Competition between relative an interrogative pronouns in Macedonian

(with some additional reference to Bulgarian)

1. Introduction

(1) InterCorp (Subtitles)

He, jac сум moj коj е почестен no I am that.one which is honoured 'No, it would honour me.'

(2) InterCorp (Subtitles)

кој-што Jac сум сега ранлив moj многу Ι which-that is fragile am now that.one much 'I'm the one that's feeling fragile right now.'

- (1): relativizer = interrogative pronoun;
- (2): relativizer = interrogative pronoun + the general relativizer *umo* 'what, that'.
- Note. Whether to call the pronoun in (2) interrogative or relative is basically a question of terminology, in this paper I call them interrogatives.
- The **narrow understanding** of the phenomenon:

so-called "doubly filled Comp": both a relative pronoun and a general relativizer are present

- Attested in some Germanic varieties, eg. Bavarian German (Brander, Bräuning 2013);
- Also reported for Macedonian Turkish (Matras, Tufan 2007: 224);
- No clear parallels in other Slavic languages, with a possible exception of some Sorbian phenomena (Murelli 2011: 103)
- The **wider understanding** of the phenomenon (to which I primarily adhere in this talk): relative pronouns = interrogatives + an additional marker
 - Parallel patterns in many Slavic languages:
 - obligatory or nearly obligatory additional marking in Bulgarian, Upper and Lower Sorbian, and Slovene (Bauer 1967);
 - variation between relativizers with and without additional marking in older varietirs of Bulgarian (Демина 1975; Димитрова 2010), Czech (Bauer 1967), and Russian (Зализняк 1981).
- Literature on Macedonian relative clauses (Lunt 1952: 44; Корубин 1969; Gołąb, Friedman 1972: 43–45; Минова-Ѓуркова 1993; Topolińska 1986/2008; Topolińska 1997/2008; Topolińska 1997: 163–173; Bužarovska 2009; Murelli 2011; Shagal 2016) gives relatively scarce information on the distribution of interrogative and relative pronouns;
- NB: The status of the claims is not always clear:
 - No quantitative data are given;
 - Some of the authors tend to make prescriptive rather than descriptive claims, see especially (Корубин 1969).
- The main statements so far:
 - (Lunt 1952; Gołab, Friedman 1972): The difference is basically stylistical;
 - (Корубин 1969): It would be nice to use којшто only in non-restrictives and кој only in restrictives;
 - (Корубин 1969): кој is preferred after prepositions;
 - (Kramer, Mitkovska 2011: 162):
 - " "umo is never followed by umo;
 - κο*εa* is rarely followed by *umo*;
 - κοj and чиј may be followed by што;
 - $\kappa a \partial e$ is more likely to be followed by *umo*".

¹ According to prescriptive sources 'which' and 'whose' are written withouth a space and the other pronouns with a space before *umo* (Kramer, Mitkovska 2011). In the corpus, both variants are widely attested for the former pronouns, but not the latter.

- Data:
 - Standard Macedonian (parallel translated texts);
 - some (little) data from dialectal Macedonian texts;
 - + some data on Bulgarian dialects.
- Work in progress, still lots to be done.

2. Data

2.1. Standard Macedonian

• The frequency of additional marking is largely dependent on the relative pronoun:

Table 1. The frequency of additional relativizing marking as related to the pronoun (InterCorp)

	(-)што	without (-)uumo	ratio of (-)umo
таков (,) каков (such what.kind.of)	27	1	1,0
таму (,) каде (there where)	262	16	0,9
<i>така</i> (,) <i>како</i> (so how)	130	68	0,7
толку (,) колку (so.much how.much)	41	29	0,6
moj (,) κοj (that which)	10	51	0,2
тогаш (,) кога (then when)	0	144	0,0

• uij 'whose' is also clearly different from κoj 'which':²

Table 2. The frequency of additional relativizing marking: 'whose' vs. 'which' (Intercorp, in the literature, after a comma)

	(-) <i>што</i>	without (-)umo	ratio of (-) <i>umo</i>
чиј 'whose'	16	63	0,2
κοj 'which' (a random sample)	1	99	0,0

• Additional morphological marking favours heads without nouns:³

Table 3. The frequency of nouns in the head in random samples of κοe-wmo (which.N-that) and κοe (which.N) (InterCorp)

	noun in the head	other (demonstratives,	ratio of nouns
	noun in the nead	'all', 'something')	in the head
кое-што (which.N-that)	66	34	0,7
кое (which.N)	91	9	0,9

- Additional marking is indeed preferred in non-restrictive relatives, as postulated by (Корубин 1969);
- The semantic type is correlated with interpunctuation, the non-restrictive clauses being usually preceded by a comma (Корубин 1969; Gołąb, Friedman 1972).

Table 4. Restrictiveness and the presence of additional marking for $\kappa o j$ (Intercorp)⁴

	-umo	without -umo	% of -wmo
after a comma	188	7340	2%
not after a comma	260	18880	1%

• Additional morphological marking is even less frequent in correlatives as opposed to postnominal relatives:

Table 5. The frequency of additional relativizing marking: correlatives vs. postnominal relatives with $\kappa a \partial e$ 'where' (InterCorp)⁵

	-што	without -umo	ratio of -umo
postnominal relatives	262	16	0,9
correlatives	4	4	0,5

 $^{^2}$ The difference is statistically significant, $\chi^2,\,P<0.01.$ 3 The difference is statistically significant, $\chi^2,\,P<0.01.$ 4 The difference is statistically significant, $\chi^2,\,P<0.01.$ 5 The difference is statistically significant, Fisher's exact test, two-tailed, P<0.01.

2.2. Macedonian dialects

- Based on (Дигитална збирка на текстови од македонските дијалекти, http://ical.manu.edu.mk/index.php/dialect-collections)
- Very little done so far;
- Still some results:
 - The difference between κoj 'which' and κaj 'where' is very clear-cut at least in the Central dialect: the latter usually takes additional morphological marking, while the former doesn't;
 - There is a difference between the two relativizers with the meaning 'where':

Table 6. The frequency of additional morphological marking for κaj and $\kappa a\partial e$ 'where' in Southwestern, Western, and Northern dialects

	with additional marking	without additional marking	ratio with additional marking
кај	6	1	0,9
каде	3	13	0,2

2.3. Bulgarian dialects

- Counts based on Bulgarian Dialectology as Living Tradition [2016] (http://www.bulgariandialectology.org)
- Interrogative-based relativizers, except 'what' and 'where'.
- The basic results (see also Figure 1):

Table 7. The frequency of relative and interrogative pronouns used as relativizers in Bulgarian dialects

	Dialectal group	relative		interroc	interrogative		ratio of relative pro-	
	Dialectal group	1010	tive interrogative		zative	nouns		
	Balkan	10	_	0	_	1,0		
	Cantral Balkan	12	_	0	_	1,0		
	Central Rhodope	13	<u>-</u>	0	- " -	1,0		
	Eastern Rhodope	14		0		1,0		
	Eastern Rupic	37	<u>-</u>	1	_	1,0	•	
Eastern Moesian Rhodope Rupic Sub-Balkan	Moesian	38	241 	1	21	1,0	- 0,9 - -	
	Rhodope	66		10		0,9		
	Rupic	17		3		0,9		
	Sub-Balkan	18		1		0,9		
	Western Balcan	8		5		0,6		
	Western Rupic	8		0	-	1,0		
	Northwestern	2		8	_	0,2		
Western	Southwestern	2	5	21	41	0,1	0,1	
	Transitional	1		12		0,1		

- A strong tendency for Western dialects (to the left of the yat border) as compared to Eastern dialects to use interrogative relativizers with no additional marking;⁶
- Further counts for the pronoun *κοj* based on the dialectal groups with most variation in the observed material, namely Western Balcan and Southwestern:
 - Additional relative marking is preferred in postnominal relative clauses:

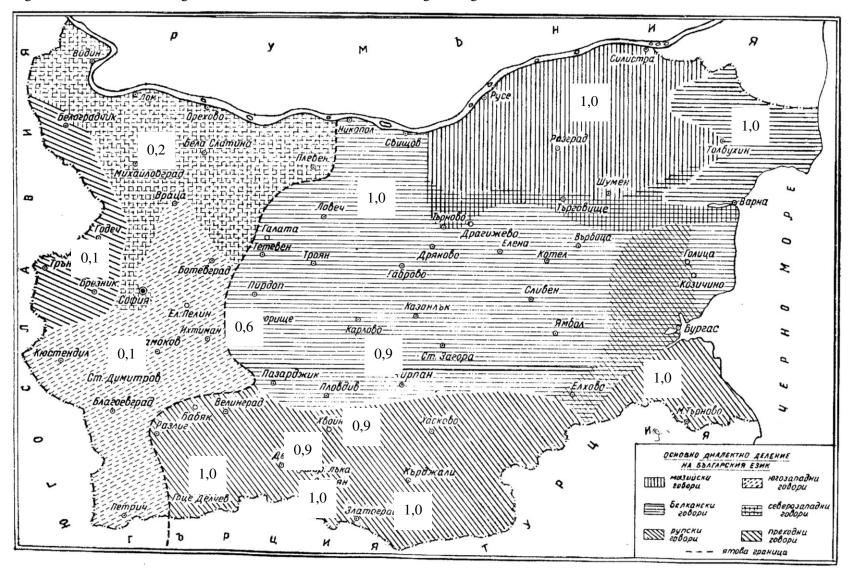
Table 8. The frequency of relative and interrogative pronouns as related to the positional type of relative clauses in Western Balcan and Southwestern Bulgarian texts⁷

	relative	interrogative	ratio of relative pronouns
postnominal relative clauses	7	2	0,8
other (correlatives, free relatives etc.)	1	10	0,1

⁶ The difference between the two dialectal groups as a whole is statistically significant (χ^2 , P << 0,01).

⁷ The difference is statistically significant, Fisher's exact test, two-tailed, P < 0.01.

Figure 1. The ratio of interrogative relativizers with additional marking in Bulgarian dialects⁸



⁸ The map of the dialects is taken from (Стойков 1962/2002).

3. Discussion

3.1. Semantic relations

- Both in (Standard) Macedonian and Bulgarian dialects, morphologically complex relativizers are dispreferred in correlatives, which constitute a subgroup within maximalizing relative clauses;
- In Macedonian, morphologically complex relativizers are more frequent in non-restrictive relative clauses.
- Similar distinctions are found in other Slavic languages
- Restrictives vs. maximilizers:
 - Standard Bulgarian: interrogatives are only allowed in a subtype of maximalizing relative clauses (Rudin 2008);
 - Old Russian: additional relativizing particles are basically found in postnominal relative clauses (Зализняк 1981: 91);
- Appositives vs. restricitives:
 - Czech: the remnants of the additional morphological relativizing marking are only found in a subclass of appositive relatives (Bauer 1967: 302, 318).
- (3) Simplex XPs Appositives Restrictives Maximalizers Simplex CPs (Grosu, Landman 1998: 126)

 relativizers: morphologically more complex morphologically less complex

Table 9. The contexts where the morphologically complex relativizers can occur in Slavic languages

	maximalizing	restrictives	appositives
	(correlatives & headess)		
Macedonian καθε	less frequent	more frequent	more frequent
Old Russian (Зализняк 1981)	less frequent	more frequent	more frequent
Bulgarian (Rudin 2008)	non-obligatory (in a subclass)	obligatory	obligatory
Macedonian κοj	less frequent	less frequent	more frequent
Czech (Bauer 1967)	ungrammatical	ungrammatical	grammatical (in a subclass)

3.2. The type of the head

- 'when' and 'which' relatives in Macedonian tend to lack additional marking.
- ? Why?
 - A possible (part of the) answer:
 - Both relativize the positions which are associated with the more "default" relations.
 - Both 'when' and 'which' meanings are often conveyes by the least explicit markers:
 - 1. gapping:
 - frequent in positions high on the accessibility hierarchy (~ 'which') and in temporal adverbials (Cristofaro, Ramat 2007);
 - 2. deranked clauses
 - participles ~ 'which';
 - converbs ~ 'when' (rather than 'where'; comparison with 'if' or 'in order' is irrelevant).

Sources

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