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RESTRICTIVE RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SLOVENE
AND ITS SPOKEN VARIETIES

Master's Thesis

Linguistics: The Study of the Language Faculty

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INTRODUCTION

The topic of this thesis concerns constructions known as restrictive relative clauses. A restrictive relative clause, as the name suggests, is a subordinate clause that *restricts* the meaning of a nominal expression (as opposed to non-restrictive, appositive relative clauses which *specify* it with additional information). The restricted nominal is called the antecedent of the relative clause, also known as the head noun. A central property of the construction is that this head noun plays a double syntactic and semantic role in the matrix clause and in the embedded clause. In a typical English restrictive relative construction such as *John caught the dog that __ bit George*, the antecedent *dog* is thus the object and the theme of the matrix clause, and also has the role of the subject and the agent in the relative clause, interpreted in the position indicated by the gap. This also goes to show that both the two syntactic and the two semantic roles can be independent of each other. The theoretical issues brought up in discussions of relative constructions include, not surprisingly, the search for a proper syntactic analysis of relative clauses that would capture this central property by providing mechanisms that relate the syntactic position the head noun occupies in the matrix to the position within the relative clause that same expression is likewise a part of.

The aim of the thesis is to explore and present the properties of Slovene restrictive relative constructions. As in English, relative clauses in Slovene are postnominal, i.e. they follow the head noun. I look into the standard language as well as into dialectal varieties to identify the different possible ways to form relatives, provide an analysis of the data obtained, and find the locus of existing variation. This hopes to contribute to the efforts of documenting and understanding syntactic variation, as well as bring Slovene relative constructions into the light of generative endeavour. The theoretical framework adopted is one in which the syntactic derivation is driven by the necessity to check formal features of the constituent elements, i.e. a version of Minimalism. For the general syntactic analysis of

restrictive relative clauses I resort to the approach advocated by de Vries (see section 1.4 in the second part of the thesis), which in turn means the following properties of the derivational system are assumed (de Vries 2002, 120f):

i.   Derivations are strictly cyclic.

ii. Formal features must be checked.

iii. Checking of a feature can take place

> (a) in a spec-head configuration, or

> (b) in a head incorporation structure.

iv. Features of a head X are visible in all projections of that head: X, X', and XP.

v.   Features are parametrically 'strong' or 'weak'.

vi. Strong features force overt checking, involving PF-related ('lexical') material.

vii. Weak features may be checked covertly, not involving PF-related material.

viii. Incorporation does not tolerate contradictory features.

ix. Excorporation is not possible.

x.   Covert movement is partial head movement of formal features.

xi. Covert movement is more economical than overt movement.

In the first part of the thesis I present the methodology used in collecting data, which involved both a written questionnaire and oral interviews. The core second part gives an analysis of Slovene restrictive relative constructions and their variation. Section 1 discusses short distance relative clauses, section 2 extends the analysis to long distance relatives, while section 3 looks more closely into one of the available constructions and the resumption it involves. Section 4 deals with how speakers choose between the existing alternative ways of forming relative clauses. In the conclusion, I provide a summary, and visit the questions and issues left open for further research.

I.   METHODOLOGY OF DATA COLLECTION

1   QUESTIONNAIRE DESIGN

The main bulk of the empirical data on which this thesis is based was collected as part of a broader pilot study of Slovene dialects I conducted in the first half of 2009 which was focused on investigating syntactic doubling and variation in those dialects.

To that end I designed a written questionnaire and deployed it on-line. The design of the questionnaire followed the established good practice – at the start of the project I had already been largely familiarized with how the Dutch SAND (Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten) project was carried out (Barbiers et al. 2005). Additional information on the methodological approach together with a very useful discussion of potential pitfalls in this kind of work, and how to avoid them, was provided in Barbiers and Bennis (2007). Another welcome background reading was a description of a pilot project looking into Icelandic dialects (Thráinsson et al. 2007), similar in several aspects to what I planned to accomplish. For practical purposes, given the expected amount of responses, I decided to use one of the available internet survey tools[1] and made the electronic questionnaire available online. While there were a couple of design limitations that came with this decision, the advantages clearly outweighed them. Using the software, it was relatively effortless to randomize the order of test sentences each respondent saw on the screen in the questions where this was appropriate, not to mention how much this kind of implementation facilitated managing and tracking individual responses compared to sending and collecting them by e-mail or even ordinary postal service.

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[1] Zoomerang – Online Survey Software Tool (available at www.zoomerang.com).

Two of the questions concerned relative constructions directly, and involved different tasks. One was a straightforward translation of a list of sentences given in standard Slovene into each speaker's own dialect. The second task grouped together a number of syntactic variants of one and the same sentence involving relativization, and each of the respondents was asked to give relative judgements as to their frequency in the dialect, and to provide a translation of the existing constructions. The set of sentences tested included both short and long relatives, as well as both subject and object relative constructions. A selection of the collected data is presented in the Appendix.

2 INFORMANTS

A network of informants that had participated in previous, smaller-scale surveys was used in the study. I also relied on a linguistic mailing list and a couple of university teachers who recruited some of their students willing to participate. In each of the cases I asked the participants to forward the link to the questionnaire to people from different parts of the Slovene language area they considered reliable. This nature of establishing contacts mostly via the Internet meant that the respondents as a rule belonged to the young generation (average age just below thirty), the majority of which had at least some university education, and about a third of which were linguists or dealt with language professionally in one way or the other. These personal details of the respondents were the concern of the initial couple of questions. The crucial piece of information was the town where they grew up and whose dialect they speak (a map indicating the locations of informants can be found in the Appendix). I also asked them about their age, sex, and occupation (the last of which was suggestive of their education), as well as their parents' background, which essentially helped answering the question whether they had been raised in the dialect of their home town, and thus how reliable their answers were. Over 70 responses have been collected from 55 different test locations.

Fortunately, the sociolinguistic situation in Slovenia is such that this somewhat limited available range of respondents was not a big disadvantage. While no doubt influenced to some extent by the exposure to the standard language, through mass media and education, Slovene dialects, often markedly distinct from standard Slovene, generally manage to survive in all generations of users. The mother tongue of Slovene speakers is as a rule one of the dialectal varieties, not the standard language, and they preserve it through regular use when speaking to other users of the same dialect or a mutually intelligible dialect. When a given construction was not reported by a speaker, however, we could not conclude that it definitely does not exist in their dialect. Nonetheless, several interesting pieces of data were gathered.

3   ADDITIONAL INTERVIEWS

In addition to the questionnaire, I also conducted interviews with a selection of informants that participated in the broader survey, and asked them questions specifically about relativization in their respective dialects with the aim of gathering further and more detailed information. When possible, other speakers of the same dialect were present, so that they could discuss a question or a task and agree on the answer. Compared to the tasks in the questionnaire, a new one was part of the interviews, and had the aim of elicited production of restrictive relative clauses. The informants were presented with pairs of pictures or objects representing entities of the same kind (e.g. two boys, two piglets). A different statement was made about each of the pair, then one of the two was singled out and the informant was asked to continue a sentence intended to involve a relative construction. A made-up English example of one such task being carried out is given below.

Interlocutor:	This is piglet A, and this is piglet B. Piglet A is going home. Piglet B is going to school. Please, continue the sentence (*points to piglet A*): 'This is the piglet …'
Informant:	'This is the piglet that is going home.'

This procedure aimed to elicit the preferred and most natural relative construction in each of the situations.

About ten people were involved in this second part of data collection, and I strived to interview a diverse sample based both on a geographical criterion and on the interest value of their answers collected by the questionnaire.

II. ANALYSIS OF RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AND THEIR VARIATION

1 SHORT DISTANCE RELATIVES

1.1 Description

Abstracting away from phonological variation, we find in the data two widespread possibilities of relative clause constructions in each of the varieties, which are also recognized in the standard language. They are exemplified by the sentences in (1) and (2):

(1)   Poznam   človeka,   **katerega**   so   iskali.[2]

       know.1sg   man.acc   KATERI.acc   aux.3pl   looked-for

(2)   Poznam   človeka,   **ki** so   **ga**   iskali.

       know.1sg   man.acc   KI aux.3pl he.acc.cl   looked-for

'I know the man they were looking for.'

Note that, unless indicated otherwise, I resort to writing examples in standard Slovene rather than trying to reflect the dialectal pronunciation where this is appropriate (i.e. where it does not obscure possible syntactic differences).

The immediately apparent differences between the two constructions are highlighted in the examples. A relative clause can be introduced either by the element *kateri* or by the element *ki*. While the latter is invariant, *kateri* appears in any of the six possible case forms of Slovene, depending on the role the head noun plays in the relative clause, and agrees with the head noun in gender and number. The case forms (limited to the singular paradigm) are

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[2] N.B. Slovene orthography requires a comma even with restrictive relative clauses, in contrast with the English rule. In general, the use of comma in Slovene depends on syntax rather than intonation.

shown in table (3) for all three genders.[3] The use of the construction with *ki*, on the other hand, requires the resumption of the head noun in the relative clause, most often in the form of a clitic. I discuss the nature of this resumption and its properties in detail separately at a later point (see section 3).

(3)

	masculine	*feminine*	*neuter*
nominative	kateri	katera	katero
genitive	katerega	katere	katerega
dative	kateremu	kateri	kateremu
accusative	katerega	katero	katero
locative	(pri) katerem	(pri) kateri	(pri) katerem
instrumental	(s) katerim	(s) katero	(s) katerim

To recap, the two possible Slovene relative constructions can be schematically expressed as:

(4) a. [matrix clause ... head noun [relative clause *kateri* ... gap]]

 b. [matrix clause ... head noun [relative clause *ki* ... resumption]]

1.2 Relative Elements

Lehmann (1984) identifies three functions any element associated with relative constructions can possibly have. These are *subordination*, *attribution*, and *gap construction*. Subordination is self-explanatory, while attribution refers to the agreement of the element in question with the head the relative clause is attributed to, and gap construction refers to indicating the position of the gap within the relative clause (via case marking). De Vries (2002, 155-62) relates these functions of the relative elements to their syntactic characteristics. All three

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[3] Locative and instrumental are cases whose assignment in Slovene is limited to certain prepositions. The prototypical ones included in the table are *pri* 'at' for locative and *s* 'with' for instrumental.

functions are always represented in a relative clause, but not necessarily expressed with overt elements. De Vries (ibid.) associates the functions with relative pronouns (realized as determiners) and complementizers, and assumes a 'division of labour' between the two. The subordination function is thus expressed exclusively by relative complementizers, which do not carry φ-features nor Case, while attribution and gap construction are represented by relative pronouns bearing both φ-features and Case.

Based on the properties of *kateri* and *ki* described in the previous section, it is evident how they should be classified. Agreement in φ-features with the head noun and case indicating a position in the relative clause indicate that *kateri* is an instance of a relative pronoun. Typologically, these often involve a demonstrative or a *wh*-morpheme (de Vries 2002, 173), and the Slovene *kateri* falls into that category as well. It displays a *wh*-format and has the same form as the Slovene counterpart to the interrogative 'which'. The relative element *ki*, which is invariable in form, showing no case or agreement with the head noun, is a relative complementizer. In world's languages, they can be equal to another complementizer (or a particle) or have a specialized role (de Vries 2002, 174), which is also the case with the Slovene *ki*.[4] As mentioned before, the relative complementizer and the relative pronoun need not be overt in a relative clause. However, language specific limitations may apply. Modern English, for example, can under certain conditions leave both elements unpronounced (resulting in the so called null-relativization construction), but does not allow the complementizer (*that*) and the pronoun (*which*) to be overtly present in the same relative clause:

(5)   This is the book I read.

(6)   *This is the book which that I read.

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[4] The declarative complementizer in Slovene is *da*. Henceforth, *kateri* will be glossed as 'which', and *ki* as 'C-rel'. I gloss *da* as 'that'.

In standard Slovene and its dialectal varieties, the complementizer and the pronoun cannot both be overtly expressed (7), and null-relativization is likewise illicit (8), regardless of the presence or absence of resumption. I shortly discuss Slovene left periphery in the next subsection.

(7) *Poznam   človeka, katerega ki   so   (ga)   iskali.
(8) *Poznam   človeka,   so   (ga)   iskali.

    know.1sg   man.acc which.acc C-rel aux.3pl he.acc.cl looked-for

('I know the man they were looking for.')

1.3   Some Issues of Left Perifery

In the following paragraphs I make a slight digression in order to describe the apparent state of affairs concerning the left periphery of Slovene clauses. We have seen above that the CP domain of relatives cannot be phonetically empty (8), which is true for all types of Slovene embedded clauses, and that not both the specifier position and the C head can be overt at the same time (7). This conformity with the traditionally postulated *doubly filled comp* filter is usually also present in Slovene interrogatives. However, for several speakers including myself, a *wh*-element can appear alongside the declarative complementizer *da*, which results in what can be described as an epistemic modal ('supposedly') or evidentiality effect on the interpretation.

(9)   Kdo pride?
    who come.3sg
    'Who is coming?'

(10)   Kdo da pride?
    who that come.3sg
    'Who is supposedly coming? / Who is said to be coming?'

Uttering the question in (9) presupposes that there is someone coming. By using (10), a speaker does not subscribe to that belief – what is presupposed is rather the existence of a statement that someone is coming in the discourse.

In relative constructions, the pronoun *kateri* can likewise be followed by *da*, and the interpretation effect is even clearer in this case, as the clause is not a question ('the man who is said to be coming'). It would not be necessary for the CP domain to have more structure than traditionally assumed, had it not been for the fact that the declarative complementizer can also appear after *ki*, another complementizer, again with the same modal/evidentiality effect on the embedded sentence. The position of *ki* is evidently higher than *da*. The options are schematically represented below.

(11)	Spec 1	Head 1	Head 2	
Rekel je, *he said*			da *that*	pride. *he is coming*
	Kdo *who*			pride? *is coming?*
	Kdo *who*		da *that*	pride? *is coming?*
Vprašal je, *he asked*	kdo *who*			pride. *is coming*
Vprašal je, *he asked*	kdo *who*		da *that*	pride. *is coming*
človek, *the man*	kateri *which*			pride *is coming*
človek, *the man*	kateri *which*		da *that*	pride *is coming*
človek, *the man*		ki *C-rel*		pride *is coming*
človek, *the man*		ki *C-rel*	da *that*	pride *is coming*

An equivalent pattern emerges in verbal (yes/no) questions, both matrix and embedded. The first question with *da* is interpreted as *Is it true that he is said to be coming?* while the second one is the embedded equivalent of that same question.

(12)	Spec 1	Head 1	Head 2	
	A *Q.part*			pride? *he is coming?*
	A *Q.part*		da *that*	pride? *he is coming?*
Vprašal je, *he asked*		če *if*		pride. *he is coming*
Vprašal je, *he asked*		če *if*	da *that*	pride. *he is coming*

Note that the higher head and the specifier in embedded clauses as exemplified above are not both present at the same time. In this local sense, the doubly filled comp filter does hold. Neither the sequence *kateri-ki* in relatives nor *kdo-če* ('who-if') in interrogatives can occur. However, in matrix questions such as the two below, more overt positions are possible. These have an echo question reading, and are appropriate responses to, for example, the questions *A Janez pride?* ('Is John coming?') and *A Janez da pride?* ('Is John said to be coming?'), respectively.

(13)	Spec 1	Head 1	Head 2	
	Kdo *who*	če *if*		pride? *is coming?*
	Kdo *who*	če *if*	da *that*	pride? *is coming?*

The declarative complementizer *da* types the subordinate clause as a statement. When it appears under an operator or another complementizer of a different type, the effect seems

to be cumulative. In interrogative contexts the question presupposes a statement, and in relative contexts what is attributed to the head noun is not the meaning of the clause, but rather the existence of the statement about it that the clause conveys. Similarly, when a *wh*-element appears with the verbal question complementizer *če* 'if', the *wh*-question presupposes a verbal question in the relevant discourse.

The data demonstrate that a specifier and two heads can appear overtly in the complementizer domain, necessitating a split CP. This more or less superficial description of the findings prompts further research to analyse the structure of the Slovene left periphery in detail. In the continuation of the thesis, I use CP as shorthand for the apparently more complex domain.

1.4 Syntactic Analysis of Short Relatives

The traditional standard theory of relative clauses couched in the Government and Binding framework (starting with Chomsky 1981) assumes a *head-external analysis* of relative constructions, which means that the head noun is base-generated outside the relative clause. Since Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis and the introduction of the determiner phrase as the extended functional projection of the NP, relative clauses have been analysed as CP complements of the head noun N. There is *wh*-movement within the relative clause of either an overtly expressed relative pronoun such as the English *which* or *who*, or of an empty operator (14). The moved element landing in Spec,CP gets co-indexed with the head noun and thus relates it to the extraction site in the relative clause.[5]

(14)   [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ D [$_{NP}$ [$_{N'}$ N$_i$ [$_{CP}$ wh$_i$ … t$_i$]]]]]

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[5] This is but one, albeit the most standard, analysis proposed. For a detailed and comprehensive review of syntactic analyses of relative constructions suggested through the years, see the dissertation by de Vries (2002), especially Chapter 3.

As it is clear from the description of such a head-external analysis, the relation between the head noun and the gap in the relative clause is indirect. This causes problems to accommodate examples such as the ones below which involve either idiom chunks (15) or variable binding (16). In both cases, their interpretation requires reconstruction into the position indicated by the gap, which is in turn only possible if the head noun is related to the gap by movement.

(15)   the [**careful track**] that she is **keeping** __ of her expenses   [Salzmann 2006, 21]

(16)   the [picture of **his**ᵢ girlfriend] that **every man**ᵢ likes __ best   [Salzmann 2006, 22]

These and other shortcomings of the traditional account lead to alternative approaches proposed under the umbrella term of *head-internal analysis* (originally suggested already by Vergnaud 1974). What they have in common is the raising of the head noun out of its original position within the relative clause, thus solving the reconstruction problems exemplified above. This crucial property has made head-internal approaches in different guises widely adopted and accepted in the recent years (Salzmann 2006, 9). A potential difficulty obvious in languages with morphological case such as Slovene is the case mismatch between the relative head and the relative pronoun as seen in (17). The string *kateri človeka* under the head-internal analysis originates as a constituent within the relative clause (before moving to its left periphery), yet *kateri* bears nominative Case while *človeka* is accusative.

(17)   Poznam   človeka, kateri   išče   službo.
       know.1sg   man.acc which.nom look-for.3sg   job
       'I know the man who is looking for a job.'

De Vries (2002) addresses this issue and shows how these and other key facts of relativization can be accommodated by assuming a head-internal analysis together with the D-complement

hypothesis (Kayne 1994), which asserts that the entire relative CP is selected by an outer determiner.[6] He uses the term *promotion theory* for his approach, which he lays down the groundwork for by providing an exhaustive typology of relative constructions, and which extends beyond restrictive relative clauses to cover also the syntax of appositive relatives, possessive relatives, and relative clause extraposition.[7] As such, the account by de Vries (2002) is an appealing, plausible solution which I subscribe to as a means to analyse Slovene data. Below, I explain the mechanics of the promotional theoretic relative clause derivation on the basis of the Slovene example in (17). The example used is a *kateri*-construction; I return with a discussion of the alternative construction with the overt complementizer *ki*, which however receives the same underlying analysis, in section 3.

(17') Poznam človeka, kateri išče službo.

　i.　 [DP-rel kateri [NP človeka]] →

　ii.　 [DP-rel [NP človeka]$_k$ [D'-rel kateri t$_k$]] →

　iii.　 [VP [DP-rel [NP človeka]$_k$ kateri t$_k$] [V' išče službo]] →

　iv.　 [TP [DP-rel [NP človeka]$_k$ kateri t$_k$]$_i$ [T' T [VP t$_i$ išče službo]]] →

　v.　 [CP [DP-rel [NP človeka]$_k$ kateri t$_k$]$_i$ [C' C [TP t'$_i$ T [VP t$_i$ išče službo]]]] →

　vi.　 [DP D [CP [DP-rel [NP človeka]$_k$ kateri t$_k$]$_i$ [C' C [TP t'$_i$ T [VP t$_i$ išče službo]]]]] →

　vii.　 [DP FF$_k$+D [CP [DP-rel [NP človeka]$_k$ kateri t$_k$]$_i$ [C' C [TP t'$_i$ T [VP t$_i$ išče službo]]]]] →

　viii.　 [CP-matrix Poznam [DP FF$_k$+D [CP človeka$_k$ kateri išče službo]]].

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[6] The English phrase *the book I read*, for example, needs thus be analysed as [DP the [CP book I read]].

[7] An alternative Salzmann (2006) advocates is the so called *matching analysis* of restrictive relative clauses. Under this approach, the head noun is represented twice: outside the relative clause as in the standard analysis, and as part of the relative DP that undergoes movement to Spec,CP within the clause as in raising approaches. The internal head is PF-deleted under identity, making the two heads linked via ellipsis (i). The fact that there is a representation of the head within the relative clause is invoked to explain reconstruction effects.
(i) the book [CP [which ~~book~~]$_i$ John likes t$_i$]

At the outset, the head noun *človeka* is merged as a complement of the relative pronoun *kateri*, which selects it. Their φ-features match, but the Case features of the two elements do not, as is also evident from Slovene morphology. Checking of the features on the two elements therefore cannot be carried out by incorporation (either of the N head itself overtly, or of its features only), the prerequisite of which is full compatibility in features.[8] Instead, NP moves to Spec,DP-rel where the φ-features are checked in a specifier-head configuration (step ii). The Case features at that point remain unchecked. The DP-rel is selected as the subject of the predicate *išče službo* (step iii), and is then attracted to the specifier of TP (or an equivalent projection) where the nominative Case is checked in a specifier-head configuration (step iv). When the derivation is expanded by the CP layer, the DP-rel undergoes *wh*-movement to Spec,CP due to the *wh*-feature it carries (step v).[9] This whole relative CP is selected by an outer determiner as per D-complement hypothesis (step vi), carrying a Case that matches the one on the head noun – accusative in our example. As there is no intervening head between *človeka* and this outer D, the two can enter into a checking relation. Due to the fact that both Case and φ-features match, incorporation is possible, and assuming that the features on D are weak, the most economic step is moving only the features on N, incorporating them into the D head (indicated by a '+'). The accusative Case on *človeka* thus finally gets checked (step vii). Eventually, this entire DP, accusative on the outside, becomes part of the matrix clause (step viii) as its object DP.

1.5   Prepositional Relatives

In Slovene, prepositions form a unit together with the DP they select, and cannot be stranded as (18) shows. The same limitation applies to relative constructions (19).

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[8] Even in situations where the two Case features do match, the derivation eventually crashes if incorporation takes place because at a later stage (cf. step vii) the Case on the outer determiner remains unchecked. The impossibility of excorporation prevents the features on N to move and check the Case on D.

[9] Whether that is the case, or there exist specific [+relative] features on relative pronouns which trigger the same movement as *wh*-features is not relevant for the analysis.

(18) a. *Kom   govoriš   o?

      who.loc talk.2sg   about

   b. O   kom   govoriš?

      about   who.loc   talk.2sg

   'Who are you talking about?'

(19) a. *fant, katerim   igram   nogomet s

      boy   which.inst   play.1sg   football with

   b. fant, s   katerim   igram   nogomet

      boy with   which.instr   play.1sg   football

   'the boy I play football with'

On the outside, PP's thus behave as DP's, which necessitates a form of feature percolation to the PP projection. A way to formalize this phenomenon is to assume movement and incorporation of the formal features of D into the P head. It is commonly accepted that the operator features of D associate with P, which is why prepositional phrases can undergo *wh*-movement. For the promotional theory to work with prepositional relatives such as (19b), however, other features need to be involved as well, namely the φ-features of D-rel which trigger the movement of NP (see the analysis in (17') above). This can be guaranteed if we suppose that all formal features of the determiner projection need to move together. While the full nature of the relation between D and P is but poorly understood, there is evidence that they are indeed closely associated. Consider the following forms of Slovene P+D which express a preposition as well as pronominal φ-features.[10]

(20) a. nanj = na njega ('on + 3.sg.masc/neut')

   b. zanj = za njega ('for + 3.sg.masc/neut')

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[10] Similar amalgamated forms are found in German, e.g. *zum = zu dem* 'to the.masc.dat'*,* *zur = zu der* 'to the.fem.dat', *am = an dem* 'at the.masc.dat' and *vom = von dem* 'of the.masc.dat' (de Vries 2006, 26, fn 31).

c. vanj = v njega ('in + 3.sg.masc/neut')

d. ponj = po njega ('after + 3.sg.masc/neut')

In the first steps of the prepositional relative construction derivation, the NP thus moves to Spec,PP (and not Spec,DP, cf. above), as the relevant features are now associated with P. Should NP move prematurely (i.e. to Spec,DP before P is merged), the derivation would crash because the formal features on N would be too far away from the outer determiner to check its features in the final steps of the derivation. The features of D-rel are weak, and need not be satisfied immediately – comparing the derivations globally, we see that delaying the movement of NP is the only way for the derivation to converge. The schematic representation and the relevant derivation part of (19b) is given in (21) below.

(21) a. [PP NP FFD-rel+P [DP-rel Drel tNP]]

b. [PP **fant** FFD-rel+**s** [DP-rel **katerim** tNP]]

2   LONG DISTANCE RELATIVES

2.1   Extending the Analysis

Long distance relative constructions are those relative constructions where the position associated with the head noun does not appear in the immediately subordinated clause, but rather in the clause that is embedded one step further (22).

(22)   [matrix clause head noun [relative clause relative element [fin. embedded clause gap/resumption]]][11]

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[11] Note that the scheme is a simplification used for the sake of clarity. Under the analysis I assume, the head noun does not leave the relative CP.

(23) Poznam   človeka, ki   mislim,   da   išče   službo.
     know.1sg man.acc C-rel think.1sg   that look-for.3sg job
     'I know a man who I think is looking for a job.'

Sentence (23) can be paraphrased in English as *'I know a man, and I think that this man is looking for a job'*, which means that *man* plays a role both in the matrix clause (as the internal argument of *know*) and in the most deeply embedded clause (as the external argument of *look for*).

The derivation of long distance relatives is not addressed by de Vries (2002), but can be without difficulty accommodated in his theory in the following way: assuming successive cyclic movement, the relative DP moves through the intermediate Spec,CP position of the intermediate clause. It finally lands in Spec,CP of the relative clause, from where the formal features of the antecedent raise and incorporate into the D that selects the relative CP, same as in short relative clauses. Example (23) thus receives the analysis given in (24) below.

(24)   [CP Poznam [DP FF$_k$+D [CP [DP-rel človeka$_k$ D-rel]$_i$ [C' ki mislim …

        [CP t'$_i$ [C' da [TP t$_i$ išče službo]]]]]]]].

2.2   The Resumptive Prolepsis Alternative

Speakers often avoid long distance relative constructions – a phenomenon which has been attested in several cases not limited to a specific area. Instead of a long relative, they would spontaneously use a semantically equivalent construction exemplified in (25).

(25) Poznam   človeka, za katerega   mislim,   da   ga   iščejo.
     know.1sg   man.acc for which.acc   think.1sg that he.acc.cl look-for.3pl
     'I know a man of which I think that they are looking for him.'

This construction is the Slovene counterpart to what is called *resumptive prolepsis* by Salzmann (2006), and has been identified in German and Dutch. The shortest description of it would be to say that the prepositional object (also called the proleptic object in this case) is relativized in the higher embedded clause as in short relatives, and obligatorily resumed in the lower one. The properties of the construction are somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, there is evidence that the proleptic object is base generated in the higher clause, such as corresponding non-relative constructions with *in-situ* objects, quantificational and other properties indicating that the object is syntactically and semantically a (relativized) main clause constituent, etc. As such, the proleptic object would simply bind the lower coreferential pronoun. On the other hand, reconstruction effects suggest that there is movement from the embedded declarative clause position (which leaves behind a resumptive pronoun). For a comprehensive discussion of the properties see Salzmann (2006, 154-232).

The analysis Salzmann (2006, 232-276) provides is one involving two movement chains combined by means of ellipsis. There is movement of a DP containing an operator in the complement clause, which creates a new predicate together with the matrix verb and licences the proleptic object. The lower position of the chain gets spelled out as the resumptive pronoun. Under identity with the proleptic object (whose merging position is shown below by the trace t_k), the lexical part of the moved DP is deleted, establishing a link indicated in (26) by the arrows. The object creates its own movement chain in the course of deriving the relativization in the higher clause. Salzmann assumes the matching analysis of relative constructions (cf. 1.4 above, fn 7), mirrored by the formation of the lower chain and the subsequent ellipsis.

(26)   Poznam [DP človeka, [CP [za katerega ~~človeka~~]k …

        [TP t_k mislim, [CP [OP ~~človeka~~]i da iščejo t_i=ga]]]].

Such an analysis is compatible with the properties of the construction. The proleptic object is base generated in the higher clause as evidence strongly suggests, while there is a representation of the object also in the lower clause, explaining the reconstruction effects.

Resumption in proleptic constructions has different manifestations across languages. While it is obligatory in German and most Dutch dialects, including in subject positions, there are Dutch dialects in the nort-west where the proleptic object is related to a gap (Boef 2008, 77f). In Slovene examples of the construction, resumption appears to behave the same way as in relative clauses with the complementizer *ki* (see section 3 below), where subjects are not resumed (27).[12] The situation invites further questions as to the nature of resumption, as well as the relation between the prolepsis construction and relativization in general.

(27) Poznam   človeka, za katerega   mislim,   da   išče   službo.
      know.1sg   man.acc for which.acc   think.1sg   that   look-for.3sg job
      'I know a man of which I think that he is looking for a job.'

2.3   An Apparent Case of Complementizer Agreement

In a geographically contained group of dialects in north-eastern Slovenia (Gornja Radgona, Murska Sobota, Ptuj, Radenci) the data gathered reveals the following interesting pattern:

Short distance relative

(28) Poznan   ovega, **ka** so   ga   iskali.   [Gornja Radgona]
      know.1sg   that.one KA aux.3pl he.acc.cl   looked-for

      'I know the one they were looking for.'

---

[12] The parallel is not entirely surprising – the head of the lower chain contains an empty operator and the lexical content is deleted. Resumption takes place at the foot of the chain to spell out and preserve its Case feature (cf. the discussion in 3.2 below for the analysis of resumption in Slovene relative clauses).

Long distance relative

(29) Poznan   ovega,   **ka** se   mi   zdi,   **ka** so   ga iskali.

 know.1sg   that.one KA refl I.dat.cl   seem,   KA aux.3pl he.acc.cl looked-for

'I know the one I think they were looking for.'

In long distance relative constructions involving *ka,* which seems to be the morphological counterpart of *ki* in those dialects (in some dialects the corresponding form is *ke*), that same complementizer appears twice, in both embedded clauses, contrary to the situation in other dialects or in the standard language where *ki* is used to introduce the relative clause and the declarative complementizer *da* appears in the lowest clause (cf. example (23) in 2.1). Based solely on these data, we could think that we are dealing with a case of complementizer agreement, i.e. that the relative DP moving through the Spec,CP of the lowest clause triggers a different spell-out of the complementizer, which would certainly be an interesting observation. This kind of analysis, though, is not the right one. Consider:

(30) Ven,   **ka** so   ga   iskali.   [Gornja Radgona]

 know.1sg KA aux.3sg he.acc looked-for

'I know that they were looking for him.

Note the *ka* appearing in (30) as a complementizer introducing an embedded statement. It seems that in the group of dialects in question there is no special form of relative complementizers, though the single general one that exists superficially resembles the relative *ki* and its counterparts in other dialects. Compare:

(31)   I know the man **that** they were looking for.

(32)   I know **that** they were looking for him.

We see that *ka* thus behaves like the English *that*, which can appear both in relative and declarative constructions, and the variation we find can in this case be attributed to lexical differences.

3 THE *KI*-CONSTRUCTION AND ISSUES OF RESUMPTION

3.1 Description

As already mentioned, resumption occurs in one of the two available relative constructions, namely in the one that involves the complementizer *ki*. The following table presents the singular forms of the resumptive elements in the six cases and three genders of Slovene.[13]

(33)

	masculine	*feminine*	*neuter*
nominative	--	--	--
genitive	ga	je	ga
dative	mu	ji	mu
accusative	ga	jo	ga
locative	pri njem	pri njej	pri njem
instrumental	z njim	z njo	z njim

When the relative clause position the head noun is related to is nominative, i.e. in subject relatives, there is no resumption. In genitive, dative, and accusative object relatives, the resumptive element is a clitic. Slovene clitics are of the second-position (Wacekrnagel) type, and thus they appear right after the complementizer. In prepositional cases, resumption involves a whole PP consisting of a preposition and a pronoun which appears in situ.

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[13] The forms of Slovene masculine and neuter personal pronouns, both tonic and clitic, coincide (also in the dual and the plural).

Resumption is obligatory in the cases described (34a), and clitics cannot be replaced by tonic pronouns (34b).

(34) a. *To   je človek,   ki   iščejo.
     this is man.nom   C-rel   look-for.3pl

   b. *To   je človek,   ki   njega   isčejo.
      this is man.nom   C-rel   he.acc   look-for.3pl

   ('This is the man they are looking for.')

Long relative constructions pattern with short relative clauses in the relevant aspect of obligatory resumption, which is not surprising given that they are to be analysed along the same lines (cf. example (23) in 2.1).

(35)   Poznam   človeka,   ki   mislim,   da   *(ga)   iščejo.
       know.1sg man   C-rel think.1sg   that   he.acc.cl look-for.3pl
       'I know a man I think they are looking for.'

3.2   Analysis

Let us begin with a universal typological finding (de Vries 2002, 37 and 165): resumptive pronouns in relative constructions exclude the use of relative pronouns. Slovene adheres to the generalization. This suggests that the two positions are linked, and when the relative pronoun is not expressed, i.e. when the complementizer *ki* is overt, as in the alternative (36b) below, resumption takes place and is obligatory.

(36) a. To je človek,   katerega   iščejo.
      this is man.nom   which.acc   look-for.3pl
      'This is the man they are looking for.'

b. To   je človek,   ki   ga   iščejo.

this is man.nom   C-rel   he.acc.cl look-for.3pl

'This is the man they are looking for.'

Under the promotion theory analysis of relative clauses I adopt, the positions of the gap where resumption appears and of the relative pronoun are indeed directly related – by virtue of *wh*-movement of the relative DP containing the pronoun from its original merging position to the specifier of the relative CP. Underlyingly, the two alternative constructions in (36a) and (36b) have the same derivation, given in (37), and the differences are only due to spell-out. Zero-relativization is not allowed in Slovene, so either the D-rel or the C-rel head needs to be overt. D-rel spells out as *kateri*, while C-rel spells out as *ki*.

(37)   To je [DP FF$_k$+D [CP-rel [DP-rel človek$_k$ [DP-rel **D-rel**] t$_k$]$_i$ [C'-rel **C-rel** [TP iščejo t$_i$]]].

First, consider the option of spelling out the relative pronoun. As not both the pronoun and the complementizer can be overt, this suppresses the pronunciation of the C-rel. Nothing out of the ordinary happens in this construction. The highest copies of both the head noun *človek* and the relative pronoun are spelled out. The scheme below shows the features associated with the relative elements in the construction, and the relevant copies in the movement chain. Non-pronunciation is indicated by the use of strike-out.

(36a') To je človek,   katerega   ~~C-rel~~   iščejo   ~~človek~~ ~~katerega~~

this is man.nom   which.acc   look-for.3pl

Features: wh/relative   ~~wh/relative~~   ~~wh/relative~~

                NOM   ACC   ~~NOM~~ ~~ACC~~

                φ   φ   ~~φ~~   ~~φ~~

Scrutinizing the second alternative gives us an indication why resumption occurs in the *ki*-construction. Spelling out the complementizer suppresses the pronunciation of the highest copy of D-rel (for independent reasons restricting the number of overt elements in the left periphery), and with it the Case feature it carries. The Case on D-rel is not expressed by any other element in the construction, contrary to its φ-features, which match those on the head noun, or the wh/relative feature expressed by *ki*. I propose that in order to preserve the Case present in the derivation at the interface, the minimal element that spells it out – a clitic – becomes overt in the lower copy position and is pronounced as the second element[14] in the relative clause. Note that not all the features of the lower chain link are selected for spell-out (otherwise the result would be *kateri*), only the key Case feature and the associated φ-features necessarily encompassed by the clitic. This presupposes a Distributed Morphology (cf. Halle and Marantz 1993) type of derivational model in the sense of syntax operating on feature bundles which only at a later stage get replaced by items from the lexicon.

	(36b')	To je človek,	~~D-rel~~	ki	iščejo	~~človek D-rel~~	
		this is man.nom		*C-rel*	*look-for.3pl*		
Features:			~~wh/relative~~	wh/relative		~~wh/relative~~	
		NOM	~~ACC~~			~~NOM~~	ACC
		φ	~~φ~~			~~φ~~	φ
							= ga (*he.acc.cl*)

Interestingly, Alexiadou et al. (to appear) make use of a spell-out mechanism of the same Case-preserving kind to deal with a different construction, namely subject control in Greek and Romanian. They analyse control as raising, in the course of which Case on the subject gets rewritten in the matrix clause when there is a case mismatch due to a quirky subject in the embedded clause. The unique Case of the embedded subject needs to be realized by an

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[14] If there is more than one clitic in the clause (e.g. an auxiliary form of *be* in past tense constructions), its position may differ. However, the clitic string as a whole takes the second place after the complementizer.

obligatory clitic spelling out the relevant Case (genitive in the Greek example, dative in the Romanian one) and φ-features.

(38) I   Maria_i   tolmise   na   **tis**_i   aresun   i   operes.   [Greek]
  the Mary.nom dared-3sg C-subj   she.cl.gen   please.3pl the operas-nom
  'Mary dared to like operas'

(39) Ion_i   a   reuşit   să   nu-**i**_i   scape   multe greşeli. [Romanian]
  John.nom aux.3sg managed C-subj not-he.cl.dat escape.3pl many mistakes
  'John managed so that not many mistakes escaped his attention'

There exist no locative or instrumental clitics in Slovene.[15] When the highest PP copy in Spec,CP is left unpronounced, the element that gets spelled out at the lowest chain link position equals a PP the nominal part of which is a [-wh/relative] pronoun. Such spell-out preserves both the Case in question as well as the preposition. The same applies to other prepositional relatives with an over complementizer.

There are no nominative clitics either, but that cannot be the reason why there is no resumption in subject relative clauses (40a). One could expect the nominative Case to be spelled out by a tonic pronoun if a corresponding clitic is not available in the lexicon, but (40b) is ungrammatical.

(40) a. Poznam   človeka, ki   išče   službo.
  know.1sg man.acc C-rel look-for.3sg job
  'I know a man who is looking for a job.'

---

[15] Not unexpected, given that the two cases are prepositional only, and that clitics as a rule cannot be complements of prepositions.

b. *Poznam   človeka, ki   on   išče   službo.

   know.1sg man.acc C-rel he.nom look-for.3sg job

   ('I know a man who is looking for a job.')

An identical restriction on the presence of resumptive pronouns applies also to other languages that use resumption, such as Irish (cf. the next subsection). It is called Highest Subject Restriction by McCloskey (1990 and 2005), and is formulated as follows: a resumptive pronoun cannot occupy a subject position immediately subjacent to its binder. McCloskey in his review paper (2005) notes that resumptive elements are obligatorily bound and as pronouns exhibit a core property pronouns share, namely their binding is subject to antilocality requirements. In other words, the (resumptive) pronoun and its antecedent cannot occupy the same local domain. On the basis of existing literature he concludes that a common approach is to argue that the ungrammaticality of subject resumption is best captured by invoking the antilocality property of pronouns in some form, and imposing a restriction akin to principles of Binding Theory (which however apply to binding from argument positions) or their equivalent.

3.3   Some Parallels in Other Languages

My analysis of resumption in relative clauses predicts its occurrence when the relative pronoun is not overt. In English, however, that is not the case. Consider (41), where the complementizer – and not the pronoun – is overt, yet there is no resumptive pronoun present.

(41)   He knew the man that they found dead.

This could suggest that resumption as analysed in the previous section is restricted to languages with morphologically expressed case (at least more extensively than on 3rd person

personal pronouns only) which excludes English. Dutch likewise lacks overt case marking and makes no use of this type of resumption, even if there are dialects that lack relative pronouns (systems IV and VI in Boef's (2008) classification). In contrast, German features an overt case system. The standard variety only makes use of either *d-* or *wh*-pronouns, but in some of the dialects the invariant element *wo* is available, which could be considered a relative complementizer (42).[16] Neither in those dialects nor elsewhere are resumptive pronouns used in short relatives, however. It is therefore not necessary that resumption takes place in relative constructions without overt relative pronouns even in languages with morphological case.

(42)   Das ist der Mann wo   ich kenne.   [Hessian German]

    that is the man   WO I   know

    'That is the man that I know.'

Let us now turn to some languages that do display resumption in short relative clauses. McCloskey's (2005) provides examples of Irish relative constructions similar to the Slovene ones (43a). The use of the resumptive pronoun at first glance seems fully optional, but the fact is that it correlates with the complementizer form used. When resumption is present, the complementizer is *ar* as in (43a), when not, its form is *a* (43b). The nature of this variation and the analysis of the different Irish complementizer forms is a topic of an ongoing debate, but there are no detectable semantic or pragmatic differences between the two relative constructions (McCloskey 2001, 91).

(43) a. an ghirseach ar   ghoid na síogaí **í**   [Irish]

    the girl   C-rel   stole the fairies her

    'the girl that the fairies stole'

---

[16] Thanks to Andreas Pankau for providing the data.

b. an ghirseach a   ghoid na síogaí

  the girl   C-rel   stole the fairies

  'the girl that the fairies stole'

In Hebrew, relative clauses are introduced by the complementizer *še-*, equivalent to the English *that*. Resumption is optional with object relatives (44), and obligatory with prepositional object relative constructions (45) – due to there being no preposition stranding possible in Hebrew (Borer 1984, 220f).

(44) RaʔIti   ʔet-ha-yeled še- Rina ʔohevet **(ʔoto)**   [Hebrew]

  saw.1sg acc-the-boy that Rina love.3sg he.acc

  'I saw the boy that Rina loves.'

(45) RaʔIti   ʔet-ha-yeled še- Rina xashva   ***(ʔalav)**

  saw.1sg acc-the-boy that Rina   thought.3sg about-him

  'I saw the boy that Rina thought about.'

Hebrew also provides a clear proof that pro-drop plays no role in Highest Subject Restriction (cf. above) on resumptive pronouns. Pro-drop in Hebrew is limited compared to Slavic and Romance languages – for instance, third person pronouns in past tense clauses cannot be dropped (46). Still, in corresponding subject relative clauses resumption is impossible (47), just as in Slovene or Irish.[17]

(46) *(Hu) axal   tapuax.   [Hebrew]

   he ate.3sg apple

  'He ate an apple.'

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[17] Thanks to Joe Wolfson for supplying these examples.

(47) ha-iš   še- (*hu) axal   tapuax

the-man that he   ate.3sg apple

'the man that ate an apple'

Czech has the option to form relatives with the relative complementizer *co* alongside the alternative(s) involving a relative pronoun, as in Slovene. When there is no relative pronoun present, resumption takes place. It is, however, optional in accusative – but not other – object relatives, as sentences in (48) exemplify (Šimík 2008).[18]

(48) a. ty   problémy, co   jsme   (je)   řešili

   these problems C-rel   aux.1pl them solved

   'these problems that we were solving'

   b. ten zákazník, co   jsme   se   *(mu)   smáli

   that customer C-rel aux.1pl refl   he.dat.cl laughed

   'that customer that we laughed at'

Irish and Czech have overt case systems, while in Hebrew only definite objects DP's are marked with the equivalent of accusative. This otherwise very brief look into a limited number of other languages shows that resumption is not a direct reflex of the non-presence of relative pronouns – either when they are not available in the lexicon or not pronounced due to other reasons. In Irish, resumption is obligatory, though only with one form of the complementizer. In contrast to Slovene (and conditionally Irish), there is a level of optionality concerning resumption in Hebrew and Czech. It seems that accusative is not obligatorily expressed while other (oblique) Case features in the relative clause need to be

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[18] The use of resumption forces the specific reading of the head, i.e. the head noun takes obligatory wide scope with respect to potential scopal elements within the relative clause. When there is no resumption present, both readings are possible (Šimík 2008). The same pattern has been noted for Hebrew (cf. Alexopoulou 2006, 82 and references therein).

spelled out in the extraction position when the highest relative pronoun chain link is not pronounced, same as in Slovene. Languages with resumption in short relative clauses thus differ in the parameter concerning whether accusative Case is obligatorily preserved in relatives or not. What is predicted (and confirmed in Hebrew and Czech) is also that resumption necessarily takes place in prepositional object relatives not introduced by a relative pronoun in languages that do not strand prepositions.

3.4   Other Types of Resumption

We need to distinguish several types of resumption-related constructions. Most often, resumption is considered to be a device of a last-resort flavour. These prototypical instances of resumptive elements occur in movement islands, granting the construction immunity from constraints on movement, and thus saving the otherwise ungrammatical utterance. In that sense, they are obligatory. McCloskey (2005) characterizes a resumptive pronoun as a pronominal element which is obligatorily bound and which appears in a position in which, under other circumstances, a gap would appear. An example is presented in (49a), where *who* binds the pronoun *him* within a conditional island. The alternative in (49b) without the pronoun is ungrammatical.

(49) a. I wonder who they think [that [if Mary marries **him**] then everybody will be happy]].

   b. *I wonder who$_i$ they think [that [if Mary marries t$_i$] then everybody will be happy]].

The resumptives we find in relative constructions behave differently; they are not a repair strategy in the above sense, as the alternative without the pronoun would not violate any restrictions on movement. Still, they share the characteristic of being obligatorily bound and appearing in gap positions. In Slovene, their use is obligatory, as it is in certain configurations in other languages (see 3.3 above). The distinction has been noted by Sells

(1984), who considers these pronouns proper resumptives, while he calls the repair-strategy ones *intrusive* pronouns.

A second type of relative resumption appears in an interesting construction identified by the survey. Several speakers reported the possibility of resumption in long relative clauses introduced by *kateri* (in short relatives, resumption in the construction with an overt relative pronoun is always ungrammatical). The use of the construction is seemingly not geographically limited, i.e. not dependent on the dialect, and the use of resumption is optional (50).

(50) Poznam človeka, **katerega** mislim,   da **(ga)**   iščejo.
      know.1sg man   which.acc think.1sg   that he.acc.cl look-for.3pl
      'I know a man who I think they are looking for.'

Note that the extraction from the lowest clause violates no constraints on movement (for the analysis, see section 2.1). The same kind of data has been found to exist in dialects of Dutch by the SAND project (Barbiers et al. 2005), and reported briefly on by Boef (2008, 79-80). A Dutch example is given in (51). Alber (2008) provides another example of an equivalent construction involving resumption in a long relative with an overt relative pronoun in the Tyrolean German dialect of Meran (52).

(51) Dat is de man dei   ik denk dat **hij** het verhaal verteld het.   [Roswinkel Dutch]
      that is the man D-rel I think that he the story   told   has
      'That is the man who I think told the story.'

(52) I kenn es Haus, des wos du glapsch, dass die Maria **'s** gekaaft hot.   [Meran G.]

I know the house D-rel C-rel you think   that the Maria it bought has

'I know the house which you think Maria bought.'

To sum up, two types of resumptives are present in Slovene relatives, both distinct from the repair-strategy, or intrusive pronoun construction. The first one, which I analyse in section 3.2, is obligatory in all varieties of Slovene, including the standard language, and occurs in both short and long relative *ki*-constructions. The second one, exemplified in (50) above, is only optional, rejected in the standard variety, and occurs in long relatives introduced by the pronoun *kateri*, seemingly facilitating the formation of the long-distance dependency.

4   CHOOSING BETWEEN THE TWO ALTERNATIVES

In the Minimalist framework, optionality between constructions with the exact same enumeration and interpretation cannot be accommodated. Of two or more alternatives, one of the derivations is always expected to be the most compliant to the principles of Economy and therefore the single converging one (Chomsky 1995). Note that in the case of the two possible ways to form relative clauses in Slovene these reservations do not apply. There is only one single derivation, and the two alternatives arise at the interface, depending on what elements get spelled out. In natural languages, one can imagine as a source of variation at this level the potentially independent limitations on what elements can be overt in the left periphery (including the possibility of none), and the available elements in the lexicon – whether a language has relative complementizers and/or pronouns. Beyond that, functional considerations come into play when choosing between the alternatives available within a single language.

Up to this point, I have treated the *ki*-construction with an overt complementizer and the *kateri*-construction with an overt relative pronoun as equivalently prominent alternatives in all circumstances. This, however, does not reflect the reality. The actual preference of use was tested in the questionnaire and in subsequent interviews. It has been established in the literature on Slovene that *ki* and *kateri* are historically derived from different sources (Cazinkić 2001, 58). Nevertheless, speakers often perceive the former to be a reduced form of the latter. Past grammars of Slovene from the 16th century onwards, up until the early 20th century, claimed the same (see Cazinkić 2001 for a complete review). The belief that the pronoun is a more proper form of the complementizer often leads to hypercorrection when speakers try to use the standard language in formal situations (own observation). This goes to show why it is all the more important to study the actual spoken varieties of the language.

It has been suggested that there exists a correlation between the syntactic function hierarchy according to Lehmann (1984), which ranks available positions of the head noun within a relative clause,[19] and the so called anaphoric scale, a hierarchy of relative elements based on how explicitly they mark the relation between the head noun and its position in the relative clause. The lower the function of the gap is (the hierarchy is roughly S > DO > Prepositional Object), the more explicit (roughly ø < relative particle < relative pronoun) the marking (de Vries 2002, 163-64). Slovene, where speakers have the choice between using a relative complementizer (an instance of a relative particle) and a pronoun, constitutes good testing grounds, and the correlation described above was indeed attested in Slovene dialects. The interviews corroborated the findings acquired with the help of the questionnaire. The complementizer *ki* is used with subjects and often with objects either in genitive, dative, or accusative, but never with prepositional objects. When it comes to prepositional objects, the *kateri*-construction is the exclusive option in use (53). A *ki*-construction with prepositions is

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[19] Based on the closely related accessibility hierarchy devised by Keenan and Comrie (1977).

available and recorded in writing (54), but it is considered archaic or stilted compared to the *kateri*-construction, and is not attested in the spoken language.

(53) Poznam človeka, **s**   **katerim**   govoriš
     know.1sg man.nom   with   which.instr   talk.2sg

(54) Poznam človeka, **ki**   govoriš   **z**   **njim**.
     know.1sg man   C-rel. talk.2sg   with   he.instr
     'I know the man you are talking with.'

The pronoun *kateri* is dispreferred for subjects, and is sometimes used with objects. The use of relative clauses introduced by the pronoun *kateri* is marked also in the Dictionary of Standard Slovene (SSKJ 1994) as diminishing (for object relatives) or obsolete (for subject relatives).

At least one other prominent factor is in play, namely a discoursive one. As the complementizer *ki* is a less explicit relative element, ambiguities may arise in certain situations and contexts. In (55), attribution (in the sense discussed in 1.2) is not overtly expressed, so the head noun the relative clause is related to is ambiguous. Note that there is the same kind of ambiguity in the English counterpart to the Slovene sentence. In (56), the gap construction (cf. 1.2 again) is not explicit, and the sentence is ambiguous between a subject and an object relative.

(55) mati   mojega prijatelja, ki   je zdaj v Kopru
     mother.nom   my.gen friend.gen C-rel is now in Koper
     'the mother of my friend who is now in Koper' (head noun = friend / mother)

(56) To je tisti, ki   mu   je   vse   zaupal.
      this is the.one C-rel he.dat.cl aux everything trusted
      'This is the one who he trusted with everything. /
      This is the one who trusted him with everything.'

To avoid that, a *kateri*-construction may be used even where it is usually less frequent or not normally used at all. Compare (55') and (56'), which are non-ambiguous:

(55') mati   mojega prijatelja, kateri   je zdaj v Kopru[20]
       mother.nom   my.gen friend.gen which.nom.masc is now in Koper
       'the mother of my friend who is now in Koper' (head noun = friend)

(56') To je tisti, kateremu je   vse   zaupal.
       this is the.one which.dat aux everything trusted
       'This is the one who he trusted with everything.'

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[20] Examples taken from the Dictionary of Standard Slovene (SSKJ 1994), the entry on *kateri*.

Conclusion and Questions for Further Research

In the thesis, the core restrictive relatives – both in long and short distance constructions – have been described and discussed for Slovene and its dialectal varieties. I have examined how speakers within a single dialect deal with more than one available way of forming relative clauses, and where the differences between particular constructions lie, as well as identified existing variation between dialects and aimed to provide explanations for it. Several parallels with constructions in other languages have been pointed out on the one hand, and on the other differences have been highlighted that may help steer further research. A number of issues remain open, however, and these fall into one of two categories. Either they concern broader linguistic topics pertaining to relativization and related phenomena, or are questions specifically concerning Slovene syntax.

The latter include the analysis of relative constructions that fall outside the scope of this thesis – Slovene possessive restrictive relatives, free relatives, and appositive relatives. As with any A-bar dependency construction, the nature of clausal left periphery plays an important role in relatives. Slovene data have been outlined in section 1.3, but a closer look is needed and a detailed analysis is still pending. As far as relevant general theoretical discussions studying Slovene can contribute to are concerned, they mostly revolve around resumption, of which there seem to be several different types (cf. 3.4). How and why languages differ with regard to resumption, and what mechanisms lead to this phenomenon in specific constructions (such as short relative clauses discussed in section 3 and resumptive prolepsis in 2.2) or in general are some of the important questions of linguistic theory. Open questions notwithstanding, or perhaps just because of them, I hope my work can bring us closer to a few answers.

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Appendix

A – Map of informant locations (created in Google Maps available at http://maps.google.com)
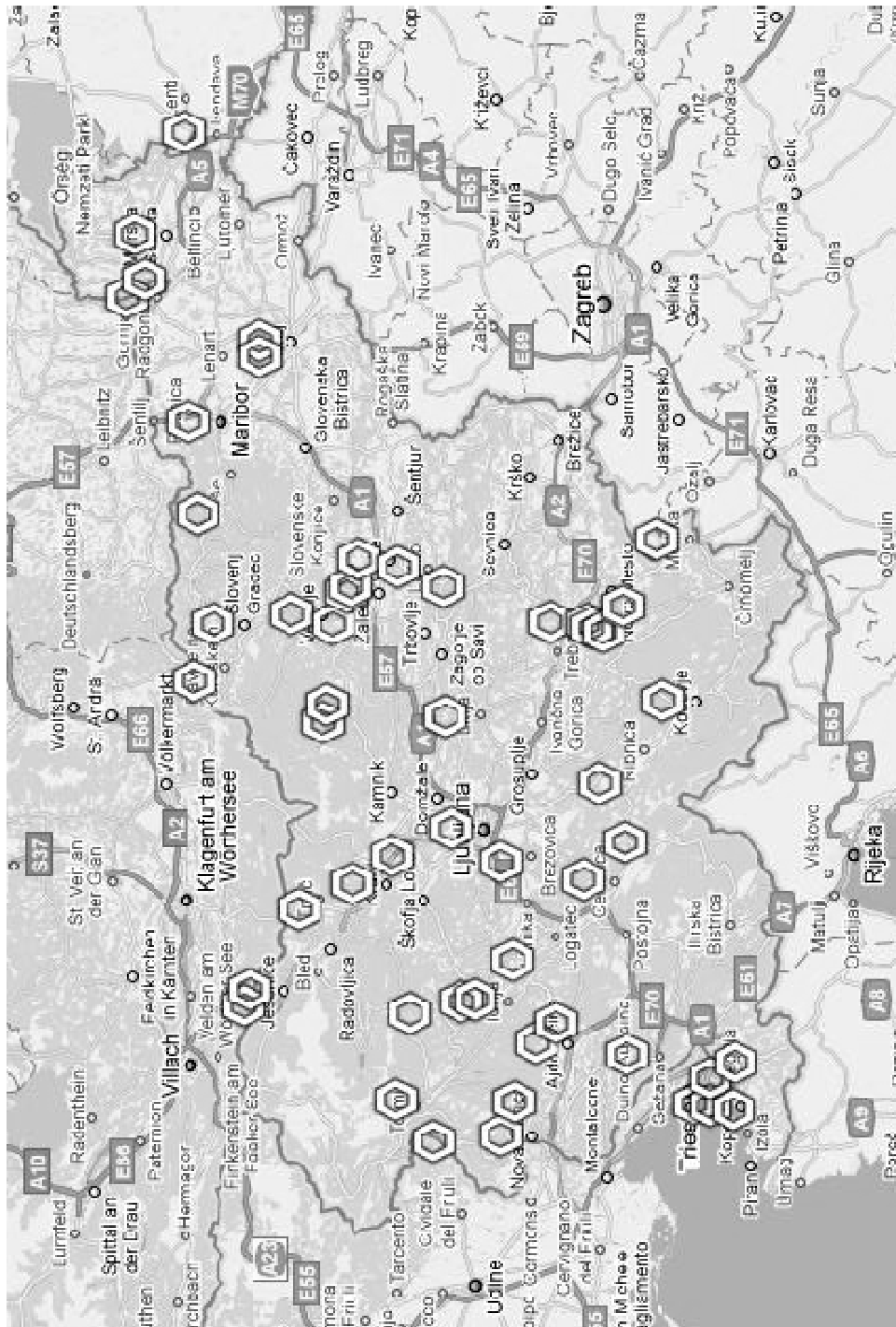
B – A selection of data obtained by the questionnaire. Reported (preferred) forms of complementizers / relative pronouns in short and long distance relatives are listed, together for subject and accusative object relative construction test sentences. The option of resumption in long relatives introduced by *kateri* (cf. 3.4) is also given (in the format *kateri-that-clitic*). Where a dialectal transcription has not been provided, the standard Slovene form is given in brackets. The *Notes* column mostly indicates the use of resumptive prolepsis (cf. 2.2), and the preference of one alternative form of relativization over another.

Location	Short	Long	*Kateri*+resump.	Notes
Ajdovščina	k	k-de, ktjri-de	ktjro-de-jo	*kateri*+resumptive preferred
Bočna 1	k	k-da	-	
Bočna 2	k	k-da, kir-da	kir-da-j	*kateri* preferred in object rel.
Celje	ko	ko-da	-	
Cerkno 1	ka	ka-de, kier-de	kiere-de-jih	(plural resumptive example)
Cerkno 2	ka	ka-de, katier-de	-	
Dekani	ki	ki-da	-	
Dobriša vas	ko	ko-da	kero-da-jo	kateri only in object rel.
Dolenjske Toplice	k	k-da	-	
Gornji Grad 1	k	k-da, (kateri)-da	-	
Gornji Grad 2	k	k-da	-	
Hajdina	keri, (ki)	keri-da, (ki-da)	-	
Hrušica	k	k-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Idrija 1	ka	ka-de, katirga-de	k(at)ira-de-je	
Idrija 2	ka	ka-da/e	-	
Idrija 3	ka	ka-de	-	
Jesenice	k	k-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Kanal ob Soči	k	k-d	-	
Kovor	k	k-d, ktero-d	-	
Laško	ku	ku-da	N/A	(incomplete data)
Lendava	ki	(kateri-da), ki-da	-	
Litija	k	k-d	-	
Ljubljana 1	k	k-da, kjero-da	kjero-da-jo	*kateri* only in object rel.
Ljubljana 2	ki	ki-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Ljubljana 3	k	k-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Ljubljana 4	k	k-da, kero-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Ljubljana 5	k	k-da	-	
Lovrenc na Pohorju	ko	ko-da, kiri-da	kiro-da-jo	
Maribor	ko	ko-da	-	
Metlika 2	ki	ki-da, kero-da	kero-da-jo	*kateri* only in object rel.
Metlika 3	ki, kera	kero-da, ki-da	kero-da-jo	resumptive prolepsis
Mirna Peč	k	k-da	-	
Modrej	ka	ka-de	N/A	(incomplete data)

Nova Gorica 1	k	k-d	-	
Nova Gorica 2	k	k-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Polzela	k	k-da	-	
Popetre	ki	ki-da, (kateri)-da	(katero)-da-jo	*kateri*+resumptive more common
Preserje	k	k-da, kir/ker-da	kero-da-jo	
Prevalje 1	ko	ko-da, kir da	-	
Prevalje 2	ko	ko-da	-	
Rumanja vas	k	k-d(e)	-	
Šempas	k	k-de	-	
Sežana	ku	ku-da	-	
Slovenj Gradec	ko	ko-da	-	
Šmarje pri Kopru	ki	ki-da	katero-da-jo	*kateri* only in object rel.
Smlednik	k	k-da, (kateri)-da	katero-da-jo	*kateri* only in object rel.
Sodražica	k	k-de, ktero-de	-	*kateri* only in object rel.
Spodnja Idrija 1	ka	ka-de, kiera-de	kiere-de-je	
Spodnja Idrija 2	ka	ka-de, kiera-de	kiere-de-je	
Spodnja Idrija 3	k(a)	ka-de	-	resumptive prolepsis
Spodnja Idrija 4	ka	ka-de, kir-de	kira-de-je	
Stari trg pri Ložu	k	k-d	-	
Straža	k	k-da	-	
Uršna sela	k	k-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Velenje	ko	ko-da	-	resumptive prolepsis
Vipava	k	k-de	-	
Žalec 1	ki	ki-da	-	
Žalec 2	ku	ku-de, kero-de	-	
Kočevje	ki	kateri-da, ki-da	-	
Koper	ki	kateri-da, ki-da	katero-da-jo	
Hotedršica	k	k-d(e)	-	
Metlika 1	ki	ki-da, kero-da	-	prolepsis, *kateri* in object rel.
Cerknica	k	k-de	-	
Kranj 1	k	k-da, kero-da	kero-da-jo	*kateri*+resumptive most common
Kranj 2	k	k-da	-	
Radeče	k	k-da, (kateri)-da	-	
Gornja Radgona	keri, ka	ka-ka	-	
Murska Sobota	ka	ka-ka, keroga-ka	keroga-ka-ga	
Ptuj	ke	ke-ke	-	resumptive prolepsis
Radenci	ka	ka-ka, kere-ka	kere-ka-jo	*kateri*+resumptive marginal