, вводящему тему. Свободные конструкции такого рода (весьма архаичные) характерны и для современной разг. речи.”*

# What we will do today

## I will argue that...

- it is sensible to analyse the early exx. as rel. clauses
  - we can trace the development from **RP** > **topic marker**
- there is an interesting subgroup of RCs with a similar surface structure: **RP + predicate + NP**
  - but 2 different kinds of underlying structures
  - ⇒ we need 2 types of annotation
- there are parallels to non-relative constructions with similar function
  - all of the constructions in question are typical for **colloquial language use**, the analysis & annotation of which is not straightforward
    - we will discuss possible solutions

## Systematizing the grammatical contexts

- In the literature we find a rather heterogeneous accumulation of exx. for the “topic function” of *čto*
  - ⇒ we will focus on group A and refer to the others when necessary

### A) *čto* + overt predicate + NP

- i) with grammatical connection to the MC

(2) цето еси прислале двоа човека те побегли (BBL 582, end of 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

- ii) without grammatical connection to the MC

→ cf. ex. (1)

### B) *čto* + NP<sub>NOM</sub> without overt predicate

- i) with grammatical connection to the MC (e.g. demonstrative pronoun)

(3) а что пѣшца, а ти стаща от святого Ильи противу Городица (Novg. I let., 6763 [1255] (14<sup>th</sup> c.))

- ii) without grammatical connection to the MC

(4) а что княже мзѣть по суждальской земли и въ твои волости // отъ воза имати по 2 вкши (gramota Novg. 1270)



# Systematizing the grammatical contexts

## C) *čto* + NP<sub>GEN</sub>: ‘what of X’ (PART)

i) with grammatical connection to the MC

(5) ЧТО ВОЛОСТИИ ВСЕХЪ НОВГОРОДСКЪИХЪ ТОГО ТИ КНЯЖЕ НЕ ДЕРЖАТИ СВОИМИ МУЖИ, НЪ ДЪРЖАТИ МУЖИ НОВГОРОДСКЪИМИ (gramota 1270)

ii) without grammatical connection to the MC

(6) А ЧТО КНЯЖЕ ТОВЕ БЫЛО ГНѢВА НА ПОСАДНИКА И НА ВСЬ НОВГОРОДЪ // ТО ТИ КНЯЖЕ ВСЕ НЕЛЮБЬЕ ОТЛОЖИТИ (gramota 1270)

## D) cases with bare *eže* / *čto* → clearly an argument of the subord. clause predicate

i) with grammatical connection to the MC

(7) (А ЧЕТО ПОТЕРѢВШИ А ТО ПОМЕНИ (BBL 163, end of 12<sup>th</sup> c.) – usually treated differently)

ii) without grammatical connection to the MC

(8) ОЖЕ ТО ЕСИ КАЗАЛЕ НЕСЪДѢ ВѢВЕРИЧЪ ТИХЪ<sub>i</sub> ДѢЛА КОЛИ ТО ЕСИ ПРИХОДИЛЕ ВЪ РОУСЬ СЪ ЛАЗЪВКЪМЪ ТЪГЪДЪ ВЪЗАЛЕ Ø<sub>i</sub> ОУ МЕНЕ ЛАЗЪВКЕ ПЕРЕАСЛАВЪЛЪ (BBL 105, end of 12<sup>th</sup> c.)

## Preliminary comment on group D

- Exx. of group D show that *čto* can't be regarded as a mere topic marker
  - as long as it can occupy the argument position of a RC predicate  $\Rightarrow$  neither conjunction nor particle
- Only in the late (15<sup>th</sup> c.) BBL we find sentences in which *čto* clearly doesn't belong to the argument structure of the predicate

- (9) ЦТО ПОЗВАЛ ТЕБЕ САВА ЗДѢ СУДУ НѢТЬ (BBL 14, middle of 15<sup>th</sup> c.)  
а. 'Что [касается того, что] тебя вызвал [на суд] Савва, то здесь суда нет'

## Other highlighting devices

- The analysis of *čto* as topic marker is based on the **translation** of the clause with ‘что касается’ → indicating topic function
  - problematic! **not** based on structure
  - there are many highlighting strategies fulfilling the same function
  - differ with respect to their connection to the MC

(10) Nominativus pendens / hanging topic / NP-Clause construction<sup>1</sup>  
 А ВЫГОЛЕ<sub>NOM</sub> ТОГО ИЗЛОВИЛИ (BBL 600, beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

(11) Behaviour of clitics  
 А [рожь петровоу]<sub>i</sub> повелело несемо измолотиво кривоу дати Ø<sub>i</sub>  
 a. ‘As for the rye, I have told Petrov to grind [it] and give it to Kriv’  
 (BBL 196, beginning of 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Miller & Weinert (1998: 239-242)

## Hanging topics – why they are interesting

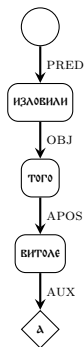
- Typical for spontaneous spoken language (English, German, French...)
  - Examples from Conversational Russian, cf. Zemskaja (1973: 239f.):  
(12) *Миша // ему все равно*
- **Often assumed:** hanging topics are located outside the clause proper
  - base generated in this position (e.g. Grohmann 2003)
  - **TOROT annotation:** we normally treat heavy left-dislocated elements as APOS on the light placeholder
    - *The tall man over there, he sells apples*
    - What about the “short” *hanging topic* cases?
    - And the longer ones? E.g. nom. NP with RC, cf:

(13) (PVL, Razd.)

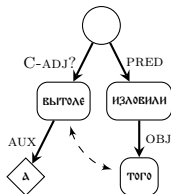
КОНЬ, ЕГО ЖЕ ЛЮБИШИ И ЪЗДИШИ НА НЕМЪ, ОТЪ ТОГО ТИ УМРЕТИ

# Hanging topics – why they are interesting

APOS on the light  
placeholder



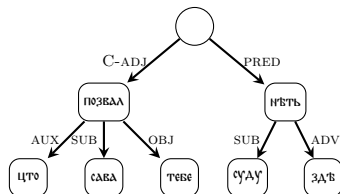
hanging topic as clausal  
adjunct



## Hanging topics – why they are interesting

- It is certainly not sensible to invent new labels for one idiosyncrasy, but:
  - if it turns out that there are other cases in which this label could be useful, we may want to apply it to these cases as well

Figure: ex. (9): Tagging *čto* as topic marker?



(9) ЦТО ПОЗВАЛ ТЕБЕ САВА ЗДЪ СУДУ НЕТЬ (BBL 14, middle of 15<sup>th</sup> c.)

а. ‘Что [касается того, что] тебя вызвал [на суд] Савва, то здесь суда нет’

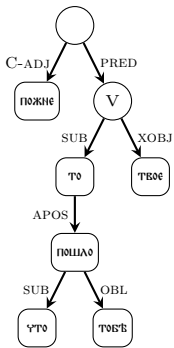
## Hanging topics – why they are interesting

- Let's consider more complex structures:

(14) А ПОЖНЕ КНИАЖЕ ЧТО ПОШЛО ТОБЕ И ТВОИМЪ МУЖЕМЪ ТО ТВОЕ (gramota, 1264-65)

a. 'And as for the ploughlands (nom.pl.f), what is due to you and your men, this [is] yours / so [it is] yours'

- Here, *požne* is probably not the head of *čto*
  - would trigger plural form of RC predicate, cf. ex. (21)



- Where in the MC could *požne* be located?
  - Attached as 2<sup>nd</sup> APOS to *to*
- ex. (15) exhibits the same structure (if *ože* is to be analysed as RP & not as ‘if’)
- and ex. (16) is even worse → no connection to MC

(15) “heading-like expressions” *o/pro*

ПРО БЕЛОУ ОЖЕ КЕСТЕ НЕ СТОРОГОВАЛЕ ТО ПРИСЛИТЕ СО ПРОСТА (Пск. 6, end of 13th c.)

a. ‘About the squirrel skins / as for the squirrel skins...’

(16) А ЦТО ПРО САМОЗЕРЦИ // ХЕДЪЛЛЕ ЕСЕМО

(BBL 131, end of 14<sup>th</sup> c.)



## NP ‘inside’ of the relative clause

- A modification of ex. (14) leads us to the **RP + predicate + NP** structures

(17) follow-up of (14) (gramota, 1264-65):

А ЧТО БЫЛЪ ОТЪЯЛЪ БРАТЪ ТВОИ АЛЕКСАНДРЪ ПОЖНЕ, А ТО ТИ КНЯЖЕ НЕАДОБЪ

a. ‘and what your brother took away, the fields, – this you don’t need’

**Description:**

- *požne* nom/acc.plural
- *to* agrees with *čto*, not with the potential head

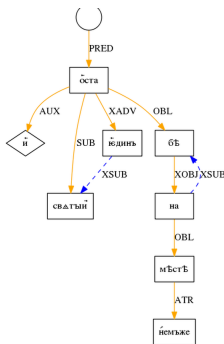
- Such structures are reminiscent of the following exx. from colloquial Russian

(18) *та, которая здесь стояла лампа, я ее не брал* (Miller & Weinert 1998: 116, ex. 69d)

(19) *которую она купила белка – она вся будет отлетать* (Kručinina 1968: 85)

# NP 'inside' of the relative clause

- Mendoza (2007) analyses all **RP + pred + NP** clauses as **head-internal RCs**
  - Interesting because: we know head-internal RCs from OCS
    - (20) *ероже азъ оуѣвѣкииѣхъ иодана съ естѣ.* (Mk 6:16)
      - Normal for RC-internal heads to receive case from the predicate inside the RC



## NP 'inside' of the relative clause

- Similarities between OCS & OR structures
    - the word order in the OCS & OR examples is similar (NP usually at the end of the clause)
    - also in BBL we find *eže* in such constructions **before** we find *čto*
  - in OCS: usually assumed that they emerged due to **Greek** influence
- ⇒ Greek structure in BBL? probably not!

### Note:

- While the head-internal analysis is sensible for a subgroup of examples (see below), it doesn't seem to be the best solution for cases like (17) & (23)

## NP 'inside' of the relative clause

- In head-internal RCs there should be an underlying agreement between *čto* and the NP
    - if the NP are in the *nom.pl* → predicate is in plural form as well
- (21) А ШТО ПОЇМАНИ ЛЮДИ МОЇ. ПУСТИТИ ВЗИ БЕЗЪ ВКУПА (gramota, 1318)
- (22) ТЪИХЪ ДЪДИНЪ, ШТО ТУТЪ ПИСАНЪ СУТЬ (gramota, 1361)
- Furthermore, the pronominal element in the MC should not be able to refer only to *čto* as in (17/23)

Contrast ex. 23 with ex. 21

(23) А [ц]ТО В[зи]ЛО Ъ ВИ[л]Ъ МОА. А ТОГО НЕ ДАЛЪ (BBL 754, end of 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

- In Zaliznjak (2004) the following translation is given
  - И шесть бел, что были мои, он [тоже] не дал.

## NP ‘inside’ of the relative clause

(23)  $\Delta$  [ц]тo б[зл]лo б би[л]ъ моѧ.  $\Delta$  тогo не далъ (BBL 754, end of 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

a. Zaliznjak’s translation: И шесть бел, что были мои, он [тоже] не дал.

- Zaliznjak (2004: 168/184) takes *čto* to be a topic marker and, therefore, classifies this example as one of the few cases where the predicate doesn’t agree with the subject
  - *šest’* = head of NP, feminine; triggers fem.sg. *моѧ*
  - hence the predicate should be *была*
- If we take *čto* to be a real relpr and analyse *б билъ* as an **apposition** to the RC, *čto* would be the subject and the agreement flawless
  - **My translation:** ‘what was (there) – my 6 squirrel skins, even that he didn’t give [to me]’
  - Note also that *togo* refers back to *čto*!

- Appositions of this kind also occur with postpositive free RCs

(24) **ВОДАИ СЕМЪ ЕЖЕ РЪКЛО ВЪРЪШЦИО ТЪ** (BBL 879, beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> c.)

a. 'give him (this one) what he said – the / this grain'

- in conversational analysis: **add-ons, replacements**

- semantically empty / non-specific entity (pronoun) being replaced by a postposed NP which specifies it (Vorreiter 2003)
- how should we tag such colloquial structures?

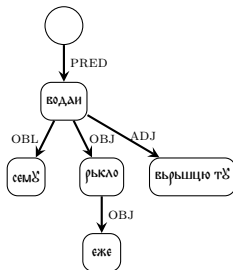
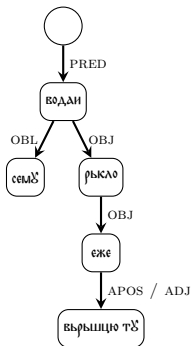
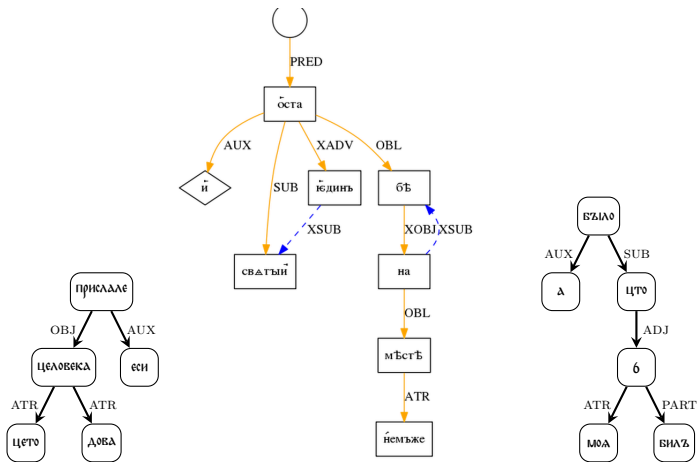


Figure: Tagging as head-internal RC (according to TOROT) and as RC with appositive NP



(25a) (BBL 582, end of 13th c.)

цѣто еси прислалъ дова целовека те побегли

## head-internal RC vs RC with apposition

- It is sensible to apply the RC with apposition analysis if...
    - ① the NP is in clause final position
    - ② the predicate and/or the pronominal element of the MC agree with the *neut.sg* RP rather than the NP
  - If the NP is clause-final **but** the agreement facts don't give us any clues (no pronoun in MC, *neut.sg* NP in RC...), the structures are ambiguous
    - oscillate between head-internal RC & RC with apposition reading
- ⇒ in the 14th c.: 1 (3) ex. out of 13 (15) where NP is not clause-final<sup>2</sup>, cf. (25)

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<sup>2</sup>in 2 of them, *čto* could be translated as 'if'; also in Zaliznjak's translation, although he classifies *čto* as topic marker



## head-internal RC?

(25) (BBL 446, end of 14th c.)

ЧТО ЕСИ. ОСПОДИНЕ КОНѢ ПОДАВАЛЪ. ТЪИИ. ОСПОДИНЕ. КОНѢ. ЗАХАРЫА  
ВЪДАВАЕЪТЪ. ОУ НАСЪ

- Analysis as head-internal RC (*kotorye koně*) more probable than to treat *čto* as a topic marker
  - it is the NP (horses) which is highlighted, not the proposition as a whole
  - cf. (26) where both interpretations are possible

# Summary and problems

We have seen that...

- there are cases where a head-internal analysis should be favoured (ex. 25) and such where an appositive analysis is more convincing (ex. 23)
  - What should we do with the ambiguous cases?
    - ① tag them according to one of the 2 models (e.g. all RCs with NP in final position = appositive)
    - ② allow for ambiguous cases

## Interpretation & position of these RCs in the tree

- Both of the 2 types of RCs considered so far have a rather loose connection to the following MC
  - i) the head-internal RCs are potentially similar to hanging topics + RC; cf. (13) and:

(27) programmi che per i bambini // a l'indomana vedono guardano per la scuola

a. *programmi per i bambini* is taken as presenting the topic of this section of discourse (Miller & Weinert 1998: 59)

ii) in the RC + apposition because of the add-on itself (possibly intonational break before and after it)

- The 'as far as x is concerned'-reading is potentially available in all structures of these types
- Should we then treat all of them as clause external – regardless of their “grammatical connection” to the MC?

## Connection between RC & MC

- I RCs which correspond to an empty argument position in the MC
- II RCs which have a corresponding demonstrative / NP in the MC  
it can target almost any position inside the RC
  - ① *čto* (15/16)
  - ② the NP (цето еси прислале дова човека те побегли)
  - ③ part of the NP (цо еси посла дѣтину да [сѣдла да възлла]<sub>i</sub> по тому<sub>i</sub> опознавъ да отадѣли)
- III with adverbial *to* in MC, referring to the whole proposition
- IV RCs without any grammatical connection to the MC

## Interpretation & position of these RCs in the tree

- I actually wanted to argue **in favour of** a clause-external analysis in all cases

### Reasons for this:

- The connection to the MC (referential element / empty argument position in MC) is **not mandatory**
  - there are many unintegrated RCs, cf. ex. (1)
- If there is a referential element in the MC, it can target any NP in the MC (cf. exx. 1 & 8)
  - difficult to speak about movement of the RC out of the MC!
- Referential elements in MC can also refer back to hanging topics, cf. (11)
  - if this is not an argument to treat hanging topics as clause-internal, then the same can be said about our RCs

# Interpretation & position of these RCs in the tree






## Reasons for this:

- It would be nice to say that these structures (with NP inside of RC) are **specialised** for the use as clause-external topics
  - form / structure-based rather than function-based
- Group B (RP + NP type) would fit nicely into this pattern
  - RP analysis is also available in structures of the *čto pešca* type
    - similar to colloquial Russian structures: *которые верующие их здесь не было* (Kručinina 1968: 84)
    - where the NP is said to be in predicative position (*которые фронтовики – которые были на фронте*)

## Problem:






- Group D: where *eže/čto* occurs without NP, but clearly occupies an argument position of the RC predicate
  - can also occur as unintegrated RCs (without connection to MC), cf. (8)
  - if there is a connection between RC and MC as in (7), the RC is usually not treated as clause external
- Maybe we have to reconsider the exx. of group D
- **Note:**
  - Frequent use of conjunctions (*i/a* in front of both the RC and the MC)
  - they are different from postposed free RCs
  - in early texts we find almost no *to-čto* exx. Simple inversion of (7) not possible
    - i) Δ чето потервѣши Δ то помени
    - ii) ?помени то чето потервѣши
    - iii) ✓ помени чето потервѣши (free RC)

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