



# Typologie aréale et stratégies de relativisation



Pôle des langues et civilisations  
65 Rue des Grands Moulins, 75013 Paris

## Mardi 9 décembre

Salle de la BULAC RJ24

## Mercredi 10 décembre

Salle du Conseil 4.24

### Relative clauses and areal typology: American Indian Languages

- 10h00 **Gilles POLIAN** (CIESAS-Sureste, Mexique)  
*Relative clauses in Cholan-Tzeltalan (Mayan)*
- 11h00 **Eladio (B'alam) MATEO** (CIESAS-Sureste, Mexique)  
*A first look at relative clauses in Q'anjob'al (Mayan)*
- 12h00 Lunch
- 13h30 **David BECK** (University of Alberta, Canada)  
*Relative clauses in Upper Necaxa Totonac*
- 14h30 **Roberto ZAVALA** (CIESAS-Sureste, Mexique)  
*Relative clauses in Mixe-Zoquean languages in typological perspective*
- 15h30 **Katharina HAUDE** (SeDyL-CNRS, France)  
*Relative clauses and subject status in Movima*

### Relative clause and language contact in the West Asian area

- 10:00 **Ophélie GANDON, Pollet SAMVELIAN** (Paris3/MII/Labex EFL), Anaïd DONABÉDIAN (Inalco/SeDyL/Labex EFL)  
*Relative clauses in the West Asia area, typology, dialectology and the challenge of mapping (presentation of the project)*
- 10:45 **Christiane BULUT** (University of Cyprus)  
*Language contact-induced structural change in relativization*
- 11:45 **Oleg BELYAEV** (Inst. of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences)  
*Correlatives in Ossetic: Internal development or areal influence?*
- 12:30 Lunch
- 14:00 **Ayten BABALIYEVA** (Inalco/Labex EFL)  
*Relative clause in Northern Azerbaijan: some typological and dialectological remarks*
- 14:30 **Katherine HODGSON** (Inalco/SeDyL/Labex EFL):  
*Relative clause and non-finite subordination in Armenian dialects: preliminary observations*
- 15:30 **Gayane GEVORGIAN** (National Academy of Sciences of Armenia - Brussov State Linguistic University)  
*Mapping Armenian dialects: state of the arts*



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## Abstracts - Mardi 9 décembre

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Gilles Polian (CIESAS-Sureste)  
Relative clauses in Cholan-Tzeltalan (Mayan)

Mayan languages of the Cholan-Tzeltalan division all display frequent use of relative clauses constructions. In this talk I focus on the following salient properties of those constructions: 1) The loss of the A-pivot, characteristic of relative clauses in other branches of the family, in most Cholan-Tzeltalan languages; 2) the borrowing of pronominal relative clauses from Zoque in Cholan; and 3) The use of relative proforms in headed and headless relative clauses in Tzeltal.

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Eladio (B'alam) Mateo (CIESAS-Sureste)  
A first look at relative clauses in Q'anjob'al (Mayan)

In this paper I provide the first description and analysis of relative clauses in Q'anjob'al (Maya). Like all Mayan languages, restrictive relative clauses are post-nominal. The language mainly uses a gap strategy, and a pronominal strategy restricted to a few adjuncts. In terms of the features of the relative clause, I show that they have finite inflection (i.e. they inflect for person, aspect/mood, and thematic affixes) like independent clauses. However, they differ from independent clauses in that they use a focus structure. More generally, I argue that all relative clauses involve movement of the relativized element, which is a pattern found in all Mayan languages with an agent focus construction (such as the K'iche'an, Mamean, and Q'anjob'alan languages). I also describe headless and light headed relative clauses in Q'anjob'al, a discussion mostly forgotten in the analysis of relative clauses in Maya.

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David Beck (University of Alberta)  
Relative clauses in Upper Necaxa Totonac

Relative clauses in Totonacan languages are by and large undescribed, in part because they give the appearance of being rather uninteresting, taking the form of an externally-headed or "light-headed" clause introduced by a relativizing element and showing a gap in the internal structure—although it has not gone unnoticed that the relativizer in some Totonacan languages displays some of the properties of a relative pronoun. Closer inspection of relative constructions in Upper Necaxa Totonac shows that things are more interesting than they seem, and that the language allows both externally and internally-headed relative clauses. This talk will outline these structures and discuss the implications they have for the description of relative clauses in the language, including the nature of the relativizers.



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Roberto Zavala (CIESAS-Sureste)  
Relative clauses in Mixe-Zoquean languages in typological perspective

Mixe-Zoquean languages have two structural types of relative clauses which are interesting from a typological point of view. All languages in this large family share OV features, but only Mixean languages and Santa María Chimalapan Zoquean have kept this basic word order. However, prenominal relative clauses are only common in Chimalapan Zoque, in the different Zoquean dialects of Chiapas and in Jitlottepec.

On the one hand, the study of relative clauses in Zoquean languages reveals that both prenominal relative clauses and relative clause morphology have been borrowed by the Mayan languages Chol and Chontal from Chiapanec Zoque.

On the other hand, the family is rich in relative clause types, as there are three main ones: (i) externally headed relatives using the gap strategy; (ii) externally headed relatives with relative pronouns; and (iii) internally headed relatives.

(i) One finds embedded relative clauses in the Zoquean branch whereas adjoined relative clauses are found in the Mixean languages of Oaxaca. The relatives using a gap strategy are postnominal both in OV and VO Zoquean languages, but prenominal in Chimalapan Zoque, in the Zoque languages of Chiapas, and in Jitlottepec.

(ii) Relatives with relative pronouns are always postnominal and they do not constitute a basic strategy within the family. In some languages, they are only found in the relativization of obliques by means of pied-pipping or pied-pipping with inversion; by preposition stranding; or by both strategies together.

(iii) Internally headed relatives clauses are found in the Chimalapa Zoquean languages of Oaxaca, in the Zoquean dialects spoken in Chiapas and in Jitlottepec.

In this paper, I discuss the contribution these findings in this large family under a comparative, areal and typological perspective.

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Katharina Haude (SeDyL-CNRS)  
Relative clauses and subject status in Movima

In Movima (isolate, lowland Bolivia), the formal distinction between the two core arguments of a transitive clause is based on the relative hierarchical status of the nominal referents with respect to person, animacy and topicality. Semantic roles are indicated by direct and inverse marking on the predicate.

The “obviative” argument, which expresses the event participant lower in the referential hierarchy, has the same formal and behavioural properties as the single argument of an intransitive clause, while its “proximate” counterpart has no such privileges. Thus, for instance, only the obviative argument can be relativized, which is possible due to the existence of direct and inverse voice, as well as an additional antipassive voice for high-ranking agents.

This pattern is puzzling: on the one hand, the accessibility to relativization (Keenan and Comrie 1977) is often used as a criterion for defining a “subject” in a language; on the other hand, the subject relation – often representing a discourse topic – is claimed to be reserved for high-ranking referents (Aissen 1999). This talk will seek an explanation for the striking discrepancy between topichood and subject relation in Movima by discussing the controversial formal and functional criteria employed for the definition of “subject”.



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## Abstracts - Mercredi 10 décembre

Christiane BULUT (University of Cyprus)

### *Language contact-induced structural change in relativization*

Turkic languages mainly rely on non-finite verb forms to express dependent clauses: *Adverbial action clauses* are based on gerunds, while nominalized verb forms such as verb nouns and participles denote *agent clauses* (relative clauses) or *nominalized action clauses* (complement clauses & certain types of modal clauses).<sup>1</sup> Across the area under observation, these principles of Turkic syntax are widely abandoned: Like in the corresponding Indo-European or Iranian models, the dependent clause is based on a finite verb form; it may be connected to the main clause by a conjunctive, which, at the same time, expresses the semantic relation between main clause and dependent clause.

Relativization of the Indo-European type has a long history across the Turkic languages; examples are already present in AET (Ancient Eastern Turkic) and the early written languages (Chaghatay, Khorazm etc.). In different periods and areas, though, one may observe various forms of realization – the scale reaches from the complete imitation of the Iranian system (involving copied Iranian relativizers) to a restrictive use in certain functions (such as, for instance, the rendering of appositive/non-defining relative clauses in High Ottoman Turkish – similar also in Standard Turkish), or relics in a more or less specialized function (in East Anatolian dialects).

This paper will present some examples of Indo-European patterns of relativization in the Turkic varieties of East Anatolia, West Iran (including Azerbaijan), Iraq, Georgia and Cyprus.

The degree of similarity between the model and its copied form seems to correlate to the proportion of bilingual speakers in the respective area. Where the patterns

do not involve material copies (of e. g. Iranian morphology, as is the case in Turkic varieties of Iran and Iraq), their origin is not always clear. Some may owe their existence to different overlapping influences that led to an imitation of Indo-European structures. Cypriot Turkic, for instance, goes back to older forms of predominantly Anatolian dialects; supposedly, Indo-European structures were part of the syntactic inventory the speakers of Turkic brought along to the island. Thus these varieties of Turkic already displayed a certain acceptance of Indo-European syntactic structures. The more recent contact with Greek, in combination with a high ratio of Turkic-Greek bilinguals, has granted the survival of these patterns of relativization. The same is true for a group of newcomers to the island: The so-called Pontioi or Urum from Georgia speak an older variety of East Anatolian Turkic; they use Indo-European patterns of relativization that are rooted in their linguistic heritage, and, at the same time inspired by Cypriot Greek, the dominant language of their new environment.

Oleg Belyaev (joint work with Natalia Serdobolskaya)

### *Correlatives in Ossetic: Internal development or areal influence?*

Ossetic subordination is characterized by a remarkable degree of uniformity, with the correlative construction being used not just for relatives proper, but for the majority of other clause types, including complement and adverbial clauses. Considering that correlatives are typical for Indo-European languages and seem to be seldom used in languages of the Caucasus, a plausible assumption is that this strategy is inherited from the proto-language. Yet there is evidence that demonstrates that Ossetic seems to have considerably remodeled, or even re-innovated, correlatives during the course of its history. Moreover, unlike the rest of the Iranian languages where this construction gradually disappeared, Ossetic has vastly expanded it. In this talk, I will demonstrate that this can be explained by contact with neighbouring North-West Caucasian languages, which also extensively employ relative-like constructions in their systems of subordination.

<sup>1</sup> See Johanson (1990: 199 f.).



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However, since the particular constructions employed in these languages are syntactically rather different from the Ossetic system, we must conclude that we deal with contact-induced development of an originally native strategy rather than a case of pure metatypy.

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Ayten BABALIYEVA (Inalco/Labex EFL)

*Relative clause in Northern Azerbaijan: some typological and dialectological remarks*

Cet exposé aura pour but de présenter deux stratégies majeures de relativisation que l'azéri utilise : les relatives prénominales à verbe non fini et les relatives postnominales à verbe fini, et de montrer les rôles syntaxiques qu'elles permettent de relativiser. Les relatives à verbe non fini ont pour tête un participe. On observera que plusieurs participes sont utilisés, dont certains sont spécialisés dans l'expression de la relativisation, d'autres ont une valeur plus générale de subordination et s'emploient dans les complétives et les circonstancielles aussi. On remarquera que les relatives à verbe fini présentent des variations notables : le rôle relativisé peut être assumé par un pronom relatif ou un pronom résomptif, ou bien aucun pronom ne sera impliqué dans la relative ; le nom de domaine est souvent modifié par un démonstratif. La dernière partie de l'exposé sera consacrée à l'étude des relatives libres à mot interrogatif, qui sont souvent corrélatives, étant reprises dans la phrase matrice par un élément anaphorique.

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Katherine HODGSON (Inalco/SeDyL/Labex EFL):

*Relative clause and non-finite subordination in Armenian dialects: preliminary observations*

Existing work on relativisation in Armenian focuses on the literary languages. Information on relativisation is virtually absent from dialectological studies. However, to provide a full typological picture, it is essential to include data from the dialects. I have collected examples of relatives from sound recordings of spontaneous speech in several dialects (Ararat, Artik, Gyumri, Karabagh, Lori) and from texts given in descriptive dialectological works. The dominant strategy reported for the literary languages, postnominal relative clauses using relative pronouns, is actually quite uncommon in all the dialect texts examined here. These show a marked preference for adjoined relatives (correlatives) introduced by an indeclinable complementiser. This strategy is common in the Caucasus-Iran-Anatolia area. Armenian also makes use of prenominal participial relatives. Data from the dialects shows that these (the -ac participle in particular) may extend much lower down the Accessibility Hierarchy (including spatial and temporal adjuncts) than has been implied in previous work, a situation that recalls the Turkic and North Caucasian languages spoken in the area. Thus even an initial examination of dialect data gives a significantly different typological picture of Armenian from that provided by the literary languages alone, revealing features of undoubted importance for an areal-typological study.



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Gayane GEVORGIAN (National Academy of Sciences of Armenia - Briussov State Linguistic University)

## *Mapping Armenian dialects : state of the arts*

The study of dialects is extremely important for language research and comprehensive examination of dialectal problems are possible only in the conditions of dialectal atlas. Compiling the Armenian dialectal atlas is an important step in the history of the study of the Armenian language. Together with this I would like to present the results of my study, which are the first attempt to compile and systemize the Armenian dialectal maps according to the program. The methodology of dialectal atlas program is based on the Armenian dialects program adopted by the Institute of Language, RA National Academy of Sciences. Dialectal atlases of many languages have already been published and the investigation of Armenian in this sense is falling behind.

A base map with about 200 residences of Armenia's Eastern and Western Regions as of 1914, have been created. In the next map the residences numbered with a list of places each with its number. The maps with grammatical features followed which will introduce the material collected according to Program with the help of conventional signs.

The content of the maps are reflected in the title of each isogloss and conventional signs show the borders of their sparseness. 30 linguistic maps were compiled, each of which also have additional interpretations and materials. Maps were first introduced into the unique scientific facts, important information, which will help clarify the dialectal relationship between the units, to identify important features and differences of dialect.

The maps show the borders of linguistic phenomenon extension.