RELATIVE CLAUSES IN DIALECTS OF ENGLISH
A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS:

A = adverbial
ADJ = adjective
ADV = adverb
AH = Accessibility Hierarchy
ATT = attribute
BNC = British National Corpus
CMI = Central Midlands
CNO = Central North
COMPARA = comparative
CSW = Central Southwest
DAT = dative case
DEM = demonstrative
DET = determiner
DO = direct object
EAN = East Anglia

GEN = genitive
IND = indefinite
IO = indirect object
LAE = *The linguistic atlas of England* by Orton, Sanderson, & Widdowson (1978)
MODI = modifier
n = noun
N = number
NIR = Northern Ireland
NITCS = Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech
NORM = non-mobile, old, rural male
NORF = non-mobile, old, rural female
NP = noun phrase
nr = nonrestrictive
O = object
OBL = oblique case
OCOMP = object complement
OCOMP[ARISON] = object of comparison
OP = object of preposition/prepositional object
+p = personal
-p = nonpersonal
± p = (non)personal
PERS = personal
PCOMP = prepositional complement
Poss PRON = possessive pronoun
pp = prepositional participle
prep = preposition(al)
PRON = pronoun
r = restrictive
RC = relative clause
REL = relative
S = subject (word order)
SCO = Scotland
SCOMP = subject complement
SED = Survey of English dialects
SRLM = Somerset Rural Life Museum
SUBJ = subject (grammatical function; syntactic position)
SVO = Subject Verb Object
T-structures = Topicalization structures
V = verb
∅ = zero relative marker

MARKING CONVENTIONS:

- Antecedent is typed in boldface
- Relative clause is put in square brackets

1. INTRODUCTION

Dialect syntax has only recently been discovered as a fruitful area of investigation. Viewing dialect syntax from a typological perspective is an even younger development, as areal typology was concerned with analyses across LANGUAGES. This study investigates an aspect of dialect syntax in a number of English dialects within a typological framework. Relative clauses are a central syntactic phenomenon in every dialect which takes different forms in different dialects. These different types of relative clauses and strategies in relative clause formation are subjected to a cross-DIALECTAL analysis which intends to identify salient properties that individual dialects have in common and those properties in which they differ from one another and from the standard language.

Dialects tend to lag behind Standard English in that they represent earlier stages of the language. Connected with that, dialects are less constrained in their use of certain syntactic elements. Linguistic features which have been banned from Standard English still persist in dialectal speech, as we will see in chapters 9 to 15.

However, traditional dialects, which are the subject of this thesis, are nowadays rapidly decaying. On the one hand, the standard language has encroached on traditional dialects, due to such factors as growing mobility, mass media, educational possibilities, and social aspirations. In a comparative study, one can determine which standard features (e.g., *wh*-pronouns) and to what extent these standard features have made inroads into traditional dialects (e.g., whether there is a predominance of *wh*-pronouns). On the other hand, dialects also converge toward one another in a process of dialect-leveling. General nonstandard features of informal speech have developed/are developing from traditional dialect features (e.g., the nonstandard relative marker *what*) and may in turn affect the future shape of Standard English. A comparative-typological view identifies these supra-regional features of informal speech and allows some prognosis as to whether they will find entry into Standard English.

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS:

In chapter 2, I define what a relative clause is and provide the explications of the three crucial concepts in relation to relative clauses, viz antecedent, relative marker, and coreferentiality. Further, I set out the theoretical framework in which this thesis is embedded, which is descriptive-functional-typological. After a brief digression into the generative view of relative clause formation, I put forth that in this thesis I aim at offering an exhaustive overview over the variation that occurs in the formation strategies of adnominal relative clauses in a number of English dialects.

In chapter 3, the material for this thesis is depicted. I describe the subjects of the investigation and map out the localities where the data were recorded. The recordings originate from six separate regions, which are referred to as 'dialect areas' for convenience. Moreover, I report on how I approached the data and why I chose this method.

Chapter 4 deals with related types of clauses, which are outside the scope of this thesis, such as topicalization structures, comparative clauses, and nonfinite constructions functioning as relative clauses. These types share some properties with relative clauses but do not conform to the definition of relative clauses.

In chapter 5, I introduce my typology of relative clauses which consists of the three parameters 'type of subordination', 'linear order of antecedent and relative clause', and 'structural means'. I draw a comparison between 'type of subordination' and 'structural means', both of which I sketch as clines that correlate with one another.

Chapter 6 outlines the types of relative clauses which are not the focus of this thesis, namely nominal and sentential relative clauses and their subtypes correlative diptychs and relative junctures, as they occur (or do not occur) in dialectal speech.

Chapter 7 (and all following chapters) focuses on the prototype of relative clause, the adnominal relative clause. After delimiting 'proper adnominal relative clauses' from 'adverbial adnominal relative clauses', I present and interpret the overall frequencies of ('proper') adnominal relative markers in the six investigated regions. In 7.2. and 7.3., I summarize the major findings of previous investigations of areal distribution of relative markers and compare these findings with my results. Special attention is paid to the Survey of English Dialects and two earlier supra-regional studies, the Lowman Survey and Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*.

In chapter 8, I look at the relative marker usage of each individual speaker. I hypothesize implicational tendencies which hold between indigenous relative markers/dialect features on the one hand, and *wh*-pronouns/standard features on the other hand, according to their degree

of broadness or conformity with Standard English, respectively. These tendencies are brought together in a scale/hierarchy of broadness of relative markers which is compared with the total of dialect speakers.

Chapter 9 investigates the (non)restrictiveness parameter, as it is described in traditional grammar and as it manifests itself in dialectal speech. I discuss regional differences in the use of individual relative markers in (primarily) nonrestrictive relative clauses.

In chapter 10, all relative markers are analyzed as to their combinability with personal and nonpersonal referents. An (extended) implicational hierarchy of (non)personality in dialect mirrors different degrees of affinity or aversion of individual relative markers toward personal antecedents.

Chapter 11 defines the two possibilities of preposition placement (preposition fronting versus preposition stranding) and documents the behavior of relative markers with respect to this variable.

In chapter 12, the Accessibility Hierarchy is introduced, as it was originally set up, later revised, and as I modified it for my analysis. This modified Accessibility Hierarchy is checked against my data overall and for its accuracy with each relative clause formation strategy in all six regions. It is shown how the Accessibility Hierarchy reflects and forecasts changes in the language and how speakers circumvent the lowest position on the Accessibility Hierarchy (genitive).

In chapter 13, I describe the form and function of resumptive pronouns. The appearance of resumptive pronouns is explored in relation to the positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy and in relation to the explicitness of the relative marker. In 13.5., I inquire into the role of resumptive pronouns in further embedded relative clauses. In 13.6., I present nonreduced noun phrases as the maximally explicit type of resumptive.

In chapter 14, the function of the relative pronoun *which* as a 'connector' is disputed. Three alternative analyses are given that constitute more natural explanations for this phenomenon. In 14.4., I raise the question whether there is a preposed subtype of relative clause.

In chapter 15, I talk about the position that a relative clause takes in the matrix sentence (final, medial, or extraposed). Causes are made out for adopting one position or the other. In 15.4., I differentiate copies from resumptive pronouns and illustrate their use.

Finally, chapter 16 offers a résumé of this study.

2. OBJECT OF STUDY, THEORETICAL BACKGROUND, AIMS

2.1. DEFINITION:

A **relative clause** (RC) is a subordinated clause that modifies an **antecedent** with which a **relative marker** (REL marker) in the relative clause is **coreferential**.

The terms in bold type are exemplified and explained below using material from the East Anglian and the Scottish section of my dialect data. Throughout this thesis, the RC is put in square brackets and the antecedent is typed in boldface; the REL marker is underlined here. The zero REL marker is indicated by the symbol ∅. (The initial three capital letters indicate the regions: CMI = Central Midlands, CNO = Central North, CSW = Central Southwest, EAN = East Anglia, NIR = Northern Ireland, SCO = Scotland, followed by the text name, the speaker's identification code, and the sentence number):

(1) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 100>*
*[...] there's **clean air** [∅ is provided], [...].*

(2) *EAN-K65<S: 0806>*
*[...] they knew just where to stop and start, especially **the last pony** [∅ I had].*

(3) *EAN-K69<S: 172>*
*[...] **every senior officer** [that you, you come across in the fire service], has started as a fireman [...].*

(4) *SCO-GYS<Person: PSSCO6><S: 136>*
*[...] **this Billy** [that used to go round all the district] and, and [buy up all these old cast horses] and [bring them up there [until he had a consignment gathered up]].*

The **relative marker** fulfils a threefold task: First, it demarcates the beginning of a subordinate clause, which is typical for VO languages (cf. Kuno 1974: 127 and 133). Second, it refers back to a noun phrase in the matrix clause (anaphor) and third, it has a grammatical function in the RC (either as a noun phrase or as a determiner). On the one hand, the REL marker in the shape of a resumptive REL pronoun is concordant with the morpho-syntactic properties of the antecedental part of the NP. (In Standard English, these properties are number in collective nouns and gender or animacy in the sense of personality/nonpersonality).

On the other hand, the REL pronoun can indicate its grammatical function in the RC via a case-marker (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1245).

Prototypically, the **antecedent** is a noun phrase (NP), i.e., the head noun with its various attributes.[1] However, the antecedent can also be an adjective phrase or a larger unit than a mere noun phrase, such as a predication, a clause, a sentence, or several sentences.
In example (1) the antecedent is *clean air*, which is taken up by the zero REL marker and modified by the RC [∅ *is provided*]. It becomes evident that the RC does not only modify a head noun but usually a whole NP (with pre- and postmodifiers) in those cases in which the pre- or postmodifier(s) have already determined a subset of the larger set that is described by the head noun, which is then even further determined in the RC. That is, the adjective *clean* in (1) had already narrowed down the scope of *air* that is referred to in the RC to the subset of *clean air*, which is taken up by the zero REL marker. In other words, the RC expresses that *clean air* is provided, not just *air*. Likewise, in examples (2) and (3), the RCs [∅ *I had*] and [*that you, you come across in the fire service*] refer to an item (or subset) which has already been restricted by a determiner and a distinguishing[2] premodifier (*the last* and *every senior*, respectively). Accordingly, the speaker in (2) makes a further proposition about his last pony in the RC, not about his present, first, or any other pony, while the speaker in the RC of example (3) makes a further statement about *every senior* officer in the fire service: that all officers of a higher rank had to go through a certain education, not just some, or just junior officers. Thus, the determiner (*the* and *every*) and the premodifier (*clean*, *last*, and *senior*) have scope over the head nouns *air*, *pony*, and *officers*, respectively, which is carried over to the RC, whose REL marker expresses this so determined and restricted subset. In (4), the

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[1] This view is shared by Kirsti Peitsara (2002) in her treatise on relativization in Suffolk dialect (cf. Peitsara 2002: 172-175).

I would like to thank Dr Kirsti Peitsara for kindly allowing me to do some pilot studies with the then unfinished and unedited version of the Helsinki Dialect Corpus during my research visit to the University of Helsinki in June 1998.

Fox & Thompson (1990) also support this notion of antecedent, which they refer to as 'HEAD NP': "The term HEAD NP refers to the Head Noun plus any determiners, [...]." (Fox & Thompson 1990: 298; *footnote* 4). They give the following examples, inter alia, illustrating the head NP in italics and the relative clause in brackets (cf. Fox & Thompson 1990: 298):

> *the blond kid* [that 's been setting the fires] is on the 3rd floor
>
> *This man* [who I have for linguistics] is really too much.

[2] 'Distinguishing' modifiers in opposition to 'descriptive' modifiers. For example, Spanish can express this opposition in meaning by the placement of the modifier: While descriptive adjectives are placed before the head noun, distinguishing modifiers are placed after the head noun.

E.g.: *una pobre mujer = a poor=pitiful woman* (GERMAN: *eine bedauernswerte Frau*) ⇔ *una mujer pobre = a poor=not rich woman* (GERMAN: *eine arme Frau*)

determiner *this* in the antecedent *this Billy* creates a subset of Billies, which enables further **restrictive** modification by a RC, despite the proper name in the antecedental NP (see below chapter 9 RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS). Which part(s) of the antecedental NP is/are actually modified in the RC depends on the individual case. Semantics and linguistic context determine which element(s) make up the antecedent, unless syntax steps in to delimit the antecedent.

For instance, in NPs comprising prepositional attributes (e.g., '*of*' genitives), morpho-syntactic properties of the finite verb in the RC may define the antecedental NP (cf. Huddleston 1984: 396), as in (5) to (8) (number congruence between antecedental NP and finite verb is underlined):

(5) *EAN-HDL<S: 040>*
[...] there was one set of ***buses*** *[∅ were fitted with <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">] and [...].*

(6) *EAN-HDL<S:093>*
[...] from that and a visual check of ***the tickets*** *[that were returned by him to the ticket office], they could tell which tickets were missing and [...].*

(7) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 020>*
[...] I particularly got involved with, with things like erm ***the movement of chemicals*** *[which was beginning to increase and coming into Felixstowe and, and er and, and er Ipswich] erm and [...].*

(8) *CMI-FY5<S: 351>*
And erm ***one of the girls*** *[that was on there] became a very very famous soprano in the country, [...].*

In all the examples above, the person-number marker (singular/plural form) of the finite verb in the RC points to the antecedental NP. In examples (5) and (6), the plural verb form *were* agrees in number with the plural noun forms *buses* and *tickets*, respectively, while the entire NPs are singular: *one set of buses* and *a visual check of the tickets*, respectively. Thus, a morpho-syntactic property of the finite verbs already identifies the antecedental parts of the NPs, namely *buses* and *the tickets*.

By contrast, in example (7), the singular verb form *was* rules out the possibility that the antecedent be either the plural noun *things* (plus its various prepositional attributes) or the plural noun *chemicals*. Based solely on the number congruence between antecedent and finite verb in the RC, the antecedental head noun has to be *movement*. Additionally guided by semantic judgments, the antecedent is *the movement of chemicals*, in lieu of just *the movement*. That is, the prepositional *of*-genitive attribute is considered to be a part of the

antecedent since the linguistic context clarifies that *the movement of chemicals* is modified in the RC: *the movement of chemicals* increased and came into Felixstowe. Likewise, in example (8), RC verb form *was* and antecedental head noun *one* agree in number. Hence, the RC cannot modify the plural NP *the girls*. The linguistic context yields the complete antecedent, as the RC refers to *one of the girls* (on the photograph).

In the absence of syntactic markers, semantics and linguistic context alone must determine which part of the preceding NP constitutes the antecedent:

(9) *EAN-HDK<Person: PSEAN15><S: 071>*
[...] that's what I live on now, memories of ***the happy holidays*** *[∅I've had with him] and, [...].*

(10) *SCO-G63<Person: PSSCO16><S: 355>*
But they had to take on the worry of ***people*** *[that couldn't pay them].*

(11) *CNO-BX p. 8<u AmbBX>*
[...] they were let to ***anybody from the works*** *[that wanted them]. [...]*

(12) *CNO-BR p. 18<u AmbBR>*
[...] and ***a slit in t' far ear****, [which was a bad mark] 'cause it could be turned into anything.*

In examples (9) and (10), the genitive attribute NPs are taken up and modified in the RCs: In (9), the RC relates with whom the speaker spent *the happy holidays* (=antecedent) (viz, with her deceased husband); it does not relate that she shared *memories* of those holidays with him. In (10), the semantic property human agency incorporated in the RC verb *pay* points out the antecedent *people*, whereas the head noun *worry* lacks this property.
Examples (11) and (12) have antecedents which include prepositional attributes (*from the works* and *in t' far ear*, respectively). In (11), the head noun *anybody* is further specified and restricted by the postmodifier *from the works*, so that the RC *that wanted them* only applies to works people (i.e., *anybody from the works* = antecedent) who wanted to rent a house from the works. In (12), the RC *which was a bad mark* refers to *a slit in t' far ear*, which is a bad, because insufficient, mark for marking sheep, not just to the NP *a slit*.

Coreferentiality between antecedent and relative marker can range from strict coreferentiality (standard level case) to rather loose coreferentiality. Strict coreferentiality denominates those cases in which the antecedental NP could reappear in the RC in place of the REL marker. Identity between antecedent and REL marker, however, is not required. In

example (13) below, *the houses* (in the matrix) are not identical to *the houses* (represented by the REL marker) in which the older generation used to live, i.e., the entity *houses* is not the same item in both clauses (the very same houses) but refers to a ***type*** *or* ***kind*** *of houses*:

(13) *NIR-11<I JM28>*
Aye, they had bigger, big change in the houses, more so than at them times. Like, the people weren't so particular that time. They wouldn't live in ***the houses*** *now, [∅ they lived in them times].*

In cases of loose coreferentiality the antecedental NP could not replace the REL marker in the RC. The antecedental NP could be substituted by a semantically more or less closely related NP in the RC. An instance of a very loose coreferentiality relation is given below:

(14) *CMI-FY5<S: 202>*
And they lived in er in ***<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street****, [which are all gone now].*

The RC *which are all gone now* modifies a proper (street) name which is anonymized by the tag *<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">* without strict coreferentiality between the antecedental NP and the REL marker *which*. The antecedental NP *<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street* could not replace the REL marker without a drastic change of meaning in the RC: Syntactically indicated by the plural verb form *are* and semantically by the linguistic context (*are all gone now*), the REL marker *which* refers to 'the houses' in *<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street*, which have disappeared.

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

This thesis is embedded in the theoretical framework of descriptive syntax/'traditional' grammar, drawing much on *A comprehensive grammar of the English language* by Quirk *et al.* (1985) and on Jespersen's (1927) *A modern English Grammar on historical principles*, but also on more recent grammars, especially *The Cambridge grammar of the English language* by Huddleston & Pullum (2002) and *Longman grammar of spoken and written English* by Biber *et al.* (1999). At the same time, the approach taken here could also be described as functional in nature, with some formal constraints relying on structural aspects of

markedness, such as the decision to exclude nonfinite constructions without a relative marker (see below 4.4. NONFINITE CONSTRUCTIONS). Over these two fundamental theoretical frameworks a typological grid is placed which brings forth language-independent (dialect-independent) generalizations, constraints, and implications. A typological approach thus offers an appropriate framework for comparative studies like this one by making out valuable categories for particular morpho-syntactic structures across languages, or in this case, dialects. (Implicational) hierarchies capture attested occurrences (or nonoccurrences) and frequencies of specific phenomena, as well as language/dialect change in progress. Language/dialect properties are not just seen as arbitrary, isolated features, but correlations between/among them are brought to light. Instead of hard and fast rules and strictly delimitated criteria, properties are rather viewed in terms of continua that start out from a prototype case and extend to gradients on the periphery which show a property with increasing marginality. Hence, a typological approach gives room for insights from cognitive linguistics. (Details will ensue in the respective chapters).

My typology of relative clauses, which will be described in chapter 5 TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE CLAUSES, mainly rests on Lehmann's seminal work *Der Relativsatz* (1984) and his subsequent publications on the typology of relative clauses and clause linkage (1986, 1988). Lehmann's typology is built on the typology of Downing (1977, 1978). Downing drew on Andrews' (1985 (1975)) Ph.D. thesis, who took up some ideas by Schwartz (1971). Each added to the insights of the previous author by emending former shortcomings and developing the typology a bit further. For the present study, I revised the relevant aspects of this typology and refined individual clines, tenets, and category boundaries. Insights culled from observations made across languages were applied to dialects of English. From a cross-linguistic perspective, dialects of one language of course do not display such diversity as two (or more) different languages normally do. Structurally different and geographically separate (and genetically not too closely related) dialects of Great Britain are compared to one another, but no numerical comparisons are made with the variety of English which is referred to as 'Standard English'. Standard English looms large in many studies, and therefore, the role it plays here is held to a minimum (the reader is referred to innumerable monographs besides Quirk *et al.* (1985) *A comprehensive grammar of the English language* on the detailed behavior of Standard English concerning relative clauses; see also BIBLIOGRAPHY). Apart from a few relevant historical developments in RC formation, which are mentioned to better explain current phenomena, this is a purely synchronic study.

Although I do not advocate a generative approach to RC formation, I would like to give a short summary of the most basic principles of this highly influential view. Despite its failure to reflect real mental processes, it also raises and discusses issues to the benefit of other theoretical frameworks, such as the distinction between a 'resumptive pronoun' ('trace') and a 'copy' (see below and chapters 13 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS and 15.4. COPIES):

GENERATIVE VIEW: Within the framework of generative grammar, relative clause formation is a process involving pronominalization, deletion, and WH-movement. The order and details of these individual processes have been the subjects of much debate. A commonly held view is described by Keyser (1975): Relative clause formation is a process in which the head of a noun phrase commands a clause with a coreferential NP. By means of pronominalization the coreferential NP in the subordinate clause is substituted by an appropriate relative marker. WH-fronting moves the relative marker to clause-initial position. Optionally, the relative marker is deleted in initial position (cf. Keyser 1975: 3). A simplified illustration is given below:

Example sentence: *The woman* [*John liked* **NP**coreferential NP/ relativized NP in underlying position].

Pronominalization: *The woman* [*John liked* ***whom***].

WH-movement: *The woman* [***whom*** *John liked* ∅gap].

Optional deletion rule: *The woman* [∅zero RELmarker *John liked* ∅gap].

In this view, the zero relative marker results from an optional deletion rule which applies as a *that*-deletion or relative pronoun deletion rule after WH-fronting. In another view, it results from deleting the relativized NP in its normal ('underlying'[3]) position. The relative marker *that* is regarded as a complementizer (cf. Grimshaw 1975: 39).

Generativists disagree on the concept of 'antecedent'. While for some the antecedent is constituted by a head noun (e.g., Haegeman 1994: 407), for others it consists of a noun phrase (e.g., Ross 1967: 2; Stockwell *et al.* 1973: 427/428), or even of a noun phrase excluding the determiner (e.g., Stockwell *et al.* 1973: 436-439). Baker (1995) differentiates between restrictive RCs, whose antecedents are nouns, and nonrestrictive RCs, whose antecedents are noun phrases (cf. Baker 1995: 334/335). However, he is not rigorous in making this distinction, as he regards *of*-genitival attributes as part of the antecedent in restrictive as well

[3] The structural position it would occupy in a corresponding declarative clause.

as in nonrestrictive RCs (cf. Baker 1995: 309). Huddleston (1984), although no generativist but incorporating generative elements in his treatment of RCs, pleads for case-by-case decision-making in delimiting the antecedent, which he calls "antecedent part of the NP" (Huddleston 1984: 396)—a position to which I subscribe in my approach.

What has been marked as a 'gap' ($\varnothing_{gap}$) above, to indicate where the relativized NP has been, is generally marked as a 'trace' in 'Government and Binding Theory' (cf. Chomsky 1977: 81/82). To avoid confusion, however, in chapter 12, the term 'trace' is reserved for *resumptive pronouns* in my short recapitulation of resumptive pronouns within the generative framework: Resumptive pronouns can fill this gap position and thus function as a trace of the deleted relativized NP (see below chapter 13 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS).

Example: *The woman* [*whom John gave the ring to* ***her***resmptive pronoun=trace].

2.3. AIMS:

Relative clauses have been a fair center of interest in theoretical linguistics, including some works on relative clauses in individual dialects. However, a cross-dialectal study on relative clauses has never been done. Investigations into dialectal syntax are rather recent and patchy phenomena, which, to my mind, is caused by two major factors: Firstly, the prestige of dialect syntax is low and the legal status dubious, also in the face of an absence of (orthographic normative) script. Especially in the past, dialectal syntax was simply considered to be wrong syntax. (Even now, one frequently has to defend (less common) dialect features against accusations as being performance errors or instances of sloppy speech (compare Miller & Weinert 1998: 23 and 72).) Secondly, syntactic investigations demand a huge amount of data, whose production (finding suitable interviewees, recording, transcribing, computerizing; tagging) is extremely time-consuming and costly. Researchers have become accustomed to work with ready-made electronic corpora, so that the nonexistence/unavailability of such a dialect corpus discouraged investigations into dialect syntax.

My investigation is primarily qualitative and typological, as relative clauses are a relatively complex aspect of syntax and have much to yield for the typologist. I want to offer a complete overview over the occurrence (and nonoccurrence) of variation in the formation strategies of adnominal relative clauses in a whole range of dialects. In addition, I will report some interesting phenomena to be observed in nominal and sentential relative clauses. I will point

out types and recurring patterns in the dialects, as well as discuss individual interesting examples.

3. MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. MATERIAL: The material used for the present investigation of relative clauses in dialects of English constitutes a subcorpus of FRED ('FReiburg Corpus of English Dialects'), which is currently compiled at the English Linguistics Department of the University of Freiburg under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Bernd Kortmann. The compilation of FRED Corpus is part of the project 'Vergleichende Dialektsyntax aus typologischer Perspektive (am Beispiel der britischen Inseln)' ('comparative dialect syntax from a typological perspective (for the British Isles'), which is funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.[4] FRED aims to fill a yawning gap as a recent, large-scale dialect corpus suitable for syntactic analyses. It consists of authentic dialect texts, which were made from tape recordings of interviews in a question and answer mode, with usually one or two interviewees present and an interviewer. Mostly, the interviews were conducted in the interviewee's home and the interviewer originated from the same locality in order to create a supportive atmosphere for spontaneous, unmonitored speech. The major part of the interviews are documents of oral history projects, recorded between the 1970s and the 1990s, in which interviewees talk about their lifetime experiences and on 'how things were in the past'. The informants are generally NORMs and NORFs, i.e., non-mobile, old, rural (and urban) males and females of a largely working-class background who had had little formal education. Male speakers outnumber female speakers by far, because, on the whole, women tend to avoid dialect or are less broad dialect speakers. The Freiburg English dialects project group transcribed these recordings either from scratch or used already existing transcripts of the tapes, thus producing new, computerized transcriptions. Transcriptions are largely orthographic with some phonological adaptations. Prosody, such as intonation breaks, were rendered by means of standard punctuation. Selective tags were used to identify speakers and indicate sentence starts, (long) pauses, unclear passages, truncated words, phonological regularizations, and paralinguistic information. Data are available as common text (.txt) files in an ASCII format or, for computerized searches, as TACT files (automatic search and retrieval computer program in DOS modus). Data about the speakers and the recordings are put in a header at the beginning

[4] This project has been funded as Ko 1181 by the DFG between 2000 and 2003.

of each file. At the same time, biodata are stored in an Access data bank, by means of which the scope of TACT searches can be narrowed down according to various parameters.

The relevant subcorpus of FRED for the present study draws on several sources:

1. The East Anglian, the Central Midlands, and the Scottish data are dialectal texts extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC), published in 1995. They were reformatted into easy-to-read texts, while selective tags were kept, including speakers' identification codes, sentence numbers, linguistic information (i.e., unclear passages, truncated words, and pauses) as well as paralinguistic information (e.g., laughter; coughing). The texts result from oral history projects and are based on recorded interviews with elderly, working-class people speaking naturally. Apart from the fact that the transcriptions were already completed, these texts correspond to the dialectal texts in FRED Corpus proper in every respect and actually were the starting-point for the current FRED Corpus.

The East Anglian data were recorded at the following locations: Ipswich, Suffolk (texts H5G, H5H, HDL, K68; K69), Newmarket, Suffolk (HDH; HYC), Needham Market, Suffolk (HDK), and Soham, Cambridgeshire (K65).

The Central Midland data were recorded in Nottinghamshire (texts FXX; H4B) and in Nottingham itself (FYD, FYE, FXU, FXV, FXW, FY0, FY2, FY5; FYH).

The Scotland data were recorded at Edinburgh, Midlothian/Lothian (texts GYU, G62, G63, probably K6K, probably K6M; probably K7G), Kilmarnock, Ayrshire/Strathclyde (GYS, GYT), Galashiels, Selkirkshire/Borders (GYW), and Glasgow, Lanarkshire/Lothian (K6L). One text probably originates from Invernesshire (K6N) and the origin of another Scottish text is unknown (FXP).

2. A part of the Central Southwest data is Juhani Klemola's Somerset Rural Life Museum (SRLM) data (texts SRLM 105, SRLM 107, SRLM 108, SRLM 109, SRLM 122, SRLM 123; SRLM 132).[5]
3. The other part of the Central Southwest data belongs to the Somerset Rural Life Museum (texts SRLM 5, SRLM 20, SRLM 62, SRLM 224; SRLM 302).[6]

The Central Southwest data were recorded in Eastern Somerset, in the villages of Galhampton (SRLM 105), Evercreech (SRLM 107; SRLM 122), Compton Dundon (SRLM 108), Stoney Stratton (SRLM 109), Henley (SRLM 123), Butleigh (SRLM 132; SRLM 302), Baltonsborough (SRLM 5), Moorwood, Oakhill (SRLM 20), West Stoughton (SRLM 62), and Horton, near Ilminster (SRLM 224).

4. The Central North data are the property of the Ambleside Oral History Group and were reformatted for FRED Corpus.[7]

The Cumbrian data were recorded in the pre-1974 counties Westmorland, Cumberland, and Lancashire, in particular in the Ambleside area, formerly Westmorland (texts AE, AQ, AY, BP, BR, BX, CE, DA, DB, DX, HN; Z/AA).

5. The Northern Ireland data are part of John Kirk's Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech (NITCS), in a re-edited form.[8] The NITCS is based on the Northern Ireland section of Michael V. Barry's Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech, which was recorded between 1973 and 1980 (cf. Kirk 1992: 65). The NITCS itself was created in 1989/90 (cf. *ibidem*) and published in 1991. I only considered texts with elderly informants, whose speech should reflect the most conservative stratum of regional speech (cf. Kirk 1992: 68).

The Northern Ireland data were recorded at the following locations: In Antrim: Armoy (text 2), Glendun (text 3), Glarryford (text 7), Toomebridge (text 12), and Crumlin (text 19); in Londonderry: Shantallow (text 4), Dungiven (text 5), Garvagh (text 6), and Desertmartin (text

[5] I would like to thank Dr Juhani Klemola for kindly giving me permission to use his SRLM material.

[6] I would like to thank the Somerset Rural Life Museum for kindly allowing us to work with their material.

[7] I would like to thank the Ambleside Oral History Group for kindly allowing us to work with their material.

[8] I would like to thank Dr John Kirk for kindly allowing us to work with the NITCS.

11); in Tyrone: Clady (text 8), Plumbridge (text 9), Cranagh (text 10), Scraghey (text 15), Omagh (text 16), Carrickmore (text 17), Stewartstown (text 18), Ballygawley (text 25), and Benburb (text 26); in Fermanagh: Braade (text 22), Clabby (text 24), Belcoo (text 31), Kinawley (text 32), and Lisnaskea (text 33); in Armagh: Lurgan (text 27) and Madden (text 34); in Down: Ballystockart (text 20), Dunover (text 21), Kinallen (text 28), Ballygalget (text 30), Lurganmore (text 35), Cabragh (text 36), and Attical (text 38).

The entire subcorpus totals approximately 480,000 words, divided into some 80,000 words for each of the six 'dialect' regions (Central Southwest, East Anglia, Central Midlands, Central North, Scotland, and Northern Ireland). The word 'dialect' here should be taken with a grain of salt, as it is rather a convenient means to partition the map than any claim to the existence and location of "dialect borders".[9] Thus, no claim is made that these selected regions constitute the vital dialect areas of the British Isles. Instead these regions were chosen to cover the British map areally, that means, they are areas which are sufficiently wide apart geographically, with an identity of their own. For the sake of convenience, the regional speech used in these areas is referred to as 'dialect'. Each region is named after a larger geographical area, largely following Map 18 'Modern Dialect areas', published in Trudgill (1990), as a convenient tool.[10] Hence, my findings will not culminate in confirming, rejecting, or moving these lines on Map 18, but this thesis will illustrate and compare relative clause formation strategies in these six regions or 'dialect areas', delineated on Map 1 on the next page:

[9] In fact, the concept of a 'dialect border' is an artifact, since "dialects form a continuum" (Davis *et al.* 1997: 281). Davis *et al.* (1997) say that they "failed here to determine major dialect boundaries in England" (*ibidem*), for, almost every individual dialect feature investigated in the Survey of English Dialects and presented cartographically in The linguistic atlas of England (1978) creates a new dialect border (cf. Davis *et al.* 1997: 277). To quote Clive Upton, "those spaghettis [isoglosses] don't bundle" (personal communication). I would like to thank Dr Clive Upton for his warm welcome during my research visit to the University of Leeds in spring 1998 and for many fruitful discussions.

[10] Trudgill's (1990) Map 18 'Modern Dialect areas' is mainly based on results of the Survey of English Dialects, with some more recent findings included. This map is not to be understood as representing rigid dialect boundaries but rather rough guidelines.

Map 1 MODERN DIALECT AREAS OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND NORTHERN IRELAND

The six regional corpora are not equally dialectal. As a whole, the Central Southwest, the Central North, and the Northern Ireland corpus represent broader dialectal speech than the East Anglia, the Central Midlands, and the Scotland corpus. (In fact, the Central Southwest and the Northern Ireland corpus are made up of broad speakers only, while the composition of speakers of the other four corpora is heterogeneous; the Central North and the Central Midlands corpus are similar in terms of speakers composition.)

Each informant was given a general speaker profile ('broad', 'medium', 'moderate', or 'modest') describing his/her overall performance as a dialect speaker on a largely impressionistic basis which involved assessing and counting individual dialect features. However, these labels are

not to be understood as hard and fast categories but rather as guidelines in interpreting individual uses of relative clauses.

One has to bear in mind, however, that every dialect speaker, to varying degrees, is also a speaker (or has at least competence) of Standard English. Only a relatively small percentage of his/her speech can be classified as dialect grammar. Speakers make use of Standard English if there is no dialectal variant. In addition, there is a lot of free variation between dialectal variants and standard variants, in which the standard variant usually prevails (depending on the broadness of the speaker/speech).

When dealing with spontaneous spoken language, one realizes that 'properly finished sentences' are an ideal described in prescriptive/descriptive grammars but comparatively rare in normal conversation. Unprepared speech is rife with focus constructions, abandoned or incorrectly finished clauses, dislocated noun phrases; elisions and anacolutha (compare Miller & Weinert 1998: 22/23, 60, and 262). As a consequence, sentence boundaries are sometimes difficult to establish.[11] This problem made itself particularly felt, when approaching RCs that modify the subject of the matrix clause (see below chapter 15 POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE) or when distinguishing (nonrestrictive) relative *that* from demonstrative *that* at the beginning of a clause. Punctuation (especially in the BNC) is not always reliable and prosody not always available. Besides, intonation breaks may be due to unintentional hesitations in the online production process instead of willful acts of separating semantic units (cf. Tao & McCarthy 2001: 657 and 661). As there is no possibility of going back to the informant to ask what he/she meant by saying X, one depends on semantic and pragmatic clues, or even has to fall back on intuition to disambiguate cases (see also below and 9.3. RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN DIALECTAL SPEECH).[12]

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[11] Peitsara (2002) and Tao & McCarthy (2001) phrase this issue as follows:
"Speakers proceed without a premeditated plan and may often change the structure in the middle of a sentence ('false starts')" (Peitsara 2002: 167/168) and "[i]t is not always easy to recognize a relative construction in speech where the borderlines between dependent and non-dependent structures are often obscured" (Peitsara 2002: 167).

"[R]elative clauses in conversation, as with grammar in spoken language in general, can take quite different forms from those described in written-language based grammars" (Tao & McCarthy 2001: 658).

[12] In her analysis of Suffolk data, Peitsara (2002) was faced with the same problems as I and tackled them in the same way (cf. Peitsara 2002: 168).

3.2. METHOD: My way of approaching the data was by reading the texts. This method did not lag behind a computerized search method for all (known) relative markers in speed, as relative clauses are frequent enough for this. Secondly, by entering specific search commands I only would have been able to either corroborate or reject already described observations. However, my aim was to go beyond that and push onward into yet unexplored territory, that is, encounter other relative markers or new phenomena. Thirdly, some RC phenomena are not or not easily to be found via computer searches, such as zero RCs or occurrences of resumptives and copies. Finally, by following the entire text and familiarizing oneself with the immediate and the larger linguistic context, errors (e.g., in determining the antecedental part of the NP, *that* and zero RCs, or (non)restrictiveness) are minimized. In the course of reading hundreds of pages of dialectal speech, one develops a 'feel' for the overall regional dialect and for each dialectal idiolect. In this way, one uncovers and (hopefully) correctly analyzes structures which would otherwise go unnoticed or be misinterpreted.

Every adnominal relative clause was analyzed as to the following parameters: (non)restrictiveness, (non)personality, grammatical function of the relative marker, and, if applicable, preposition placement and position of the relative clause. All instances were counted and expressed in tables, presenting absolute numbers and percentages. Some variables (i.e., (in)definiteness, (non)specificity, grammatical function of the antecedent, type/complexity of the antecedent, immediacy, and length of the RC) were recorded for the first investigated dialect region but dropped afterward, because they turned out as not essential to my analysis. Moreover, some fine-grained distinctions were abandoned for more rewarding generalizations (e.g., personality/nonpersonality dichotomy instead of an animacy hierarchy; prepositional objects or adverbials were subsumed under 'prepositional complements' (see below 12. ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY)).

No (sophisticated) statistics were carried out, for three reasons:

First, (adnominal) relative clauses are a low frequency phenomenon, relatively speaking. On average, I found 5.23 instances per 1000 words. The number of RCs are subject to individual variation and complexity of speech style, as well as length/shortness of the (demanded) utterances. Speakers generally prefer paratactic constructions in spontaneous conversation, while, for example, the interrogatory mode of conducting the interviews in the Northern Ireland corpus tended to cut short any elaborate answers involving complex sentences. In my type of investigation, the most interesting findings (e.g., the REL marker *as*, nonrestrictive *that* and zero RCs, personal *which*, or resumptives) are almost always below the 5 % (or 1 %)

threshold of statistical probability. In other words, if the percentage were the yardstick of valuable findings, all dialectal investigations on low frequency phenomena—which syntactic phenomena usually are—would be irrelevant.

Second, statistics would pretend to yield accurate results where numerical differences among the regions actually hinge on or at least are influenced by the varied quality (i.e., broadness of dialect) of the data from the respective areas. Relying or focusing only on quantitative results would give distorted pictures in these cases, but focusing on qualitative results (occurrence or nonoccurrence, while taking the quality of the dialect material into account) achieves very valuable insights.

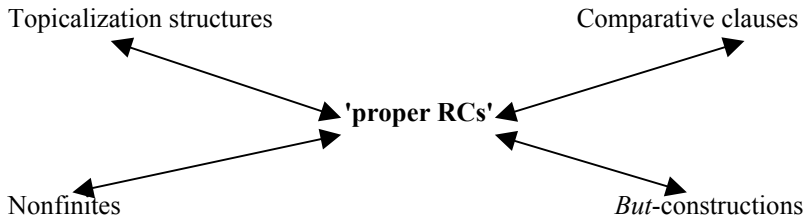
Third, my analysis is deliberately not designed as a collection of significance tests to test out a more or less random selection of linguistic factors which may determine or contribute to the choice of one REL marker over another, with all the intricacies of:

a) numerous variables (sometimes counteracted by pooling factors like 'subject' versus 'non-subject' instead of discrete grammatical functions),
b) non-independent variables (e.g., 'mediality' and 'restrictiveness' correlate),
c) hidden variables (e.g., 'type of antecedent' unobservedly impinges on '(non)personality' or 'grammatical function of REL marker').

Accordingly, whenever I comment on frequencies or point out correlations, I proceed very carefully and refrain from speculative interpretations, since my quantitative analyses are not ratified by significance tests (multivariate analyses).

4. RELATED TYPES OF CLAUSES

4.1. Introduction: Some types of subordinate clauses are related to relative clauses but do not meet the defining criteria for relative clauses. In the subsequent subchapters (4.2. TOPICALIZATION STRUCTURES, 4.3. COMPARATIVE CLAUSES, 4.4. NONFINITES; 4.5. *BUT*-CONSTRUCTIONS), four types of clauses are treated in turn, but they are left out of the count in the main analysis of this thesis, unless stated otherwise. These related types can be placed at the periphery of RCs with 'proper RCs' as the prototype at the center:

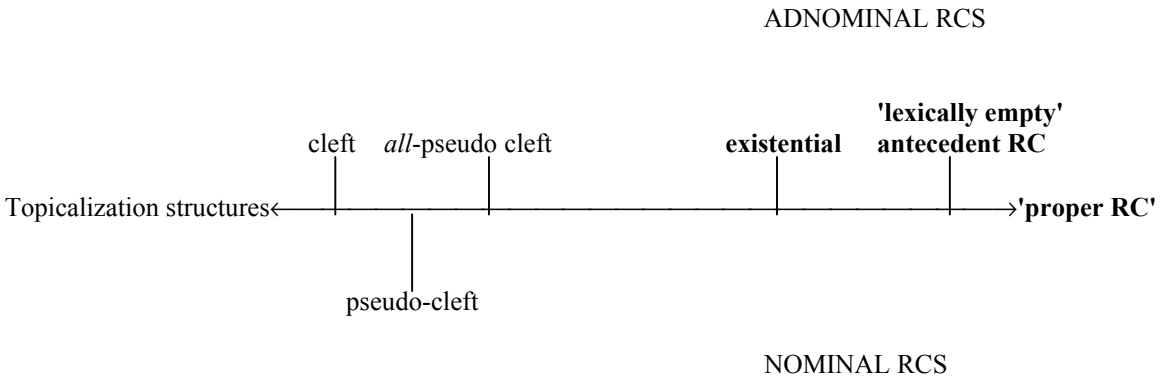


4.2. TOPICALIZATION STRUCTURES

Topicalization structures including clefts, pseudo-clefts, and *all*-pseudo-clefts (explained below) are not counted as involving relative clauses but form a distinct type of clause. In contradistinction to relative clauses, topicalization structures do not revolve around the **modification** of an antecedent, but the **focussing** of an antecedent (cf. Lehmann 1984: 363; see also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1386/1387; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1035; Keenan 1985: 170; Stockwell *et al.* 1973: 421/422). The subordinate clauses of these topicalization structures are related to relative clauses and can be seen as gradients along a continuum of RCs with topicalization structures and 'proper RCs' at opposite ends. The closer the types are located toward the right pole the more similar to 'proper RCs' they are. In the continuum below, all subtypes resembling adnominal relative clauses are arranged above the line, while those resembling nominal relative clauses are below it. In contrast to the above-mentioned

gradients, the subtypes on the scale in bold type, i.e., the so-called '**lexically empty**'[13] **antecedent RC** and the **existential** are included in the count of all RCs in the main part of this thesis, as these subtypes sufficiently meet the defining criteria for relative clauses put forward on page 11 in 2.1. DEFINITION above.

CONTINUUM OF RCS: Topicalization structures — **'proper RC'**



4.2.1. Topicalization structures resembling adnominal relative clauses: cleft and *all*-pseudo-cleft

Cleft sentences split one proposition into two separate clauses for the sake of giving focus to an element (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1383/1384). The *it*-cleft follows the pattern: *it* + *be* + focussed NP + subordinate clause, which resembles a restrictive RC (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1384 and 1386). However, there are various syntactic differences between an "'annex' clause" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1387; *note*) of a cleft and a RC, in addition to the prosodic difference arising from its focussing nature (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1386/1387; see also Lehmann 1984: 362).[14] One of the most striking differences between RCs and clefts is that the co-occurrence restriction between proper names (or other nouns or pronouns with specific or unique reference) and restrictive (!) zero or *that* clauses is lifted in cleft sentences, in dialectal speech

[13] By 'lexically empty' nouns I mean semantically bleached nouns, as they occur for example in adverbial RCs (see below 7.1. DEFINITION OF THE CATEGORY in chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES). Here 'lexically empty' antecedents refer to noun phrases like '*anybody*', '*somebody*', '*the best*', '*the only thing*', '*the only ones*', '*the one*', '*the one thing*', '*them*', etc., which are relatively close to focus constructions semantically. Quirk *et al.* (1985) use the term "general antecedent" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1387; *note*) instead of 'lexically empty' antecedent.

[14] For details, please see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1387. See also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1046 and 1056/1057.

and in Standard English (examples (1) to (3)) (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1241 and 1387; *note*; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1056/1057). As in examples (4) to (6), clefts can also be introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *that* (or *this*):

(1) *CNO-CE p. 6<u AmbCE>*
Isn't it High House ∅ we 're talking about?

(2) *CNO-BX p. 6<u AmbBX>*
[...] I think it was Bristol Engineering ***that*** *they did a lot of work for them during the war.*

(3) *CSW-SRLM 123<T 1100>*
[...] it's you ∅ it's up to. [...]

(4) *SCO-G62<Person: PSSCO13><S: 1070>*
That's the boss ∅ she's speaking about.

(5) *CMI-FXW<S: 037>*
No me elder brother was, not me second brother, that was the Second World War ∅ he was in.

(6) *CNO-DB p. 3<u AmbDB>*
And that was John Holmes ***that*** *they had from Elterwater.*

Like dialectal relative clauses (see below 12.2. INDIVIDUAL RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION STRATEGIES), dialectal clefts also lend themselves to having a gap (zero marker) in subject position in the subordinate clause:

(7) *CSW-SRLM 302 p. 101<u SH>*
It was Jennifer Higgins ∅ lived in there. Her father raised in that house next, it was Alfie Higgins ∅ lived there.

(8) *NIR-2<I AM19>*
[...] It was my grandmother ∅ owned this bit of land [...].

(9) *CSW-SRLM 108<T 1440>*
[...] 't weren't everyone ∅ had a binder.

The subordinate clause of the ***all*-pseudo-cleft** sentence looks like a restrictive relative clause. The *all*-pseudo-cleft parallels the **pseudo-cleft** (see below 4.2.3. Topicalization structures resembling nominal relative clauses: pseudo-cleft (and reversed pseudo-cleft)) in structure but

differs from it by having the overt preceding NP *all* in the matrix clause, followed by a subordinate clause.[15] For example (*all* and the subordinate clause are underlined):

(10) *CSW-SRLM 105<T 1160>*
*[...] All **as** we could get for this milk was four pence a gallon, [...].*

(11) *NIR-33<I MM8>*
[...] Practically {PAUSE}, you practically kept the house on it, you know {I know} [insertion in curly brackets, T.H.], all ∅ was bought was bread. [...]

(12) *CMI-FY5<S: 415>*
[...] I'd go the rounds with him and all ∅ I used to do was to er take the peoples [sic] things that they'd bought up the entry you see because they were all entries then. [*all*-pseudo-cleft focussing a verb]

(13) *CSW-SRLM 62 p. 72<u HR>*
*[...] so all **as** he had to do were go round in a circle all the time, [...].* [*all*-pseudo-cleft focussing a verb]

While the *all*-pseudo-cleft in example (12) could also occur in Standard English, examples (10), (11), and (13) involve the dialectal particle *as* and the zero marker in subject position, which are typical dialect features, in the Central Southwest or overall. Topicalization structures incorporate particles, and thus maintain usages, which have dropped out of the REL marker system (in an area) (see below 8.3. SCALE/ HIERARCHY OF BROADNESS OF RELATIVE MARKERS). Historically, these particles appear to enter a linguistic system via such topicalization structures and also appear to leave it through them. Mustanoja reports *all what* already for Old English (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 191), and in Middle English, *what* mostly relativizes so-called "antecedents of less definite character, like *all* and *nothing*" (Mustanoja 1960: 194). If a dialect (or an idiolect) shows a specific particle, such as *what* in the Central Southwest, in a RC, it also shows this particle in topicalization structures like clefts and *all*-pseudo-clefts. For instance, in the Central Southwest, *what* as a REL marker occurs in every text. So it also occurs in *all*-pseudo-clefts. For example:

(14) *CSW-SRLM 302 p. 105<u SH>*
*[...] so all **what** we had was oil lamp, oil lamp and a telephone up there for the police to keep ringing us up to see if we were all right.*

[15] Peitsara (2002) also calls them 'cleft sentences', but unfortunately includes them in her analysis of RCs nevertheless (cf. Peitsara 2002: 174).

Hence, the following implicational tendency emerges, which holds true for the vernacular particles *what* and *as* (in the Central Southwest) (see below 8.3. SCALE/ HIERARCHY OF BROADNESS OF RELATIVE MARKERS) and the zero marker in subject function overall (see below 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs):

particle in topicalization structures > particle in 'proper RCs'[16]

4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs

A variety of syntactic structures that introduce new information or participants into the discourse, such as **existential** sentences and **'lexically empty' antecedent RCs** (RCs that modify semantically bleached antecedents like 'the (only, best, first, last, next) thing', 'the (only, best, first, last, next) one', 'one thing', 'something', 'anybody', etc.), possess a focalizing aspect in addition to a weightier modifying function. Consequently, *have*- and *be*-existentials of the types 'subject + *have* + NP-[RC]' and '*there* + *be* + NP-[RC]', respectively, are regarded as involving relative clauses. Being a topicalization construction to some extent as well, however, existentials evince zero RCs after specific nouns and proper names (compare Lumsden 1988: 199-201). Syntactically, these clauses are nonrestrictive zero RCs, which thus are ungrammatical in Standard English (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1258; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1056 and 1059). For example:

(15) *CNO-DB p. 2<u AmbDB>*
[...] there was ***Mr McNaughton*** *and* ***Ben Weir from Kendal*** *[∅ came round buying horses]. [...]* [*there*-existential]

(16) *SCO-K6N<Person: PSSCO28><S: 0473>*
(UNCLEAR) of course you there would just been ***my father and mother*** *[∅ 'd be speaking Gaelic all the time in the house] you see.* [*there*-existential]

(17) *CMI-FYH<S: 631>*
[...] there was only ***him*** *{you know} [insertion in curly brackets, T.H.] [∅ used to preach], [...].* [*there*-existential]

[16] The symbol > in X > Y means 'Y implies X'.

(18) *SCO-K6N<Person: PSSCO28><S: 0114>*
Yes she had ***her aunt*** *[∅ was a widow there at the time [when she came to <gap cause=anonymization desc=address>]] and she just lived about a year.* [*have*-existential]

In addition, the zero REL marker is ungrammatical in subject position in (written) Standard English (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1250; see also Biber *et. al.* 1999: 619). Supposedly, this restriction on the use of the zero marker in subject function is due to the difficult processing of constructions in which the zero RC modifies an initial NP (subject) (cf. Bever & Langendoen 1971: 444). The following example is taken from Bever & Langendoen (1972):

**Anyone owns a fleet of six cars deserves to be taxed at the highest rate.* [taken from Bever & Langendoen 1972: 91]

*[*Anyone owns a fleet of six cars*] *deserves to be taxed at the highest rate.* [sentence is bracketed as if there were two coordinate clauses at first blush]

*[*Anyone* [*∅ owns a fleet of six cars*]$_{RC}$ *deserves to be taxed at the highest rate*]$_{matrix}$. [sentence is rebracketed as a matrix clause and a medial RC, modifying the matrix subject (see below chapter 15 POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE), after coming across the second finite verb (*deserves*), which needs a subject]

At first sight, the first occurring finite verb is, according to their analysis, bracketed together with the preceding NP, in the treacherous assumption that the first clause is a main clause. Only after coming upon the second finite verb, the former misbracketing [NP-V-O]$_{main\ clause}$-V-O is corrected to [NP-[NP$_{\varnothing}$-V-O]$_{RC}$-V-O]$_{matrix\ clause}$ (cf. Bever & Langendoen 1972: 66). If an overt subordinator (REL marker) indicates the beginning of a subordinate clause, such erroneous analyses are ruled out from the start (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1055). Bever & Langendoen (1972) claim that this perceptual constraint was grammaticalized, i.e., extended to situations where perceptual problems would not arise (cf. Bever & Langendoen 1972: 78 and 91; *footnote* 27; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1055).

Nevertheless, descriptive syntax makes some concessions to the appearance of zero in subject function: Zero subject RCs are either "clearly non-standard" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1055), "between very informal and non-standard" (*ibidem*), or "a marginally non-standard usage" (Biber *et. al.* 1999: 619) that may occur "in some conversational varieties" (*ibidem*) or "in very informal speech" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1250) "under certain conditions" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1055).

In dialectal speech, the constraint on zero subject RCs is overridden the more a clause type moves away from 'modification of an antecedental NP' ('proper RC') toward 'topicalization of an NP' (topicalization structures). In other words, zero subject RCs pattern along the

CONTINUUM OF RCS: Topicalization structures — **'proper RC'** on page 29 above: They occur with increasing ease (in a given dialect or idiolect), as one goes from existential and related presentational clauses like 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs to clear topicalization clauses like clefts and *all*-pseudo-clefts, while they are very scarce in pure modification structures ('proper RCs').

In Tables 2-7 in 7.3. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS below,[17] under the rubric 'REL marker': 'zero', I indicate the syntactic environments in which the zero marker in subject function occurs in previous dialectal investigations, either by reproducing what researchers report or by deducing the syntactic environments from cited examples. Irrespective of the region investigated, the overwhelming majority of zero RCs in subject function are found in *there*- and *have*-existentials, existential-like constructions like copular '*be*' sentences or equational sentences, 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs, and clefts (compare also Tagliamonte 2002: 157/158 and 160/161). Moreover, a handful of examples occur in *have*-existential-like constructions involving the verb '*to know*' or in other constructions which are not (or not easily) subsumed under topicalization structures. Shnukal (1981), who encountered all these various types of zero subject RCs in topicalization structures in a variety of Australian English, sketches the following implicational scale, which "parallels the frequencies of occurrence of the nonstandard variant as well as the history of obligatory S[ubject]R[elative]P[ronoun] presence in written standard English" (Shnukal 1981: 324):[18]

Type IV ⊃ Type III ⊃ Type II ⊃ Type I

According to Shnukal, speakers who have zero subject RCs in Type IV sentences may also show zero subject RCs in the other three syntactic environments but not vice versa. Type IV consists of an RC modifying *anybody* (my 'lexically empty' antecedent RC type), Type III consists of my '*have*-existential-like construction involving the verb '*to know*", Type II comprises *there*- and *have*-existentials, and Type I clefts and equational sentences. Except that I group Shnukal's Type III with (*have*-)existentials and that I subsume equational sentences either under 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs or under existentials (depending on

[17] For details on the syntactic environments of zero RCs in subject function in the SED, please see (footnotes in) Appendix 2.

[18] In Middle English, the frequency of zero subject RCs was much higher and they were not constrained in use (cf. Moessner 1984: 71).

the type of antecedent), her implicational scale mirrors my CONTINUUM OF RCS: Topicalization structures — **'proper RC'** on page 29 above. All types of zero subject RCs are illustrated below:

(19) *EAN-HDL<Person: PSEAN19><S: 117>*
[...] trolley wires were then beginning to wear out, rather than replace them they would convert a trolley route into a bus route, and erm because the erm, there was ***a lot of people*** *[∅ hated to see the demise of the trolley buses] because they were so clean and silent and [...].* [*there*-existential]

(20) *CMI-FY2<S: 078>*
Well then there was ***a bar*** *[∅ went right through, well half way through], [...].* [*there*-existential]

(21) *NIR-19<I JB47>*
[...] there's ***nobody*** *[∅ does that now].* [*there*-existential]

(22) *CSW-SRLM 62 p. 72<u HR>*
[...] you had ***a barrow*** *[∅ runs from there straight across like that] for to catch into his bit, [...].* [*have*-existential]

(23) *NIR-33<I MM9>*
[...] But you didn't get any loaf bread, you only got ***that one loaf*** *[∅ came in (?) in the week].* [*have*-existential with '*to get*']

(24) *NIR-11<I JM50>*
No, no, no, no, eh, they went over, they would have been... I know ***two, or three*** *[∅ went over], but they went till the building. They had, they had* ***friends*** *[∅ was in the building trade in Scotland], they went over to, there, to... But there was* ***more*** *[∅ went till the States], [∅ went till America], from this country {ahah}, in the young days. They had ones with uncles and aunts in America, and brought them out when they were young.*

[first RC: *have*-existential-like construction involving the verb '*to know*'; second RC: *have*-existential; third and forth RC (multiple RC): *there*-existentials]

(25) *NIR-11<I JM6>*
Well, I wasn't, because I was always, eh, I had my lessons learned, and I didn't get so much of the stick as the, but I know ***ones*** *[∅ got a lot of it] {aye}[fieldworker's insertion, T.H.]. A lot of it, I didn't get so very much of it.* [*have*-existential-like construction involving the verb '*to know*']

(26) *CNO-DA p. 5<u AmbDA>*
[...] I seen ***a chap at Broughton Moor****, [∅ got his leg took off]. [...]* [existential-like construction involving the semantically weak verb '*to see*']

(27) *EAN-H5G<Person: PSEAN2><S: 164>*
Never went hungry, no my mother always have a good, always used to have a good table, very good, we were a very lucky family, ***anybody*** *[∅ used to come in our house on a weekend] they always thought there was a party every weekend.* ['lexically empty' antecedent RC]

(28) *NIR-15<I OM30>*
[...] Yet, at them times, ***anybody*** *[∅ wanted to learn] could learn, and I see* ***anybody*** *[∅ doesn't want to learn yet], doesn't learn, so I don't know. [...].* ['lexically empty' antecedent RC]

(29) *NIR-22<I JO115>*
[...] ***The ones*** *[∅ was here] was all going back to France.* ['lexically empty' antecedent RC]

(30) *NIR-33<I MM34>*
[...] Well, then ***the next thing*** *[∅ came] was the tumbling paddy.* ['lexically empty' antecedent RC]

(31) *NIR-33<I MM28>*
Not as much as they used, no, there's very few people, there's not {PAUSE}, there might be one peop(le), Leonard up here would be ***the only person****, maybe, [∅ goes to the bog], about this... {ahah}. [...]* ['lexically empty' antecedent RC]

(32) *CNO-AY p. 8/9<u AmbAY>*
Aye, cogs, not cut up, a cog cut up, but cut up and sort of work them in together you know, they could make ***a cog wheel*** *[∅ would last quite a long time], of wood, you wouldn't think that possible. [...]* ['proper RC']

(33) *CNO-DB p. 5<u AmbDB>*
[...] and he put in the paper about ***these sheep*** *[∅ would live under t' snow], [...]! [...]* ['proper RC']

(34) *CNO-AY p. 8<u AmbAY>*
[...] You want it out here, so you see, you 've to put a wire rope from here to the tree and when it falls, it falls, can't go any farther, only so far with ***a winch*** *[∅ is pulling it here]. [...]* ['proper RC']

The total of 298 zero RCs in my dialectal data corresponds to Shnukal's findings: There are 228 *there*-existentials, 24 *have*-existentials, 9 equational sentences, 9 existential-like constructions involving the verbs '*to see*', '*to hear*', or '*to know*', 18 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs, and 10 'proper RCs', which do not fit into any particular category. It can be observed that not only does the overall number of zero RCs correlate with the broadness of the individual corpora (e.g., of the overall 228 *there*-existentials, 89 and 54 instances, respectively, originate from the broad NIR and CNO corpora, respectively) but broadness of speech also determines the occurrence or the frequency of zero RCs in particular syntactic environments: Broader corpora have (more) instances of zero in 'proper RCs' and 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs than less broad corpora, while existentials and existential-like constructions are open to all corpora. Thus, my implicational scale (supporting the CONTINUUM OF RCS: Topicalization structures — **'proper RC'** on page 29 above) looks as follows:

clefts > **existentials** > **'lexically empty' antecedent RC** > **'proper RC'**

Total:	(270)	(18)	(10)

4.2.3. Topicalization structures resembling nominal relative clauses: pseudo-cleft (and reversed pseudo-cleft)

Pseudo-clefts are S-V-SCOMP sentences in which a subordinate clause, usually introduced by *what*, functions as subject ('basic pseudo-cleft'). In **'reversed pseudo-clefts'**, the matrix clause, normally starting with demonstrative *that* (or *this*), precedes the subordinate clause, which functions as subject complement in the sentence (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1387/1388; see also Huddleston 1984: 462). Since pseudo-clefts give **focus** to the referent of the subordinate clause (cf. Huddleston 1984: 466) they are distinct from 'nominal RCs' (see below 6.1. NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES) (cf. Lehmann 1984: 361). For example:

(35) *CSW-SRLM 122<T 1320>*
[...] what we used to do were, book a drop less milk and make a little tiny one, [...]. [basic pseudo-cleft: verb is highlighted]

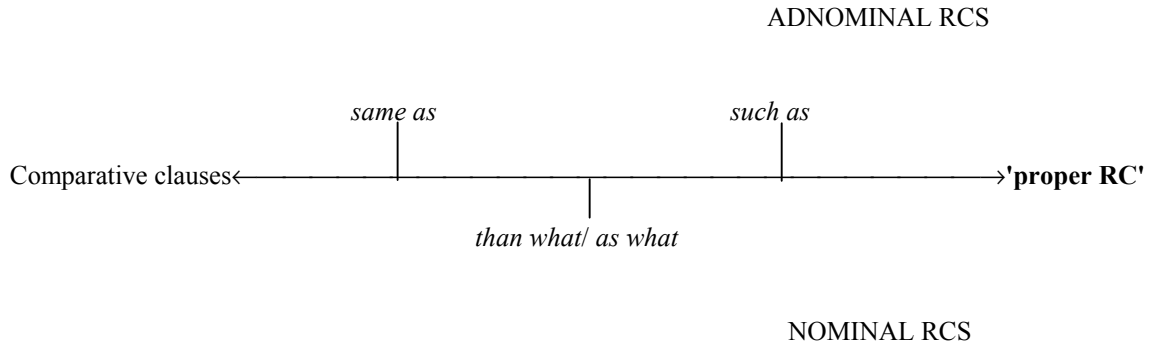
(36) *CNO-DB p. 8<u AmbDB>*
[...] No doubt that was what did it. [...] [reversed pseudo-cleft]

(37) *EAN-H5G<S: 792>*
[...] that's where a lot of their stuff was dumped, [...]. [reversed pseudo-cleft]

4.3. COMPARATIVE CLAUSES

Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Huddleston (1984) define comparatives as sentences that consist of a matrix clause and a subordinate clause (comparative clause) which are compared with regard to a standard of comparison (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1127; Huddleston 1984: 405).

CONTINUUM OF RCS: Comparative clauses — **'proper RC'**



4.3.1. Comparative clauses resembling adnominal relative clauses

Relative clauses and comparative clauses are conceptionally similar, as both modify noun phrases (compare also Smith 1982: 125 and 110). Nonscalar comparisons of equivalence involving *same as* or *such as* may be classified either as comparative or as relative clauses (cf. Smith 1982: 126 for *same*; Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1144; *note* [a] for *such*; see also Zandvoort 1965: 214). I regard the former as comparative clauses and the latter as gradients between adverbial relative clauses (see below 7.1. DEFINITION OF THE CATEGORY in chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES) and comparative clauses (see below).[19] For example:

(38) *SCO-GYU<S: 482>*
They're more or less as a, I don't think there's a great lot of difference <trunc> onl I <trunc> d I, they're not pushing, they haven't the same, the, I would like to say, I would say they haven't the same interest in their union, they've not ***the same interests in the union as*** *they had in the earlier days when there was a union.* [comparative clause]

(39) *CNO-AQ p. 1<u AmbAQ>*
[...] and he was doing ***the same job as what*** *he did at Honister.* [comparative clause: amalgamation of comparative clause resembling adnominal RCs and comparative clause resembling nominal RCs (see below 4.3.2.)]

[19] This attitude receives support from Peitsara, who excludes both types from her study of relative clauses, as she "prefer[s] to consider them as comparative rather than relative" (Peitsara 2002: 170).

(40) *K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 076>*
[...] and that takes away the pain erm for the time being anyway, until ***such time as*** *you can extricate them or, [...].* [gradient between adverbial RC and comparative clause]

(41) *SCO-GYU<S: 231>*
Because the conductor always had to wait until ***such time as*** *the queue was diminished quite a bit and <trunc> hi his tramcar was full so that the next tramcar come along er coming along, whatever number, was <UNCLEAR> to be <trunc> d the same thing happening again.*
[gradient between adverbial RC and comparative clause]

In Standard English, *the same* + N + *that*, meaning 'the very same one that', and *the same* + N + *as*, meaning 'the same kind as', exist side by side (cf. Smith 1982: 126; see also OED 1989: 674; Jespersen 1927: 169). While *the same* + N + *that* introduces a relative clause (coreference between NP and *that*), *the same* + N + *as* gives rise to a comparative clause (cf. Huddleston 1984: 417), owing to the fact that *as* resembles *how* (adverb of manner) in that it "retains a 'manner adverbial' sense" (Smith 1982: 129). According to Huddleston, *the same* + N + *that* is "a 'blend' between" (Huddleston 1984: 417) *the same* + N + *as* and a normal RC without *same* (*the* + N + *that*) (cf. *ibidem*).

Historically, *as* is the older form,[20] which was gradually replaced by *that* in different syntactic functions in the standard language (cf. OED 1989: 674/675). In several traditional dialects, by contrast, *as* has survived in these syntactic functions, for example, as a conjunction (see example (42) below) since Middle English (cf. Smith 1982: 106) or as a relative marker (see Table 1 in chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES). In my data, I found *as* functioning as a conjunction equaling *that* in the Central Southwest, East Anglia (Eastern Cambridgeshire), the Central Midlands, the Central North, and marginally, in Northern Ireland (Tyrone)—in brief, the regions which also have (or had) *as* for a REL marker (see below chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES):

(42) *EAN-K65<Person: PSEAN8><S: 0604>*
Oh he used to wash them and he had a proper, he had a case what he made up with a rack so ***as*** *he could drop them all in.* [*as* equals the conjunction *that*]

Hence, distinguishing between comparative *as* and relative *as* can be difficult. In the following example from the Central Southwest, where *as* is preserved in topicalization

[20] Mustanoja (1960) reports on Middle English that "[*a*]*s* is common after *such*, but outside this particular combination it seldom occurs as a relative, and only from the 14th century on" (Mustanoja 1960: 202).

structures and as a conjunction equivalent to *that* and *than* (see below 4.3.2. Comparative clauses resembling nominal relative clauses), both instances including *the same patch* are analyzed as RCs. Both bracketed (relative) clauses express modification of the preceding NPs, while the linguistic context clarifies that 'the very same patch' is referred to in both instances:

(43) *CSW-SRLM 108<T 1260>*
We wouldn't, we wouldn't put the, er, five acres of wheat in that same field next year, we would have it in another field. And put oats there perhaps then or we wouldn't put a half acre of 'tatoes in ***the same patch*** *[****as*** *they was last year]. Or a acre of mangolds in* ***the same patch*** *[∅ it was last year]. It was rotation you know.* [relative *as* and zero relative]

In constructions involving *such time as*, the element of modification (of the NP *time*) figures prominently and appears to counterbalance the meaning component of a comparative evoked by *as* (cf. Smith 1982: 110 and 127). To reconcile the two meaning components in these constructions, I consider them to be gradients (which are closer to 'proper RCs' than '*same as*' constructions) between adverbial RCs and comparative clauses, whereas the following example is a clear instance of an adverbial RC:

(44) *SCO-GYU<S: 190>*
He never put me on a heavy job until ***at such times*** *[∅ he thinks I was fit <UNCLEAR>].*

4.3.2. Comparative clauses resembling nominal relative clauses

Scalar comparisons of nonequivalence including *than what* (or the dialectal alternant *as what*, since *than* can also be replaced by *as* (cf. Smith 1982: 121) (see example (49) below)) and nonscalar comparisons of equivalence involving *as what* rank halfway between comparative clauses and nominal relative clauses (gradients). Huddleston (1984) calls them a "combination of comparative and relative constructions" (Huddleston 1984: 417). For example:

(45) *CSW-SRLM 122<T 1140>*
Q: AND THAT 'S WHY HE WAS PAID, HE GOT BETTER
Q: MONEY?
Yeah, more reward for his cheese ***than what*** *we got.*

(46) *CNO-DX p. 6<u AmbDX>*
[...] you 'll be better off on t' ash wagons ***than what*** *you were on t' council like. [...]*

(47) *CSW-SRLM 122<T 1160>*
Q: SO YOU WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFUL WHAT WAS
Q: IN YOUR PASTURE GROUND THEN.
Yes. Yes, you did. Well, 't is districts really. Run in districts. Because, there weren't no ploughing and the reseeding in those days ***as what*** *there is now.*

(48) *CSW-SRLM 302 p. 101<u SH>*
She wasn't so old ***as what*** *the Army wanted.*

(49) *CNO-DX p. 7<u AmbDX>*
[...] and I was having to do twice as much work ***as what*** *I ought to have been doing. [...]* [*as* replaces *than*]

4.4. NONFINITE CONSTRUCTIONS

Besides topicalization structures and comparative clauses, I exclude a third class of clauses from the count, namely, nonfinite clauses (without a REL marker). Nonfinites, whether present participials (-*ing* participle clauses), past participials (-*ed* participle clauses), or *to*-infinitives (infinitive clauses), may function as RCs, but without a REL marker they do not fit the above-mentioned definition of RCs in 1.1. Because of their lack of a REL marker, their different syntactic behavior (e.g., restriction to certain grammatical functions), and their multifunctionality (discussed below), they are not subject to investigation here. The three types of nonfinite clauses functioning as postmodifiers (indicated by underlining) are illustrated below, followed by an example of a nonfinite clause with a REL marker (which would be included in the analysis; however, nonfinites with a REL marker do not occur in my data, as they rather belong to "formal style" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1067)):

The dog barking next door sounded like a terrier. [-*ing* participle clause] [example taken from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1263; my underlining]

I noticed a man hidden behind the bushes. [-*ed* participle clause] [example taken from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1269; my underlining]

I've got letters to write tonight. [infinitive clause] [example taken from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1268; my underlining]

*She is **the ideal person** [in whom to confide].* [infinitival relative clause] [example taken from Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1067]

Lehmann (1984) distinguishes between relative clauses on the one hand, and the nonfinite modifying constructions 'complex adjectival attribute' (example 1) (cf. Lehmann 1984: 185) and the (present) 'participial attribute' (example 2) (cf. Lehmann 1984: 47):[21]

(1) *people fluent in three languages* [complex adjectival attribute] [example taken from Lehmann 1984: 185]

(2) *Er liebt das an der Ecke stehende Blumenmädchen.* [participial attribute] [example taken from Lehmann 1984: 47]

One reason for disregarding (present) participial attributes of the type exemplified by (2) as RCs is the absence of variability in grammatical function that they can assume: Participial attributes are limited to subject function, which is demonstrated by (2a), when rendered as a RC (cf. Lehmann 1984: 47):

(2a) *Er liebt das Blumenmädchen, das an der Ecke steht.* [example taken from Lehmann 1984: 44]

The same is true for English, where (present) participle constructions are confined to subject function, too (cf. Schwartz 1971: 142; see also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1263):

(3) *He loves the flower-girl standing at the corner.*

(3a) *He loves the flower-girl who is standing at the corner.*

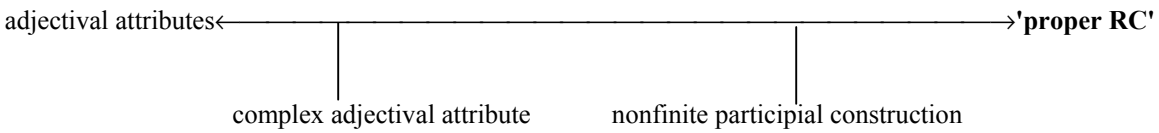
Although Mallinson & Blake (1981) consider participial attributes as RCs in their analysis, they admit that "participles are also much more adjectival than RCs proper and thus represent a transitional category between RC and adjective" (Mallinson & Blake 1981: 297). Baker (1995) is more rigorous on this point: He excludes present and past participle constructions and groups them together with complex adjectival attributes, *with*-phrases[22], and *of*-genitival attributes under the heading 'nonclausal noun modifiers' (cf. Baker 1995: 320/321). From a

[21] Lehmann, however, remarks that the difference between RCs and participial constructions may become gradual cross-linguistically (cf. Lehmann 1984: 47).

[22] E.g., *The teams [with good records] will meet in the second round.* [example taken from Baker 1995: 322; my italics]. The bracketed part is rephrasable as a RC with a finite verb form of *to have* (cf. Baker 1995: 321).

cross-linguistic perspective, complex adjectival attributes and nonfinite participial constructions can be arranged on a scale of 'clausalness' of attributes.[23]

SCALE OF 'CLAUSALNESS' OF ATTRIBUTES



Even Givón's (1993) functional approach houses doubts as to the status of *to*-infinitives as relative clauses, to which he refers as 'non-finite REL-clauses'. First, he points out that some 'non-finite REL-clauses' are paraphrasable and interpretable as either (finite) relative clauses (example 4a) OR as 'verb complements' (adverbial clauses of purpose) (example 4b) (cf. Givón 1993: 162/163):

> *She was looking for someone to stay at her house.*
>
> (4a) *She was looking for someone who would stay at her house.*
>
> (4b) *She was looking for someone so that they would stay at her house.* [examples taken from Givón 1993: 163]

Second, he dubs 'non-finite REL-clauses' "**syntactic hybrids**" (Givón 1993: 163), which "display much of the morpho-syntactic structure of verb complements, but they also seem to share some of the meaning structure of REL-clauses" (Givón 1993: 163).

Mair (1990) makes a similar observation concerning a categorization of *to*-infinitives as either 'relative infinitives' or adverbial clauses of purpose, saying that "there is considerable scope for overlap between elliptical infinitival clauses of purpose and infinitival relative clauses postmodifying noun phrases" (Mair 1990: 216; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1067).

[23] Compare to Foley's (1976) 'Bondedness Hierarchy', based on Austronesian languages (cf. Foley 1976: 17/18).

4.5. *BUT*-CONSTRUCTIONS

The conjunction *but*, or in combination with *that* (*but that*), introduces an adverbial clause of exception whose matrix is negative (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1103). For example:

> *Not a man but he is some deal heartened up.* [example taken from Jespersen 1927: 181]

However, *but* can have a syntactic role in the subordinate clause, as in examples (1) and (2) below:

> (1) *I see around me none but are shipwrecked too.* [example taken from Jespersen 1927: 180]
>
> (2) *and probably not one of the whole brigade but excelled myself in personal advantages* [example taken from Jespersen 1927: 180]

According to Jespersen (1927), the meaning of *but* in these two examples is '*that*/*who*/*which not*', which introduces a relative clause (cf. Jespersen 1927: 180). Kirsten (1989) defines it as a 'negative relativizer after a negative referent (with double negation having positive meaning as in 'everyone', 'everything', etc.)'[24] (cf. Kirsten 1989: 39). Schmied (1993) calls *but* a 'specific conjunction' which is "a combination of *who*/*that* and *not*" (Schmied 1993b: 356).
This construction was used in Early Modern English, then receded in use until it stopped being used in the early 20th century (cf. Moessner 1999: 74/75). I consider the historical *but*-construction as a gradient between a relative clause and an adverbial clause of exception, which, however, does not occur in my data.

[24] "[N]egatives Relativum nach negativem Bezugswort (mit der doppelten Verneinung in der positiven Bedeutung von 'jeder', 'alles' u.ä.)" (Kirsten 1989: 39).

5. TYPOLOGY OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

Every typology of relative clauses has to accommodate three basic parameters: 1. type of subordination, 2. linear order of antecedent and relative clause, and 3. structural means employed.

5.1. TYPE OF SUBORDINATION

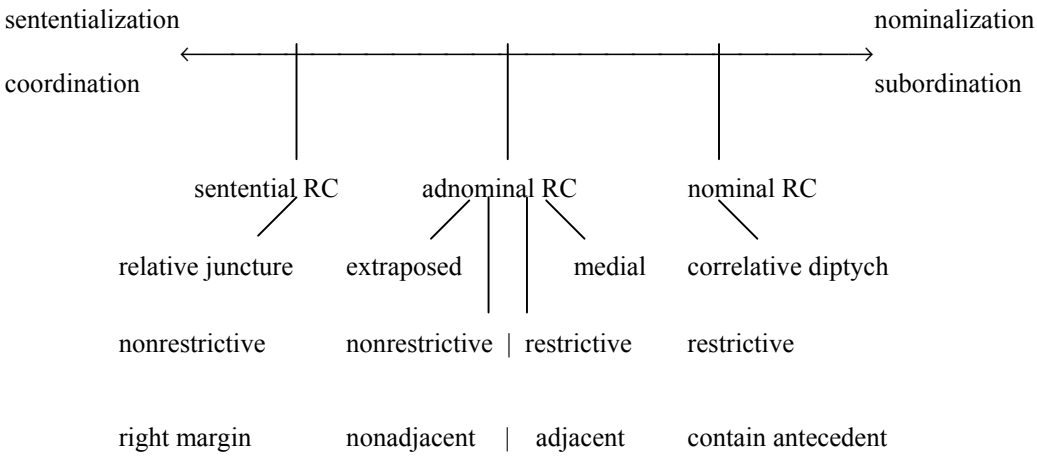
With respect to type of subordination, three basic types of relative clauses can be distinguished: First, RCs which form a constituent of the matrix (**NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES**); second, RCs which form PART OF a constituent of the matrix (**ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES**); third, RCs which DO NOT form (part of) a constituent of the matrix (**SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES**):

NOMINAL RC: *Mary ate* [*what was left*]$_{\text{RC = NP = DIRECT OBJECT OF MATRIX.}}$
ADNOMINAL RC: *Mary ate* ***the pie*** [*which was in the fridge*]$_{\text{RC = NP = PART OF DIRECT OBJECT OF MATRIX.}}$
SENTENTIAL RC: ***Mary ate the pie,*** [*which took exactly 10 seconds*]$_{\text{RC} \neq \text{NP} \neq \text{(PART OF) DIRECT OBJECT OR OTHER CONSTITUENT OF MATRIX.}}$

ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES constitute the prototypical relative clause and will be the central part of this thesis. NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES and SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES will be briefly treated in chapter 6. By allowing intermediate types, two further subtypes emerge on the scale of subordination below: CORRELATIVE DIPTYCHS can be understood as a subtype of nominal RCs, ranking to the left of regular nominal RCs. At first blush, RCs of correlative diptychs do not constitute part of the matrix inasmuch as their correlative pronoun completes the matrix syntactically. In fact, they are nominal RCs with a 'copy' (see below 15.4. COPIES) in the matrix clause. RELATIVE JUNCTURES are a subtype of sentential RCs. They are located to the left of regular sentential RCs on the scale since they most resemble independent clauses in that the relative juncture is only loosely tied to (the antecedent in) its matrix.

The three basic types (and the two intermediate subtypes) of relative clauses are arranged below on a CLINE OF SUBORDINATION, adapted from Lehmann's (1988) 'continuum of hierarchical downgrading' (cf. Lehmann 1988: 189):

CLINE OF SUBORDINATION



Sententialization and coordination, on the one hand, and, nominalization and subordination, on the other hand, are separate parameters which strongly correlate. While the parameter coordination/subordination indicates the degree of (in)dependency of a clause type, the parameter sententialization/nominalization indicates the degree of (non)embeddedness of a clause type. Moving from left to right along the continuum, the degree of nominalization increases; at the same time the degree of independency decreases. By subdividing adnominal RCs into extraposed RCs and medial RCs (see below 5.2. LINEAR ORDER OF ANTECEDENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE and 15. POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE) AND into nonrestrictive RCs and restrictive RCs, a more fine-grained picture emerges: On the extraposition—mediality level, extraposed RCs are less nominalized and less dependent than medial RCs. On the restrictiveness—nonrestrictiveness level, nonrestrictive RCs are also less nominalized and less dependent than their restrictive counterparts are (cf. Lehmann 1988: 190 and 194). Again, the two features, position of the RC and (non)restrictiveness, correlate, in the sense that extraposed RCs tend to be nonrestrictive, while restrictive RCs are strongly skewed toward medial position. Adnominal RCs constitute a dividing point in two respects: First, regarding (non)restrictiveness, they are sandwiched in

between necessarily restrictive RCs, which are located to their right (NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES) and necessarily nonrestrictive RCs to their left (SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES), as adnominal RCs can be either restrictive or nonrestrictive. Second, regarding adjacency, adnominal RCs separate RCs which are pushed to the right margin of a sentence (SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES) from RCs which contain their antecedents (NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES), while adnominal RCs can be either adjacent (medial RCs) or nonadjacent (extraposed RCs).

5.2. LINEAR ORDER OF ANTECEDENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE

Theoretically, relative clauses can occur either to the right or to the left of their antecedent, with the exception of nominal RCs, which contain their antecedents. There is a typological trend noticeable across languages between basic word order pattern and linear order of antecedent and RC: In general, OV languages tend to have their RCs to the left of their 'antecedent'/postcedent, while VO languages tend to have their RCs to the right of their antecedent (cf. Mallinson & Blake 1981: 285; see also Downing 1977: 164; Schwartz 1971: 156; Greenberg 1966: 90 and 100). For the SVO language English, this means that English has **postnominal** adnominal RCs (i.e., the RC follows the NP) and **adjoined** sentential RCs (i.e., the RC follows the sentential antecedent) (cf. Lehmann 1984: 178):

ADNOMINAL RC: *Mary ate **the pie*** [*which was in the fridge*]$_{\text{POSTNOMINAL RC}}$.
SENTENTIAL RC: ***Mary ate the pie,*** [*which took exactly 10 seconds*]$_{\text{ADJOINED RC}}$.

According to Kuno (1974), antecedent and RC are ordered in such a way as to avoid (or reduce) perceptual difficulties caused by so-called 'center-embedding' (cf. Kuno 1974: 118 and 122). In SVO languages with postnominal RCs, 'center-embedding' can be brought about when the SUBJECT of the matrix clause is modified by a RC (i.e., **S**-[RC]-V(O)[25]). These **medial** RCs interrupt the matrix clause so as to separate the matrix subject from its verb (see below chapter 15 POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE). On the other hand, separating the RC from its antecedent by an intervening (verb) constituent (or several constituents) (i.e.,

[25] The object O is put into parentheses to indicate its optionality, depending on the transitivity or intransitivity of the verb V.

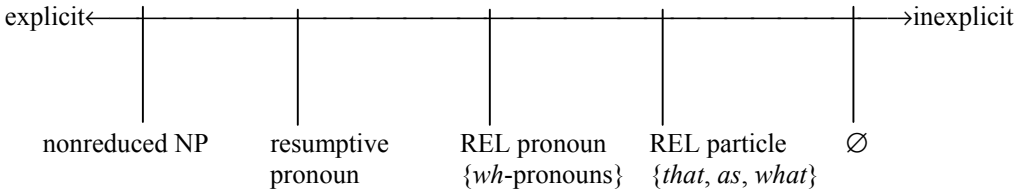
SV(O)-[RC]) puts a great perceptual and memorial strain on the language user, so that **extraposed** RCs are even more disfavored in SUBJECT modification. However, one has to bear in mind that SUBJECT antecedents pose a minority in relation to the sum of all other antecedent constituents (see below 15. POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE) (cf. Quirk 1968: 103; see also Romaine 1982a: 102-104; Graf 1996: 52). In terms of discourse analysis, subjects do not need any further specification via a RC (cf. Lattey & Moeck 1992: 262), as they tend to "express given information" (Chafe 1994: 85). As stated by the principles of 'end-focus' and 'end-weight', given information ('topic') precedes new information ('comment') to prepare the ground for the prominence of the final element ('end-focus') AND 'lighter', i.e., shorter and simpler, constituents precede 'heavier' ones, such as relative clauses, to facilitate the comprehension of information ('end-weight') (cf. Leech *et al.* 1982: 188/189; see also Leech 1983: 65; Greenberg 1966: 100; Hawkins 1994: 238; Chafe 1994: 85 and 91/92; Allan 1987: 52 and 54). Following these two principles, postnominal RCs in SVO languages rather modify postverbal (final) constituents, i.e., an object (O), an adverbial (A), or a complement (COMP), than the subject of the matrix. These **final** RCs produce the linear pattern SV-**O**/**A**/**COMP**-[RC], which guarantees adjacency between antecedent and RC (as opposed to extraposed RCs) AND noninterruption of the matrix (as opposed to medial RCs), thus making this subtype most easily processable (see below chapter 15 POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE).

5.3. STRUCTURAL MEANS

In terms of the structural means to represent the antecedent within the RC, Standard English offers three main possibilities (disregarding various relative adverbs in **adverbial relative clauses** (see below chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES) for the moment): a relative pronoun of the *wh*-group, an invariant particle *that*, and the so-called zero marker. English dialects offer some additional options: a **resumptive pronoun** (usually in the shape of a personal or demonstrative pronoun), a **nonreduced NP**, and further invariant relative markers (see below). Resumptive pronouns and nonreduced NPs occur on top of any of the other structural means. However, the range of structural means found also depends on the subordination type. While adnominal relative clauses exploit the whole range of possibilities, nominal RCs make use of a much smaller repertoire (i.e., only REL pronouns, although resumptive pronouns and nonreduced NPs can be added to those REL pronouns) and

sentential RCs are practically limited to one relative marker (i.e., the REL pronoun *which*; resumptive pronouns and nonreduced NPs can be added). The whole range of possible structural means employed in—primarily adnominal—dialectal RC formation is arranged on a CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS below, which is adapted from Lehmann's (1984) 'scale of the anaphor' (cf. Lehmann 1984: 225; see also Comrie 1989: 148/149):

CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS



Explicitness of relative markers is based on the two criteria structural markedness and position (position in the RC in comparison to its position in a corresponding declarative clause). Structural markedness in the form of congruence between antecedent and REL marker reduces ambiguity. High structural markedness and occurrence of the REL marker in normal clause position ease the retrievability of the relativized NP (and thus the identification of the antecedent) and help to identify the syntactic function of the REL marker in the RC.

A **nonreduced NP** (see below 13.6. NONREDUCTION) is maximally explicit, because it is structurally either totally or partially identical with the relativized NP (and thus with the antecedent) and appears in the former place of the relativized NP, i.e., in normal clause position, from which the relativized NP was 'deleted', as it is described in generative grammar (see above pp. 17/18 GENERATIVE VIEW).

Resumptive pronouns (see below chapter 12) mainly surface as personal or demonstrative pronouns in their normal clause position. Resumptive personal pronouns exhibit a higher degree of declinability (gender, number, case, although the paradigm is deficient) than REL pronouns, which have only a two-partite system (personal/nonpersonal) instead of a three-partite one (masculine, feminine, neuter) and no number-marking (setting aside collective nouns).

With respect to position, **REL pronouns**, **REL particles**, and the **zero marker ∅** have to surrender their normal (postverbal) clause position in the clause (i.e., the position they would

occupy in a simple declarative clause) and move to initial position. REL markers functioning as subject of the RC are excepted from this rule since they already are in initial position. This movement is termed the 'relative marker fronting rule' (cf. Downing 1977: 181), which applies in languages with interrogative pronoun fronting (cf. Schwartz 1971: 155). According to Schwartz (1971), 'WH-movement' (i.e., interrogative pronoun fronting) is an implicational tendency of SVO word order pattern which demands that the WH-marker precede the verb (cf. Schwartz 1971: 151; see also Greenberg 1966: 82/83). In addition, "the initial position is the emphatic one" (Greenberg 1966: 103), which can be filled with elements of special importance (cf. Greenberg 1966: 103/104), such as REL markers.

Relative pronouns show (or at least can show) case-marking and agreement in gender/animacy (and to some extent even in number with collective nouns) with their antecedent. Case-marked REL pronouns are *who*, *whom*, and *whose*, while *who* (and its case-marked forms) and *which* encode a gender or animacy opposition (personal/nonpersonal) (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 366 and 1245-1249).[26] In (broad) dialect, the *wh*-pronouns *who* and *which* have lost most of the declinability that they have in Standard English: *who* possesses no case-markers and *which* is not restricted to nonpersonal antecedents. The only consistently applied congruence with the antecedent is the gender-marking of *who*, i.e., *who* is exclusively used with PERSONAL antecedents (or with personified antecedents, such as higher animals or in combination with collective nouns (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 314-315, 771, and 1245/1246)). In the absence of case-markers, the grammatical function of the REL marker in the RC must be derived from word order. By checking the valency completeness in the RC, the missing constituent (= the deleted and then relativized NP) is identified by default. Naturally, this reduction of declinability of (broad) dialectal REL pronouns complicates the retrievability process of the relativized NP and its grammatical function in the RC, making (broad) dialectal REL pronouns less explicit than fully declined standard REL pronouns.

With indeclinability as the defining criterion of REL particles, both **REL particles** and the **zero marker** ∅ qualify as REL particles, as they make no allowance for any anaphorical marking (neither case, nor gender, nor number). Yet the zero marker is obviously even less explicit than the REL particles *that*, *as*, and *what*, because the latter fill the REL marker slot

[26] Personal *whose*, however, also serves as the genitive marker of nonpersonal *which* (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 366; see also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1248; Johansson 1993: 111/112; Johansson 1995: 257/258).

visibly while the zero marker is structurally nonexistent. The postulation of a zero marker is just a convenient device to handle a gap.

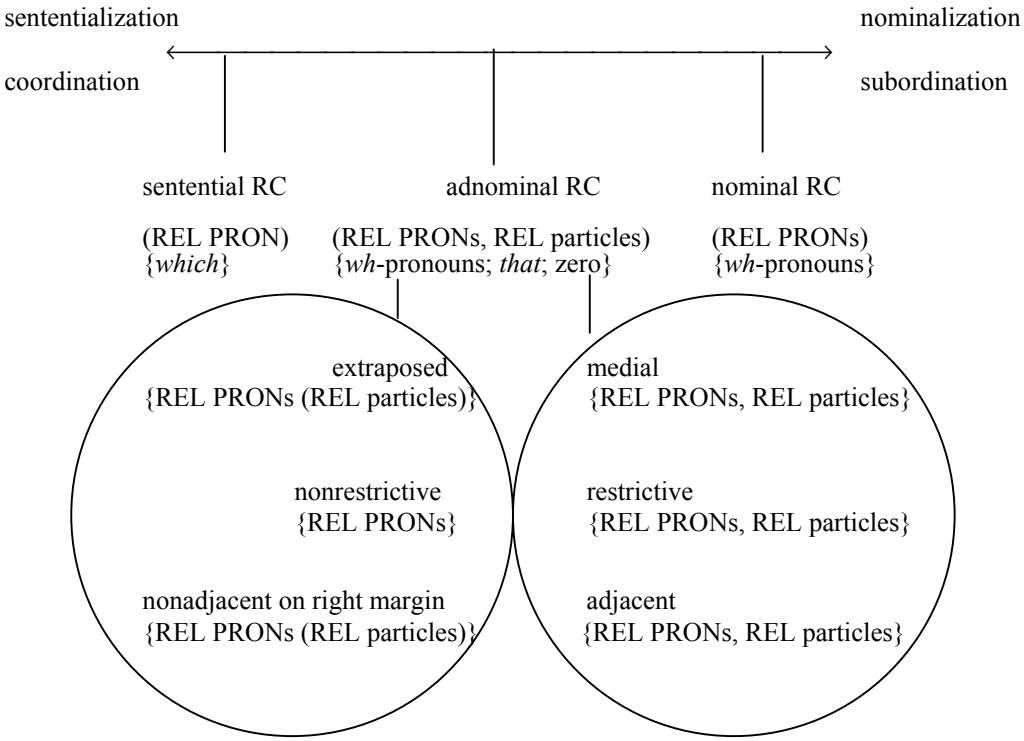
In sum, compared with the structural options of (written) Standard English, dialectal speech exhibits more redundancy and therefore more explicitness in the form of nonreduced NPs and resumptive pronouns, which occur in addition to an initial REL marker. To accommodate these two most explicit categories nonexistent in Standard English, the standard cline of explicitness has been extended to the left. At the other end of the cline, the use of REL pronouns and particles differs from Standard English in being less constrained. Also at this end, there are two further REL particles, *as* and *what*.

A comparison of the CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS to the CLINE OF SUBORDINATION reveals the correlation between the two. Less subordinated and less nominalized RCs select more explicit REL markers, as opposed to highly subordinated and highly nominalized RCs, which also allow inexplicit REL markers. To put it differently, there is an increasing preference for REL pronouns as we move left on the CLINE OF SUBORDINATION from adnominal to sentential RCs, from restrictive to nonrestrictive RCs, from medial to extraposed RCs, and from adjacent (immediate) to distant (nonimmediate) RCs. Standard English requires a REL pronoun (i.e., *which*) in (nonrestrictive) sentential RCs and in nonrestrictive adnominal RCs—the REL particles *that* and zero are ungrammatical in nonrestrictive environments (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 366 and 1248). By contrast, there is an increasing preference or tolerance for less explicit, invariant REL particles as we change direction and move right. In Standard English, the REL particles *that* and zero are frequent in restrictive, medial, and adjacent contexts (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1248 and 1251/1252).
Accordingly, two clusters of strongly correlating parameters evolve: One cluster is formed on the left-hand side of the CLINE OF SUBORDINATION by more coordinated and sententialized RC types, i.e., by nonrestrictive, extraposed RCs, nonadjacent RCs on the right margin of the sentence. This first cluster goes along with REL pronouns on the left side (of the REL particles) on the CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS. The other cluster is composed by restrictive, medial, adjacent RCs on the right-hand side of the CLINE OF SUBORDINATION, which also allow—or even prefer—REL particles, which are located on the right side of the CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS.

This dovetailing of the two clines rests on the strength of modification of individual subordinate RC types, resulting in a tighter or looser bond between antecedent and REL marker. That is to say, strong modifiers like adjectival attributes are adjacent to their heads. The weaker the modifier is, the greater the distance may become between antecedent and REL marker; at the same time, the REL marker has to be more explicit to prevent complete dissociation (cf. Lehmann 1984: 231/232 and 207/208; see also Lehmann 1984: 196; Foley 1976: 20). Thus, the least explicit REL marker, the zero marker, is hardly ever separated from its antecedent, while the 'great carrying power' (tolerating a great many intervening elements between antecedent and RC) of *which* (and also of *who*) is often remarked upon (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1252; see also Jespersen 1927: 103 and 122; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1054 and 1056).

However, there is no 1:1 correspondence between the two clines, given that nominal RCs do not accept less explicit REL markers than REL pronouns and given that the maximally explicit strategies, i.e., nonreduction and resumptive pronouns, are open to all levels of subordination. On the next page, I will summarize the above-mentioned generalizations in a unified sketch of the two clines, where less explicit REL particles tend to be found to the right of more explicit REL pronouns. Circles are drawn around the two correlating clusters as they occur in Standard English adnominal RCs:

CLINE OF SUBORDINATION AND CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS COMBINED IN STANDARD ENGLISH



6. NOMINAL AND SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

6.1. NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

Nominal relative clauses are said to contain their antecedents (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1244), that is, the antecedent is incorporated in the relative marker. On the one hand, every nominal RC serves a grammatical function within its matrix clause. On the other hand, the relative marker assumes a grammatical function within the RC.

The nominal REL pronouns figure as head nouns, noun phrases, or determiners. They are definite (*what*, *who, whom*, *which; whose*) or indefinite (*whatever*, *whoever, whomever*; *whichever* or even *whatsoever*, *whosoever, whomsoever*; *whichsoever*) (e.g., cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1068, 1072, and 1074). The personal/nonpersonal opposition is encoded in the REL pronouns *who* (with personal reference) and *what* (with nonpersonal reference). The REL pronoun *which* contrasts with *who* and *what* in denoting a definite, limited set of referents (cf. Jespersen 1927: 68; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1074).

Below, I will give two examples: Example (1) is a recurrent type of nominal RC involving the REL pronoun *what* and the verb '*to call*' (or various synonyms). *What* is the head of a noun phrase functioning as direct object within the RC, while the whole RC fills the subject complement (SCOMP) slot in the matrix clause:

(1) *EAN-HDH<S: 058>*
[...] well all on the right is **[***a* ***what*** *they call the Limekilns***]**.

matrix clause **[**[a ***what***]$_{\text{NP: DIRECT OBJECT}}$ **]**$_{\text{RC: SCOMP}}$.

Example (2) illustrates a rarely occurring nominal REL pronoun *who* referring to a SPECIFIC entity. *Who* functions as subject within the RC, while the whole RC functions as prepositional complement (adverbial) (PCOMP(A)) in an implicit matrix clause:

(2) *CSW-SRLM 302 p. 99*
{<u Int> And who did you come back to Butleigh to?}
<u SH>

[I came back to, T.H.] **[*Who*** $_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ **]**$_{\text{RC: PCOMP(A)}}$.

matrix clause **[*Who***$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ **]**$_{\text{RC: PCOMP(A)}}$.

Paralleling adnominal RCs, there are also adverbial nominal RCs using adverbial REL markers (*where*, *when*, *why*; *how*), which may also have indefinite counterparts (*wherever*, *whenever*; *however*) (e.g., cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1072 and 1074) (see below chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES). Naturally, adverbial RCs are prevalent in adverbial function within the matrix clause, either as prepositional complements (PCOMP:A) or without a preposition (A), while adverbial REL markers assume adverbial function in the RC by definition, with (PCOMP:A) or without a preposition (A).

6.2. CORRELATIVE DIPTYCHS

Correlative diptychs are nominal relative clauses save that they involve a correlative pair as their defining criterion. The correlative pair consists of the relative marker in the RC and an anaphorical (or cataphorical) personal or demonstrative pronoun (or adverb) in the matrix with which the REL marker is coreferential. For reasons of discourse function, the RC usually precedes the matrix and the correlative pronoun occupies initial position. Alternatively, the RC may follow the matrix and/or the correlative pronoun may appear in its normal clause position. Insofar as the correlative pronoun in the matrix clause takes up the antecedent incorporated in the REL marker, it is equivalent to a 'copy' in an adnominal RC (see below 15.4. COPIES). Correlative diptychs are hard to find. For example:

(3) *EAN-H5G<S: 717>*
*[**Whatever** the tide states at the lock gates], the <trunc> ri the channel is <UNCLEAR> dredged ten feet below **that**.*

(4) *EAN-K65<S: 0832>*
*[**Whatever** the person wanted] you used to cut **it**.*

(5) *CNO-BP p. 3<u AmbBP>*
*[...] [**wherever** you went] you seemed to climb **there**.*

(6) *CNO-BP p. 7<u AmbBP>*
*[...] 'cos you measured **it**, [**what** they wanted] before you went.*

(7) *CNO-DB p. 2<u AmbDB>*
*Well [**what** we didn't keep at home] **it** went to the grocer in part for some other groceries.*

(8) *CNO-CE p. 5<u AmbCE>*
*When I 'd been married a year or two, we came **here** [to **where** John is now].*

(9) *SCO-K6M<S: 508>*
*And [**what** Dougie said], **that** went for the rest of them.*

6.3. SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

Sentential relative clauses postmodify other phrases or larger chunks than mere noun phrases, i.e., predicates, clauses, or (one or more) sentences (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1118). (These various subtypes are subsumed under the cover-term '*sentential* RC'.) Unlike nominal and adnominal RCs, sentential RCs do NOT constitute a NP of the matrix, that means, instead of being nominalized, they are sententialized, or better, 'clausalized'. As a result, they cannot interrupt the matrix (as medial adnominal RCs can) but are forced to the margin of the sentence.[27] Sentential RCs are necessarily nonrestrictive, usually adding information in the form of a comment disjunct. They are (normally) introduced by the REL pronoun *which*, as they represent an invariably nonrestrictive, nonpersonal 'clausal' antecedent. Below some sentential RCs with different kinds of antecedents are cited:

(10) *CMI-H4B<S: 303>*
And er apart from ***canvassing*** *[which we did].* [Verbal]

(11) *CNO-BP p. 14<u AmbBP>*
[...] So much [sheets of sheep wool, T.H.] had to be washed, if it was ***bit dirty****, you know, [which they can be], some parts, but I think Dad used to keep all that separate, but you got a better price if your work was clean.* [Predicative]

(12) *CNO-HN p. 6<u AmbHN>*
[...] and he died very suddenly and they asked me if I would ***run the wrestling****, [which I did], [...].* [Predicative]

(13) *EAN-HDK<Person: PSEAN15><S: 403>*
[...] I went out last year with er Mrs <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> and er ***twice we went to Dulwich*** *[which I enjoyed] [...]* [Clausal]

(14) *EAN-HDL<S: 234>*
It eventually got that ***they were typed and put into cellophane covers*** *[which made it a lot easier].* [Sentential]

Sentential RCs may border on other types of relative clauses, such as nominal RCs. Relative clauses that represent nominal RCs from a semantic perspective may surface as sentential RCs from a syntactic perspective. For example:

[27] Unless they emerge as parentheses, of course.

(15) *EAN-H5G<Person: PSEAN2><S: 175>*
round the barrel about three times round the barrel then right down into the chain locker but if you kept, ***let it ride*** *[what we used to call let it ride well] [...].*

(16) *EAN-H5H<S: 669>*
And course they were on hinges, the doors, on er the hinges on in the centre hole under the water and course you always knew where then to, ***where to fit*** *[what we used to call fish for <trunc> th fish for the chain].*

(17) *EAN-HYC<S: 1256>*
They have ***weekends off****, [what they call long weekends off], Friday to Monday.*

These RCs modify antecedents which are larger than mere NPs, which makes them sentential RCs from a syntactic point of view. On the other hand, they are modeled on the common pattern '*what* functioning as direct object of the verb *to call* within a nominal RC' (see above p. 54 in 6.1. NOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES). *What* is substituted for the sentential relative marker *which*, yet not on all occasions:

(18) *EAN-H5G<S: 510>*
Now we used to clean the bottom up cos <UNCLEAR> used to be a big boiler in the dredger and erm we used to ***close down*** *every six weeks, [which they used to call blow the boiler down], [...].*

6.4. RELATIVE JUNCTURES

Relative junctures are sentential relative clauses except for the relative marker being a determiner of a 'lexically empty' noun in this subtype of sentential RC. Jespersen (1927) calls them 'loose constructions', as there is no strict coreference relationship between the relative clause and an antecedent (cf. Jespersen 1927: 128). As there are no examples of relative junctures in my spoken dialect data, an example from the BNC illustrates this subtype:

British National Corpus: [28]
F7R<PS1ML><S: 042>
You were away for all of it*?*
<S: 043>
*[****In which case*** *it would be pretty silly to fill that in] wouldn' it?*

[28] This example is taken from text F7R of the context-governed spoken part of the BNC, which does not belong to my dialect corpus.

The construction consists of a preposition, the relative marker *which* as a determiner, and a lexically empty noun (*case*), which functions as a catch-all term incorporating the sentential antecedent (*You were away for all of it*).

7. ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES

7.1. DEFINITION OF THE CATEGORY:

Proper **adnominal relative clauses** can postmodify NPs with any kind of lexical meaning whose REL markers can serve all sorts of grammatical functions in the RC (subject, object, complement; adverbial). ***Adverbial*** **adnominal relative clauses** (or **adverbial relative clauses**, for short) postmodify NPs with the lexical meaning of a spatial, temporal, causal, or modal adverbial whose REL markers serve adverbial function in the RC. The category boundaries between ('proper') **adnominal RCs** and **adverbial RCs** are not always clear-cut, however. In the present investigation, **adverbial relative clauses** are defined in rather narrow terms for theoretical reasons. Prototypical **adverbial RCs** behave differently from 'proper' **adnominal RCs**. Therefore, they are excluded from the numerical investigation to avoid skewing any numbers. Prototypical **adverbial RCs** comprise RCs whose head noun denotes place, time, reason, or manner ('lexically empty' head nouns), either by using these terms themselves as the antecedental head noun (example (1)) or by using similar, very general head nouns, such as 'period', 'moment', or 'fashion', which are also largely deprived of lexical content (examples (2) and (3)):

(1) *EAN-K68<Person: PSEAN11><S: 251>*
[...] at ***the time*** *[that we hadn't got a car at all], [...]*

(2) *SCO-GYW<Person: PSSCO18><S: 120>*
Now in ***the period*** *[that I come into it] [...].*

(3) *CSW-SRLM 132<T 1320>*
[...] ***Those days*** *[when we used to drive it], [...].*

Furthermore, prototypical **adverbial RCs** can be introduced by a relative adverb (chiefly, *where*, *when*, *why*, or *how*[29]), the zero REL marker, the relative particle *that*, or the relative

[29] The existence of *how* as a relativ adverb is disputed (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1254; see also Biber *et al.* 1999: 624). Huddleston & Pullum (2002), on the other hand, explicitly state that "[s]ome non-standard dialects differ" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1053; *footnote* 8) from Standard English in that respect, i.e., they DO have the relative adverb *how* (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1053; see also Schmied 1993b: 358). Schmid (2000) found the relative adverb *how* 6 times in the spoken part of COBUILD'S *Bank of English*, which is a 20.18 million words subcorpus of "[r]ecordings of spontaneous, informal conversation from all parts of Britain" (Schmid 2000: 42) in the 1990s (cf. Schmid 2000: 284/285).

pronoun *which* (in combination with an appropriate preposition)—whether they modify lexically empty heads or not.

Apart from these clear cases of adverbial RCs, there are RCs which are gradients between adnominal and adverbial RCs. These are headed by 'full content' ('lexically nonempty') nouns with adverbial lexical meaning and introduced by REL markers that are prepositional complements functioning as adverbials. For instance:

(4) *CSW-SRLM 109<T 2080>*
[...], 'cos ***the ground*** *'d be damp [****what*** *they 're under], [...].*

[The antecedental head noun *ground* has (locative) adverbial meaning, but it is a 'full content' noun ('lexically nonempty'); REL marker *what* functions as an adverbial in the RC, since it is the prepositional complement (PCOMP(A)) of the stranded preposition *under*.]

Since examples as in (4) behave like other ('proper') **adnominal RCs**, these have been grouped with **adnominal RCs** and included in the count, expressed by Table 1 on the following page:

Table 1 presents the overall frequencies of REL markers in the six investigated regions (Central Southwest, East Anglia, Central Midlands, Central North, Scotland; Northern Ireland) (absolute numbers are typed in boldface; percentages are given in square brackets):

Table 1 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN ADNOMINAL RCS

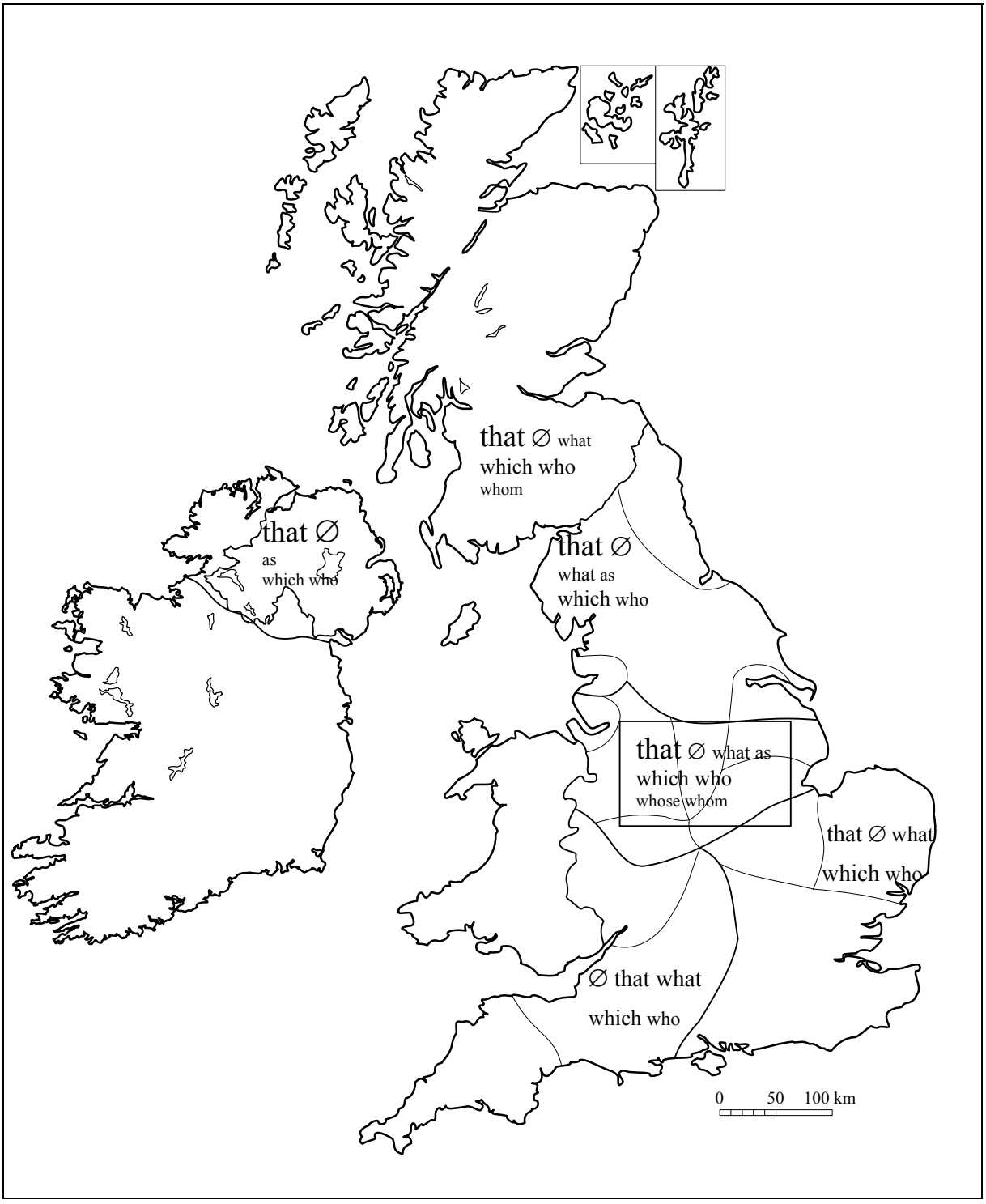
		CSW	**EAN**	**CMI**	**CNO**	**SCO**	**NIR**		**TOTAL**
		(Eastern Somerset)	(Suffolk; Eastern Cambridge-shire)	(Nottingham-shire)	(Cumbria: Cumberland, Westmorland, Northern Lancashire)	(Lothian, Borders, Strathclyde, Invernesshire)			
REL marker		**N** [%][30]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]		**N** [%]
zero		**84** [28.87]	**86** [20.38]	**80** [17.7]	**142** [33.97]	**123** [23.56]	**191** [46.93]		**706** [28.11]
that		**77** [26.46]	**93** [22.04]	**182** [40.27]	**182** [43.54]	**241** [46.17]	**204** [50.12]		**979** [38.97]
what		**65** [22.34]	**67** [15.88]	**26** [5.75]	**10** [2.39]	**2** [0.38]	-		**170** [6.77]
as		**-**	**-**	**11** [2.43]	**6** [1.44]	**-**	**2** [0.49]		**19** [0.76]
who		**26** [8.93]	**65** [15.4]	**57** [12.61]	**30** [7.18]	**70** [13.41]	**5** [1.23]		**253** [10.07]
which		**39** [13.4]	**111** [26.3]	**91** [20.13]	**48** [11.48]	**84** [16.09]	**5** [1.23]		**378** [15.05]
whom		**-**	**-**	**2** [0.44]	**-**	**2** [0.38]	**-**		**4** [0.16]
whose		**-**	**-**	**3** [0.66]	**-**	**-**	**-**		**3** [0.12]
total		**291** [100]	**422** [100]	**452** [100]	**418** [100]	**522** [100]	**407** [100]		**2512** [100]

[30] Percentages were rounded to two digits after the point, which might cause occasional incongruence with the total sum of percentages.

Starting by looking at the totals of REL markers across the six regions, the total of occurrences with REL particles (zero, *that*, *what*; *as*) outnumbers the total of occurrences with REL pronouns (*who*, *which*, *whom*; *whose*) by almost 3:1 (total REL particles: 1874 VERSUS total REL pronouns: 638). Since the presence of *wh*-pronouns is characteristic of (particularly written) Standard English, one can say that the standard variety has influenced dialectal English, but not taken over. The most frequent REL marker in the corpus is *that* (38.97 %), followed by zero (28.11 %), *which* (15.05 %), *who* (10.07 %); nonstandard *what* (6.77 %) and *as* (0.76 %). The case-marked *wh*-pronouns *whom* and *whose* are very unusual in dialectal speech and come to 0.16 % and 0.12 %, respectively.

The (qualitative) regional differences in REL marker distribution are indicated on Map 2 on the next page. As mentioned in chapter 3 MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY, I use Trudgill's (1990) Map 18 'Modern Dialect areas', supplemented by a map of Ireland and Northern Scotland, as a guideline.

Map 2 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN ADNOMINAL RCS



Leaving *wh*-pronouns as a non-indigenous (i.e., standard) and supra-regional feature aside for the moment, we move from south to north: The Central Southwest data show a rather even distribution of zero (28.87 %), *that* (26.46 %), and *what* (22.34 %). East Anglia presents a similar picture: *that* (22.04 %), zero (20.38 %), and *what* (15.88 %) are quite evenly distributed. As we move northward, *that* steadily gains strength. In the Central Midlands, *that*

(40.27 %) is the predominant REL marker, at the expense of zero (17.7 %) and *what* (5.75 %), which both have less importance (in numbers/percentages) when compared to the southern areas. *What* is more than twice as strong as the REL particle *as* (2.43 %), which is not found in the South and is, percentage-wise, weak in the Central Midlands. In the Central North, *that* accounts for 43.54 %, although zero (33.97 %) is also prominent. *What* (2.39 %) and *as* (1.44 %) have about halved their percentages in comparison to the Central Midlands. Scotland is even more clearly dominated by *that* (46.17 %). Zero (23.56 %) is a much weaker second. *What* (0.38 %) is almost nonexistent (1 clear case in Glasgow and 1 dubious instance) and *as* is absent. Finally, in Northern Ireland, *that* (50.12 %) is used in about half of all instances. The other half is almost taken up by zero (46.93 %). While *what* is unknown, *as* (0.49 %) is hovering around half a per cent.

With particular regard to the dialectal variants *what* and *as*, *what* is by far the stronger one, the more so the farther south we go. In the South (East Anglia; Central Southwest), *what* has a substantial number of instances, whereas in the North (Central North; Scotland), it plays a marginal role; in Northern Ireland *what* plays no role at all.

As has its stronghold in the Central Midlands. It shows up, though not often, in the Central North and in one county (Tyrone) of Northern Ireland. According to my data, *what* has its strongest position in the Central Southwest, although, from previous studies, I had expected East Anglia to show the highest number of occurrences.

All existing *wh*-pronouns have found their way into the investigated dialects. However, depending on the dialectal broadness of the individual subcorpus, their proportion varies from 2.46 % in the very broad Northern Ireland subcorpus to 41.7 % in the East Anglian subcorpus, which, as a whole, is closest to the standard variety. In between, there are the broad subcorpora from the Central North (18.66 % *wh*-pronouns) and the Central Southwest (22.33 % *wh*-pronouns) AND the less broad subcorpora from Scotland (29.88 % *wh*-pronouns) and the Central Midlands (33.84 % *wh*-pronouns). In addition to the overall percentage of *wh*-pronouns, the presence or absence of case-marked *wh*-forms is also indicative of how standardized or how dialectal (broad) a subcorpus is: *Whom* (2 instances in Scotland; 2 in the Central Midlands) and *whose* (3 in the Central Midlands) only appear in two of the (three) less broad subcorpora. Thus, the occurrence and frequency of *wh*-pronouns serve as a yardstick of degree of standardization or traditionality of speech, respectively: While traditional dialect only comprises REL particles, (written) Standard English abounds in *wh*-pronouns, which are indeed a typical trait of Standard English. Thus, the more *wh*-

pronouns, particularly of the case-marked variant, a corpus of data contains, the closer this corpus is to the standard variety and the further away from traditional dialect.

7.2. PREVIOUS STUDIES/SURVEYS OF AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS: Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*, Lowman Survey, Survey of English Dialects

Before giving an overview over earlier works on the six dialect regions in 7.3. below, I would like to give more detailed information on the three supra-regional or national studies/surveys appearing in Tables 2-7 below and present the available maps resulting from these surveys:

Joseph **Wright**'s *English Dialect Grammar* (1961) was originally published in 1905. The REL marker *what* is said to occur "in some of the north-midland counties and in nearly all the counties south of the north midlands" (Wright 1961 (1905): 77; §423). *As* is "occasionally used" (Wright 1961 (1905): 77; §423) in Westmorland and generally used in Nottinghamshire, East Anglia, and East Somerset, while *at* is generally used in Scotland and Ireland. The zero REL marker is a recurrent phenomenon in dialect—also in subject position—whereas *whom* is never applied (cf. Wright 1961 (1905): 77; §423).

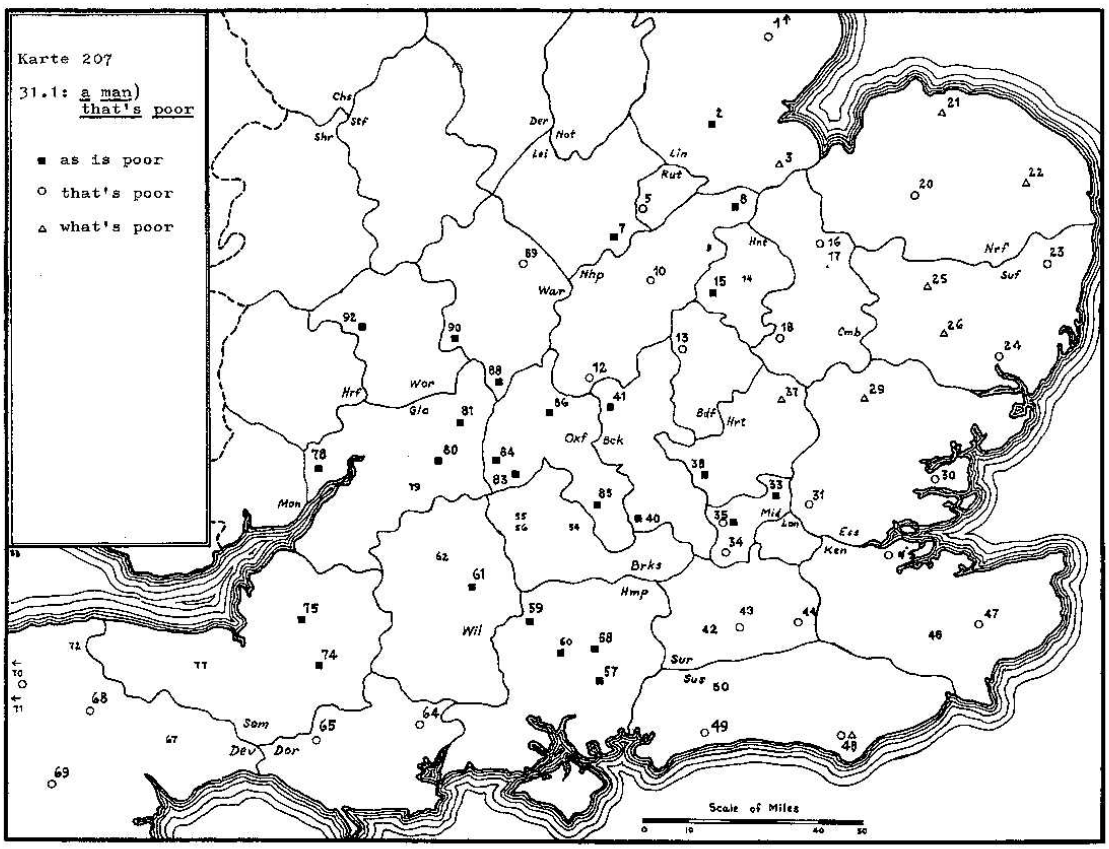
The **Lowman** Survey of Middle and South England was carried out in 1937/38 and supplemented by data from Henry E. Collins for the Southeast in 1950. For the Central Southwest, Map 207 (see next page) featuring 31.1: *a man*) *that's poor* (i.e., linguistic environment: restrictive RC; subject position; personal, indefinite antecedent) in Viereck's (1975a) atlas displays *as* in all counties except for Dorset, where the REL marker is *that* (cf. Viereck 1975a: *Map* 207). Map 208 (see page 67) reproducing 31.2: *he's a boy*) *whose father*, which asks for a genitive REL marker, gives a similar picture: The periphrastic genitive *as his father* is used in all counties except for Dorset, where a paratactic continuation[31] (*his father*) is used (cf. Viereck 1975a: *Map* 208).

[31] Alternatively, the continuation with *his father* could also be interpreted as an analytical genitive, i.e., as a combination of the zero REL marker + the possessive pronoun *his*.

In East Anglia it investigated 4 localities in Suffolk, 3 in Cambridgeshire, (and 3 localities in Norfolk and 3 in Essex). Map 207 shows nearly an even distribution of *what* (2 in Suffolk; 2 in Norfolk; 1 in Northern Essex) and *that* (2 in Suffolk; 2 in Cambridgeshire; 1 in Norfolk; 2 in Southern Essex) (cf. Viereck 1975a: *Map* 207; see also Viereck 1980: 27). Map 208 yields similar findings: Periphrastic *what his father* (2 in Suffolk) and *that his father* (1 in Western Cambridgeshire; 2 in Norfolk), or its reduced variant *that's father* (1 in Suffolk), occur about equally often. A paratactic continuation[32] (*his father*) was chosen as an alternative in all four counties (1 in Suffolk; 1 in Eastern Cambridgeshire; 1 in Norfolk; 3 in Essex) (cf. Viereck 1975a: *Map* 208).

This suggests East Anglia, particularly Western Suffolk, to be the heartland of REL *what*.[33] At the same time, *that* was a vital alternative, while *as* had moved further to the west.

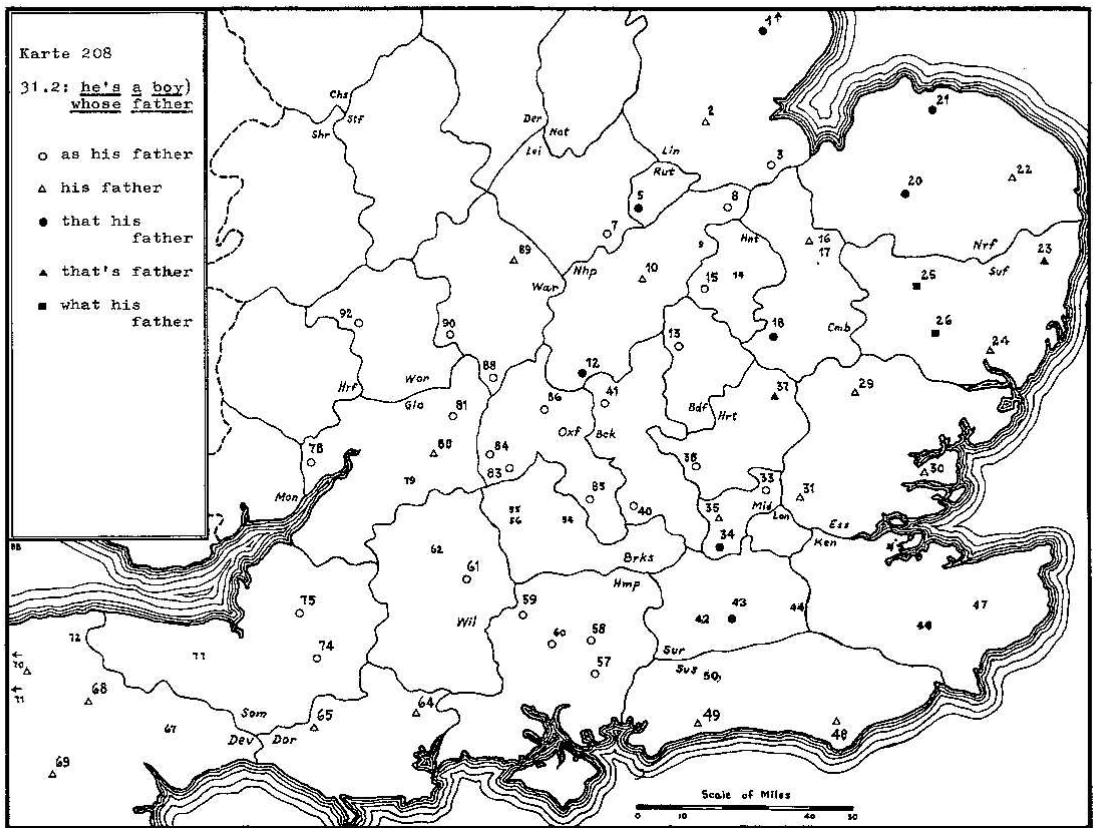
Map 3 *Map* 207 31.1: a man) that's poor (Lowman Survey)



[32] Alternatively, the continuation with *his father* could also be interpreted as an analytical genitive, i.e., as a combination of the zero REL marker + the possessive pronoun *his*.

[33] Based on Poussa's (1988, 1991) investigations of the three SED questions on relative clauses, relative *what* seems to originate from Essex (cf. Poussa 1988: 448). In addition, Albrecht (1916) in his treatise on the dialect poet Charles E. Benham of Colchester in north Essex, records *what* (± p) as the major relative marker, alongside *as* (cf. Albrecht 1916: 136).

Map 4 *Map* 208 31.2: he's a boy) whose father (Lowman Survey)



The **Survey of English Dialects** (**SED**) was mainly conducted in the 1950s with non-mobile, old, rural males and (marginally) females in 313 localities in England.[34] The informants were given a questionnaire which contained three questions asking for REL marker usage: Question III.3.7: '*If I didn't know what a cowman is, you would tell me: He is the man ... looks after the cows.*' (i.e., linguistic environment: restrictive RC; subject position; personal, nonspecific, definite antecedent; '*that*-frame'), Question IX.9.5: '*The woman next door says: The work in this garden is getting me down. You say: Well, get some help in. I know a man ... will do it for you.*' (i.e., linguistic environment: restrictive RC; subject position; personal, specific, indefinite antecedent; '*who*-frame'), and Question IX.9.6: '*That man's uncle was*

[34] The results of the SED appeared as several publications: The original four Survey of English Dialects (B) Basic Material volumes, edited by Harold Orton *et al.*, were published between 1962 and 1971. Dividing England into four large geographical areas, the volumes reproduce the SED questions and responses, including incidental material (i.e., additional, nonelicited information on the questions), according to counties. The linguistic atlas of England (LAE) (1978), edited by Orton, Sanderson, & Widdowson., presents selected SED questions as maps on which isoglosses are drawn as well as individual responses indicated. Wolfgang Viereck's comprehensive The computer developed linguistic atlas of England (1991/1997) illustrates SED questions and responses, including incidental material, in great detail. It lists individual responses and marks them via symbols on the maps. The Survey of English Dialects: The dictionary and grammar (1994), edited by Clive Upton *et al.*, is an exhaustive reference work, which arranges SED questions and responses according to feature occurrences in individual counties.

drowned last week. In other words, you might say, that's the chap ... (uncle was drowned).' (i.e., linguistic environment: restrictive RC; genitive position; personal, specific, definite antecedent).[35] Additional, nonelicited information on the questions was noted down as incidental material. Responses to Questions IX.9.5 and IX.9.6 are presented cartographically as S5 and M81 in *The linguistic atlas of England* (LAE), while Viereck's *The computer developed linguistic atlas of England 1* (1991) presents the responses (and incidental material) to all three SED questions as S8a and S8b, S9, and S10. All six maps are reproduced in Appendix 1, on pages 201-206.

In the **Central Southwest**, the SED investigated 13 localities in Somerset, 7 of which in Eastern Somerset, 8 in Wiltshire, 5 in Dorset, 4 in West Berkshire, 6 in Oxfordshire, 1 in South Gloucestershire, and 3 in Western Hampshire. Details on the occurrences are provided in Appendix 2.

In response to Question III.3.7, Dorset indeed seems to be an outsider in the Central Southwest in being a *that* and zero area, although *what* and *as* also once appear in the incidental material. In the lower core counties of the Central Southwest, namely in Somerset, Wiltshire, and West Berkshire, *what*, *that*, (and its phonemic variant *'at*), and zero are about equally frequent. *Who* and *as*, on the other hand, are rather infrequent there. When including the northern counties Oxfordshire and South Gloucestershire, *as* catches up with *what*, *that*, and zero. Western Hampshire on the periphery of the Central Southwest already leans toward the Southeast in displaying *who* and zero. In the incidental material, however, *what* (above all in Eastern Somerset) and particularly *as* dominate. While both, *what* and *as*, do not transcend the Eastern Somerset/Western Somerset borderline, *as* has its stronghold in the more interior counties Wiltshire, (South) Gloucestershire, (West) Berkshire, and Oxfordshire to the north.

In response to Question IX.9.5, *who* is the predominant REL marker. *As* gains strength again, as one moves northward and further into the mainland, i.e., in (West) Berkshire, (South) Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire. The standard genitive REL marker *whose* prevails in the entire Central Southwest, although in Eastern Somerset and Oxfordshire potential genitives are also promoted to other ('higher') syntactic positions, such as indirect object (dative) and subject (nominative) (see below chapter 12 ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY and 12.4. GENITIVE AVOIDANCE).

[35] Occasionally, informants gave no answer or more than one answer.

Altogether, the *wh*-pronouns *who* and *whose* are prevalent (in Questions IX.9.5 and 9.6). *What*, *that*, zero, and *as* all appear, yet *as* seems to be rather restricted to the interior areas to the north.

In **East Anglia**, the SED investigated 5 localities in Suffolk, 1 in Eastern Cambridgeshire, 13 in Norfolk, as well as 15 localities in neighboring Essex. (Details on the occurrences are provided in Appendix 2.)

In response to SED Question III.3.7, the REL marker *as* dominates in Cambridgeshire and in the area to the west, whereas Norfolk, Suffolk, Eastern Cambridgeshire, and Essex are part of a *what* area, which comprises the entire Southeast (cf. Viereck 1991: S8b). However, *what* seems to alternate with *that* in this area, which is not as frequent as *what* though (cf. Viereck 1991: S8a and S8b).

In response to Question IX.9.5, *that* occurs only once as a second choice in Norfolk. In all probability, *at* is no separate REL marker in East Anglia, but a weakened form of *that*, whose initial *th*- was dropped, which is an occasional phonological feature there (see also Poussa 1996: 529; Peitsara 2002: 169). When looking at Map S9 on p. 205 in Appendix 1, the predominance of *who* in East Anglia (and surroundings, as well as the entire South) becomes visually evident. *That* is conspicuously rare in all England (although *at* is frequent in the North). *As* is absent in East Anglia, but starts to be very frequent in Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Buckinghamshire, and farther to the west (cf. Viereck 1991: S9). The synthetic genitive REL marker *whose* outnumbers the periphrastic genitive constructions by far.

In sum: While the dialectal REL markers *what* and *as* and the REL particles *that* and zero are preferred in SED Question III.3.7 (subject position; nonspecific, definite antecedent), the standard *wh*-REL pronouns *who* and *whose* are preferred in IX.9.5 (subject position; specific, indefinite antecedent) and IX.9.6 (genitive case; specific, definite antecedent), respectively. (Of the 46 instances of *what* in the incidental material accompanying Question III.3.7, about twice as many *what*s were found in nonspecific (and definite) environments than in specific environments. Of the 4 instances of *that*, all seem to occur in nonspecific (and definite) environments. The 8 instances of *as* do not seem to be affected by syntactic environment.) That is to say that '(non)specificity' seems to be the critical syntactic variable (cf. Poussa 1988: 447/448 and 465), yet, in the sense that (such as in SED Questions IX.9.5 and IX.9.6) specific antecedents prefer *who*, while nonspecific antecedents are left for the nonstandard

REL particle *what* (instead of the standard REL particle *that* in the '*that*-frame' Question III.3.7).

In the **Central Midlands**, the SED investigated 4 localities in Nottinghamshire, 1 in Eastern Derbyshire, and 4 in North-Western Leicestershire. (Details on the occurrences are provided in Appendix 2.)
As occurs in the great majority of responses to all three SED questions, including the incidental material. The Central Midlands are part of a large *as* area, which extends over the entire Midlands and reaches up to Lancashire in the north, roughly Eastern Somerset in the south, and Cambridgeshire/Buckinghamshire in the east, excluding the Southeast (cf. Viereck 1991: S8a, S8b, S9, and S10). There are also sporadic instances of zero, *that*, *what*, and *who*, while *whose* is regularly used in genitive position.

In the **Central North**, the SED investigated 6 localities in Cumberland, 4 in Westmorland, and 2 in North Lancashire. (Details on the occurrences are provided in Appendix 2.)
The Central North belongs to an *at* area in the north of England, although the more dominant REL marker in North Lancashire appears to be *as*. (*At*, *ut*, and *t* are rated as phonemic/phonetic variants of *that* by me.) There is a single occurrence of *as* in central Cumberland (i.e., in Cu4 = Threlkeld), but the single occurrence of *what* in the Central North occurs no farther north than North Lancashire (cf. Orton & Halliday 1962/63: 243 and 1082-1085; see also Viereck 1991: S8a, S8b, S9, and S10).

7.3. AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

With respect to the six dialect regions investigated and the individual counties of data origin in particular, I will summarize the major findings of previous investigations in Tables 2-7 below. Each table will provide an overview of REL marker distribution in the respective region in chronological order. (For the sake of clarity and owing to space constraints, this form was chosen over discussing each individual study in the form of running text.) At the end of each table, I will pinpoint the main similarities and differences to the areal distribution of REL markers in my data.

Abbreviations: GEN = genitive
nr = nonrestrictive RC
poss PRON = possessive pronoun

ON THE CENTRAL SOUTHWEST AND EASTERN SOMERSET IN PARTICULAR:

Table 2 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS ON THE CENTRAL SOUTHWEST AND EASTERN SOMERSET IN PARTICULAR

		CSW						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Elworthy (1877, 1886): West Somerset		zero also as subject (inter alia, in *there-* & *have-* existentials; clefts)	*that*	*what*	only in East Somerset	none	none	none; GEN avoidance
Lowsley (1888): Berkshire					*as*			no *whom*; *whosen*
Dartnell & Goddard (1893): Wiltshire					*as*			
Kruisinga (1905): West Somerset			*that* / [hAt]	*what*				no *whose* but GEN avoidance
Wright (1905): East Somerset				occurs	generally used			
Wilson (1913): Burley, New Forest, Hampshire				*what*				
Lowman (1937/38): Eastern Somerset					*as*			*as his* (REL marker + poss PRON)

		CSW						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
SED (1950s): Eastern Somerset		occurs in subject position (in *there-* & *have-* existentials; *have*-existential-like construction with '*to know*')	occurs; also *at*	occurs; dominant in incidental material	occurs (older)	dominant		*whose*; *as his* (REL marker + poss PRON); *what's*; GEN avoidance
Barth (1968): Naunton, Gloucestershire				*what* (newer)	*as* (older)			
Rogers (1979): Wessex		zero also as subject in (*there-*) existentials		*what*	*as*			none; *what his* (REL marker + poss PRON)
Ihalainen (1980, 1985, 1987): Somerset		zero (30 [29.13 %]) also as subject in *there-* & *have-* existentials, equational sentences, clefts; 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs	*that* (26 [25.24 %]) (also nr)	*what* (18 [17.48 %])[36]	*as* (6 [5.83 %]) (particularly with *all*; in '*there*' existential; cleft; all restrictive); in East Somerset only	*who* (2 [1.94 %])	*which* (21 [20.39 %])[37] mainly nr	none

[36] Total includes at least 1 *all*-pseudo-cleft.

[37] Total might include up to 3 sentential RCs.

		CSW						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Jones & Dillon (1987): Wiltshire		zero also as subject in *there*-existentials	*that*	*what*	*as*			
van den Eynden (1992, 1993, 2002): Dorset		zero (129 [24.9 %]) also as subject in *there*- & *have*-existentials, cleft questions; equational sentences	*that* (192 [37.1 %]) (also nr)	*what* (37 [7.1 %])		*who* (72 [13.9 %])	*which* (60 [11.6 %]) particularly nr	very rare (3 [0.6 %])[38]; zero (REL marker + poss PRON); GEN avoidance

[38] Plus 4.8 % sententials and connectors to add up to 100 %.

When comparing my results of the Central Southwest to those of previous investigations, it becomes clear that in the past, *as* reached as far south as Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Eastern Somerset. In Western Somerset *as* did not occur; in Dorset *as* just once occurred in the incidental material of Question III.3.7 in combination with '*all*' (cf. Orton & Wakelin 1967: 291).—However, it has to be conceded that *as* occasionally reappears in the Lower Southwest (Devon; Cornwall) in SED material in response to Question III.3.7 and its incidental material (cf. *ibidem*).—According to my data, *as* nowadays seems to have receded further north in relative clause formation, whereas in Eastern Somerset it is restricted to topicalization structures (see below 8.4. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RELATIVE MARKER USAGE IN TERMS OF THE SCALE/ HIERARCHY and pp. 31/32 in 4.2.1. Topicalization structures resembling adnominal relative clauses: cleft and *all*-pseudo-cleft above). This process of recession to topicalization structures can already be read off from Ihalainen's (1980) Somerset findings, in which the infrequent occurrences of *as* are also found in topicalization structures like *there*-existentials, *all*-pseudo-clefts, and clefts, in addition to combinations with indefinite pronouns in general (cf. Ihalainen 1985: 68). Overall, Ihalainen's (1980) distribution of REL markers for Somerset is very similar to mine, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Also, his results on the occurrence restrictions of the zero marker in subject position match my results, as described in 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent relative clauses above.

Van den Eynden's (1992, 1993, 2002) frequencies on Dorset, however, somewhat depart from mine: While the percentage of the zero marker is still relatively similar to mine, the percentage of *that* is remarkably higher, and that of *what* very much lower.

The nonstandard REL marker *what* has been part of the Central Southwestern dialect from the earliest citation onward, i.e., it dates back there at least to the middle of the second half of the 19th century, when Elworthy (1877) mentioned it for West Somerset. Some authors (Barth 1968 for Gloucestershire and Informant So[merset]1[39]) hint at an antagonism between *what* and *as*, in which *as* is felt to be the older variant of the two, which was already superseded by the younger combatant at the time of the SED. Although *who* is the dominant REL marker in the SED questionnaire in Eastern Somerset, *what* is very frequent in the incidental material.

[39] Provided that I interpret the entry "["older"]" (Orton & Wakelin 1968: 1154) after the RC construction with *as* correctly, namely as commenting on the REL marker and not on any other element. See also informant O[xfordshire]1, where this tag "["older"]" (Orton & Barry 1969: 254) appears to express that *as* is an older REL marker.

ON EAST ANGLIA AND SUFFOLK AND EASTERN CAMBRIDGESHIRE IN PARTICULAR:

Table 3 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS ON EAST ANGLIA AND SUFFOLK AND EASTERN CAMBRIDGESHIRE IN PARTICULAR

		EAN						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Forby (1830)				predominant				
Wright (1905)				occurs	generally used			
Lowman (1937/38): Suffolk, East Cambridgeshire			*that*	*what*				*what his* (REL marker + poss PRON); *that's*
SED (1950s): Suffolk, East Cambridgeshire		occurs in subject position (in an equational sentence)	occurs once as *at*	dominant	occurs only in Cambridgeshire	occurs		*whose*; *as his* (REL marker + poss PRON); GEN avoidance
Francis SED Corpus (1956) in Poussa (1999, 2001): Northern Norfolk (Nf 1-9)		zero (47 [40 %]) also as subject "in some constructions" (Poussa 1999: 96)	*that* (3 [2.5 %]); *at* (1 [1.17 %])	*what* (55 [47 %])		*who* (9 [8 %])	*which* (2 [1.7 %])	no *whom*

		EAN						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Claxton (1968)				*what*				hardly *whom*
Ojanen (1982): (South) Cambridgeshire		zero (170 [39.53 %])[40] also as subject, mostly in *there*- & *have*-existentials, copular '*be*' sentence, 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs; a *have*-existential-like construction with '*to know*'	*that* (7 [1.63 %])	*what* (229 [53.26 %])	*as* (1 [0.23 %])	*who* (13 [3.02 %])	*which* (10 [2.33 %]) (only nr)	none; GEN avoidance
Kekäläinen/Peitsara (1985, 1988; 2002[41]): Suffolk		zero (25 [24.27 %]) (100 [30.67 %])[42] also as subject, normally in *there*- & *have*-existentials, clefts; (also nr[43])	*that* / *at* (21 [20.39 %]) (1 nr) (75 [23.01 %]) (4 nr)	*what* (30 [29.13 %]) (69 [21.17 %])	*as* (2 [1.94 %]) (3 [0.92 %])	*who* (3 [2.91 %]) (24 [7.36 %])	*which* (22 [21.36 %]) (mostly nr) (55 [16.87 %]) (5 personal)	none; 1 instance of *who his* (REL marker + poss PRON)

[40] It contains instances which share a common surface structure with zero RCs, yet are not RCs.

[41] Her 1985 study was based on the data of only 9 of the 19 informants, while her 2002 analysis exploited the whole of the Suffolk data.

[42] I re-worked the figures slightly, such as to exclude adverbial RCs, sentential RCs, and clefts; however, there might still be an unknown number of inappropriate constructions in the data.

[43] Those 12 % nonrestrictive zero RCs (out of a total of 146 zeros altogether) might be mostly clefts, although 1 instance of a *have*-existential appears among the examples.

		EAN						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Poussa (1994): North-East Norfolk		zero (134 [30.95 %]) particularly as subject	*that* / *at* (34 [7.85 %])	*what* (111 [25.64 %])		*who* (84 [19.4 %])[44]	which (70 [16.17 %])	very rare
Poussa (2001): Docking, North-West Norfolk		very frequent	rare	frequent		occurs	occurs	none

[44] The actual absolute number might differ slightly, since Poussa does not distinguish between *who* and its case-marked forms; on page 425 she records 3 *whose* and 1 *whom*, but Figure 1 shows 2 *who* in genitive function.

While *as* is described as 'in general use' for East Anglia in Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* (cf. Wright 1961 (1905): 77; §423), its occurrences became very sporadic after that time. In the Lowman Survey, *as* is not recorded for East Anglia any more, while the SED still records *as* as the dominant REL marker for Cambridgeshire in response to Question III.3.7 and in the incidental material of that question (cf. Orton & Tilling 1969: 301). Later on, *as* apparently retracted even further west than Cambridgeshire, where it is found only once by Ojanen (1982) in Mid Cambridgeshire (cf. Ojanen 1982: 74). In my East Anglian data from Suffolk and Eastern Cambridgeshire, no instance of *as* was encountered.

On the other hand, *what* is almost unanimously recorded as the dominant marker in East Anglia, which can be regarded as the heartland of *what*. Even in Cambridgeshire, *what* is reported as the most frequent REL marker by Ojanen. Unsurprisingly, my data—mainly from Suffolk—are mostly in line with Kekäläinen/Peitsara's (1985, 2002) findings for Suffolk: While her higher number of zeros might be partly attributable to the inclusion of non-relative clause constructions, the percentages for *that* are almost the same (20.39 % and 23.01 % VERSUS 22.04 % in my data). Kekäläinen/Peitsara's higher figures for *what* (29.13 % and 21.17 % VERSUS 15.88 % in my data) are to be explained by the difference in broadness between our corpora. The inferior broadness of my corpus is also reflected by the much higher figures for *who* (15.4 % in my data VERSUS 2.91 % and 7.36 %) and, to a lesser extent, *which* (26.3 % in my data VERSUS 21.36 % and 16.87 %), as well as the total absence of archaic *as* possibly (in contrast to 2 and 3 cases, respectively, in Kekäläinen/Peitsara's data).

Ojanen's findings for (South) Cambridgeshire and Poussa's (1994, 2001) (and Francis) for Norfolk are different from mine in two major respects: Their frequencies of the zero marker are considerably higher, although the high number of zero subject RCs should be taken with care in Ojanen's study: It contains instances which share a common surface structure with zero RCs, yet, are no RCs, such as nonfinite clauses, resultatives, and pro-drop constructions.[45] In contrast to that, their numbers for *that* are very low (1.63 % for Cambridgeshire; 7.85 % in Poussa's and 2.5 % Francis' corpus (or 3.67 % including 1 instance of *at*) for Norfolk VERSUS 22.04 % in my data). As mentioned before, the extremely low figures for *who* and *which* in Ojanen's and Francis' corpora and the consequently high figures for zero and indigenous *what* are indicators of the superior broadness of these corpora.

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[45] E.g., *We used to have niggers go along in front of us.* [bare infinitive clause]
We had a combine come here 'way from Holland. [causative resultative construction (*We made a combine come here 'way from Holland.*)] (cf. Ojanen 1982: 77)

ON THE CENTRAL MIDLANDS AND NOTTINGHAMSHIRE IN PARTICULAR:

Table 4 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS ON THE CENTRAL MIDLANDS AND NOTTINGHAMSHIRE IN PARTICULAR

		CMI						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Evans & Evans (1881): Leicestershire					*as*			
Pegge (1896): Derbyshire					*as*			
Wright (1905): Nottinghamshire				occurs	generally used			
SED (1950s): Nottinghamshire		occurs in subject position (in a *there*-existential & a *have*-existential-like construction with '*to know*')			*as*			*whose*; *as his* (REL marker + poss PRON)
Storr (1977): Selston, Erewash Valley, Nottinghamshire					*as*			

All previous studies on the Central Midlands and even its neighboring counties report *as*, either as the dominant or the only REL marker. Zero and *what* were also known. Contrastive with that, in my data, the REL marker *as* has come to play only a very minor role (2.43 %). Partially this has to be seen as a consequence of the less broad quality of my corpus, in comparison to the other material. On the other hand, this is to be interpreted as a real time change in which *as* has been driven back by other REL markers, particularly by *that* (40.27 %), the *wh*-pronouns (32.74 %), and zero (17.7 %; all in my data). The REL marker *what* is used, but not frequently (5.75 % in my data).

ON THE CENTRAL NORTH (CUMBRIA = CUMBERLAND, WESTMORLAND, AND NORTH LANCASHIRE):

Table 5 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS ON THE CENTRAL NORTH (CUMBRIA = CUMBERLAND, WESTMORLAND, AND NORTH LANCASHIRE)

		CNO						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Peacock (1862/63, 1867): Westmorland, Central Cumberland, North Lancashire			*at*					
Ellwood (1895): Cumberland, Westmorland, North Lancashire			*at*					
Wright (1905): Westmorland					occasional			
Hirst (1906): Kendal, Westmorland		occurs	*at*			none		
Brilioth (1913): Lorton, West Cumberland		occurs often	commonest: *at*	much less common		none		
Reaney (1927): Penrith, Cumberland		frequent	commonest: *at*		occasional			
Round (1949): Broughton-in-Furness, Lancashire		often	commonest: *at*		sometimes			
SED (1950s): Cumberland, Westmorland, North Lancashire		occurs in subject position (in a *there*-existential & a *have*-existential-like construction with '*to know*')	*at* is dominant; *that*; *ɷt*; *t*	occurs once in North Lancashire	occurs once in Cumberland; occurs in North Lancashire	occurs once		*whose*; *at his* (REL marker + poss PRON), *at's*; *as his*; GEN avoidance

		CNO						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Wright (1979)		sometimes zero also as subject in *there*-existentials	usual: *at*	occasional				

All previous authors agree on *at* as the regular REL marker in Cumbria.[46] There is a dispute among authors, however, whether *at* is a separate REL particle of Scandinavian origin or whether *at* is a phonemic variant—alongside *ut* or *'t*—of *that*, in which the initial *th-* was dropped. Although I found some scattered occurrences of *at* in my Central North data, of course, I cannot solve this dispute as to its origin here. The suggestion offered on that point in Romaine (1982a), citing R. Girvan's (1939) *Ratis Raving and other early Scots poems on morals*, sounds enticingly plausible: Even if *at* was a separate conjunction and later a REL particle in Northern England and Scotland in the past, it has become mentally merged with *that* over time, so that nowadays *at* no longer figures as a separate REL particle (cf. Romaine 1982a: 70).[47]—Interestingly, authors never argue on the current nature of *at* as a conjunction, but it is commonly assumed that the conjunction *at* is equivalent to the conjunction *that*, i.e., *at = that*.—Since *at* and *that* appear(ed) side by side, in the Central North and Scotland as well as in other areas of regular or occasional initial *th*-dropping (when unstressed), like, for example, East Anglia (cf. Poussa 1996: 529 and 531; *footnote* 5; see also Peitsara 2002: 169), I did not differentiate between the two, but subsumed the few transcribed instances of *at* below *that*. Hence, *that* is the most frequent REL marker in my Central North data (43.54 %), followed by zero (33.97 %). Occasional or frequent occurrences of zero are also mentioned by all previous authors after 1905. While *as* seems to be a typical Lancashire feature (e.g., in the SED), it was also (occasionally) observed in Westmorland and Cumberland by Wright (1905) and Reaney (1927) in the early 20th century. In my late 20th century data, *as* only amounts to 1.44 %, coming from the Ambleside area, formerly Westmorland. *What* is recorded as an occasional REL marker (for West Cumberland) by Brilioth (1913) and noticed also in the SED and by Wright (1979). I found *what* (2.39 %) somewhat more frequently than *as* (1.44 %).

[46] Except for Wright (1905), who is not very detailed on his recordings for the Central North.

[47] In A Middle English syntax (1960), Mustanoja remarks on *at*: "*At* occurs by the side of *that* in the North, where it is common in the 14th and 15th centuries. It becomes rare after 1500, being supplanted by *quhilk*" (Mustanoja 1960: 191).

ON SCOTLAND AND LOTHIAN, BORDERS, STRATHCLYDE; INVERNESSHIRE IN PARTICULAR:

Table 6 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS ON SCOTLAND AND LOTHIAN, BORDERS, STRATHCLYDE; INVERNESSHIRE IN PARTICULAR

		SCO						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Wright (1905)			*at*					
Wilson (1915): Lower Strathearn District of Perthshire		zero also as subject; *have*-existential-like construction with '*to know*'	*ut* (= *at*)	*what* with '*all*'				no *whose* but *ut his* (REL marker + poss PRON) or GEN avoidance
Grant & Dixon (1921)		zero also as subject in *there*- & *have*-existentials	*that* = *'at* = *'t*					*'at his* (REL marker + poss PRON); hardly *whom*
Wilson (1926): Central Scotland		zero	*ut* (= *at* = *that*) / *that*			none	none	none
Dieth (1932): Buchan, Aberdeenshire			*at*					
Grant (1931); Grant & Murison (1974)		zero also as subject (in a copular '*be*' question)	*that* = *at*		rare			*at his* / *that's* (REL marker + poss PRON)
Murison (1978)		zero also as subject	*that* / *at*			none	obsolete *whilk*	none; *that his* (REL marker + poss PRON)

		SCO						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Aitken (1979)								no *whose* but *that's* (REL marker + poss PRON) or GEN avoidance
Romaine (1982a, b, 1984a)		zero also as subject	*at* = *that* *'at* / *that*			rare	only nr/sentential	no *whose* but *that's* (REL marker + poss PRON) or GEN avoidance
Miller & Brown (1982); Miller (1983); Miller & Weinert (1998): Edinburgh, West & East Lothian		zero also as subject in *there-* & *have-* existentials	typical			rare	only nr/sentential	no *whose* but *that his* (REL marker + poss PRON); no *whom*
Macafee (1983): Glasgow		zero also as subject, particularly in (*there-*) existentials	most common *at* = *that* (also nr)	occasional in West of Scotland				
Macaulay (1985, 1989, 1991): Ayr		second frequent; also as subject in *there-* & *have-* existentials, existential-like constructions; clefts	dominant (also nr)			very rare	very rare (with nr/sentential)	no *whose* but GEN avoidance

		SCO						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
McClure (1994)		zero also as subject in existential-like copular '*be*' questions	*that* = *at*					*that's* / *at's* (REL marker + poss PRON)

Like my results, earlier findings document *that*/ *'at* (or its phonetic/phonemic variants *'ut* or *'t*) as the prevalent REL marker in Scotland (46.17 % in my data), followed by the zero REL marker (23.56 % in my data). Wherever a reduced form occurs, authors take it for a phonemically shortened *that*, with the exception of Dieth (1932), who is unsure on the matter (cf. Dieth 1932: 153), and Murison (1978). Grant (1931) is the only author who cites two literary instances of *as* occurring around 1900, which he notes as 'rare' (cf. Grant 1931: 78). Neither in the other studies, nor in my investigation were there any instances of *as*, while *what* is very rare and seems to be restricted to Lower Scotland and Glasgow, in particular. *Whilk*, the Scottish equivalent to English *which* cited by Murison (1978), rather seems to pertain to an earlier stage of Scottish English.

ON NORTHERN IRELAND:

Table 7 AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS IN PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS ON NORTHERN IRELAND

		NIR						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Wright (1905): Ireland			*at*					
Todd (1971): Tyrone		zero also in subject clefts	*that* also in clefts					
Policansky (1982): Belfast		most frequent zero also as subject (in *there*- & *have*- existentials, inter alia)	frequent			occurs	occurs	no *whose*; zero (REL marker + poss PRON); GEN avoidance
Harris (1984b, 1993): Irish English (North & South)		zero also as subject in (*have*-) existentials, 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs; clefts	*that*			rare	rare	*that his*, *that's*; zero (REL marker + poss PRON)
Henry (1995): Belfast		zero also as subject in (*there*-) existentials, copular '*be*' sentences & such that introduce new individuals into discourse; clefts						

		NIR						
author/study								
		REL marker	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker**	**REL marker(s)**
		zero	*that*	*what*	*as*	*who*	*which*	*whose, whom*
Corrigan (1997): South Armagh		most frequent among older people zero also as subject, mostly in (*there-)* existentials, 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs, copular '*be*' sentences; clefts	*that* (also nr)			comparatively rare	comparatively rare	GEN avoidance

Zero and *that* (or *'at*) dominate in (Northern) Ireland in previous studies, which conforms to my findings (46.93 % and 50.12 %, respectively in my data). The extreme conservativeness of my Northern Ireland data can be read from the extremely low frequencies for *who* and *which* and perhaps in addition from the occurrence of 2 instances of *as* in Tyrone.

The (frequent) occurrence of a periphrastic genitive (i.e., a REL marker plus a resumptive possessive pronoun (see below chapter 13 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS), as in *that his*) is recurrently mentioned throughout the literature on dialects across regions. Nevertheless, my findings include just one instance of a periphrastic genitive, involving the REL pronoun *which* and the possessive pronoun *its*. Thus, my results appear to be more in line with the findings of the SED: When prompted for a genitive REL marker, speakers tend to use the standard REL pronoun *whose*, while in free-wheeling speech, genitives are rather avoided. In my entire data, there are only 3 instances of *whose*. Apart from these instances, genitives are evaded by using paratactic constructions, *and*-coordinations, and left dislocations (see below 12.4. GENITIVE AVOIDANCE).

8. IMPLICATIONAL TENDENCIES OF RELATIVE MARKER USAGE

8.1. Introduction: This chapter shows that the co-occurrence of adnominal REL markers is not random and is generally consistent with the overall level of idiolectal broadness of dialect. Individual REL markers and their particular usage in dialectal speech form a scale or probabilistic hierarchy of dialectal broadness, on which each speaker's idiolect can be found and evaluated as to its conservativism or its acceptance of Standard English into the REL marker system. Of course, this scale or hierarchy is subject to regional variation, as some REL markers are geographically restricted, while most REL marker features are supra-regional.

8.2. TOWARD A SCALE/ HIERARCHY

Combining possibilities and co-occurrence restrictions of individual relative markers suggest implicational hierarchies (absolute or quantitative hierarchies). The level of broadness of an idiolect (conservatism) on the one hand, or the level of standardization (innovation) on the other hand, can predict the presence or absence (or even the relative frequency) of particular relative markers with a high degree of certainty. Conversely, each speaker's use of REL markers can be assessed in terms of degree of broadness or degree of standardization. Taking interregional variation of REL markers occurrence into account, an implicational tendency is hypothesized that if some dialect speaker has the REL marker *as* or *what* in his/her linguistic system, he or she will also have zero in subject position, but not vice versa:

as / *what* < ∅ + Subject

On the other hand, if somebody uses case-marked *wh*-pronouns (*whose*; *whom*), he or she will also use non-case-marked *wh*-pronouns (*who*, *which*), instead of using just REL particles in addition (but is very unlikely to use *as*, for example, provided that *as* is a theoretical option in this region, of course):

case-marked *wh*-pronouns < non-case-marked *wh*-pronouns

Or, if somebody uses nonrestrictive *who*, he or she will probably also use restrictive *who*, as nonrestrictive *who* (as nonrestrictiveness in general) is even more remote from dialect than restrictive *who* (see below chapter 9.3 RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN DIALECTAL SPEECH):

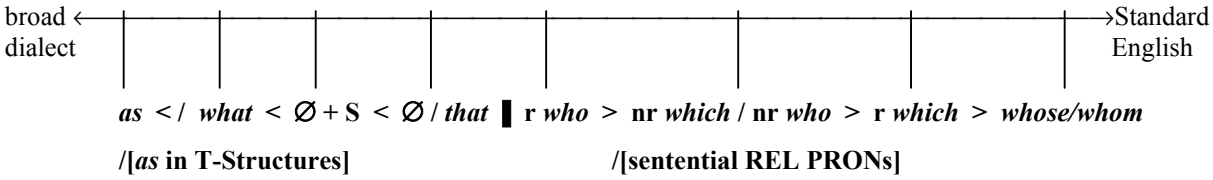
nonrestrictive *who* < restrictive *who*

In trying to capture these and similar probabilistic tendencies into one hierarchy, I drew up a scale which also serves as a (probabilistic) implicational hierarchy, with 'broad dialect' as its left and 'Standard English' as its right pole. Thus, broad speakers' repertoires of REL markers tend toward the left end, while moderate or modest dialect speakers' make more use of the REL markers toward the right end. Naturally, all dialect speakers possess at least competence—and often also show performance—of Standard English REL markers, whereas Standard English speakers are not competent in dialectal REL marker usage. Each of the 96 investigated speakers in my data using adnominal REL markers was previously assigned a mainly impressionistic label assessing his/her overall performance as a dialect speaker, such as 'broad', 'medium', 'moderate', or 'modest', on the basis of all encountered dialect features (see above 2.1. MATERIAL). Now we can check whether this label tallies with their use of REL markers (which of course it should, all things being normal). At any rate, each speaker's idiolect should cover a continuous stretch on the scale/hierarchy without skipping a position, as the use of positions variously implies the use of neighboring positions, although each speaker's repertoire may cut off at any given position.[48] Accordingly, this 'stretch' of positions covered may just coincide with one single position, or it may cover the whole (or almost the whole) set of positions. Both cases are exceptional; most speakers' idiolect covers a selection of REL markers located at the inner stretch of the scale, with a preponderance on REL particles: The scale/hierarchy basically rests on the well-founded assumption that dialect speakers use a pure REL particle system, while *wh*-pronouns are restricted to speakers of

[48] With the exception of stretching along the *wh*-pronouns and leaving off at any position there, since we are dealing with **dialect** speakers.

Standard English.[49] As an implicational hierarchy, implications come to a halt in the middle, where the bold bar ▌signals a dividing line between REL particles and *wh*-pronouns. From both sides of this bar, implications run in opposite directions, indicated either by a < sign, where X < Y means 'X implies Y', or by a > sign, where X > Y means 'Y implies X'. This dividing bar separates the full-fledged system of (written) Standard English, with maximal relative-pronominal distinction (case and gender distinction, (non)restrictiveness distinction, zero subject restriction) on the right, from the REL particle system, with no rigid distinctions or partition of labor among REL markers on the left. To save space, in the hierarchy below, 'T-structures' stand for 'topicalization structures' (see above 4.2.1. Topicalization structures resembling adnominal relative clauses: cleft and *all*-pseudo-cleft), '∅ + S' stands for 'zero marker functioning as subject in the RC', 'PRON' for 'pronoun', and 'r' and 'nr' for 'restrictive' and 'nonrestrictive', respectively:

8.3. SCALE/ HIERARCHY OF BROADNESS OF RELATIVE MARKERS



The hierarchy includes the positions '*as* in T-structures' and 'sentential REL PRONs' in square brackets in a second line, to indicate that these positions are not part of the adnominal REL marker system but serve as indicators of broadness/standardization, too, and thus can well be integrated into the hierarchy. The position of *as* in topicalization structures is at the very left, taking over the position of *as* as a REL marker in those dialects in which *as* is still found in topicalization structures, but has become extinct as a REL marker (e.g., in the Central Southwest). The exact position of the sentential REL pronoun within the (nonrestrictive) adnominal *wh*-pronouns remains, however, uncertain. Likewise, the ordering within the *wh*-pronouns is tentative. Surely, nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns are a typical feature of Standard

[49] It has to be noted, however, that this is a slightly ideological concept in our time of great mobility and ever-present mass media, which both have a dialect-leveling influence on speakers.

English, more than restrictive *wh*-pronouns are; therefore nonrestrictive *which* and *who* are situated toward the rightmost end; an internal ordering between *which* and *who* is still unclear. However, the restrictive *wh*-pronouns should rather be split into the two opposing gender-encoding components *which* and *who*, which flank the nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns, such that restrictive *who* is more akin to broad dialect than nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns are, whereas restrictive *which* is least likely to be a feature of broad dialect of all *wh*-pronouns (except for the case-marked ones), since it is characteristic of academic writing (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 616).

Possibly the symbol < is not justified between the REL markers *as* and *what*; consequently it is accompanied by a slash (/), symbolizing an equivalent choice: Firstly, *as* does not (or never did) occur in all of the six investigated regions.[50] Secondly, in those regions where both *as* and *what* occur (i.e., in the Central Midlands and the Central North), they rather appear in complementary distribution among speakers, so that speakers using *as* tend not to have *what* (see below p. 96 and 142/143 in 12.3.2. Nonstandard relative markers *what* and *as*: Change in progress in terms of the Accessibility Hierarchy). Nevertheless, in those regions which have (or had in the past) both *as* and *what*, *as* is the broader or more archaic variant of the two. Hence, *as* is ranked to the left of *what*, even when *as* surfaces within a topicalization structure, because having this feature is clearly indicative of a broader idiolect than the idiolect of a mere *what*-user. That is to say (as can be also witnessed in 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent relative clauses above concerning zero subject RCs and on p. 31 in 4.2.1. Topicalization structures resembling adnominal relative clauses: cleft and *all*-pseudo-cleft), the REL particle *as* retracts from the REL marker system to semantically and syntactically related niches and exits via topicalization structures, such as *it*-clefts and *all*-pseudo-clefts.[51] Historically, topicalization structures like *all*-pseudo-clefts served *as* as an entry from the comparative construction (*such as*) to the REL marker system in (Early) Middle English (cf. Smith 1982: 99/100 and 134), where it seemed to have developed a stronghold until the rising *wh*-pronouns started infiltrating topicalization structures like *it*-clefts in Late Middle English, too (cf. Ball 1994: 183).

[50] *As* is hardly ever recorded for Scotland; it has disappeared from East Anglia and the Central Southwest.

[51] Compare also to Ihalainen's (1980, 1985) findings.

The zero REL marker in subject function is a less broad dialectal feature than *as* and *what*, which may surface in colloquial speech. Yet zero is largely restricted to certain linguistic environments on whose occurrence it relies (see above 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent relative clauses). Zero in grammatical functions other than subject should be implied by the occurrence of zero in subject function, since it is less of a characteristic dialect feature. The zero marker and the REL particle *that* also occur in the speech of Standard English users, but they are typical traits of informal language and therefore situated between the truly dialectal REL particles and the *wh*-pronouns. Zero and *that* are lined up side by side (signaled by a slash) to indicate their equal status in this hierarchy.

8.4. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RELATIVE MARKER USAGE IN TERMS OF THE SCALE/ HIERARCHY

In my six subcorpora, I checked on each of the 96 dialect speakers (61 categorized as 'broad', 18 as 'medium', 12 as 'moderate', and 5 as 'modest'), whether their REL marker usage supports the above-sketched SCALE/ HIERARCHY OF BROADNESS OF RELATIVE MARKERS. Altogether, there are 11 *as*-users, 28 *what*-users, 76 zero-subject-users, 81 users of zero in other grammatical functions than subject, 88 *that*-users, 43 users of restrictive *who*, 41 users of nonrestrictive *which*, 23 users of nonrestrictive *who*, 17 users of restrictive *which*, 2 *whose*-users, and 3 *whom*-users. That is to say that the quantities form a bow, mimicking the scale/hierarchy, which, from a modest amount of *as*-users, constantly rises to reach its peak at 88 *that*-users; then it drops sharply and continues falling throughout the (non-case-marked) *wh*-pronoun positions, until it peters out in the case-marked positions *whose* and *whom*. In Appendix 3, I will present a comprehensive table displaying all 96 speakers' REL marker usage. (Besides indicating which positions are covered, the table gives absolute numbers to assess to what extent individual positions are employed).

Seventy-five of the speakers represent continuous stretches along the scale/hierarchy, while the stretch of twenty-one speakers is discontinuous in one or two positions, disregarding some

peculiar blanks in the position of the REL marker *what* of nine speakers[52]. If there is a gap in the *what* position, but the scale continues to either side, the alternate symbol / should be activated to indicate that *as* can equally fill this position: The REL marker *what* does not exist in my Northern Ireland data; in the Central Midlands and the Central North, *what* and *as* largely exclude each other (see above p. 94 and 142/143 in 12.3.2. Nonstandard relative markers *what* and *as*: Change in progress in terms of the Accessibility Hierarchy).

About half of all **broad speakers** operate a mere REL particle system (32 exactly). (Altogether, 40 speakers of all 96 speakers use a mere REL particle system.) In contrast to broad speakers' inventories, **moderate** or **modest speakers'** inventories are located further on the right side of the scale/hierarchy and are numerically more dominated by *wh*-pronouns. (All but three moderate or modest speakers[53] use *wh*-pronouns.) Case-marked *wh*-pronouns may appear in very small quantities[54] and restrictive *which* is a more regular and more frequent feature with moderate or modest speakers, whereas only 6 of 61 broad speakers have restrictive *which*, amounting to 10 instances and corresponding to about 15 % of restrictive *which*.

If the REL marker ***as*** appears, its scarce instances are usually accompanied by an overwhelming number of zeros and *that*s.[55] Broad (or medium) speakers using ***as*** or ***what*** tend to also use a good deal of **zero subjects**: Of all 35 speakers using *as* or *what*, 28 speakers use zero subjects. Moderate or modest speakers, by contrast, may break off at the zero position[56] or they just use comparatively few zero subjects[57]. Where *as* or *what* are no (or hardly) viable options for broad speakers, as in Scotland and Northern Ireland, a high number of zero subjects may indicate a broad speaker.[58]

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[52] These are the following speakers: CMI-FYE: PSCMI12, CMI-FXX: PSCMI21, CMI-FXX: PSCMI23, CMI-FY2: PSCMI25, CMI-FYH: PSCMI29, CNO-AE: AmbAE, CNO-AY: AmbAY, NIR-16: PT; NIR-17: LD.

[53] The three exceptions are: CNO-Z/AA: AmbZs, SCO-FXP: PSSCO3, and SCO-K6K: PSSCO21, who have 4, 6, and 10 RCs, respectively; all in short texts.

[54] For example, speaker CMI-FXU: PSCMI15 (1 *whose*, 1 *whom*) or speaker CMI-FXX: PSCMI20 (2 *whose*).

[55] For example, CNO-AY: AmbAY: 4 *as*es, 19 zeros, 20 *that*s; NIR-16: PT: 1 *as*, 6 zeros, 23 *that*s.

[56] For example, EAN-K68: PSEAN11: no zero subjects but 3 zeros in other grammatical functions.

[57] For example, EAN-K69: PSEAN13: 1 zero subject; CMI-FXU: PSCMI15: 2 zero subjects.

[58] For example, SCO-GYS/GYT: PSSCO6/8: 16 zero subjects out of 50 RCs altogether.

A total of 50 speakers characterized as broad use **zero subjects** (including those who have neither *what* nor *as*). There are only two speakers[59] who have zero but not as subject AND a substantial number of RCs. On the whole, **zero subjects** count as a more moderate dialect feature which may still be present whenever the broader dialect REL markers *as* and *what* are absent (***as*** **<** / ***what*** **<** **∅ + S**).

The implicational tendency that the presence of zero subject(s) implies **zero** in other grammatical functions (**∅ + S < ∅**) holds true for 87 speakers. Of the nine speakers who do not follow this implicational tendency, five exceptions to the rule are negligible.[60] The remaining four exceptions from Northern Ireland are more interesting:

The notion that zero subject RCs implies other zero RCs seems to be put upside down in those dialects in which (broad) speakers actually use more zeros in subject than in any other function: In Northern Ireland, zero subject RCs amount to almost 60 % of all zero RCs, which is a percentage unrivalled by other dialect regions (see below p. 136 in 12.2. INDIVIDUAL RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION STRATEGIES). Zero is mostly used in subject function, but mainly in the typical syntactic environments, as we saw in chapter 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent relative clauses above:

	SUBJ >	DO >	PCOMP >	GEN	SCOMP	OCOMP	
∅	+	+	+	-	+	+	**TOTAL**
NIR:	**(112)**	(65)	(11)	(-)	(2)	(1)	191
[%]:	[58.64]	[34.03]	[5.76]	[-]	[1.05]	[0.52]	[100]

Of 33 NIR speakers, 28 have zero subjects, but, as mentioned above, four speakers[61] do not employ zero in other grammatical functions like direct object, prepositional complement, genitive; subject or object complement, while with nine NIR speakers the frequencies are reversed: Their number of zero subjects is higher than their number of zeros in other grammatical functions. The outstandingly high number of zero subjects mirrors the broadness of speech in the Northern Ireland corpus, which is the broadest corpus of all.

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[59] These are EAN-K65: PSEAN8 and CMI-FYE: PSCMI12.

[60] These five exceptions involve short texts, containing between 3 and 13 RCs. Four speakers just have 1 zero subject each (i.e., EAN-K65: PSEAN9, CSW-SRLM 20: AE, CMI-FXX: PSCMI21, and CMI-FXX: PSCMI22), while speaker SCO-K6N: PSSCO28 has 9 RCs, of which 4 are zero subjects.

[61] These four speakers are NIR-2: AM (11 zero subjects), NIR-7: WG (4 zero subjects), NIR-4: ML (just 1 RC: 1 zero subject), and NIR-30: PB (5 RCs: 5 zero subjects).

On a par with zero in other grammatical functions than subject, there is the REL particle ***that***, which is used by 88 speakers. One or the other position is filled by each speaker's REL marker repertoire except four[62].

Due to its leftmost position on the scale/hierarchy, the occurrence of the archaic REL marker ***as*** should suppress the use of ***wh*-pronouns** and rule out the use of case-encoding *wh*-pronouns. Five of the 11 *as*-users confirm this hypothesis; six speakers do allow *wh*-pronouns, in rather low proportions (three speakers)[63] or in higher proportions (three speakers)[64], although five speakers would qualify as broad and one as medium. The co-occurrence restriction between the REL marker *as* and case-marked *wh*-pronouns is ignored by speaker CMI-FYH: PSCMI29 by one instance of *whom*. Of those three (broad) speakers who use ***as* in topicalization structures** only[65], two speakers also use a small quantity of *wh*-pronouns[66].

Nonrestrictive RCs are atypical of broad dialect (see below 9.3. RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN DIALECTAL SPEECH). About one third (33 speakers) lacks nonrestrictives altogether[67], whereas 18 speakers realize nonrestrictives exclusively via the applied REL particles *what*, *that*, and zero[68].

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[62] These four exceptions are CSW-SRLM 123: wife (1 RC), CMI-FY0: PSCMI32, NIR-4: ML (1 RC), and NIR-30: PB.

[63] These three speakers are CNO-AY: AmbAY (45 RCs: 4 *as*es, 1 restrictive *who*, 1 nonrestrictive *which* ≙ 4.44 % *wh*-pronouns), NIR-17: LD (20 RCs: 1 *as*, 1 restrictive *who* ≙ 5 % *wh*-pronouns), and CNO-AQ: AmbAQ (25 RCs: 1 *as*, 4 restrictive *who*s, 1 nonrestrictive *which*, 3 restrictive *which*s ≙ 15 % *wh*-pronouns).

[64] These are CMI-FYE: PSCMI12 (20 RCs: 5 *as*es, 3 nonrestrictive *which*s ≙ 32 % *wh*-pronouns), CMI-FYH: PSCMI29 (80 RCs: 1 *as*, 20 restrictive *who*s, 8 nonrestrictive *which*s, 6 nonrestrictive *who*s, and even 1 *whom* ≙ 43.75 % *wh*-pronouns), and CMI-FY2: PSCMI25 (18 RCs: 1 *as*, 8 nonrestrictive *which*s ≙ 44.44 % *wh*-pronouns).

[65] Those three are: CSW-SRLM 105 (2 *as*es in *all*-pseudo-clefts), CSW-SRLM 108 (2 *as*es in *all*-pseudo-clefts), and CSW-SRLM 62: HR (1 *as* in *all*-pseudo-cleft).

[66] Those two speakers are CSW-SRLM 105 (15 RCs: 1 restrictive *who*, 1 nonrestrictive *which* ≙ 13.33 % *wh*-pronouns) and CSW-SRLM 62: HR (27 RCs: 2 nonrestrictive *which*s, 1 restrictive *which* ≙ 11.11 % *wh*-pronouns).

[67] These are the following speakers: CSW-SRLM 108, CSW-SRLM 123: man and wife, CMI-FXX: PSCMI21-23, CNO: CE: AmbCE and AmbCEa, CNO-Z/AA: AmbZs, SCO-FXP: PSSCO3, SCO-K6N: PSSCO29, and 22 Northern Ireland speakers.

[68] These 18 are the following: CSW-SRLM 5: LD (1 nonrestrictive *what*), CSW-SRLM 20: AE (1 nonrestrictive *what*), EAN-K65: PSEAN8 (2 nonrestrictive *what*s), CMI-FYD: PSCMI10 (3 nonrestrictive *what*s), CMI-FY0: PSCMI32 (2 nonrestrictive *what*s), CNO-AE: AmbAE (1 nonrestrictive zero), SCO-GYS/GYT: PSSCO6/8 (1 nonrestrictive zero, 1 nonrestrictive *that*), SCO-G62: PSSCO11 (2 nonrestrictive *that*s), SCO-K6K: PSSCO21 (1 nonrestrictive *that*), four Northern Ireland speakers that have only nonrestrictive zero RCs (one speaker has 3 nonrestrictive zeros, while three speakers have 1 nonrestrictive zero), and five NIR speakers that have just 1 nonrestrictive RC each using *that*.

Nonrestrictive *which* is used by 41 speakers, **nonrestrictive *who*** by 23 speakers. Of these 41 speakers that use nonrestrictive *which*, 22 speakers do not use nonrestrictive *who* either. Yet, of these 23 speakers that use nonrestrictive *who*, only 4 speakers do not use nonrestrictive *which* either[69]. These results suggest that there is an internal hierarchy between the nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns: Nonrestrictive *which* ranks higher than nonrestrictive *who*; the scale/hierarchy may either break off at the position 'nonrestrictive *which*', or if it continues, the implicational tendency runs as follows: **nonrestrictive *which* > nonrestrictive *who***.

Comparing **restrictive *who*** to **nonrestrictive *who***, nonrestrictive *who* occurs only 16 times in the repertoire of 6 broad speakers[70], while restrictive *who* occurs 79 times with 23 broad speakers. Out of the total of 96 speakers, 91 follow the implicational tendency **restrictive *who* > nonrestrictive *who***, while just five speakers[71] run counter to this implicational tendency.

Restrictive *which* is indisputably placed to the right of all other non-case-marked *wh*-pronouns, including the nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns. In spite of its being restrictive —which should make it more akin to broad dialect—it is hardly ever found with broad speakers, who use REL particles in these cases. In terms of syntactic environment, restrictive *which* shares much common ground with the REL particles *that* and zero, as well as the regional REL particles *what* and *as*. For that reason, only those speakers who wish to apply a Standard English *wh*-pronoun in a situation where (several) alternative REL particles are available resort to this *wh*-pronoun. Nonetheless, broad speakers with a large arsenal of REL markers may have a small number of restrictive *which*s.[72] Compared to restrictive *who*, which is employed by 43 speakers amounting to 179 instances, restrictive *which* is employed by just 17 speakers amounting to 68 instances, thus supporting the implicational tendency **restrictive *who* > restrictive *which***. Compared to nonrestrictive *which*, the ratios between non-restrictive *which* and restrictive *which* are 37 : 2 in CSW, 84 : 27 in EAN, 88 : 3 in CMI, 30 :

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[69] These four speakers are CSW-SRLM 302: SH, CNO-DA: AmbDA, CNO-BP: AmbBP, and SCO-K6N: PSSCO28.

[70] These six speakers are CSW-SRLM 132, CSW-SRLM 302: SH, EAN-HDH/HYC: PSEAN6/17, CMI-FYH: PSCMI29, CNO-BR: AmbBR, and CNO-DA: AmbDA.

[71] These five are CSW-SRLM 132, CMI-FXV: PSCMI17, CNO-BX: AmbBX, CNO-BP: AmbBP, and SCO-K6N: PSSCO28.

[72] For example, speakers EAN-H5G/H5H: PSEAN2/4 (3 restrictive *which*s), CNO-AQ: AmbAQ (3 restrictive *which*s), and CSW-SRLM 62: HR (1 restrictive *which*).

18 in CNO, 67 : 17 in SCO, and 4 : 1 in NIR, which bears witness to the implicational tendency: **nonrestrictive *which* > restrictive *which***.

Although two speakers[73] reveal a gap in the stretch of employed REL markers in the position 'restrictive *which*', using case-marking is undoubtedly most foreign to broad dialect. Only four speakers of 96 use ***whose*** (altogether 3 instances) or ***whom*** (altogether 4 instances). While three[74] of those four speakers qualify as moderate or modest dialect speakers, which makes their usage of case-marked pronouns more plausible, the occurrence of an instance of *whom* in the sample of the broad speaker CMI-FYH: PSCMI29 is surprising, especially since he is also an *as*-user. Hence, speaker CMI-FYH: PSCMI29 makes use of (almost) the whole range of REL markers, from the outer left to the outer right position in his fairly high total of 80 RCs. In speaker CMI-FYH: PSCMI29, and to a lesser extent also in speaker CNO-AQ: AmbAQ, the big variety of REL markers at their disposition appears to clash with their label as 'broad dialect speakers'. Obviously, these speakers have retained traditional features as well as having adopted novel features of Standard English.

A brief look at **sentential REL pronouns** reveals that sentential *wh*-pronouns tend to emerge when speakers also use adnominal nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns—or rather the other way round. Clearly, the two types of nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns co-occur: Of 43 speakers who use sentential *wh*-pronouns, 34 speakers also use nonrestrictive adnominal *wh*-pronouns. I plead for sentential RCs having prepared the ground for adnominal nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns, rather than vice versa. In contrast to adnominal nonrestrictives, dialect speakers cannot fall back on REL particles (with the marginal exception of *what* maybe (see above chapter 6.3 SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES) in order to express sentential RCs, but must adopt (nonrestrictive) *wh*-pronouns. In this way, sentential RCs may provide a stepping stone for (nonrestrictive) *wh*-pronouns to get access to the REL marker system of broad dialect speakers.

8.5. Summary: By examining the use of REL markers for each of the 96 speakers in my corpus a (probabilistic) hierarchy evolved, as individual positions are linked by implicational tendencies, rather than by absolute entailments. Although stretches of REL marker usage are

[73] These two speakers are CMI-FXX: PSCMI20 and CMI-FYH: PSCMI29.

[74] Namely, speakers SCO-GYW: PSSCO18, CMI-FXU: PSCMI15, and CMI-FXX: PSCMI20.

occasionally discontinuous and counterexamples are noticeable, the great majority of speakers follows the hierarchy. On the whole, speakers' general label as 'broad', 'medium', 'moderate', or 'modest' dialect speakers corresponds to their performance regarding RCs, in qualitative and quantitative terms. By and large, the REL marker inventory of broad speakers is rather located on the left side of the scale/hierarchy, whereas that of moderate or modest speakers is rather located on the right side. About half of all broad speakers use a pure REL particle system. The use of the vernacular REL markers *as* and/or *what*, as well as the use of *as* in topicalization structures are hallmarks of broad dialect, and usually result in the use of zero subjects as the next weaker dialect feature. Zero RCs in subject function are particularly frequent with broad speakers and may identify broad speakers in those geographical dialects which lack truly indigenous REL markers like *as* and *what*. The implicational tendency of zero subjects implying zero RCs in other grammatical functions is partially reversed in Northern Ireland, where the former actually outnumber the latter. The prolific REL markers zero and *that* are used by almost all speakers. Notwithstanding the fact that the notion of nonrestrictiveness itself is averse to broad dialect, nonrestrictive RCs are also employed by broad speakers. Nonrestrictives are relativized by the REL particles *what*, *that*, and zero, by nonrestrictive *which*, and very rarely by nonrestrictive *who*. Thus, the following internal hierarchy within the nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns position has been established: [**nonrestrictive *which* > nonrestrictive *who***]. Restrictive *who* is definitely to be placed to the left of all other *wh*-pronouns. Restrictive *which* ranges even below the nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns, on account of its paucity, particularly among the broad speakers, who prefer REL particles in these syntactic environments. Case-marked *wh*-pronouns are barely reconcilable with broad dialect and, in fact, hardly ever occur. Speakers with a very large inventory of REL markers who know how to combine traditional dialect with innovative standard features may also produce case-marked *wh*-pronouns, however. The location of the sentential relative pronoun was confirmed to be on a level with nonrestrictive adnominal *wh*-pronouns. Not only do the two phenomena co-occur, but sentential RCs probably lay the foundations for the appearance of (nonrestrictive) adnominal *wh*-pronouns.

9. RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS

9.1. Introduction: After giving a brief description of the concept of (non)restrictiveness as put down in (traditional) grammar, I will map out the overall distribution of restrictive/nonrestrictive RCs in Table 8, followed by an interpretation of the data in Table 8. Table 9 presents a comprehensive overview over the behavior of REL markers in terms of restrictiveness/nonrestrictiveness in all six investigated regions.

9.2. RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN (TRADITIONAL) GRAMMAR

As is well known, adnominal RCs can be either restrictive or nonrestrictive modifiers of NPs. Typically, restrictive RCs narrow down the range of possible referents of NPs (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 63/64). Alternatively, they give determinative or essential information without cutting out a subset of possible referents. Nonrestrictive RCs, by contrast, give supplementary, non-defining information about NPs (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1239; see also Huddleston 1984: 400). In contradistinction to restrictive RCs, nonrestrictive RCs are characteristically delimited by a change in tone and pauses in speech and by commas (or dashes) in writing (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1258 and 366).

There is general agreement on the fact that in the standard variety, nonrestrictive RCs are formed by means of REL pronouns of the *wh*-group (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 366 and 1248; see also Huddleston 1984: 401; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1056 and 1059; Biber *et al.* 1999: 611 and 615), albeit it is conceded that nonrestrictive *that* is extant but "very rare" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1258), while nonrestrictive zero "cannot occur" (*ibidem*).

9.3. RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN DIALECTAL SPEECH

While the dichotomy between restrictiveness and nonrestrictiveness is maintained here, both concepts are determined on semantic grounds, since criteria based on prosody, punctuation, and syntax (whether prescriptive or described on the basis of written Standard English) are

linguistic ideals that often fail to apply in linguistic reality, which is particularly true for informal speech (cf. Jacobsson 1994: *passim*; see also Newbrook 1997: 45-47 *passim*; Biber *et al.* 1999: 602). Nonrestrictiveness itself is rather to be seen as a characteristic of (written) Standard English than of spoken dialect. Hence, the use (and frequency of use) of nonrestrictive RCs in a dialect or an idiolect is to be rated as an indicator of the relative move toward the standard variety of that dialect or idiolect. Table 8 below gives an overview over the distribution of restrictive/nonrestrictive RCs across the six investigated regions:

Table 8 RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS ACROSS REGIONS

		RESTRICTIVE (r)	**NONRESTRICTIVE (nr)**		**TOTAL**
REL marker		**N** [% of all r][75]	**N** [% of all nr]		**N** [%]
zero [% of r/nr zero]		**687** [34.16] [97.31]	**19** [3.79] [2.69]		**706** [100.00]
that [% of r/nr *that*]		**942** [46.84] [96.22]	**37** [7.39] [3.78]		**979** [100.00]
what [% of r/nr *what*]		**113** [5.62] [66.47]	**57** [11.38] [33.53]		**170** [100.00]
as [% of r/nr *as*]		**19** [0.95] [100]	**0** [0] [0]		**19** [100.00]
who [% of r/nr *who*]		**179** [8.9] [70.75]	**74** [14.77] [29.25]		**253** [100.00]
which [% of r/nr *which*]		**68** [3.38] [17.99]	**310** [61.88] [82.01]		**378** [100.00]
whom [% of r/nr *whom*]		**0** [0] [0]	**4** [0.8] [100]		**4** [100.00]
whose [% of r/nr *whose*]		**3** [0.15] [100]	**0** [0] [0]		**3** [100.00]
total		**2011** [100.00] [Σ = 80.06]	**501** [100.00] [Σ = 19.94]		**2512** [Σ = 100.00]

Interpretation: Overall, restrictive RCs are four times more frequent than nonrestrictive RCs (80.06 % VERSUS 19.94 %) in dialectal speech. Generally speaking, restrictive RCs are formed with invariant REL particles, whereas nonrestrictive RCs are constructed with *wh*-pronouns. The nonstandard REL marker *what* falls out of line since it takes up a disproportionally high percentage (11.38 %) of all nonrestrictives. As in previous dialectal studies (e.g., Ihalainen (1980), Kekäläinen (1985), Miller (1993), Miller & Brown (1982), Peitsara (2002); van den Eynden (1992, 1993)), *which* is the *a priori* choice for (mainly

[75] Percentages were rounded to two digits after the point, which might cause occasional incongruence with the total sum of percentages.

nonpersonal (see below chapter 10 PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY)) nonrestrictives (61.88 %), while personal antecedents of nonrestrictive RCs are primarily relativized by *who* (14.77 %).

With regard to individual REL markers in my data, the zero REL marker and *that* are NOT confined to restrictive relative clauses: 2.69 % of all instances of zero and 3.78 % of all *that*s appear in nonrestrictive RCs (see above 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent relative clauses). Below, examples (1)-(3) illustrate nonrestrictive zero RCs; examples (4)-(6) illustrate nonrestrictive *that* RCs:

(1) *CNO-DB p. 2<u AmbDB>*
*[...] there was **Mr McNaughton** and **Ben Weir from Kendal** [∅ came round buying horses]. [...]*

(2) *SCO-K6N<Person: PSSCO28><S: 0114>*
*Yes she had **her aunt** [∅ was a widow there at the time [when she came to <gap cause=anonymization desc=address>]] and she just lived about a year.*

(3) *NIR-4<I ML14>*
*[...] because there's **the father** [∅ was a cook], and, and my mother was a good cook, too, [...].*

(4) *CNO-DA p. 6<u AmbDA>*
*[...] I seen **Eric Adams** [that lived there], he said it come one Sunday dinnertime, [...].*

(5) *SCO-K6L<Person: PSSCO24><S: 121>*
*And my my aunt [that I] **my grandmother** [that I stayed with], their neighbour down the stair was quite indignant [...].*

(6) *NIR-24<I CM110>*
*[...] **Johnny McCarroll**, [that's married to my niece there] {ahah}, his bog, we used to cut it.*

Nonrestrictive zero RCs are particularly recurrent in *there*- and *have*-existentials (see above 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent RCs). An older stage of English is preserved in the nonrestrictive use of *that* in dialectal speech: Nonrestrictive *that* was common in Middle English (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 190) and was still part of Early and Late Modern English (cf. Chevillet 1996: 26; see also Mustanoja 1960: 197). Nonrestrictive usages of the zero marker in Old and Middle English are arguable, since they may be interpreted as instances of parataxis (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 121 and 203/204).

Compared to the other REL particles, *what* shows a much stronger propensity toward nonrestrictive environments. Its distribution resembles that of the (personal) *wh*-pronoun *who* (70.75 % restrictives VERSUS 29.25 % nonrestrictives), and the percentage of nonrestrictive *what* (33.53 %) exceeds the percentage of the overall nonrestrictives (19.93 %).

Overall ratio restrictives—nonrestrictives: **4 : 1** (80.07 % ↔ 19.93 %)

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Ratio of *what* restrictives—nonrestrictives: **2 : 1** (66.47 % ↔ 33.53 %)

As will be demonstrated in chapter 10 PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY below, *what* is NOT gender-marked, but can relativize personal and nonpersonal antecedents alike (see Tables 10 and 11 below). On closer examination, however, there are only 9 instances (≙ 15.79 %) of nonrestrictive personal *what* RCs in the data. In other words, *what* mainly competes with nonrestrictive *which* for the same syntactic environment (viz nonpersonal antecedents), since 84.21 % of all nonrestrictive *what*s are nonpersonal. By and large, broad dialect speakers use nonrestrictive *what* (where available), while speakers whose idiolect is closer to the standard opt for nonrestrictive *which*.

The few instances of the REL particle *as* (19 occurrences) are all found in restrictive environments. This may be a result of the overall low frequency of *as*, i.e., a numerical process of recession as the total of 19 occurrences account for a mere 0.76 % of all REL markers, as well as the result of a process of recession to exclusively restrictive environments (see below p. 142 in 12.3.2. Nonstandard relative markers *what* and *as*: Change in progress in terms of the Accessibility Hierarchy).

Personal REL pronoun *who* prefers restrictive environments (70.75 %), whereas its (mainly) nonpersonal counterpart *which* runs counter to all preceding REL markers by greatly favoring nonrestrictive environments (17.99 % restrictives VERSUS 82.01 % nonrestrictives). While case-marked *whom* seems to prefer nonrestrictive environments (all 4 instances), *whose* seems to follow the general trend in preferring restrictive environments (all 3 instances).

9.4. RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN INDIVIDUAL REGIONS

Table 9 below gives a detailed overview over the RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS distribution in the individual regions. (The table is presented on

one page to facilitate interregional comparisons.) It should be borne in mind that the following distributions or occurrences/frequencies tell us something primarily about the broadness of the dialectal corpus (or the convergence toward the standard variety) rather than about any regional particularity: 1) the overall distribution of restrictive versus nonrestrictive RCs in each regional corpus, 2) the individual regional distributions of restrictive versus nonrestrictive *wh*-pronouns, and 3) the occurrence and frequency of *wh*-pronouns in a corpus in general (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 612). While *wh*-pronouns connote written and 'proper' language, *that* and zero are typical of informal spoken language (at least in British English) (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 612 and 616). Hence, it should suffice to give some examples (and exceptions) of this rule here, before I focus on the indigenous REL particles on page 108.

In the broad Central North corpus, for example, the overall percentage of nonrestrictive RCs (14.35 %) is lower than the average percentage of 19.94 % nonrestrictives. In the broader Northern Ireland corpus, the percentage of nonrestrictive RCs is even much lower (3.69 %). On the other hand, 31.99 % nonrestrictive RCs in East Anglia are an indicator of a less broad corpus, as is the total number of *which* RCs generally (111 instances)—*which* is the most frequent REL marker in EAN (26.3 %)—and the number of nonrestrictive *which* RCs in particular (84 instances). *Which* is even quite frequently applied (27 instances) in restrictive contexts, which is not its favored syntactic environment (see above 8.4. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RELATIVE MARKER USAGE IN TERMS OF THE SCALE/ HIERARCHY).

Contrary to expectation, the less broad SCO corpus shows a slightly lower overall percentage of nonrestrictive RCs (79.31 % restrictives VERSUS 20.69 % nonrestrictives) than the broad CSW corpus (78.01 % restrictives VERSUS 21.99 % nonrestrictives). Yet, it must be remembered that hypotaxis—as in relative clause formation—is untypical of (dialectal) speech, which is mirrored by the overall low number of relative clauses in the Central South (291 instances). The less broad CMI corpus, which serves as another notable exception to the rule, displays very few restrictive *which* RCs (3 instances), although the inferior broadness of the corpus is reflected by the overall high percentage of nonrestrictives (26.33 %) as well as the total of nonrestrictive *which* RCs (88 instances). By contrast, in the CNO corpus, there are more restrictive *which* RCs (chiefly due to one speaker: CNO-Z/AA: AmbZs) than one would expect of a broad corpus.

Table 9 RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN INDIVIDUAL REGIONS

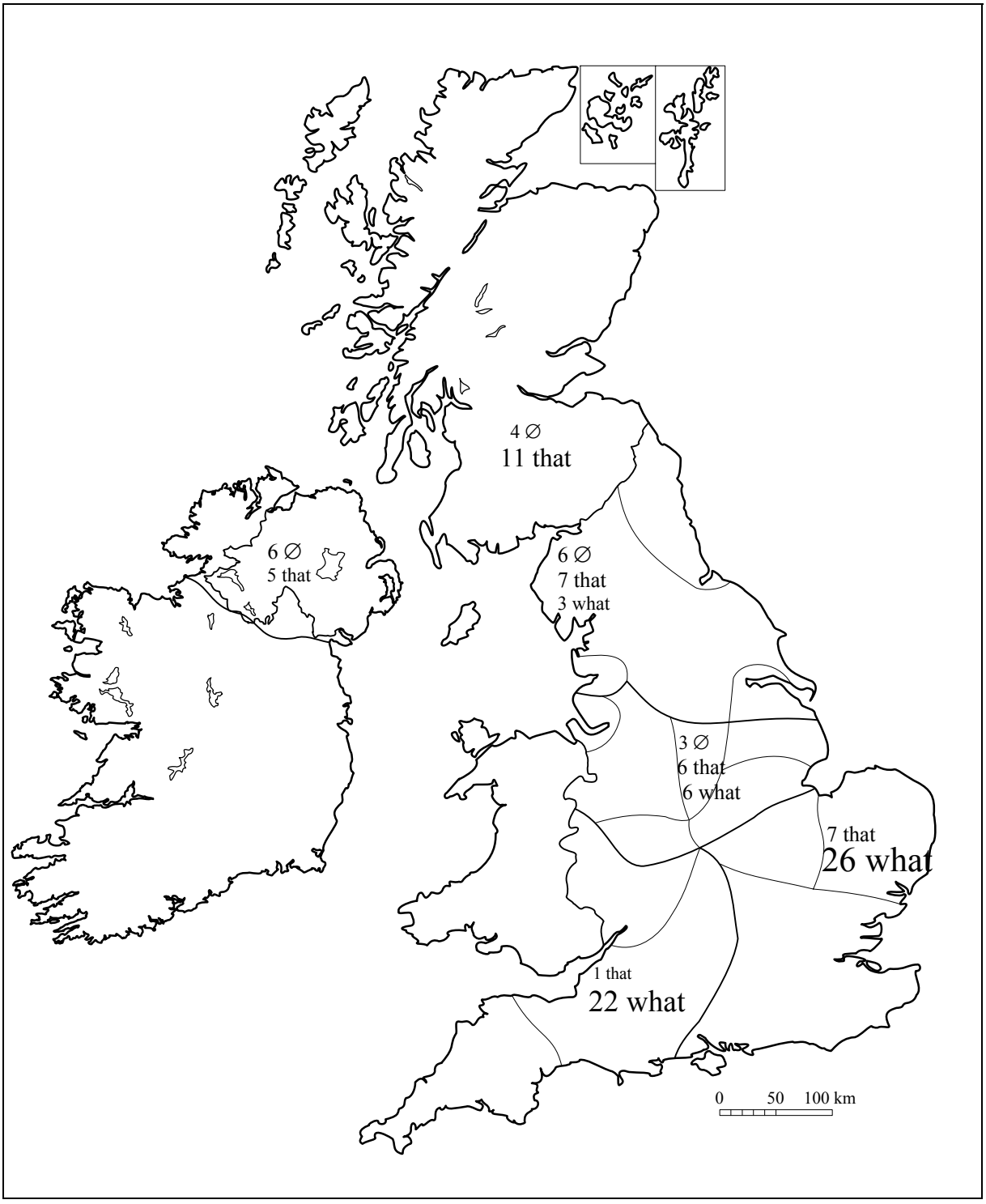
	CSW		EAN		CMI		CNO		SCO		NIR		TOTAL
REL marker	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]
	r	**nr**	**r**	**nr**	**r**	**nr**	**r**	**nr**	**r**	**nr**	**r**	**nr**	
	CSW		**EAN**		**CMI**		**CNO**		**SCO**		**NIR**		
zero	**84**	**0**	**86**	**0**	**77**	**3**	**136**	**6**	**119**	**4**	**185**	**6**	**706**
[% of all r/nr]	[37]	[0]	[29.97]	[0]	[23.12]	[2.52]	[37.99]	[10]	[28.74]	[3.7]	[47.19]	[40]	
[% of r/nr zero]	[100]	[0]	[100]	[0]	[96.25]	[3.75]	[95.77]	[4.23]	[96.75]	[3.25]	[96.86]	[3.14]	[100.00]
that	**76**	**1**	**86**	**7**	**176**	**6**	**175**	**7**	**230**	**11**	**199**	**5**	**979**
[% of all r/nr]	[33.48]	[1.56]	[29.97]	[5.19]	[52.85]	[5.04]	[48.88]	[11.67]	[55.56]	[10.19]	[50.77]	[33.33]	
[% of r/nr *that*]	[98.7]	[1.3]	[92.47]	[7.53]	[96.7]	[3.3]	[96.15]	[3.85]	[95.44]	[4.56]	[97.55]	[2.45]	[100.00]
what	**43**	**22**	**41**	**26**	**20**	**6**	**7**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**-**	**-**	**170**
[% of all r/nr]	[18.94]	[34.38]	[14.29]	[19.26]	[6.01]	[5.04]	[1.96]	[5]	[0.48]	[0]	[0]	[0]	
[% of r/nr *what*]	[66.15]	[33.85]	[61.19]	[38.81]	[76.92]	[23.08]	[70]	[30]	[100]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[100.00]
as	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**11**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**0**	**19**
[% of all r/nr]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[3.3]	[0]	[1.68]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0.51]	[0]	
[% of r/nr *as*]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[100]	[0]	[100]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[100]	[0]	[100.00]
who	**22**	**4**	**47**	**18**	**43**	**14**	**16**	**14**	**46**	**24**	**5**	**0**	**253**
[% of all r/nr]	[9.69]	[6.25]	[16.38]	[13.33]	[12.91]	[11.76]	[4.47]	[23.33]	[11.11]	[22.22]	[1.28]	[0]	
[% of r/nr *who*]	[84.62]	[15.38]	[72.31]	[27.69]	[75.44]	[24.56]	[53.33]	[46.67]	[65.71]	[34.29]	[100]	[0]	[100.00]
which	**2**	**37**	**27**	**84**	**3**	**88**	**18**	**30**	**17**	**67**	**1**	**4**	**378**
[% of all r/nr]	[0.88]	[57.81]	[9.41]	[62.22]	[0.9]	[73.95]	[5.03]	[50]	[4.11]	[62.04]	[0.26]	[26.67]	
[% of r/nr *which*]	[5.13]	[94.87]	[24.32]	[75.68]	[3.3]	[96.7]	[37.5]	[62.5]	[20.24]	[79.76]	[20]	[80]	[100.00]
whom	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**0**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**0**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**4**
[% of all r/nr]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[1.68]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[1.85]	[0]	[0]	
[% of r/nr *whom*]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[100]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[100]	[0]	[0]	[100.00]
whose	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**3**	**0**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**3**
[% of all r/nr]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0.9]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	
[% of r/nr *whose*]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[100]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[0]	[100.00]
	CSW		**EAN**		**CMI**		**CNO**		**SCO**		**NIR**		
total r - nr	**227**	**64**	**287**	**135**	**333**	**119**	**358**	**60**	**414**	**108**	**392**	**15**	**2512**
[% of all r/nr]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	[100]	
[Σ r/nr]	[Σ = 78.01]	[Σ = 21.99]	[Σ = 68.01]	[Σ = 31.99]	[Σ = 73.67]	[Σ = 26.33]	[Σ = 85.65]	[Σ = 14.35]	[Σ = 79.31]	[Σ = 20.69]	[Σ = 96.31]	[Σ = 3.69]	[Σ = 100.00]
total RCs	**291**		**422**		**452**		**418**		**522**		**407**		**2512**

Considering the nonstandard uses of the (standard) REL particles zero and *that* and the dialectal REL marker *what* (see Map 5 below), nonrestrictive zero does not occur in the South but is found in the Central Midlands (3 instances), the Central North (6 instances), Scotland (4 instances), and Northern Ireland (6 instances). The frequency of nonrestrictive zero RCs appears to correlate with the broadness of the corpus in the northern regions and the general high frequency of zeros as a possible (e.g., CNO; NIR) but not necessary (e.g., SCO) result of that: In the Central North corpus, 4.23 % of all zero RCs are nonrestrictive and nonrestrictive zero RCs account for no less than 10 % of all nonrestrictive RCs. In the even broader Northern Ireland corpus 6 nonrestrictive zero RCs correspond to 3.14 % of all zero RCs—whose overall number is unmatched (191 instances; 46.93 % of all REL markers)—while nonrestrictive zero RCs make up 40 (!) % of all nonrestrictive RCs, and thus outdo *which*, the principal nonrestrictive REL marker (4 instances; 26.67 % of all nonrestrictive RCs).

Nonrestrictive *that* (3.78 %) is slightly more frequent than nonrestrictive zero (2.69 %) and occurs in all dialects. The percentages of nonrestrictive *that* RCs compared to the totals of *that* RCs range from 1.3 % in the Central Southwest to 7.53 % in East Anglia. When looking at the actual producers of nonrestrictive *that* in the less broad corpora, most of these speakers belong to the broad stratum of dialect speakers. In a situation where *that* abounds, *wh*-pronouns run low, and alternative nonrestrictive REL markers are either scarce or absent (or lack accessibility to nonrestrictiveness[76]), *that* can function as a (relatively frequent) nonrestrictive REL marker in dialectal speech: In Scotland, where *wh*-pronouns are relatively frequent (29.88 %), nonrestrictive *that* amounts to 10.19 % of all nonrestrictive REL markers; in the Central North it reaches a percentage of 11.67 % and in Northern Ireland even 33.33 %! An alternative nonrestrictive REL marker for broad speakers is the nonstandard marker *what*. In its strongholds East Anglia and the Central Southwest, 38.81 % and 33.85 %, respectively, of all *what*s are nonrestrictive. Accordingly, 19.26 % and 34.38 %, respectively, of all nonrestrictives are relativized by *what* in these two regions.

[76] While I found nonrestrictive instances of relative *as* in earlier data from the Midlands, nowadays relative *as* seems to have lost access to nonrestrictiveness; in my data, relative *as* is confined to restrictive contexts.

Map 5 NONRESTRICTIVE RELATIVE PARTICLES IN INDIVIDUAL REGIONS (in absolute numbers)



9.5. Summary: On the whole, nonrestrictive RCs are infrequent in dialectal speech. Unlike in Standard English, however, nonrestrictives are also constructed via the REL particles zero, *that*, or *what* in my data. Where it is a recurrent dialect feature (in East Anglia and the Central Southwest), the nonstandard REL marker *what* is a popular option in nonrestrictive RCs among broad speakers. Less broad speakers rather resort to the standard *wh*-pronouns,

particularly *which*, the nonrestrictive marker par excellence. Nonrestrictive *that* is a supra-regional dialect feature, whereas nonrestrictive zero was not found in the South. Both features are indicative of broad dialect speech. The rarely occurring REL marker *as* seems to have retreated to exclusively restrictive environments.

10. PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY

10.1. Introduction: In this chapter, we will investigate the behavior of the individual relative markers with regard to the PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY variable. We will see whether the six regions show any peculiarities with regard to personal or nonpersonal antecedents when compared to Standard English (and to one another, on occasions).

10.2. PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY ACROSS REGIONS

For this purpose, I have combined the six respective tables to create one overall PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY table (Table 10). Thus, the reader is spared the lengthy task of comparing all six regions, as salient interregional differences are, for the most part, not observable.

Table 10 PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY ACROSS REGIONS

		PERSONAL (+p)	NONPERSONAL (-p)		TOTAL
REL marker		**N** [% of all +p][77]	**N** [% of all -p]		**N** [%]
zero [% of ±p zero]		**251** [25.9] [35.55]	**455** [29.49] [64.45]		**706** [100.00]
that [% of ±p *that*]		**392** [40.45] [40.04]	**587** [38.04] [59.96]		**979** [100.00]
what [% of ±p *what*]		**49** [5.06] [28.82]	**121** [7.84] [71.18]		**170** [100.00]
as [% of ±p *as*]		**10** [1.03] [52.63]	**9** [0.58] [47.37]		**19** [100.00]
who [% of ±p *who*]		**244** [25.18] [96.44]	**9** [0.58] [3.56]		**253** [100.00]
which [% of ±p *which*]		**16** [1.7] [4.23]	**362** [23.46] [95.77]		**378** [100.00]
whom [% of ±p *whom*]		**4** [0.4] [100]	**-** [0] [0]		**4** [100.00]
whose [% of ±p *whose*]		**3** [0.3] [100]	**-** [0] [0]		**3** [100.00]
total		**969** [100] [Σ = 38.57]	**1543** [100] [Σ = 61.43]		**2512** [Σ = 100.00]

[77] Percentages were rounded to two digits after the point, which might cause occasional incongruence with the total sum of percentages.

All six dialects conform to Standard English in restricting ***who*** and its case-marked forms ***whom*** and ***whose*** to personal antecedents (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 366). The 9 cases of *who* relativizing nonpersonal antecedents belong to the sanctioned borderline cases, such as personalized animals and things:[78] Three instances refer to domestic animals like cows and horses, one to a car, and five refer to collective nouns, as in example (1):

(1) *CSW-SRLM 109<T 3320>*
*you had to have **a cow the top side** [**who** 'd make the other one stay her own side]. [...]*

However, the conventional gender contrast between *which* and *who* (and its case-marked forms) is overridden in dialectal English insofar as the gender concord constraint is lifted, or at least loosened, in the case of ***which***: Apart from 2 instances denoting collective nouns and 2 referring to older (!) children, there are 12 instances of personal *which* outside the group of licensed borderline cases of personal *which* (examples (2)-(4)),[79] including 3 cases of partitive genitive (see next page PARTITIVE GENITIVE). For example:

(2) *CNO-Z/AA p. 14<u AmbZb>*
*[...] And **the boy** [**which** I was at school with] George Onlan, [...].*

(3) *EAN-H5H<Person: PSEAN4><S: 501>*
*Then, course then they used to <trunc> hav when the man stood in green, I knew a fella named **<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">** [**which** we was talking about a little while ago] and [...].*

(4) *CSW-SRLM 224 p. 73<u CA>*
*[...] And then there was **Caleb**, [**which** caught his hand in the machinery up here] and he had his hand off, being severed (at the) wrist. [...]*

Personal *which* occurs in five of the six regions: 3 instances in the Central Southwest, 6 in East Anglia, 1 in the Central Midlands, 2 in the Central North, and 4 in Scotland. (Northern Ireland, which hardly has any *wh*-pronouns, contains 5 instances of *which*, all of which are nonpersonal.) In other words, the REL marker *which* is NOT confined to nonpersonal antecedents in dialects. In allowing nonpersonal AND personal antecedents, *which* seems to forfeit its status as a REL **pronoun** in dialect: *Which* relies on gender concord as the only

[78] For details, please see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1245/1246 and 314-318.

[79] For details, please see Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1245/1246, 1260, and 367; *note* [b]. See also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1048.

kind of rigorously applied agreement between antecedent and REL marker for being considered a 'REL **pronoun**', as *which* shows neither case nor number agreement with the antecedent. Thus, in dialect *which* seems to be downgraded to a REL **marker** ('REL **particle**'), which is open to any type of antecedent. In this respect, dialectal English represents a prior stage of English, since Middle English dialects permitted nonpersonal *which* (cf. Mossé 1952: 62; *remark* I; see also Mustanoja 1960: 195). *Which* started to be confined to nonpersonal referents in the 16th century, except for East Anglia, which still shows a relatively high figure of personal *which*s for that time (cf. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 117 and 119).—My slightly higher figure of personal *which*s in East Anglia (6 instances) might be a late reverberation of this delayed process of constraint there.—However, as we will witness in examples (5) and (6) below, non-gender-marked REL marker *which* can still be governed by a preposition ('*of which*'), which is a defining criterion of **pronouns**, in contrast to **conjunctions**/**complementizers** (REL particles), which cannot be governed by a preposition (*'*of that*'). Hence, non-gender-marked REL marker *which* has to be attributed pronominal status (REL pronoun).

The occurrence of nonpersonal *which* in combination with a PARTITIVE GENITIVE appears to be triggered by two possible (and perhaps mutually reinforcing) factors: First, according to Christian Mair (personal communication), *which* is chosen in relativizing human antecedents to activate its 'ascriptive' property, i.e., when speakers want to express the 'kind of person', instead of the 'identity' (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1048/1049; see also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1246).[80] For example:

> *Remember that they have **a house-keeper**, [which we don't have]*. [example taken from Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1049]

In a later publication, Mair (1998) focuses on the 'relaxation of a grammatical agreement rule' concerning the *who/which* opposition, in analogy to the *who/which* distinction with collective nouns (cf. Mair 1998: 130-132): "The use of *which* [in these cases] de-emphasises the status of members of a particular group as individuals and presents them as a collective" (Mair 1998: 130). For example:

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[80] Mair found 8 definitely human antecedents among some 90 downloaded examples when looking for the partitive genitive '*of which*' in the British National Corpus (personal communication).

BNC-HE7<S: 098>
*It [the proposed law] is aimed at **the external hacker** [of which there are far fewer than press reports suggest] [...].* [example from the demographically sampled spoken part of the BNC, taken from Mair 1998: 130; my emphasis and bracketing]

Second, to my mind, this combination of partitive genitive *which* with personal antecedents is rather due to an analogy mechanism: In interrogative clauses and nominal RCs, the REL pronoun *which* contrasts with the REL pronouns *who* and *what* in denoting a (personal or nonpersonal) 'limited set', which is semantically close to the concept expressed by the partitive genitive '*of which*'. For example:

***Who** is your favourite conductor?*	[indefinite interrogative pronoun *who*]
***Which** is your favourite conductor? (Von Karajan or Stokowsky?)*	[definite interrogative pronoun *which* referring to a limited set] [examples taken from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 369]
*You can take [**what** you want].*	[indefinite nominal pronoun *what*]
*You can take [**which** you want]. (X or Y)*	[definite nominal pronoun *which* referring to a limited set]

By contrast, adnominal *which* is restricted to nonpersonal antecedents, even if it describes a definite, limited set of referents (in a partitive genitive) (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 369/370; see also Huddleston 1984: 394). In this way, the semantic property 'limited set' is transferred from nominal relative clauses/interrogative clauses to adnominal relative clauses by analogy. For example:

(5) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 130>*
*[...] and we had a meeting at headquarters, to which **about forty or fifty people** turned up, [**of which** two had probably blown a <pause> an instrument in the past], [...]*

(6) *SCO-K6M<S: 304>*
*But the yard one of the yard inspectors came to me and said, I wonder if you would make up a roster for **the supervisors** (UNCLEAR).*
<S: 305>
*[**Of which** there were six, seven].*
<S: 306>
So I made a roster out for the (trunc) ro for the supervisors which meant that every week they got a rest day.

Where the dialectal REL marker ***as*** occurs (i.e., in CMI, CNO; NIR), it is not sensitive to the PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY variable, but combines with personal and

nonpersonal antecedents almost in equal numbers. Below, example (7) contains a personal antecedent, while example (8) contains a nonpersonal antecedent:

(7) *CMI-FYE<S: 166>*
[...] I was on this er bottle washing stunt and (trunc) o ***one chap*** *[**as** lived next door to us, back at er at <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Road] he got me his this job on the farm.*

(8) *NIR-17<I LD28>*
[...] there's ***a lot of houses*** *[∅ would be up that road] [**as** wasn't there].*

Unlike the nominal REL pronoun *what* (example (9)), adnominal nonstandard ***what*** is not limited to nonpersonal antecedents in any region (see Table 11 below). About one third of all instances (28.82 %) refer to a personal antecedent, as in examples (10)-(12):

(9) *EAN-K65<S: 1059>*
*I believe in wearing [**what** you feel comfortable [~~in~~]], you work better and [...]* [nonpersonal REL pronoun *what* in nominal RC; preposition *in* is elided (see below p. 170 1) Preposition elision in chapter 14 *WHICH* AS 'CONNECTOR'?]

(10) *CSW-SRLM 132<T 1280>*
[...] And ***the lady*** *[**what** was driving], she said, "Excuse me young man", she said,"where 's your dog?" [...]*

(11) *EAN-H5H<Person: PSEAN4><S: 767>*
See he was ***the man*** *[**what** brought in decasualization during the war].*

(12) *CMI-FYD<S: 201>*
And er she used to sell corned beef and er pickled onions or anything like that for ***people*** *[**what** was working round there] [**what** couldn't get home for dinner].*

Table 11 PERSONAL/ NONPERSONAL *WHAT* IN INDIVIDUAL REGIONS

		PERSONAL	NONPERSONAL		TOTAL
WHAT		**N** [%]	**N** [%]		**N**
CSW		**15** [23.08]	**50** [76.92]		**65**
EAN		**18** [26.87]	**49** [73.13]		**67**
CMI		**11** [42.31]	**15** [57.69]		**26**
CNO		**4** [40]	**6** [60]		**10**
SCO		**1** [50]	**1** [50]		**2**
NIR		**-** [0]	**-** [0]		**-**

The geographical distribution of personal *what* versus nonpersonal *what* reveals a ratio of approximately 1 : 3 in the South (23.08 % personal *what* in CSW; 26.87 % personal *what* in EAN VERSUS 76.92 % nonpersonal *what* in CSW; 73.13 % nonpersonal *what* in EAN), as opposed to a ratio of approximately 2 : 3 in the North (42.31 % personal *what* in CMI; 40 % personal *what* in CNO VERSUS 57.69 % nonpersonal *what* in CMI; 60 % nonpersonal *what* in CNO). This higher proportion of personal *what* in the North can be explained in terms of grammatical function (see below pp. 139/140 in 12.3.2. Nonstandard relative markers *what* and *as*: Change in progress in terms of the Accessibility Hierarchy):[81] On account of its shorter existence and inferior consolidation in the Central Midlands and the Central North, the REL marker *what* is more concentrated on the subject position in the North than in the South, where it is spread more evenly along the syntactic positions. Accordingly, in the North the percentage of relativized subjects versus nonsubjects via *what* is 61.54 % : 38.46 % (CMI: 73.08 % subjects; CNO: 50 % subjects VERSUS CMI: 26.92 % nonsubjects; CNO: 50 % nonsubjects), whereas in the South the percentage of relativized subjects versus nonsubjects is 51.57 % : 48.43 % (CSW: 55.38 % subjects; EAN: 47.76 % subjects VERSUS CSW: 44.62 % nonsubjects; EAN: 52.24 % nonsubjects). Regarding personality/ nonpersonality, subject *what*s are much more often personal than nonsubject *what*s, as subjects often express human agents, while nonsubjects (objects) often express nonhuman patients (compare to Peitsara 2002: 171):

CMI: 19 subject *what*s (9 + p; 10 – p)[82] VERSUS 7 nonsubject *what*s (2 + p; 5 – p)
CNO: 5 subject *what*s (4 + p; 1 – p) VERSUS 5 nonsubject *what*s (5 – p)

CSW: 36 subject *what*s (13 + p; 23 – p) VERSUS 29 nonsubject *what*s (2 + p; 27 – p)
EAN: 32 subject *what*s (17 + p; 15 – p) VERSUS 35 nonsubject *what*s (1 + p; 34 – p)

In Present-day Standard English, ***that*** is rather avoided, in favor of *who*, when it functions as a personal subject (in a restrictive RC) (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1250; see also Quirk 1968

[81] Or, we accept that Northerners simply relativize more on personal antecedents than Southerners do.

[82] + p = personal (instances); - p = nonpersonal (instances)

(1957): 105; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1054).[83] In dialectal English, however, there is no simple *that* / *who* dichotomy, but there are many more players at a time that can all relativize a personal subject (in a restrictive RC): zero (everywhere); *what*, *as*, and personal *which* (where they occur). With respect to *that*, personal *that* functioning as subject occurs frequently and freely in dialect[84]—also outside the typical *that* (and zero) strongholds like (nonpersonal) indefinite pronouns, superlatives, the postdeterminers *first*, *last*, *next*, or *only* (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1251; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1053/1054), and quantifiers (cf. Ball 1996: 236/237). Personal *that* in subject function emerges in the typical '*who*-frame' (see above p. 67 SED Question IX.9.5 in 7.2. PREVIOUS STUDIES/SURVEYS OF AREAL DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVE MARKERS: Wright's *English Dialect Grammar*, Lowman Survey, Survey of English Dialects) with reference to specific common nouns (examples (13)-(16)) or even proper names (example (17)):

(13) *EAN-HYC<S: 0436>*
*And **the fella** [**that** was on it named <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">] has, lives up the Goldfinks, he, he's still alive.*

(14) *CSW-SRLM 107<T 1380>*
*[...] And **the old chap** [**that** did work for us] he said to my father. [...]*

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[83] Compare also to Tottie's analysis of the London-Lund Corpus, in which the ratio is 91 % (for *who*) to 7 % (for *that*) (cf. Tottie 1997: 467). In Schmied's (1993) corpus analysis, *that* scores less than 1 % with a human antecedent in Standard English (cf. Schmied 1993b: 356).

However, in informal spoken American English, the ratio of *that* versus *who* in human subject position was found to be 25 % versus 68 %, contrastive with a 8 % versus 87 % ratio in written American English (cf. Lattey & Moeck 1992: 268). So, the increased preference of *that* in this position is also dependent on medium and style (cf. Lattey & Moeck 1992: 269)—and possibly on variety (British versus American) (but see also Ball's discussion (cf. Ball 1996: 238-244)). In Biber *et al.*'s (1999) corpus analysis of the conversation part of the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus, personal *that* occurs almost as frequently as *who* (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 613).

[84] Beal & Corrigan (2002), for example, record a percentage of 36.2 % of personal *that* in subject position, compared to 52.1 % *who* (and 10.7 % zero) (cf. Beal & Corrigan 2002: 130). They compare their figures with Cheshire's (1982) for Reading and Quirk's (1957, 1968) for Standard English, saying "Tyneside and Reading have *wh-* in, respectively, 52.1 % and 57.5 % of relative clauses with animate antecedents in subject position, but in SE (Quirk), *wh-* is almost categorical at 91 %. [...] the further 'progression' of *who* to categorical status in clauses of this type is found in neither the northern (Tyneside) nor the southern (Reading) dialect. Indeed, this last stage may never occur in non-standard dialects, since the selection of one variant as categorical is typical of the process of standardization" (Beal & Corrigan 2002: 129).

Tagliamonte's (2002) column chart of restrictive subject *that*s referring to personal antecedents shows a percentage around 55 %, based on her data from six regions, namely Ayrshire in Scotland, Maryport in Cumberland, Wheatley Hill in Durham, York, Devon, and Somerset (cf. Tagliamonte 2002: 153, 155/156, and 160/161). When separating the traditional dialect data from the socially stratified data from York, which rather represent "a standard variety of (northern) British English" (Tagliamonte 2002: 150), the figures for *who* in the remaining five dialects oscillate around 20 % only (cf. Tagliamonte 2002: 157). Later on, the author adds: "Where *who* is used, it is used for human subjects. This means that speakers, even 'rustic' ones, know when to use it. However, the strength of the region factor here confirms that although they may know *how* to use it, they do not actually do so. Thus, if *who* is the result of standards imposed from above, those standards have not affected the vernacular norms in these communities nearly as much as the research on the written language in the historical record suggests" (Tagliamonte 2002: 161).

(15) *CSW-SRLM 108<T 2100>*
*[...] I stayed out there four years, er, till after the first world war started and then **my brother** [**that** was home], he was older than me and he got conscripted into army like all the rest, he had to go. [...]*

(16) *CSW-SRLM 132<T 1140>*
*[...] Er, to **her father** [**that** did, had the farm sale]. [...]*

(17) *EAN-HYC<S: 0227>*
*I travelled all (pause) so (pause) all this, **Jim** [**that**'s alive now] I done that for two years.*
<S: 0228>
Travelled all his mares.

Linking these findings up to the 'order of diffusion of REL *who*', found by Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg (2002) in their corpus investigation of Early Modern English, it transpires that the reverse order of antecedent positions holds for REL *that* (encoding personal subjects):

Order of diffusion of REL *who*:
divine reference > proper names, human > common nouns, human > pronouns/quantifiers (cf. Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2002: 114)

Order of occurrence/frequency of REL *that*:
proper names, human < common nouns, human < pronouns/quantifiers

Whereas in Standard English, *that* was (largely) driven out from the higher positions of Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg's hierarchy over time—ignoring the position 'divine reference', which plays no role with regard to *that*—*that* has remained strong at the bottom of this animacy-specificity scale, i.e., with pronouns and quantifiers, particularly if they are nonpersonal (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1251; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1053/1054). Until the 17th century, personal *that* in subject position had been a well-established feature, first in Middle English and then in Early Modern English, when it began to be ousted by the rising REL pronoun *who* (cf. Ball 1996: 246-249; see also Mustanoja 1960: 199). As dialectal English tends to lag behind Standard English, dialectal REL *that* still persists in the higher positions 'human common noun antecedents' and even 'human proper name antecedents', which correlates with its occurrence in nonrestrictive RCs (compare examples (4) and (6) on p. 104 in 9.3. RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS IN DIALECTAL SPEECH). As can be observed in examples (13) to (17) from the Central Southwest and East Anglia above, even in the South, where the SED predominantly found *who* in response to Question IX.9.5 ('*who*-frame') (see Map S5 in Appendix 1), personal *that* is a vital option in subject

function, according to my data. However, as the overall percentage of *that* rises as one moves further north, the percentage of personal *that* also goes up, from 32.47 % and 30.11 % in the Central Southwest and East Anglia, to 46.47 % and 44.12 % in Scotland and Northern Ireland, respectively. Since *that* is the prevalent REL marker in the North, personal *that* obviously is (still) more firmly rooted there:

Table 12 PERSONAL/ NONPERSONAL *THAT* IN INDIVIDUAL REGIONS

		PERSONAL	NONPERSONAL		TOTAL
THAT		**N** [%]	**N** [%]		**N**
CSW		**25** [32.47]	**52** [67.53]		**77**
EAN		**28** [30.11]	**65** [69.89]		**93**
CMI		**63** [34.62]	**119** [65.38]		**182**
CNO		**74** [40.66]	**108** [59.34]		**182**
SCO		**112** [46.47]	**129** [53.53]		**241**
NIR		**90** [44.12]	**114** [55.88]		**204**

Alongside the REL particles *that* and *what*, the **zero** REL marker is also predominantly found with nonpersonal antecedents (35.55 % personal zero VERSUS 64.45 % nonpersonal zero). Being the major relativizer for the direct object position[85]—a position which is prototypically associated with nonpersonal patients—and a rather minor player for the subject position (except for Northern Ireland, where zero is the second most frequent relativizer in subject position with 43.08 % after *that*, and the Central North, where zero scores remarkable 23.86 %), this result is hardly surprising.

To conclude, an implicational hierarchy evolves which is based on the level of broadness (conservatism) versus standardization (innovation) of an idiolect: According to my hypothesis, dialect speakers who use the most conservative and marked feature, the dialectal relic personal *which*[86], should also use (or are free to use) the less broad and less marked feature personal *that* in subject function (outside its strongholds with pronouns, etc.), as well as personal zero in subject function (outside the same strongholds). This hypothesis is

[85] Except for the Central Midlands, where it is slightly surpassed by *that* (39.32 % zero direct objects VERSUS 41.88 % *that* direct objects).

[86] Leaving aside collective nouns, partitive genitives, and examples which are susceptible to other interpretations, such as 'performance error due to intervening material between antecedent and REL marker', 'new start', or 'sentential RC'.

formulated as an implicational hierarchy below and checked against the actual users of personal *which*.

IMPLICATIONAL HIERARCHY OF (NON)PERSONALITY IN DIALECT:

+ p *which* < + p *that* (in subject function) < + p ∅ (in subject function)[87]

1) Speaker 1 (EAN-H5G/H5H: PSEAN2/4) shows the following occurrences:
3 + p *which* < 4 + p *that* (in subject function) < 7 + p ∅ (in subject function)[88]

2) Speaker 2 (CNO-Z/AA: AmbZb):
2 + p *which* < 13 + p *that* (in subject function) < 10 + p ∅ (in subject function)[89]

3) Speaker 3 (CSW-SRLM 224: CA): A COUNTEREXAMPLE?
2 + p *which* < 0 + p *that* (in subject function) < 0 + p ∅ (in subject function)

Speaker 1 nicely follows the hierarchy, and Speaker 2 also supports the hierarchy, although not numerically at first sight: When disregarding *that* / zero strongholds, he behaves like Speaker 1. Speaker 3, however, seems to pose a counterexample to the implicational hierarchy, as the absence of personal *that* and zero in subject function in his speech undermines the hierarchy even from a qualitative perspective. On the other hand, Speaker 3 evidently is not fond of speaking about persons in RCs in general, since the overall text contains only 4 personal antecedents, two of which are relativized by (personal) *which* in subject function; one is taken up by *what* functioning as subject and referring to a proper

[87] The symbol < stands for 'implies'.

[88] [Of the 4 + p *that* (in subject function), 2 are common noun antecedents; 2 antecedents involve strongholds: e.g., '***all*** *people*'; '***six*** *men ashore*' [quantifier].]

[Of the 7 + p ∅ (in subject function), 2 are common noun antecedents; 3 are indefinite pronouns; 1 involves the postdeterminer '*only*'; 1 a quantifier.]

[89] [Of the 13 + p *that* (in subject function), 1 is a proper name, 3 are common noun antecedents in a multiple RC; the remaining 9 involve strongholds like indefinite pronouns, quantifiers, or '*only*'.]

[Of the 10 + p ∅ (in subject function), 4 are common noun antecedents, 5 involve strongholds like quantifiers or '*only*'; 1 resembles a collective noun antecedent ('*dentists and all this sort of thing*').]

name ('*Mr Gus Arlidge*') and the other one by the Standard REL pronoun *who* functioning as subject (referring to the common noun '*a man*'), which is outside the scope of the hierarchy. In this case, the implicational hierarchy could be amended in the following way:

Speaker 3 (CSW-SRLM 224: CA):

2 + p *which* < 1 + p *what* (in subject function)

Including (personal) *what* into the hierarchy would alter the hierarchies of Speaker 1 and 2 as follows:

Speaker 1 (EAN-H5G/H5H: PSEAN2/4):

3 + p *which* < 4 + p *that* (in subject function) < 7 + p ∅ (in subject function) / 12 + p *what* (in subject function)[90]

Speaker 2 (CNO-Z/AA: AmbZb):

2 + p *which* < 13 + p *that* (in subject function) < 10 + p ∅ (in subject function) [/ 2 - p *what* (in direct object function)]

Nonstandard REL marker *what* is a disparate phenomenon which does not easily fit into the frame above. As could be seen on page 116 above, REL *what* has no leaning to nonpersonal antecedents in subject function. Therefore, *what* is on a par (symbolized by /) with the zero REL marker and the REL particle *as*, which also relativize personal and nonpersonal subjects (as well as other grammatical functions) alike, in an extended implicational hierarchy:

EXTENDED IMPLICATIONAL HIERARCHY OF (NON)PERSONALITY IN DIALECT:

+ p *which* < + p *that* (in subject function) < + p ∅ (in subject function) / *what* / *as*

In sum, the (extended) implicational hierarchy of (non)personality in dialect is borne out by the data, though on the basis of only three speakers due to the scarcity of the archaic feature personal *which*.

[90] [Of the 12 + p *what* (in subject function), 8 are common noun antecedents; 1 is a personal pronoun ('*them*') equaling demonstrative '*those*'; 1 involves '*only*'; 1 a quantifier; 1 rather refers to the institution than to the individual ('*the Pool Manager*').]

10.3. Summary: While the gender concord constraint of Standard English is observed for the REL pronouns *who*, *whose*, and *whom*, it is occasionally ignored for *which* in dialectal speech. The REL pronoun *which* occurs with personal antecedents outside its permitted borderline areas and in partitive genitives, probably in analogy to nominal and interrogative *which*. The REL particles *as*, *what*, *that*, and zero well refer to personal antecedents, too: *As* and zero are not biased toward either personal or nonpersonal referents, but zero rather relativizes direct objects, which tend to be nonpersonal. Personal *what* is more frequent in the North, as *what* has introduced itself there more recently, namely via the subject position, which tends to be personal. Dialectal *that* also appears as personal subject outside its typical environments. In this way, dialectal *that* mirrors an earlier stage of English (particularly in the North), as it still maintains positions, such as human proper names and common nouns, which are now usurped by the REL pronoun *who* in Standard English. In accordance with their broadness of speech, dialect speakers may use REL markers in personal contexts which are to varying degrees marked for nonpersonality in Present-day Standard English. These REL markers can be assembled on an implicational hierarchy of (non)personality, ranging from personal *which* on the left to personal zero in subject function on the right (and extended to include *what* and *as* to integrate all occurrences and possibilities in dialect), reflecting the varying degrees of severity in disregarding Standard English restrictions on the use of REL markers with personal referents.

11. PREPOSITION PLACEMENT

11.1. Definition: When a prepositional complement is relativized, the preposition can either be moved to initial position together with the *wh*-marker and govern the REL pronoun (**preposition fronting** or **pied-piping**) or the preposition is left behind in its normal clause position without its complement (**preposition stranding**). Both types are illustrated in turn:

(1) *EAN-K68<S: 030>*
*Now they were provided with a meal [**for which** the police, at that time paid sixpence], [...].*
[FRONTING]

(2) *EAN-H5G<S: 505>*
*[...] **our shovels** [**what** they used to feed the boiler **with**] were all steel shovels.*
[STRANDING]

11.2. PREPOSITION PLACEMENT ACROSS REGIONS

The individual regional data are combined in Table 13 below, since interregional variation could not be discerned as significant:

Table 13 PREPOSITION FRONTING/ PREPOSITION STRANDING

PCOMPs	FRONTED		STRANDED			TOTAL
REL marker	**N**	%[91]	**N**	%		**N**
zero	**0**	-	**61**	35.47		**61**
that	**0**	-	**70**	40.7		**70**
what	**0**	-	**14**	8.14		**14**
as	**0**	-	**1**	0.58		**1**
who	**0**	-	**5**	2.91		**5**
which	**11**	91.67	**20**	11.63		**31**
whom	**1**	8.33	**1**	0.58		**2**
whose	**-**	-	**-**	-		**-**
total	**12** [Σ = 6.52]	100.00	**172** [Σ = 93.48]	100.00		**184** [Σ = 100.00]

[91] Percentages were rounded to two digits after the point, which might cause occasional incongruence with the total sum of percentages.

While pied-piping is typical of (written) Standard English, dialects obviously prefer preposition stranding (172 of 184 prepositions are stranded; 93.48 %). To a large extent, this result is a corollary of the REL markers used: Only REL pronouns allow preposition fronting, as well as preposition stranding. REL particles demand preposition stranding, because in RCs neither conjunctions can be governed by prepositions (e.g., *'*of that*', *'*of what*'; *'*of as*') nor gaps (e.g., *'*of* ∅'); only **(pro)nouns** can be governed by prepositions (e.g., '*of which*'). Thus, the behavior of prepositions can be very revealing as to the word class status of REL markers. As we have already seen in chapter 10 PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY in relation to personal *which*, non-gender-marked *which* must still be considered a pronoun since it can still be governed by a preposition ('*of which*'). If adnominal *what* were found to be governed by a preposition, i.e., in an example of preposition fronting, that would attest to its status of a REL pronoun, parallel to its nominal counterpart *what*.

Accordingly, the prepositions of all instances of the REL particles ***that***, ***what***, ***as***, and the **zero** marker figuring as prepositional complements are invariably stranded (altogether 146 instances). Of the remaining 38 REL pronouns (i.e., the prepositional complements ***who***, ***which***, and ***whom*** taken together), 12 (31.58 %) show preposition fronting while 26 (68.42 %) show preposition stranding. In other words, even where preposition fronting is permitted, preposition stranding is preferred in dialectal speech. Regarding the REL pronoun ***who***, the absence of fronted prepositions (and the presence of 5 stranded prepositions) is conspicuous. Apparently, those speakers (two in East Anglia, one in the Central Midlands, and one in the Central North) neither wanted to apply case-marking (i.e., *whom*), nor did they want to have a non-case-marked REL pronoun governed by a preposition (e.g., '*with who*'). For example:

(3) *EAN-HDK<S: 072>*
*Janet posted a letter for me last week to **a friend** [**who** I worked **with** at Ipswich], [...]*

(4) *EAN-H5H<Person: PSEAN4><S: 372>*
*Well the agent, that be either <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> or **any agent** who, [**who** the ship belonged **to**], [...]*

There are 2 instances involving ***whom***: In example (5) the preposition *for* is fronted, whereas in example (6) it is stranded. In addition, another example of a fronted preposition (partitive '*of*') is cited below, which is left out of the count since it leaves no choice between fronting and stranding (example (7)):

(5) *CMI-FYH <S: 300>*
*But anyway there was so many people and **one chap** who he he was, as a matter of fact, he was organizer with Communist Party [**for whom** I've got the very greatest respect], the very greatest respect.*

(6) *SCO-GYW<S: 093>*
*And er this bicycle well it would go out of fashion and was put in a, a loft in one of the, it must have changed hands from **Mr <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> [whom** it was made **for**].*

(7) *CMI-FXU<S: 171>*
*Even in villages, I known **men** who've worked abroad fitting them up in in er Germany and in France and in Italy, [**one of whom** went to night school in Germany] [...].*

Out of the 31 RCs introduced by the REL pronoun ***which***, 11 instances (35.48 %) show preposition fronting, while the majority shows preposition stranding (20 instances; 64.52 %). Of the 11 fronted prepositions governing *which*, 6 are partitive genitive '*of*' (governing also personal *which*, as in example (9) below (see above pp. 113/114 PARTITIVE GENITIVE in chapter 10 PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY)). (Partitive) genitive '*of*' should always be fronted, according to a prescriptive rule in (written) Standard English. Jespersen (1927) phrases this rule as "there are certain cases in which it is unnatural to have *of* at the end, thus if it is the equivalent of a genitive" (Jespersen 1927: 188) and as "[p]artitive *of* is generally placed first" (*ibidem*), while Huddleston & Pullum (2002) describe it as "[p]artitive *of* resists stranding" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1041). For example:

(8) *CMI-FXU<S: 035>*
***Most of the textbooks**, [∅ were handed to us] came from cupboards of storage, [**of which** they must have had about sixty each], those classes were always, from then on, sixty boys in a class for one teacher.*

(9) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 130>*
*[...] and we had a meeting at headquarters, to which **about forty or fifty people** turned up, [**of which** two had probably blown a <pause> an instrument in the past], [...]*

In dialectal speech, this prescriptive rule may be disregarded, and we find examples of stranded *of*-genitives, in combination with *which* (example (11)) or even the zero REL marker (example (10)), which requires preposition stranding anyhow:

(10) *CNO-AY p. 8<u AmbAY>*
*Well you know they used, did you know there used to be **a timber** [∅ they used to make cog wheels **of**]?*

(11) *CMI-FY2<S: 003>*
*Now the first job he did was to get you well acquainted with the tools, [**which** we had quite a number **of** them]*.

[resumptive personal pronoun *them* after stranded partitive genitive preposition *of* (preferred analysis); compare with analysis of this example (as example (17)) on p. 153 in 13.3. PRONOUN RETENTION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF THE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY]

12. ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY

12.1. Introduction: In this chapter, I will describe the Accessibility Hierarchy and the Hierarchy Constraints, set down by Keenan & Comrie, and outline some later additions to it. I will present a slightly modified version of the AH, comment on the motivations for these changes, and check this AH against my data. In 12.2., the validity of this AH is tested for each individual RC formation strategy. We will see which syntactic position(s) can be relativized by which relative marker(s) in which region(s) and how often. In 12.3.1., the behavior of the standard relative markers *who*, *which*, *that*, and zero is interpreted in terms of the AH. In 12.3.2., the nonstandard relative markers *what* and *as* are screened. When the results are put into a socio-historical context in each region, we can observe how the current situation and the future development of *what* and *as* is reflected by the AH (change in progress). In 12.4. GENITIVE AVOIDANCE, I will return to the genitive position of the AH and show how its relativization can be evaded.

The strong form of the 'Accessibility Hierarchy and the Hierarchy Constraints' was put forward by Keenan & Comrie in their groundbreaking article "Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar", published in 1977. From a large-scale investigation of data from some 50 genetically unrelated languages spoken world-wide, the authors derived universal principles in relative clause formation which can be captured in a so-called 'Accessibility Hierarchy' to which three universal constraints apply. The Hierarchy and its Constraints are reproduced with a brief explication in turn (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 66/67):

Accessibility Hierarchy (*AH*):
SUBJ > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

Spelled out as follows:

SUBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > OBLIQUE CASE > GENITIVE > OBJECT OF COMPARISON

While the syntactic positions SUBJECT, DIRECT OBJECT, and INDIRECT OBJECT follow standard grammatical definitions, OBLIQUE CASE is characterized as "NPs that express arguments of the main predicate, as *the chest* in *John put the money in the chest* [resulting in the RC *the chest in which John put the money*] rather than ones having a more adverbial function like *Chicago* in *John lives in Chicago* or *that day* in *John left on that day*" (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 66). The first example illustrates an obligatory prepositional complement functioning as an adverbial; the latter two exemplify more optional prepositional complements functioning as adverbial adjuncts (adverbial relative clauses): One would result in a nonrestrictive locative RC modifying a proper name—the other in a temporal RC modifying the 'lexically empty' NP '*that day*' (see above chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES: 7.1. DEFINITION OF THE CATEGORY). GENITIVE denotes the possessor NP. OBJECT OF COMPARISON would be exemplified by the RC *the man who/that/∅ John is taller than* (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 66).

According to the authors, the AH reflects the accessibility of various syntactic positions to relativization (in restrictive RCs with definite head NPs) in descending order from left to right (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 66 and 64). In psychological terms, the further a position is located to the left, the easier it is to relativize (construct AND deconstruct a RC) (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 88/89 and 96).

The Hierarchy Constraints (*HCs*):

1. A language must be able to relativize subjects.
2. Any RC-forming strategy must apply to a continuous segment of the AH.
3. Strategies that apply at one point of the AH may in principle cease to apply at any lower point.

HC1 bars relativization on a lower position than subject without also having subject RCs in a language. HC2 forbids leaving out a position. HC3 maintains that any position is a potential 'cut-off point' for a RC formation strategy (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 68).
Later on, Keenan & Comrie (1977) restricted the Constraints to PRIMARY STRATEGIES (in a language). A relative clause formation strategy is called PRIMARY if it can relativize the subject position. If a primary strategy can relativize a low position on the AH (e.g. GEN position), this strategy will be able to relativize all higher positions (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 68/69).

Over the years the formulation of the Hierarchy Constraints has undergone several revisions, while trying to come to grips with various (real and apparent) counterexamples to the AH theory. However, the ranking of syntactic positions on the AH—in terms of accessibility of individual RC formation strategies to these positions—has remained valid, provided that a language HAS this particular syntactic position in its grammatical make-up (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 66).

For my investigation of dialects of English, I have made some minor modifications to the AH on theoretical (and also practical) grounds, which I will explain in detail below:

SUBJ > DO > (IO) > OBL > GEN > (OCOMP[ARISON])

↓

SUBJ > DO > PCOMP > GEN (OTHER)

In the upper diagram, two positions of the original AH were put into parentheses, which have disappeared from the adapted version of the AH in the diagram below: IO (= indirect object) and OCOMP[ARISON] (= object of comparison). Furthermore, OBL (= oblique case) was renamed PCOMP (= prepositional complement). Moreover, there is a bracketed group called OTHER to the far right, which is composed of miscellaneous members that are outside the AH.

OCOMP[ARISON] was eliminated for two reasons: First, OCOMP[ARISON] could be subsumed under PCOMP, because not only does *than* function as a conjunction (particle) but also as a preposition (cf. Maxwell 1979: 367; see also Comrie & Keenan 1979: 662): *than whom* (cf. OED 1989: vol. XVII: 861). In addition, OCOMP is not sensed as "a grammatically identifiable position in the same way as the relative clauses that are higher than OCOMP" (Keenan & Hawkins 1987: 64) but rather conflated with OBL (see also Keenan & Hawkins 1987: 82/83). Second, even the authors grant that examples like *the man who John is taller than* are of marginal acceptability (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 90 and 74). In my dialect data, there was no instance of an object of comparison.

Although indirect objects are used in English—in dialects as well as in the standard variety—, this position is commonly taken up by prepositional objects = objects of prepositions (OP) in declarative clauses: *He gave* ***her***$_{IO}$ *the book—he gave the book* ***to her***$_{OP}$. Resulting from that and from the fact that English is one of the languages which "[f]or purposes of relative clause

formation, [...] assimilate indirect objects to the other oblique cases" (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 72), indirect objects are very infrequently relativized (6 instances in my overall data). Therefore, the syntactic position IO was subsumed under OTHER, which is outside the scope of my draft of the AH.

For all its merits, Keenan & Comrie's AH left some issues unresolved. To name one, Keenan & Comrie did not incorporate subject and object complements into the AH. Secondly, there is no clear definition of 'oblique case'. In the presentations of the AH in 1977 and 1979, Keenan & Comrie cited obligatory prepositional adverbials as the prototype member of OBL. While in his 1975 publication, Keenan had subsumed indirect objects in English below oblique case (cf. Keenan 1987 (1975): 49/50), in his joint publication with Sarah Hawkins (1987), they maintain both positions (indirect object and oblique) and cite prepositional object examples to illustrate the indirect object position (*the man who Ann gave the present to*) and (varying) optional prepositional complement examples functioning as adverbials to illustrate the oblique position (*the box which Pat brought the apples in*) (cf. Keenan & Hawkins 1987: 63-65). In 1985 Keenan renamed this position 'object of pre- or postposition', thus apparently aiming at prepositional objects (cf. Keenan 1985: 147). Comrie (1989) called the OBL position 'non-direct object' and cited a prepositional object relative clause in English to illustrate this position (cf. Comrie 1989: 155). Albeit Keenan & Comrie now appear to view prepositional objects as the core member of oblique case, they never distanced themselves from viewing prepositional adverbials as oblique cases, too.

In my initial set-up, I distinguished between prepositional complements functioning as objects of prepositions (PCOMP(OP)) AND prepositional complements functioning as adverbials (PCOMP(A)). In addition to that, I distinguished a third subgroup of prepositional complements, viz prepositional complements functioning as ('*of*')-genitives (PCOMP(GEN)). Since, in the course of the analysis, the three subgroups seemed to behave alike, I collapsed them into one cover group PCOMP. At the same time, I considered adverbial relative clauses as a separate type of adnominal RCs, which do not enter the AH, as they are structurally and conceptually different (see above chapter 7 ADNOMINAL RELATIVE CLAUSES: 7.1. DEFINITION OF THE CATEGORY).

Addressing these issues unattended or unresolved by Keenan & Comrie, Lehmann (1984, 1986) drew up a more fine-grained hierarchy which accommodates more specific syntactic functions. His hierarchy includes SCOMPs and OCOMPs and explicitly distinguishes between adverbial complements (obligatory adverbials) and adverbial adjuncts (optional

adverbials). Whereas the former are "inherent in the valency of the verb" (Lehmann 1986: 669), the latter are optional and hence rank below obligatory complements (in his hierarchy). Besides, Lehmann distinguishes between so-called *adverbal* (grammatical functions assigned by the verb) and *adnominal* functions (syntactic functions assigned by a noun, comprising possessive attributes, standards of comparison, and prepositional attributes). The adnominal functions are ordered in relation to one another and aligned to the adverbal functions in Lehmann's hierarchy (cf. Lehmann 1984: 211-215, 219, and 233/234; see also Lehmann 1986: 668/669).

Since the genitive position is noncommittal as to which grammatical function it serves in the RC, John Hawkins (1999) added another layer to the AH by positing an internal hierarchy within GEN which mirrors the AH, i.e., GEN:SUBJ > GEN:DO > GEN:IO > GEN:OBL (cf. Hawkins 1999: 255).[92] For example:

The woman [whose husband$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ worked at the Mill]
The woman [whose husband$_{\text{DIRECT OBJECT}}$ I saw at the Mill]
The woman [whose husband$_{\text{INDIRECT OBJECT}}$ I gave the book]
The woman [to whose husband$_{\text{OBLIQUE CASE}}$ I gave the book]

Despite offering valuable insights into a complex potential inherent in the AH, Lehmann's and Hawkins' additions to the AH proved to be irrelevant for my analysis in the face of the **marginal acceptability** of these phenomena in English (this is true for prepositional attributes like *the car the stain on which we saw* (Lehmann's example: 213; *footnote* 151; see also Lehmann 1984: 213) and for standards of comparison = object of comparison) AND/OR the **infrequency** in my data:

Altogether, SCOMP position was relativized 21 times in the corpus (example (1)); OCOMP position was relativized 11 times (example (2)). Consequently, subject and object complements were grouped with indirect objects and so-called nonprepositional adverbials (A) (example (3)) (see below p. 170 1) Preposition elision in chapter 14 *WHICH* AS 'CONNECTOR'?) to constitute the miscellaneous group OTHER. The few adnominal examples (example (4)) were possessive attributes, mostly in the shape of partitive genitives, which were assigned to the group of prepositional complements alongside their adverbal

[92] Keenan and Sarah Hawkins (1987) had already posited the GEN subject position higher on the AH (easier to relativize) than the GEN object position, but the results of their experiment could not unanimously confirm this positioning (cf. Keenan & Hawkins 1987: 63 and 70-76).

counterparts. (Adverbal) prepositional adverbials were not further subdivided into obligatory and optional ones—if they were not excluded as adverbial RCs in the first place—that is, ***the chest*** *[in which John put the money]*$_{RC}$ derived from *John put the money* ***in the chest***$_{\text{obligatory PCOMP(A)}}$ was not distinguished from ***the supermarket*** *[in which he gave her the book]*$_{RC}$ derived from *he gave her the book* ***in the supermarket***$_{\text{optional PCOMP(A)}}$.
Examples:

(1) *CNO-AY p. 11<u AmbAY>*
[...] You can charcoal ***any timber*** *[∅ there is] regarding different species.*

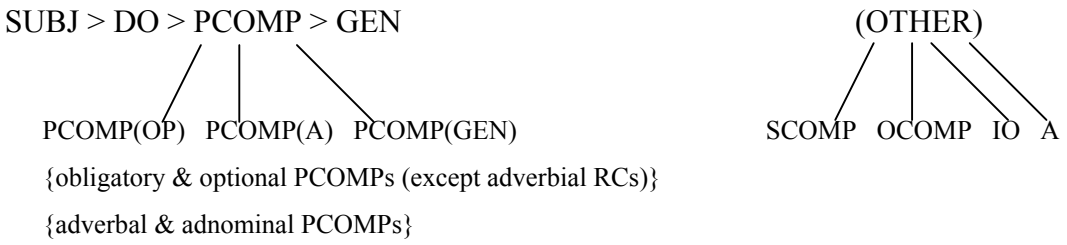
(2) *SCO-K7G<S: 359>*
Quarterly meetings *[which they call them] that was held in er the Odd Fellows Hall in Forest Road [...].*

(3) *SCO-K6M<S: 010>*
And never in my wildest dream did we imagine that Labour would get in with ***the resounding majority*** *[that they did get in* ***~~with~~****].* [elided stranded preposition '*with*' makes REL marker *that* function as A (instrumentalis) instead of PCOMP(A)]

(4) *CMI-FXU<S: 171>*
Even in villages, I known ***men*** *who've worked abroad fitting them up in in er Germany and in France and in Italy, [[*<u>*one*</u> ***of whom*** *went to night school in Germany] to learn the language (trunc) t to get on better], he was there to receive machines.* [multiple RC; partitive genitive; genitival attribute of *one*; marked as PCOMP(GEN); subsumed under PCOMP]

Even though all instances that relativize the genitive position function as subject (GEN:SUBJ), it is hardly possible to make a case in favor of Hawkins' internal GEN-AH on the basis of 3 examples (of *whose*) in the overall data.

In conclusion, the working version of the AH adopted here is outlined below:



The overall frequencies (the following table shows absolute numbers and percentages in square brackets) confirm the AH in all six regions (Central Southwest, East Anglia, Central

Midlands, Central North, Scotland; Northern Ireland).[93] (Frequencies of the group OTHER, which is not part of the AH, are given for completeness' sake):

	SUBJ >	DO >	PCOMP >	GEN	(OTHER)	
	N [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**N** [%]	**TOTAL RCs**
CSW:	**165** [56.7 %]	**94** [32.3 %]	**27** [9.28 %]	**0** [0 %]	**5** [1.72 %]	**291**
EAN:	**247** [58.53 %]	**134** [31.75 %]	**34** [8.06 %]	**0** [0 %]	**7** [1.66 %]	**422**
CMI:	**298** [65.93 %]	**117** [25.88 %]	**25** [5.53 %]	**3** [0.66 %]	**9** [1.99 %]	**452**
CNO:	**285** [68.18 %]	**97** [23.21 %]	**21** [5.02 %]	**0** [0 %]	**15** [3.59 %]	**418**
SCO:	**332** [63.6 %]	**128** [24.52 %]	**48** [9.2 %]	**0** [0 %]	**14** [2.68 %]	**522**
NIR:	**260** [63.88 %]	**114** [28.01 %]	**29** [7.13 %]	**0** [0 %]	**4** [0.98 %]	**407**
SUM:	**1587** [63.18 %]	**684** [27.23 %]	**184** [7.32 %]	**3** [0.12 %]	**54** [2.15 %]	**2512**

In all regions, subjects are by far most frequently relativized (mean 63.18 %), followed by direct objects (mean 27.23 %), prepositional complements (mean 7.32 %), and genitives, which are only found in one region, where they account for less than 1 % (mean 0.12 %). The heterogeneous group OTHER varies between 0.98 % and 3.59 % across regions: Its 54 tokens are composed of 21 subject complements, 11 object complements, 6 indirect objects, and 16 nonprepositional adverbials.

12.2. INDIVIDUAL RELATIVE CLAUSE FORMATION STRATEGIES

While Keenan & Comrie recognize only two strategies (+case / -case) for (Standard) English (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 76; see also Comrie & Keenan 1979: 656), more precise subdivisions were made for my data: Each REL marker of the two major groups 'declinable REL pronoun' (*wh*-REL pronouns) and 'indeclinable REL particles' accounts for a distinct strategy (with the exception of the case-marked *wh*-forms *whom* and *whose*).—In contrast to that, Keenan & Comrie's 'pronoun retention' (in combination with a REL marker at the

[93] Already in 1975, Keenan (1987 (1975)) predicts a correlation between frequencies in RC formation and the AH:
First Prediction (*P-1*)
"The frequency with which people relativise in discourse conforms to the CH [AH], subjects being the most frequent, then direct objects, etc." (Keenan 1987 (1975): 49).

beginning of the RC) amounts to a separate RC formation strategy, which will be treated in chapter 13 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS.—*Wh*-pronouns were split into the two gender-opposed components *who* and *which*, which surface in all six regions in my data. Case-marked *wh*-pronouns *whom* and *whose* only appear in Scotland and the Central Midlands (SCO: 2 *whom*; CMI: 2 *whom*; 3 *whose*). *Whom* and *whose* indeed have to be seen as the case-marked forms of *who*, since all 7 instances refer to personal antecedents. In the sketch below, occurrence of a REL marker in a syntactic position of the AH is indicated by a plus sign [+]; nonoccurrence by a minus [-]. Absolute numbers of the total occurrences of *who* and its case-marked forms in all regions are given in brackets. (The feature [+p] indicates that *who*, *whom*, and *whose* are *wh*-pronouns marked as referring to personal antecedents only.—Featuring *whose* as [±p] would be permissible in principle but is not borne out by my data):

	SUBJ	>	DO	>	PCOMP	>	GEN
	who		*whom*		*whom* (+ prep)		*whose*
wh-pronoun [+p]	+		+		+		+
total:	(244)		(1)		(3)		(3)

On the other hand, *who* is not restricted to nominative case/subject position. In dialects, it can relativize all syntactic positions (SUBJ, DO; PCOMP) except GEN (if the antecedent is personal):

	SUBJ	>	DO	>	PCOMP	>	GEN
who	+		+		+		-
total:	(244)		(4)		(5)		(-)

Below there are two examples ((5) and (6)) of *who* in direct object position and two examples ((7) and (8)) of *who* in prepositional complement position:

(5) *CNO-Z/AA p. 27<u AmbZs>*
Mr Hartley went in to Little Langdale, and he met ***an old man*** *there [who*$_{\mathbf{DO}}$ *he knows]: How today, Tommy? [...]*

(6) *EAN-HDL<S: 335>*
All those positions were going for want of an application, so I applied and because <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> brought in ***people*** *[who*$_{\mathbf{DO}}$ *he knew], certain of them were automatically filled [...].*

(7) *CNO-AQ p. 6<u AmbAQ>*
[...] ***The chap*** *[who*$_{\textbf{PCOMP}}$ *I got it off], he says, I 'll come up on Monday [...].*

(8) *EAN-HDK<S: 072>*
Janet posted a letter for me last week to ***a friend*** *[who*$_{\textbf{PCOMP}}$ *I worked with at Ipswich], [...]*

Which is predominantly nonpersonal, yet not exclusively so in dialects (see above Table 10). Its distribution on the AH is as follows, according to regions:

	SUBJ	>	DO	>	PCOMP	>	GEN
which	+		+		+		-
CSW:	(17)		(15)		(4)		(-)
EAN:	(80)		(17)		(12)		(-)
CMI:	(64)		(18)		(5)		(-)
CNO:	(36)		(10)		(1)		(-)
SCO:	(58)		(11)		(7)		(-)
NIR:	(4)		(0)		(1)		(-)

The numerical distribution of *which* supports the AH very well (disregarding DO in Northern Ireland, whose overall number of *which*s is too low anyway). Since occurrence and frequency of *wh*-pronouns serve as a yardstick of traditionality or degree of standardization of speech, respectively, the remarkable variance in subject position (between 80 instances in East Anglia and 4 instances in Northern Ireland) is to be ascribed to the varied quality of corpora in this respect: Whereas the East Anglian corpus, the Central Midlands corpus, the Scotland corpus, and the Central North corpus also contain rather moderate or modest dialect speakers (e.g., East Anglian informants EAN-HDL: PSEAN19 and EAN-K69: PSEAN13 together account for 54 of the 80 instances of *which* in subject position), the Central Southwest corpus and the Northern Ireland corpus only consist of broad dialect speakers.

A look at the frequencies of standard REL particle *that* also corroborates the AH. *That* can relativize all positions except GEN. Although various dialectologists (e.g., Romaine 1980: 227, Seppänen & Kjellmer (1995), Aitken 1979: 105, Newbrook 1997: 41; *footnote* 2, Harris 1993: 150/151; Comrie 1999: 87) and surveys (SED, Lowman Survey; Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects) cite *that's* as a dialectal GEN relative marker, the blank in the paradigm cannot be filled by my data. *That's* developed from the invariant relative particle *that* + the reduced form of the possessive pronouns *his* or *its* into a general genitive relative pronoun *that's* representing also feminine and plural antecedents (cf. Seppänen & Kjellmer 1995: 397/398)—at least in Scottish English: For example, *The woman that's sister mairriet the*

postie (example taken from *The Scottish National Dictionary* 1974, vol. IX: 265) OR *the people that's houses were demolished* (example taken from Aitken 1979: 105).

	SUBJ	>	DO	>	PCOMP	>	GEN
that	+		+		+		-
CSW:	(58)		(14)		(4)		(-)
EAN:	(58)		(24)		(10)		(-)
CMI:	(125)		(49)		(7)		(-)
CNO:	(145)		(32)		(4)		(-)
SCO:	(157)		(54)		(28)		(-)
NIR:	(137)		(49)		(17)		(-)

The zero marker demands a more differentiated treatment, since it is ungrammatical as the subject of a RC in Standard English (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1250) (see above 4.2.2. Adnominal relative clauses resembling topicalization structures: existentials and 'lexically empty' antecedent relative clauses). In dialects, however, the zero marker can function as subject, but its frequencies cannot verify that SUBJECT is easiest to relativize in all regions. Only two of the northern regions, the Central North and Northern Ireland, mirror the AH. Occurrence and frequency of zero subject RCs can be tied to traditionality and/or colloquiality of speech. As the Central North corpus and the Northern Ireland corpus belong to the more traditional corpora (the equally traditional Central Southwest corpus does not reflect this tendency, however), they illustrate that traditional dialects can reestablish the proper order of positions along the AH. Less traditional dialects cannot do that but they also remedy the situation on the AH by filling the gap in SUBJ left by Standard English.

	SUBJ	>	DO	>	PCOMP	>	GEN
∅	+		+		+		-
CSW:	(**29**)		(43)		(12)		(-)
EAN:	(**17**)		(63)		(5)		(-)
CMI:	(**27**)		(46)		(7)		(-)
CNO:	**(68)**		**(48)**		**(14)**		(-)
SCO:	(**45**)		(62)		(12)		(-)
NIR:	**(112)**		**(65)**		**(11)**		(-)

Nonstandard REL particle *what* occurs in five of the six regions (all except Northern Ireland). In Scotland, there are only 2 occurrences of *what*, one of which is doubtful; the other is a clear case from Glasgow. The slight discontinuity in the series between DO and PCOMP in CMI must be attributed to the very low figures. Analogous to *that*, *what* serves all positions except GEN in my data. *What* and *what's* in genitive position were recorded in the SED (cf.

Upton *et al.* 1994: 490), while *what's* was also recorded in a fairly recent survey at schools (cf. Cheshire *et al.* 1993: 69). In my data, however, instances of *what* or *what's* do not appear.

	SUBJ	>	DO	>	PCOMP	>	GEN
what	+		+		+		-
CSW:	(36)		(21)		(7)		(-)
EAN:	(32)		(28)		(4)		(-)
CMI:	(19)		(1)		(2)		(-)
CNO:	(5)		(4)		(1)		(-)
SCO:	(2)		(0)		(0)		(-)
NIR:	(0)		(0)		(0)		(-)

Traditional REL marker *as* is still to be found in three of the six regions (Central Midlands, Central North, and Northern Ireland). On account of its very low totals, the sheer occurrence (/nonoccurrence) of *as* in a position should be focussed on:

	SUBJ	>	DO	>	PCOMP	>	GEN
as	+		+		+		-
CSW:	-		-		-		(-)
EAN:	-		-		-		(-)
CMI:	+ (7)		+ (3)		+ (1)		(-)
CNO:	+ (3)		+ (2)		-		(-)
SCO:	-		-		-		(-)
NIR:	+ (2)		-		-		(-)

12.3. INTERPRETATION:

12.3.1. Standard relative markers *who*, *which*, *that*, and zero:

In my data, the *wh*-pronoun strategy *who* [+p] is the only strategy which can relativize all positions on the AH including GEN. It either emerges in the shape of the case-marked forms *who*, *whom*, or *whose* OR in the shape of the non-case-marked form *who* in SUBJ, DO, and PCOMP. That is to say, GEN is the only position that requires an explicit, case-marked form in the very few cases when it appears (see below 12.4. GENITIVE AVOIDANCE). *Which* [±p] is well represented in all syntactic positions except GEN. Nevertheless, Romaine's and Dekeyser's results for Middle Scots and Early Modern English, respectively, are not borne out by my dialect data: With the exception of GEN, *wh*-pronouns DO NOT dominate the lower end of the AH; likewise REL particles (*that* and zero) are NOT restricted to the higher positions (cf. Romaine 1980: 228; see also Dekeyser 1984: 76). Actually, the frequencies involving REL particles outnumber those involving *wh*-pronouns by far—from twice the number in the Central Midlands to almost 40 times as much in Northern Ireland). (East

Anglia is an exception, where the ratio is just 174 *wh*-pronouns to 243 REL particles.) In particular, *that* and zero prevail over *wh*-pronouns in the less accessible positions DO and PCOMP (except for PCOMP in East Anglia). Whereas *that* is also prevalent in SUBJ (again, East Anglia is an exception to the rule), certain allowances have to be made for zero in subject position. Although zero relativizes subjects in all regions, it does not always have its stronghold there. In Keenan & Comrie's framework, zero is rehabilitated as a primary RC formation strategy in dialects, because of its ability to relativize subjects.

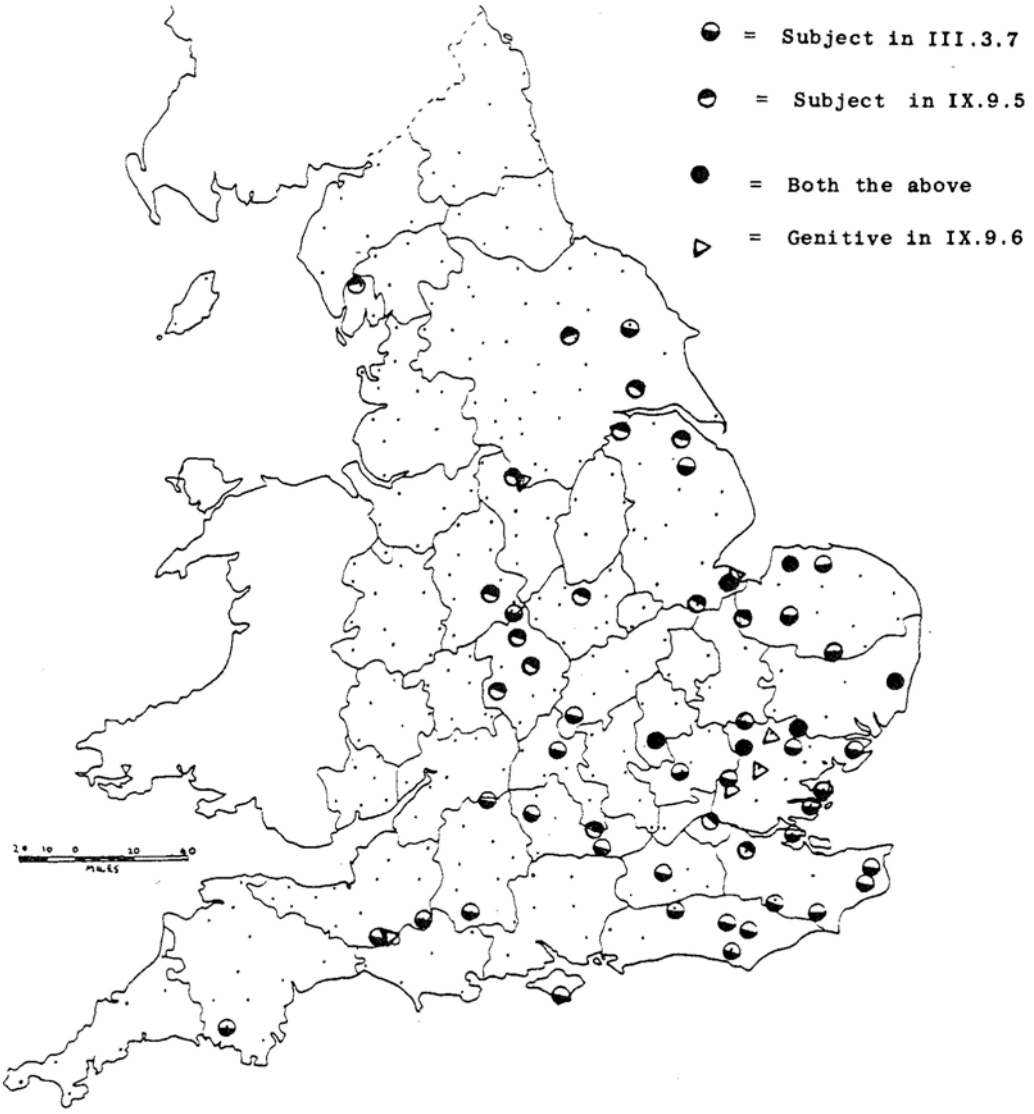
12.3.2. Nonstandard relative markers *what* and *as*: Change in progress in terms of the Accessibility Hierarchy

The nonstandard REL particles *what* and *as* seem to be following opposite developments (once again, East Anglia is a special case): While *as* is receding, *what* is spreading.
From its southeastern (East Anglia including Essex) heartland (cf. Poussa 1988: 448; see also Viereck 1975a: *Maps* 207 and 208), *what* has been radiating out through the adjoining Midlands and the Home Counties, especially London, to the Southwest and, eventually, to the North (cf. Poussa 1988: 448 and 450; see also Cheshire *et al.* 1993: 64). Poussa's (1991) Map 1, based on SED Questions III.3.7, IX.9.5 and IX.9.6,[94] illustrates the spread of *what* at the time of the SED (cf. Poussa 1991: 311; see also Viereck 1991: S8b, S9, and S10):

[94] Although this map is not quite complete, it represents the three questions in one map.

Map 6 Poussa's (1991) Map 1

Map 1: *Distribution of Subject and Genitive WHAT in SED*



The frequencies in my data reflect the process of dissemination. *What* is most frequent in the South, less frequent in the Midlands, and least frequent in the North. In our day, *what* spreads via the big cities (cf. Cheshire *et al.* 1993: 68), for which Glasgow is a case in point. In short, *what* has infiltrated all investigated areas, except for (the countryside of) Northern Ireland.

The Central Midlands data suggest that *what* enters the AH by the subject position and gradually works its way down the hierarchy. Cheshire *et al.* (1993) come to the same conclusion on the basis of results from questionnaires in a nation-wide survey at schools (cf. Cheshire *et al.* 1993: 69/70). They observe an implicational hierarchy, "such that all schools

reporting the occurrence of *what* as a genitive pronoun also reported *what* as object pronoun, and all schools reporting *what* as object pronoun also reported *what* as subject pronoun" (Cheshire *et al.* 1993: 69). Being a hallmark of Present-day Standard English, the *wh*-pronouns crept into the Middle English REL marker system by the low positions on the AH in formal and complex written language (cf. Romaine 1980: 234; see also Dekeyser 1984: 76). By contrast, the nonstandard REL marker *what* introduces itself into the AH via the top end, because it is part of an informal straightforward spoken code, which has greater affinity to the simpler positions of the AH (cf. Cheshire *et al.* 1993: 70). In fact, the total of 26 *what*s (including 4 instances of OCOMP outside the AH) come from only 3 of the 14 CMI speakers (namely, CMI-FYD: PSCMI10, CMI-FY0: PSCMI32; CMI-FXV: PSCMI17). (CMI-FYD: PSCMI10 speaks the broadest dialect of all of them; CMI-FY0: PSCMI32 is a broad dialect speaker; CMI-FXV: PSCMI17 a medium one.) Due to the extremely low figures in DO and PCOMP (and the general absence in GEN), my data do not mirror the implicational hierarchy as neatly as Cheshire *et al.*'s. Nonetheless, the 2 speakers (CMI-FYD: PSCMI10 and CMI-FY0: PSCMI32) who use *what* in PCOMP also use it in SUBJ while 1 also uses it in DO. The third speaker (CMI-FXV: PSCMI17), who happens to be the youngest speaker in the sample (born in 1924), uses *what* just once, in subject position. Absolute numbers are given below:

	SUBJ >	DO >	PCOMP >	GEN
what	+	+	+	-
CMI-FYD: PSCMI10:	15	1	1	(-)
CMI-FY0: PSCMI32:	3	-	1	(-)
CMI-FXV: PSCMI17:	1	-	-	(-)
total:	19	1	2	(-)

That is to say, the youngest speaker (who additionally is rated as a medium dialect speaker) uses *what* only at the highest position of the AH, whereas the oldest speaker of the sample (CMI-FY0: PSCMI32, born in 1890—broad dialect speaker) and another similarly old speaker (CMI-FYD: PSCMI10, born around 1900—very broad dialect speaker) have made it down to PCOMP. So, this apparently confirms that 'new users' in the Central Midlands start using *what* via SUBJ, although *what* has obviously belonged to the Central Midlands vernacular for some time. Wright reports it for the Midlands in his *English Dialect Grammar* of 1905 (cf. Wright 1961 (1905): 77; §423). Taking neighboring counties into account, the SED found instances of *what* in Derbyshire and Leicestershire (among others) (cf. Orton & Barry 1969: 250; Orton & Barry 1971: 1071; Orton & Tilling 1969: 298/299; Orton & Tilling

1971: 1324; see also Viereck 1991: S8b and S9). As the acquisition of low positions, such as GEN, serves as a measure of the consolidation of use, it is certainly worth noticing that LAE Map M81 (see Appendix 1) sets out an area around Derbyshire as a *what* area, because 2 instances of *what his*/*what's* are recorded in response to Question IX.9.6 eliciting *whose* for Db2 (Bamford) and Db4 (Youlgreave) (cf. Orton, Sanderson, & Widdowson 1978: M81; see also Orton & Barry 1971: 1072; Viereck 1991: S10).

As evidenced in the CSW frequencies, *what* appears to have an even firmer grip on the Central Southwest (i.e., Eastern Somerset). Indeed, *what* is used in all 12 CSW texts. Of all REL markers, *what* is recorded to be second strongest in the lower positions DO and PCOMP, as well as in SUBJ. Evidence from the SED, in response to Questions III.3.7 and IX.9.6, marks out the Central Southwest (i.e., Eastern Somerset) as a *what* area (cf. Orton & Wakelin 1967: 289; Orton & Wakelin 1968: 1156; see also Viereck 1991: S8b and S10; Poussa 1988: 448). *What* is already attested in West Somerset in the dialect literature of the 19th and early 20th century (cf. Elworthy 1877: 41; see also Kruisinga 1905: 37; Wright (EDG) 1961 (1905): 77).

In East Anglia, *what* is of much longer standing. East Anglian medieval scriptures reveal instances of *what* (cf. Poussa 1991: 296/297). According to Mustanoja, adnominal *what* dates back to the 11th century (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 194), although the combination *all what* is already found in Old English (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 191). In Middle English, *what* is rather infrequent (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 194) and mostly relativizes "antecedents of less definite character, like *all* and *nothing*" (Mustanoja 1960: 194). Both the Lowman Survey, chiefly carried out in 1937/38, and the SED indicate East Anglia (including Essex) as the major *what* area of England, in SUBJ as well as in GEN position (cf. Viereck 1975a: *Maps* 207 and 208; see also Orton & Tilling 1969: 301-303; Orton & Tilling 1971: 1325-1327; Orton, Sanderson, & Widdowson (LAE) 1978: M81; Viereck 1991: S8b, S9, and S10). Although *what* originated in East Anglia, *what* is said not to be thriving in its place of origin and the prognoses of its future are not favorable. Unlike in urban centers, where it carries covert prestige among the younger generation, *what* has the stigma of an old and vulgar REL marker in East Anglia, which makes it unpopular among the younger speakers (cf. Poussa 1988: 443/444; see also Poussa 1996: 530). However, among my traditional dialect speakers, *what* still proves to be the indigenous REL marker of East Anglia: Its overall number is fairly high and *what* can relativize lower positions on the AH with equal ease.

Contrasting with *what*, *as* has become a relic or completely disappeared, such as in the Central Southwest and East Anglia (cf. Wright (EDG) 1961 (1905): 77; see also Viereck 1991: S8a and S9; Kekäläinen 1985: 356 for Suffolk; Ihalainen 1980: 188 and 191 for Somerset; van den Eynden 1992: 537 for Dorset). Where it is still present, *as* seems to have retreated to the higher positions on the AH, from which it will probably exit via the subject position. In addition, *as* appears to be confined to restrictive syntactic environments nowadays. According to Map S5 in the LAE (see Appendix 1), *as* once was THE relative marker of the Midlands. Hence, it is not surprising that the only instance of *as* in PCOMP in the data is found in the Central Midlands.

The overall 11 instances of *as* in CMI originate from 6 speakers (CMI-FYD: PSCMI10, CMI-FYE: PSCMI12, CMI-FXX: PSCMI21, CMI-FXX: PSCMI23, CMI-FY2: PSCMI25; CMI-FYH: PSCMI29), who represent the broader speaking part of the sample. It is interesting to note that *what* and *as* are mutually exclusive among the broad dialect speakers (see diagram below), with the exception of speaker CMI-FYD: PSCMI10, whose very broad idiolect includes both *what* and *as* (17 *what*[95] versus 2 *as*). The three broad speakers CMI-FYE: PSCMI12, CMI-FYH: PSCMI29, and CMI-FY2: PSCMI25 use *as* 5 times (4 in SUBJ; 1 in DO), once (in DO), and once (in PCOMP), respectively, but they do not use *what*. In opposition to that, two other broad speakers (CMI-FY0: PSCMI32 and CMI-H4B: PSCMI35) exhibit 4 tokens and 1 token of *what*, respectively, yet no token of *as*. In other words, *what* seems to be encroaching on *as* among the broader speakers and thus driving *as* out in terms of frequency.[96]

	what	*as*
CMI-FYD: PSCMI10:	17	2
CMI-FYE: PSCMI12:	-	5
CMI-FYH: PSCMI29:	-	1
CMI-FY0: PSCMI32:	4	-
CMI-H4B: PSCMI35:	1	-
total:	22	8

[95] That is, 17 instances of *what* within the AH positions plus 2 instances in OCOMP.

[96] An instance of self-correction from *as* to *what* seems to be symptomatic of the replacement process:

> *CMI-FYD<S: 280>*
> *[...] and of course **this council house [as] [what] this council house [what**'s built now], it wasn't there then, [...].*

Cumbria, which is marked in the main as an *at* area on Map S5 in the LAE, has produced scattered occurrences of *what* and *as* in the last hundred years: *What* is mentioned by Brilioth (1913) as the much less common REL marker of two (the other is *at*) for a village close to the west coast in Cumberland (cf. Brilioth 1913: 109), while *as* is cited as an occasional REL marker (besides *at*) by Reaney (1927) for Penrith, East Cumberland (cf. Reaney 1927: 151). The SED found 1 occurrence of *as* in SED locality Cu4 Threlkeld in central Cumberland, but no occurrence of *what* in the Central North except 1 in North Lancashire (cf. Orton & Halliday 1963: 1083).

In my Central North data, *as* is used only by 2 of the broadest speakers of the set (CNO-AE: AmbAE and CNO-AY: AmbAY—both born in 1905 in the Ambleside area, Cumbria, formerly Westmorland): CNO-AE: AmbAE displays 1 *as* in SUBJ; CNO-AY: AmbAY 2 *as* in SUBJ and 2 in DO.[97] As in the Central Midlands, there is a mutual exclusion situation between *what* and *as* among the broader CNO speakers, in which *what* seems to get the better of *as*:

	what	*as*
CNO-AE: AmbAE:	-	1
CNO-AY: AmbAY:	-	4
CNO-AQ: AmbAQ:	3	-
CNO-BR: AmbBR:	2	-
CNO-DA: AmbDA:	2	-
CNO-DB: AmbDB:	1	-
CNO-Z/AA: AmbZb:	2	-
total:	10	5

12.4. GENITIVE AVOIDANCE

In the overall data, there are only 3 instances of *whose* relativizing the genitive position (≙ 0.12 %). *Whose* was recorded from informant CMI-FXU: PSCMI15 and from informant CMI-FXX: PSCMI20 from the Central Midlands. Both informants' speech performances were rated as moderately dialectal. That is to say, synthetic genitives are avoided in dialect. The application of *whose* demands establishing a coreference relation between the antecedent and

[97] Again, there is an instance of self-correction from *as* to *that*:
CNO-AY p. 6<u AmbAY>
*[...] And I, I says to **a chap** [**as** used], [**that** knew a lot about horses], Jimmy Parkinson at Cartmel, [...].*

a DETERMINER (possessor) of a NP in the RC, which is more complex than a simple 'antecedent—relative noun phrase relationship' (cf. Givón 1993: 133). According to Keenan & Comrie (1977), "unrelativizable NPs can be systematically promoted to higher positions on the AH, whence they can be relativized" (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 69). Thus, dialect speakers may circumvent synthetic genitives by promoting a potential genitive to a higher position on the Accessibility Hierarchy:

1) In theory, speakers could promote a potential synthetic genitive (GEN position) to PCOMP (PCOMP(GEN) position) by using an analytical '*of*-genitive. With possessive genitives, however, this was never done. Johansson (1993) investigated the spoken part of the Birmingham Corpus (1,3 million words; mainly from 1960-1981) with regard to *whose* and *of which* with nonpersonal antecedents (see example sentence [5] below taken from Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1249/1250; my emphases and bracketing). Her findings showed that *whose* is unpopular but *of which* is even more unpopular (cf. Johansson 1993: 112).

***The house [whose** roof was damaged] ...* [5]

***The house** [the roof **of which** was damaged] ...* [5a]
***The house [of which** the roof was damaged] ...*

2) In the literature on dialects, analytical genitives, which are formed with the aid of a resumptive pronoun (see below 13.3. PRONOUN RETENTION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF THE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY), figure very prominently (e.g., Edwards *et al.* 1984: 27, Ihalainen (1985): 66, Miller 1993: 111 for Scottish English, Harris 1993: 150/151 for Irish English; Comrie 1999: 87). In these cases, the relativized NP is promoted from GEN to IO (dative case) position. The possessor is expressed by a resumptive pronoun in the shape of a possessive pronoun. In my data, an analytical genitive appeared just once:

(9) *CMI-FY2<S: 026>*
*But (trunc) y you'd got to watch, there again, that er you didn't exceed **the width of er of your waggon**, [**which**$_{\text{DAT}}$ **its**$_{\text{POSS PRONOUN}}$ maximum limit was er would be er eight foot three, or er eleven foot six, high].*

The fact that the antecedent in this example is nonpersonal may additionally have favored the employment of nonpersonal REL pronoun *which* + neuter possessive pronoun *its* in lieu of *whose*, which is predominantly applied with personal antecedents (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 366).

3) (Re)constructing a proposition as a possessive *have* or *get* construction OR as a paratactic *with* attribute construction are two well-described genitive avoidance strategies in the

literature (e.g., Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1249, Keenan & Comrie 1977: 90/91, Johansson 1993: 112, Ihalainen 1985: 66, Elworthy 1877: 42; Kruisinga 1905: 38). In possessive *have* or *get* constructions, potential genitives are promoted to subject position while a resumptive pronoun expresses the possessor. Attributive *with* constructions avoid relative clause formation altogether. Quirk *et al.*'s example sentence [5] is reformulated into [5d] and [5e], respectively (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1249; my emphases and bracketing):

***The house [whose** roof was damaged] ...* [5]

***The house [that** had **its** roof damaged] ....* [5d]

*The house **with the damaged roof** ....* [5e]

Whereas no clear case of a possessive *have* or *get* construction avoiding GEN position was encountered in my data, there was a handful of attributive *with* constructions. For example:

(10) *EAN-K65<S: 0495>*
*Had a gun, you see, **with a blank, blank cartridge in**.*
[Instead of: *Had **a gun**, you see, [whose cartridge was blank]*.]

My dialect speakers usually resort to paratactic constructions to describe a genitive sense relation, rather than promote a relativized NP up the AH. Common parataxes, *and*-coordinations, and left dislocations are used in the place of a genitive relative clause (see examples (11)-(13) below). Of course, these paratactic constructions are not applied to evade genitive RCs exclusively but subordinate clauses in general, including relative clauses, particularly the nonrestrictive type.

(11) *EAN-H5H<Person: PSEAN4><S: 479>*
And the <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> used a little further past the <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> and then there was another one further up near Cranfield well ***I can't remember the name of that****.* [parataxis]

[Instead of: *[...] there was* ***another one further up near Cranfield*** *well [****whose*** *name I can't remember]*.]

(12) *CNO-DX p. 2<u AmbDX>*
[...] Lucy Rushforth, ***and her father was a farmer down at Esthwaite Hall****, and he had rather an unusual christian name.* [*and*-coordination]

[Instead of: *[...]* ***Lucy Rushforth****, [****whose*** *father was a farmer down at Esthwaite Hall], [...]*.]

(13) *EAN-H5H<S: 345>*
Now the boatmen they used to erm <UNCLEAR> the name, the family of a name of <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">, and the old man, ***the grandfather his name was <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">*** *and [...]*. [left dislocation *the grandfather*]

[Instead of: *[...]* ***the grandfather [whose*** *name was <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">] [...]*.]

12.5. Summary: Keenan & Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy (SUBJ > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP[ARISON]) was adjusted in some respects to fit my analysis of English dialect data: While OCOMP[ARISON] was deleted from the AH and INDIRECT OBJECT relegated to a miscellaneous OTHER group outside of the AH, OBLIQUE CASE became an all-embracing category of prepositional complements (PCOMP). Checked against overall frequencies and frequencies within individual RC formation strategies, my working version of the AH (SUBJ > DO > PCOMP > GEN) proved to be valid in all six dialect regions, with some reservations regarding the zero REL marker. Although zero follows the AH in only two of the six regions—the other four regions confirm the AH starting from DIRECT OBJECT downward—zero is rehabilitated as a primary RC formation strategy because it can relativize subjects in all regions. On the whole, REL particles outnumber REL pronouns, also in the lower positions DO and PCOMP. The lowest position (GENITIVE), however, can only be relativized by the case-marked REL pronoun *whose*, provided that the antecedent is personal. Viewing the nonstandard RC formation strategies *what* and *as* from a diachronic perspective, *what* is on the rise as a supra-regional nonstandard REL marker, whereas *as* is on the decline as a regional dialect REL marker: Since *what* belongs to non-classy informal speech, it is akin to the simpler positions of the AH. *What* enters a region via the subject position and works its way down the AH. The higher its frequencies in the lower positions, the more consolidated is its use in a region. By contrast, *as* exits a region via the subject position. *As* has either

retreated to the higher positions or already disappeared from the scene. Even though potential genitive RCs can be promoted to higher positions (via analytical '*of*'-genitives, resumptive possessive pronouns; possessive *have* or *get* constructions), dialect speakers hardly ever use these mechanisms, but prefer paratactic constructions like common parataxes, *and*-coordinations, and left dislocations.

13. RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS

13.1. Introduction: Below, a general definition of resumptive pronouns is presented, before giving a brief summary of the generative view of resumptives. In 13.3., the pronoun retention strategy will be related to the AH as spelled out in chapter 12 ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY. In this context, two predictions are made—one about the increased likelihood of resumptive pronouns to occur in lower positions on the AH and the other concerning their preference for combining with less explicit relative markers—which will be checked against my data.

13.2. Definition: Resumptive pronouns represent the antecedent within the RC—on top of a representation (of the antecedent) by a relative marker at the beginning of the RC. They surface as pronouns (personal, possessive, demonstrative; existential '*there*') or adverbs (demonstrative), usually in the position they would have in a corresponding declarative clause. Resumptive pronouns point out or reinforce the grammatical function of the relativized NP in the RC by case-marking and position, and they strengthen the coreference relation between the relativized NP and the antecedent by concordance in gender and number.

Within the generative framework, the relativized NP is the NP before it is deleted (pronominalized) and moved to the beginning of the RC in the shape of a *wh*-pronoun, leaving behind a 'trace' in its normal clause position. This trace is the resumptive pronoun. In 'Government and Binding' approaches it is stipulated that the antecedent ('head'), the relative marker ('*wh*-word'), and the resumptive pronoun in the position of the former gap ('trace') are coindexed, which expresses their coreferentiality relation (cf. Kroch 1981: 128/129).

13.3. PRONOUN RETENTION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF THE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY

The examples below illustrate resumptive pronouns in the syntactic positions subject, direct object, prepositional complement, genitive, and (nonprepositional) adverbial, in turn:

(1) *CNO-BR p. 4<u AmbBR>*
*Well, it 's what they fed, you used to put it [i.e. treacle, T.H.] on **hay** [that **it** was mouldy], you know, bad hay, and just sprinkle it on to give a better taste for t' cow to eat, you see.* [resumptive personal pronoun *it* in subject position]

(2) *SCO-GYW<S: 101>*
*And I have lots of letters which I discovered about five years ago, which I thought were probably **letters** [that my father had written **it**], Adam <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">, because his name and my grandfather's name were exactly the same.* [resumptive personal pronoun *it* in direct object position; antecedent and resumptive pronoun are not strictly coreferential as number-markers do not match]

(3) *EAN-HDL<S: 101>*
*[...] it was, you know, looked upon then you were, were public transport and **the public team** [that you belonged to **them**]*. [resumptive personal pronoun *them* in prepositional complement position]

(4) *CMI-FY2<S: 026>*
*But (trunc) y you'd got to watch, there again, that er you didn't exceed **the width of er of your waggon**, [**which its** maximum limit was er would be er eight foot three, or er eleven foot six, high]*. [resumptive possessive pronoun *its* in genitive position]

(5) *EAN-HYC<Person: PSEAN17><S: 0207>*
*they had the stallions down there then you see, they had stallions at **the stud**.*
<S: 0208>
*[[~~at~~] Which we were **there** often]*. [resumptive demonstrative adverb *there* in (nonprepositional) adverbial position; preposition elision of *at* (see below p. 170 1) Preposition elision in chapter 14 *WHICH* AS 'CONNECTOR'?)]

Two predictions are made:

1) The distribution of resumptive pronouns in simple RCs mirrors the accessibility of syntactic positions (Accessibility Hierarchy) such that resumptive pronouns will be more likely to occur the lower a position ranks on the AH (GEN > PCOMP > DO > SUBJ)[98] (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 92).
2) Resumptive pronouns combine more often with invariant relative particles than with relative pronouns because particles are less explicit (see above p. 49 CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS in 5.3. STRUCTURAL MEANS).

It must be said that resumptive pronouns are—generally—extremely rare. The sum of resumptive pronouns in simple RCs (i.e., involving no further level of subordination) is distributed across the six regions as shown in Table 14:

[98] The sign > here in X > Y stands for 'more likely to occur in X than in Y'.

Table 14 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS IN SIMPLE RCS ACROSS REGIONS

REL marker	SUBJ	DO	PCOMP	GEN	(Other:A)		TOTAL
zero	-	1	-	-	-		**1**
that	1	2	1	-	-		**4**
what	1	1	-	-	-		**2**
as	-	-	-	-	-		**-**
who	1	-	-	-	-		**1**
which	5	1	3	1	(3)		**13**
whom	-	-	-	-	-		**-**
whose	-	-	-	-	-		**-**
total	**8**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**(3)**		**21**

Ignoring the column (OTHER:A), which is outside the AH (see below p. 170 1) Preposition elision in chapter 14 *WHICH* AS 'CONNECTOR'?), it must be conceded that not only are both predictions not borne out by the data, but the data actually suggest the opposite of what was predicted!

First, instead of a steadily INcreasing number of resumptive pronouns from subject to genitive position, the number of resumptive pronouns DEcreases with every position.

Second, when all invariant REL particles and both *wh*-pronouns are taken together, twice as many REL pronouns co-occur with resumptive pronouns as REL particles do (ratio 14:7). In addition, the least explicit REL particle, i.e., the zero REL marker (see above p. 49 CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS) combines least often (1 instance) with a resumptive pronoun.

HOW IS THIS TO BE EXPLAINED, provided that the AH also applies to the pronoun retention strategy, which it clearly did in Keenan & Comrie's (1977) cross-linguistic investigation (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 92/93).—Admittedly, they were primarily concerned with the occurrence/nonoccurrence of a resumptive pronoun in a position within a language, not with the number of occurrences in each position. Statements on frequencies of resumptive pronouns in individual positions were only mentioned in passing (cf. Keenan 1985: 146-148; see also Comrie & Keenan 1979: 663). Second Language Acquisition, however, provides evidence for an inverse relation between resumptive pronouns and the AH (except for the genitive position) (cf. Hyltenstam 1984: 47-51; see also Gass & Selinker 1994: 113/114).

For one thing, the overall number of 21 resumptive pronouns is not particularly impressive. In fact, the frequency of resumptive pronouns in my corpus is as low as 4.375 occurrences per 100,000 words approximately[99], so the scarcity of the phenomenon might be responsible for a skewed distribution.

Secondly, new starts in favor of a paratactic construction (following the abandonment of the commenced RC) might be mistaken for applications of a resumptive pronoun, as the two phenomena are difficult to distinguish, especially in the face of missing prosody or explanative background information about the speaker's intention. This is particularly true for resumptives in subject position:

(6) *EAN-H5G<S: 846>*
That was our marking, all our ships used to have the blue and er I think blue <UNCLEAR> and yellow in the square, cos they hired these <UNCLEAR> the people who do er you know suppose hire them off now would be the erm the Dutch people cos they're ***the people*** *[what] er, they deal in all that type of thing, big dredging, that's how Rotterdam was built <vocal desc="clears throat">* [new start after '*er*', starting with *they*, which introduces a new parataxis]

(7) *SCO-GYW<S: 138>*
We then got the, the agency for Morris, which was a very popular car and erm we also got ***the agency for Austins****, [which] er, it came about with father being interested in a hiring car, the Austin Twenty, he thought it was, it was the best that could be got.* [new start after '*er*', starting with *it*, which introduces a new parataxis]

(8) *SCO-GYW<S: 169>*
And we had erm we, there was a few changes during that time, we used to get troops coming in and occupying the classroom, and we (UNCLEAR) maybe, at the very early days I can remember having to go to the <gap cause=anonymization desc=address> Street School and also ***the <gap cause=anonymization desc=address> Street Hall*** *[which (trunc) belong] that was a church hall.* [new start after truncated *belong*, starting with *that*, which introduces a new parataxis]

My general policy on this issue was to dismiss all examples containing some indication of a new start, such as punctuation, pause fillers, or self-correction (e.g., in the form of abandoned elements like truncated words). In the examples above, the RCs were abandoned after the REL marker in (6) and (7) and after the truncation in (8). Hesitation on the part of the speaker is indicated via a pause in the flow of speech (transcribed as a comma) or via a pause filler (like '*er*') until the speaker becomes reoriented and starts a new parataxis with another subject.

[99] Number of resumptive pronouns (21), multiplied by 100,000 words, divided by total number of words (approx. 80,000 words per region; i.e., 480,000 words).

Consequently, all examples lacking any such indication of a new start were counted as instantiating resumptive pronouns (like examples (9)-(18) below). This policy might be (partially) responsible for an inflated number of resumptives in subject position. Below, I will cite all 8 instances of a resumptive pronoun in subject position and 2 instances of a resumptive pronoun in PCOMP position—which would also allow an interpretation as a new start:

(9) *CSW-SRLM 132<T 1140>*
Yeah. I was getting ready to go to school one morning, he said, "Where you going today?" I said, "Going to school, dad." "No", he said, "you gotta come with me." And we walked from Barton St David down, round, well, ??? down round that corner and well on down to Catsham. Up through Southwood, up to Lottisham. And ***Mrs Mapstone****, [what* ***they*** *live up here to, where the,*
Q: MUSEUM IS....
museum is]. Er, to her father that did, had the farm sale. And, er, course we went up there and stayed there till the sale was finished. Well then father took on some cattle then, to deliver, and we finished up out to Mr Allen's farm sale. We took some cattle and we finished up out to North Wootton, that night.

[resumptive personal pronoun *they* in subject position; antecedent and resumptive pronoun are not strictly coreferential: semantics and number concord do not match; resumptive *they* refers to 'the Mapstone clan', living at the 'Mapstone place', which is represented by *Mrs Mapstone*]

(10) *SCO-K7G<S: 064>*
All local agreements up and down the country *[which* ***it*** *counted to eighty odds] were all scrubbed and there was what you call a national agreement established to cover the whole of Scotland [...].*

[resumptive personal pronoun *it* in subject position; antecedent and resumptive pronoun are not strictly coreferential: number-markers do no match]

(11) *CSW-SRLM 107<T 1140>*
Q: WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY SPREAD?
In, er, in pans and that, you know, about a, about a this deep. Well, they had what they did call a lead in those days.
Q: DID YOU USE ***THE LEAD*** *AT YOUR FARM?*
Yes, for to, for to put the milk in [which ***it*** *was about of that deep].*
Q: ABOUT EIGHT INCHES DEEP.

[resumptive personal pronoun *it* in subject position; antecedent is not entirely clear, but most probably it is *THE LEAD* in the interviewer's question]

(12) *SCO-GYU<S: 224>*
I can remember quite vividly the old tramcars running there er day and night, with the last service leaving the outskirts of Edinburgh around about er twelve er eleven thirty and you <trunc> g have about ten minutes or so to reach ***the depots*** *[which* ***there*** *were many and varied <UNCLEAR> at this particular time].*

[existential *there* is resumptive pronoun in subject position (preferred analysis); alternatively, this might exemplify preposition elision of stranded partitive GEN preposition *of*; compare to example (18) below]

(13) *SCO-K7G<S: 195>*
*They had **maintenance men of their own** of course [who **they** seen [that all the machine was guarded and everything else]]*.

[resumptive personal pronoun *they* in subject position, agreeing in plural number with relativized NP in RC, in combination with gender-marked *wh*-pronoun *who*]

(14) *CNO-BR p. 4<u AmbBR>*
*Well, it 's what they fed, you used to put it [i.e. treacle, T.H.] on **hay** [that **it** was mouldy], you know, bad hay, and just sprinkle it on to give a better taste for t' cow to eat, you see.*

[resumptive personal pronoun *it* in subject position, pointing out singular number of relativized NP in RC, in combination with REL particle *that*]

(15) *CMI-FYE<S: 228>*
*So I went and left I got a job at **<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">** [which **that** was one of <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name">'s]*.

[resumptive demonstrative pronoun *that* in subject position (preferred analysis); alternatively, *that* could also be analyzed as a vacuous conjunction in the Middle English REL marker relic *which that*]

(16) *HDL<S: 086>*
*If he agreed it he signed it and put the <trunc> **to [total,** T.H.] [which **that** was called a total waybill]*.

[resumptive demonstrative pronoun *that* in subject position (preferred analysis); alternatively, *that* could also be analyzed as a vacuous conjunction in the Middle English REL marker relic *which that*]

(17) *CMI-FY2<S: 003>*
*Now the first job he did was to get you well acquainted with **the tools**, [which we had quite a number of **them**]*.

[resumptive personal pronoun *them* after stranded partitive genitive preposition *of* (preferred analysis); alternative analysis: change to parataxis in the middle of the clause, i.e., to consider *we had* as a clause element which belongs to two adjacent clauses. It is the subject and verb in the preceding RC (*which* <u>*we had*</u>) and simultaneously the subject and verb of an ensuing main clause (<u>*we had*</u> *quite a number of them*). Bracketing would look as follows: *[...]* ***the tools,*** *[which [<u>we had</u>] quite a number of them]*]

(18) *CMI-FYH<S: 556>*
*So after a fortnight, thereabouts, the union had a meeting and decided that **everybody in the industry** like, [which of course there was only about a thousand of **us** any way], everybody would (trunc) s would stop until this man could start at work.*

[resumptive personal pronoun *us* after stranded partitive genitive preposition *of* (preferred analysis); alternative analysis: existential *there* is resumptive pronoun in subject position; compare to example (12) above]

The preponderance of resumptive pronouns involving *which* in general and in subject position in particular is conspicuous (compare Peitsara's (2002) examples in her Suffolk corpus (cf.

Peitsara 2002: 175) and Ihalainen's (1980) in his Somerset corpus (cf. Ihalainen 1980: 190/191)).

However, I would not like to discard examples (15) and (16) with *which that*, although they are possibly analyzable as instances of the REL marker relic *which that* found in Middle English, where *that* is a vacuous conjunction. The occurrence of analogous combinations of REL marker and resumptive pronoun in subject position—like *which it*, *who they*, *what they*, or *that it* in the examples above—for which an analysis of the second element as a conjunction is not possible (since the resumptive pronoun takes the shape of a personal pronoun), makes a special interpretation for *which that* unwarranted. Nor is the occurrence of a demonstrative pronoun like *that* figuring as a resumptive pronoun (in *which that*) unusual (see below p. 160 example (21) in 13.5. FURTHER EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSES VIA RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS). As mentioned in the definition of resumptive pronouns in 13.2., resumptive pronouns can take on the shape of personal, possessive, or DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS or adverbs. Furthermore, in (15) and (16), the demonstrative pronoun *that* with its anaphorical and deictic meaning fits the linguistic context better than a semantically empty conjunction would. In (15), *that* refers back to an entity denoted by the proper name (which is anonymized in the transcript) and singles that entity out as one possession of a possessor (deictic force). In (16), the demonstrative takes up and amends the incomplete antecedent (truncation) by asserting the referent in a deictic manner.

In contradistinction to what Jespersen (1927) says about Standard English, namely that pied-piping is mandatory in partitive genitives (cf. Jespersen 1927: 188; see also Huddleston & Pullum: 1041) (see above p. 125 in 11. PREPOSITION PLACEMENT), examples (17) and (18) seem to document that stranding of the preposition '*of*' in partitive genitives is permitted in dialect.[100] Even if (12) were interpreted as exemplifying a resumptive in PCOMP(partitive GEN) position—'*of*' would be either elided or covered in the unclear passage—we would do away with one example in subject position, yet the dominance of resumptives in subject position and the preponderance of *which* (*wh*-pronouns) versus REL particles would remain.

[100] Peitsara (2002) detected another such example, of a stranded partitive '*of*', in her corpus of Suffolk dialect (cf. Peitsara 2002: 175):

> *there was a chaff-cutter = that used to go behind the threshin'-machine an' an' cut the chaff for the cattle an' the horses at the farms, WHICH o' course is none o' THAT done now.*

13.3.1. (Non)Restrictiveness as a factor

Checking the restrictiveness/nonrestrictiveness of the *which* examples in subject position, and then, of the *which* examples in all other positions, it turns out that they are without exception nonrestrictive. Thus, the preponderance of *which* with a resumptive pronoun (contradicting Prediction 2) appears to correlate to the nonrestrictiveness of the RCs. In dialect the REL particle *what*, which combines with personal and nonpersonal antecedents (see above p. 115 in 10. PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY), is also available for syntactically nonrestrictive environments (compare example (9) above; the other *what* example in DO is also nonrestrictive) (see below Table 8 RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS ACROSS REGIONS). *Which*, however, is THE dominant REL marker in nonpersonal nonrestrictives (see below Table 8) and a viable option in personal nonrestrictives (compare example (18) above). (In descending order of frequency, the REL pronoun *who* (for personal antecedents) (compare example (13) above), the REL particle *that*, and the zero REL particle (both for personal and nonpersonal antecedents) can also occur in nonrestrictive environments (see below Table 8). By contrast, the restrictive subject RC in example (14) selects the REL particle *that*. The 3 restrictive examples in DO and the one in PCOMP equally opt for REL particles (3 x *that*; 1 x zero).

Table 8 RESTRICTIVENESS/ NONRESTRICTIVENESS ACROSS REGIONS (Repetition)

		RESTRICTIVE (r)	NONRESTRICTIVE (nr)		TOTAL
REL marker		**N** [% of all r][101]	**N** [% of all nr]		**N** [%]
zero [% of r/nr zero]		**687** [34.16] [97.31]	**19** [3.79] [2.69]		**706** [100.00]
that [% of r/nr *that*]		**942** [46.84] [96.22]	**37** [7.39] [3.78]		**979** [100.00]
what [% of r/nr *what*]		**113** [5.62] [66.47]	**57** [11.38] [33.53]		**170** [100.00]
as [% of r/nr *as*]		**19** [0.95] [100]	**0** [0] [0]		**19** [100.00]
who [% of r/nr *who*]		**179** [8.9] [70.75]	**74** [14.77] [29.25]		**253** [100.00]
which [% of r/nr *which*]		**68** [3.38] [17.99]	**310** [61.88] [82.01]		**378** [100.00]
whom [% of r/nr *whom*]		**0** [0] [0]	**4** [0.8] [100]		**4** [100.00]
whose [% of r/nr *whose*]		**3** [0.15] [100]	**0** [0] [0]		**3** [100.00]
total		**2011** [100.00] [Σ = 80.06]	**501** [100.00] [Σ = 19.94]		**2512** [Σ = 100.00]

Recalling that Keenan and Comrie set up the AH on the basis of RESTRICTIVE RCs with definite antecedents (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 64), the prediction about the distribution of the pronoun retention strategy does not hold in a situation of abundant nonrestrictive RCs. If all nonrestrictive examples of resumptives were discarded, we would be left with a mere handful of restrictive examples (1 zero RC; 4 *that* RCs), which would neither save nor thwart Prediction 1. The question arises why resumptive pronouns in my data mainly appear in nonrestrictive RCs. The answer obviously lies with the predilection of resumptives to appear in difficult and complex syntactic environments (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 92). Since nonrestrictives are atypical of spoken language and uncommon or even alien to traditional dialect, their application demands the help of a resumptive pronoun, more than restrictives do. The 11 speakers who use resumptives in nonrestrictive RCs are medium to broad dialect speakers, who do make use of *wh*-pronouns.—On the whole, the broader speakers use *wh*-pronouns only in nonrestrictive RCs (CMI-FYE: PSCMI12, CMI-FY2: PSCMI25, CSW-SRLM 132); the medium speakers also use them in restrictive RCs (SCO-GYW: PSSCO18, SCO-K7G: PSSCO32, SCO-GYU: PSSCO1, EAN-HDL: PSEAN19).—In sum, my

[101] Percentages were rounded to two digits after the point, which might cause occasional incongruence with the total sum of percentages.

assumption is that dialect speakers resort to resumptive pronouns in constructing nonrestrictive RCs, to cope with a linguistic complexity with which they are rather unfamiliar.

With respect to Prediction 1, why do resumptives in nonrestrictive RCs, in particular those involving *which*, not follow the hierarchy for pronoun retention in restrictive RCs (GEN > PCOMP > DO > SUBJ)? Or, to be more precise, what causes this abundance of nonrestrictive *which* resumptives in the subject position?

Dialect speakers who have less practice in constructing a nonrestrictive RC fall back on the most basic type of (nonrestrictive) RC: the one which relativizes the subject position. In Keenan & Comrie's words, "subject relatives are psychologically simpler than nonsubject relatives" (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 95). That is to say, speakers start a nonrestrictive RC by employing the standard REL marker *which* in subject position and additionally reinforce the syntactic position of the relativized NP in the RC via a resumptive pronoun. Hence, the predominance of the subject position within the pronoun retention strategy—or even a reverse order of syntactic positions from what was expected therein (if figures were higher in the lower positions of the AH in Table 15 below)—arises from the dominance of the subject function in the general AH, which spills onto the AH of the pronoun retention strategy. In this sense, the general AH (SUBJ > DO > PCOMP > GEN) overrides the pronoun retention AH (GEN > PCOMP > DO > SUBJ) in nonrestrictive environments.

Table 15 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS IN NONRESTRICTIVE RCS, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON *WHICH*

REL marker	SUBJ	DO	PCOMP	GEN	(Other:A)		TOTAL
what	1	1	-	-	-		**2**
which	5	1	3	1	(3)		**13**
total	**6**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**(3)**		**15**

13.4. Summary: In this chapter, two predictions about the occurrence of resumptive pronouns in simple RCs were put to test. Both predictions, as formulated on page 149, are falsified by the data: First, the pronoun retention strategy does NOT become more prominent the lower a position is located on the AH but its number of occurrences INcreases with every position from the lowest to the highest position (contradicting Prediction 1), thus mirroring the general AH (SUBJ > DO > PCOMP > GEN). Second, resumptive pronouns do NOT prefer relative particles on the ground of an inferior explicitness compared with relative

pronouns (contradicting Prediction 2). REL pronouns appeared twice as often in combination with resumptives than REL particles. However, Keenan & Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy with regard to the pronoun retention strategy is not invalidated by these unexpected results. Keeping in mind that the AH was set up for RESTRICTIVE RCs with definite antecedents (to which type of RC they had limited their investigations), it rather points to the underlying explanation for this apparent dilemma: The frequency with which the REL pronoun *which* occurs, particularly in subject function, is outstanding. As *which* tends to be the nonrestrictive REL marker par excellence, a check on the (non)restrictiveness of the examples revealed that *which* in every single example resulted from the nonrestrictiveness of the RCs, whereas the few restrictive RCs indeed opted for a REL particle. That means, dialect speakers appear to seek the support of a resumptive pronoun in unfamiliar and difficult syntactic environments such as nonrestrictive RCs, which are commonly formed with the REL marker *which*, which in turn causes the disproportion of REL pronouns to REL particles in my data. In other words, the nonrestrictiveness of the instances is responsible for the falsification of Prediction 2, as it was formulated on page 149. Leaving all nonrestrictive examples aside, Prediction 2 would be perfectly borne out, since all restrictive instances combine with REL particles. Even so, there ARE only 5 restrictive instances in the corpus, so Prediction 2 would hold on the basis of 5 (!) examples (1 zero; 4 *that*s), which does not make much sense.

Since dialect speakers tread on rather unfamiliar ground when constructing a nonrestrictive RC, (in addition to seeking the assistance of a resumptive pronoun) they will revert to the more basic types of nonrestrictive RCs, of which the most basic is a RC relativizing on the subject position. Thus, Prediction 1 is undermined. This explains the abundance of (nonrestrictive) subject relative clauses within the pronoun retention strategy. Accordingly, the falsification of Prediction 1 and 2 results from the inclusion of nonrestrictive RCs. (On the other hand, when barring instances of resumptive pronouns in nonrestrictive RCs from the investigation, the frequency of resumptive pronouns is reduced from approximately 5 instances per 100,000 words to about one sole instance per 100,000 words, as resumptive pronouns represent a very scarce syntactic phenomenon in general.) The pronoun retention strategy reflects the AH in reverse order in RESTRICTIVE contexts, yet it is not or not necessarily transferable to nonrestrictive RCs.

13.5. FURTHER EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSES VIA RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS

13.5.1. Introduction: In this subchapter, focus will be put on the occurrence and function of resumptive pronouns in complex structures like unconventional coordinate RCs and further embedded RCs. We will witness how resumptive pronouns enable relativization of positions inside other subordinate clause types, thus crossing more than one clause boundary, and how resumptives can contribute to the understanding of so-called 'subject in partially object environment' RCs.

13.5.2. UNCONVENTIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS VIA RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS

According to Keenan & Comrie (1977), pronoun retention enables (or facilitates) relativization in(to) "'difficult' environments" (Keenan & Comrie 1977: 92) such as "coordinate NPs, other relative clauses, indirect questions, and even sentence complements of NPs" (*ibidem*; see also Comrie 1989: 140/141 and 147; Comrie 1999: 89; Keenan 1985: 155/156; Hawkins 1999: 265). In spelling out the relativized NP in its normal clause position, resumptive pronouns maintain the coreference relation between antecedent and REL marker after intervening clauses or in otherwise deviant coordinate RCs.

In my data, example (19) and (20) below illustrate multiple RCs in which the REL marker serves different grammatical functions within the various coordinated RCs. Without a resumptive pronoun this would be prohibited by a coordinate construction constraint. With the aid of a resumptive pronoun, which explicates the changed grammatical function of the REL marker, the coordinate construction constraint is overcome so that these disparate juncts can be linked via *and*-coordination:

(19) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 065>*
Er things like er <pause> crowbars and bull croppers and er rescue ropes and lines and things of that kind, which are very very simple, ***stuff*** *[∅ you would buy in a hardware shop and probably be able to manage with* ***it****]*. [The zero REL marker serves direct object function in the first coordinated RC, whereas it serves prepositional complement function in the second coordinated RC; the resumptive pronoun *it* indicates the change of grammatical function of the zero marker from the first to the second RC when it surfaces as prepositional complement after the stranded preposition *with*]

(20) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 038>*
[...] you know ***the decontamination side, the clearing up, the protecting of the environment from toxic chemicals*** *er [which we've all heard about in newspapers, and read reports and seen* ***it*** *on television], [...].* [*Which* serves prepositional complement function in the first two RCs (stranded preposition *about* is omitted in the second RC); *which* changes to direct object function in the third RC, where the resumptive pronoun *it* explicates the changed grammatical function of the REL marker]

Example (21) below portrays how the presence of a resumptive pronoun in prepositional complement position keeps up the coreference relation between antecedent and REL marker after an intervening clause parenthesis (*I'm now retired*). Example (22) exhibits a resumptive pronoun in a further embedded coordinate *to*-infinitive clause indicating different grammatical functions (*if you had time [to, to think about*$_{\text{PCOMP}}$ *{mm} and study* ***them***$_{\text{DIRECT OBJECT}}$*]*), in addition to a resumptive pronoun after these subordinate clauses which separate the REL marker *that* from the remainder of the RC (*that [if you had time [to, to think about {mm} and study them]],* ***they****'d have,* ***they****'d have done, gone by the board*):

(21) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 031>*
[...] so that that was ***quite an interesting area*** *[which, even now [I'm now retired] I still have a little hand in* ***that****] [...].*

(22) *NIR-35<I MM17>*
[...] But, eh... {PAUSE} there're ***quite a few old sayings, and one thing and another, in the country****, [that [if you had time [to, to think about {mm} and study* ***them****]], **they**'d have,* ***they****'d have done, gone by the board] {ahah}. [...]* [resumptive pronoun *them* in further embedded *and*-coordinated *to*-infinitive clauses indicates change of grammatical function from prepositional complement (PCOMP(OP)) to direct object; REL marker *that* functions as subject in the RC, which is reinforced by resumptive pronoun *they* after interrupting subordinate clauses (after a false start in which REL marker *that* would function as direct object: *that they'd have done*)]

Resumptive pronouns allow the construction of complex sentences by relativizing into otherwise inaccessible syntactic positions involving different levels of subordination. Thus, the presence of a mental prop in the shape of a resumptive pronoun gives rise to a type of complex RC in dialect which is not possible in Standard English.[102] Quirk *et al.* (1985) would call both of the following instances of further embedded RCs an 'anacoluthon' and disqualify them as deviant due to the "double pronominalization of the antecedent" (Quirk *et al.* 1985:

[102] Huddleston & Pullum (2002) take a more lenient stance toward the acceptability of such constructions, saying: "Acceptability seems to diminish quite rapidly with increasing complexity" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1091) and "[g]aps ['extraction site' in generative theory] are permitted in open interrogatives only under quite restrictive conditions" (*ibidem*).

1299) in the form of a REL marker AND a personal pronoun (cf. *ibidem*; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1091; *footnote* 25).

Example (23) shows self-correction from a standard further embedded RC, in which the conjunction *that* is obligatorily omitted because the REL marker *that* assumes subject function in the RC (***our own*** *[that$_{SUBJECT}$ we know ~~THAT~~ are]*) (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1298; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1083-1085[103]; Comrie 1989: 162[104]; Comrie 1998: 65[105] and 80; van den Eynden 2002: 186 and 191), to a nonstandard further embedded RC, which shows relativization into an indirect question clause. The latter RC explicates the sense relation between the (more) superordinate clause and the subordinate clause (*how* ***they*** *are bred*) by the conjunction *how* and spells out the subject of the 'deep-embedded' clause via a resumptive pronoun (***they***). While there is relativization across one clause boundary in example (23), in example (24) there is relativization across two—first into an interrogative clause, then into a conditional clause, in which the resumptive pronoun *them* emerges as prepositional complement. Adherents of 'Government and Binding Theory' would speak of relativization into a second (or even further) bracket, that is to say, WH-movement across two or more barriers (cf. Haegeman 1994: 564), which constitutes a 'subjacency violation' that is overcome by the presence of a resumptive pronoun (cf. Haegeman 1994: 410; see also Suñer 1998: 335/336):

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[103] "Embedded subject gaps are permitted only in bare content clauses, i.e. declaratives without the subordinator *that*" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1083). Their examples [16] i and ii illustrate the point (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1083):

He's the man$_i$ [*they think [*$\__i$ *attacked her*]]. [bare declarative]
**He's the man*$_i$ [*they think [that*$_i$ *attacked her*]]. [expanded declarative]

[104] "In English, non-subjects of subordinate clauses are freely relativizable, while subjects can be relativized only if there is no conjunction:

the girl [that you think (that) I love]
*the girl [that you think (*that) loves me]*" (Comrie 1989: 162).

[105] After presenting his examples (20) and (22), Comrie (1998) remarks the following:

(20) **the man [who I think [that – has left]]*
(22) *the man [who I think [– has left]]*

"In (20), the attempt has been made to extract the subject of a subordinate clause that is introduced by an overt conjunction (complementizer), in this case that [sic], and the result is ungrammatical. Thus, English has a constraint against this extraction. The fact that this is a syntactic constraint is strongly suggested by the grammaticality of (22), which differs from (20) only in that the conjunction that has been omitted; (22) is perfectly well-formed in English." (Comrie 1998: 65).

(23) *CNO-AE p. 5<u AmbAE>*
Yes, aye, or breed off ***our own*** *[that*$_{\text{SUBJECT}}$ *we know* ~~*THAT*~~ *are] – [that we know [how* ***they*** *are bred]]*. [false start: Standard omission of conjunction *that* after *we know* since REL marker *that* serves subject (passive) function ('subject in partially object environment' (see below)); however, this false start is abandoned for an interrogative clause after *we know*; new start (self-correction): 'double pronominalization of the antecedent' by REL marker *that* and resumptive pronoun *they*; *they* is subject (passive) in a further embedded interrogative clause]

(24) *CNO-Z/AA p. 16<u AmbZb>*
[...] When I went to school we had ***all sorts of games****, [which the children of now wouldn't know [what you were talking about [if you talked about* ***them****]]]. [...].* [resumptive pronoun *them* in prepositional complement (object of preposition) function in further (first interrogative clause, second conditional clause) embedded conditional clause]

The following instances below, (25) through (28), exemplify resumptive pronouns in so-called 'subject in partially object environments' (cf. Quirk 1968 (1957): 101). That means, the relativized subject NP in the 'deep-embedded' clause, which itself functions as the direct object of the (more) superordinate clause, surfaces as a REL marker at the beginning of this complex structure:

(25a) *SCO-K6L<S: 064>*
[...] He used to tell me ***about his country*** *[that* ***[****you know****]*** ***it*** *was taken over by the Russians] and then it'd be taken over by the Germans and You know what I mean.* [REL marker *that* in subject (passive) function is resumed as *it* (resumptive pronoun) after interjection *you know*; REL marker *that* introduces a nonrestrictive RC]

(25b) *SCO-K6L<S: 064>*
[...] He used to tell me ***about his country*** *[that [****[****you know****]*** *[*~~*THAT*~~ ***it*** *was taken over by the Russians]]] and then it'd be taken over by the Germans and You know what I mean.* [further embedding of object clause after insertion *you know*; conjunction *that* is obligatorily omitted due to subject function of REL marker *that*; instead, there is the resumptive pronoun *it* in subject (passive) function]

(25c) *SCO-K6L<S: 064>*
[...] He used to tell me ***about his country*** *[****[****that [you know****]*** *[****it*** *was taken over by the Russians]]] and then it'd be taken over by the Germans and You know what I mean.* [REL marker *that* as direct object of *you know*; resumptive pronoun *it* has subject (passive) function in further embedded object clause]

Different ways of bracketing in example (25) render different interpretations visible: In (25a) *you know* is analyzed as an interjection after which the (simple) RC is continued; the REL marker *that* has subject (passive) function, as well as the resumptive pronoun *it*. This analysis of resumptive pronoun placement without further embedding would receive more support if there were some indication, like commas or dashes, that the speaker had paused before and after *you know*. In (25b) *you know* is taken to be an insertion in the RC upon which the

following object clause is dependent. The REL marker *that* and the resumptive pronoun *it* in the further embedded object clause assume subject (passive) function. In (25c) the REL marker *that* is felt to be the direct object of *you know*. The resumptive pronoun *it* in subject (passive) function is further embedded in the object clause.

Syntax and/or semantics might lend support to one (variant b) or the other (variant c) interpretation. Example (25) is interpreted as instantiating variant b in my analysis. In (26) below, an interpretation of the REL marker functioning as object is ruled out, since the superordinate clause *he was sure* requires a prepositional complement instead of a direct object:

(26) *NIR-20<I MS16>*
[...] And he come home one night, and he had ***two wee canaries****, [which [****[****he was sure****]*** *[was hens]]]. [...]* [REL marker *which* has subject function; *he was sure* is bracketed as an insertion; bracketing *which* as the direct object of *he was sure* is prohibited because *he was sure* demands a prepositional complement OR this is regarded as a case of preposition elision of the preposition '*of*' in *he was sure of*]

Irrespective of the different ways of bracketing or the issue whether the REL marker functions as the subject of the RC (preferred analysis) or whether there is something 'object-like' about it, the "redundant" resumptive pronoun, serving as an overt subject in the 'deep-embedded' object clause, makes these complex sentences more explicit, as in:

(27) *SCO-GYW<S: 462>*
And they had a what they called the (UNCLEAR) twenty four girls dancing you know, and also they, they had the, ***a film in the show*** *[which probably [I think [****it*** *was a Bing Crosby film [that was on]]]]*. [resumptive pronoun *it* as overt subject in further embedded object clause; (UNLESS abandoned RC after *which probably* and paratactic continuation with *I think* + object clause)]

(28) *SCO-GYW<S: 512>*
I was the only one who stood.
<S: 513>
In that second ward.
<S: 514>
Which was ***a ward*** *[which [[I would say] [****it*** *was built about the (trunc) ninet the eighteen seventies]]]*. [resumptive pronoun *it* as overt subject in further embedded object clause; REL marker *which* clearly seems NOT to be the object of *I would say*, which warrants the insertion bracketing of *I would say*]

In addition, dialects may violate the prescriptive rule that the conjunction *that* has to be omitted if the REL marker serves subject function (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1298; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1083-1085) (see above p. 161; *footnotes* 103-105), presumably to prevent that *that* be mistaken for the subject of the further embedded clause (cf. Quirk *et al.*

1985: 1050; *note* [d]; see also Comrie 1999: 84/85).[106] In example (29) below, the first RC modifying *the first one* is constructed according to the rules of further embedded 'subject in partially object environment' RCs in Standard English. The second RC modifying *the one* appears to ignore two prescriptive rules at once: First, the RC seems to lack a subject, i.e., the zero REL marker is ungrammatical in subject function (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1250); second, the conjunction *that* is NOT omitted. While the occurrence of the zero REL marker as subject in such further embedded RCs is also noted for Standard English (cf. Quirk 1968 (1957): 102 for Standard British English; see also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1085; Graf 1996: 58/59 for Standard American English), it is regarded as an undesirable weak point in Standard English, which is "concealed by a push-down [further embedding] element" (Schmied 1993a: 87). The presence of the conjunction *that* when the REL marker has subject function is ungrammatical in Standard English, but recorded in dialectal speech (e.g., van den Eynden 1993: 162 for Dorset), which has preserved a historically older, less restrictive way of using the conjunction *that* (cf. van den Eynden 1993: 224). Alternatively, if *that* were taken for a demonstrative pronoun in (29), the situation of a missing subject in the RC would be redeemed by the presence of a resumptive pronoun in subject position in the further embedded object clause.

(29) *NIR-20<I MS17>*
[...] So I don't know whether now I have two males instead of the, ***the first one*** *[that [Herbie thought [was a male]]], we're not so sure, but* ***the one*** *[∅ [he thought [****that*** *wasn't a male]]], is a male. [...]*

[first RC: REL marker *that* is counted as subject in 'subject in partially object environment'; *Herbie thought* introduces a dependent, further embedded object clause in which a conjunction *that* is obligatorily omitted since the REL marker *that* functions as subject; second RC: the zero REL marker fills the subject position in 'subject in partially object environment'; when the REL marker has subject function, the presence of the conjunction *that* in an object clause is ungrammatical in Standard English, but not uncommon in dialect; IF *that* were taken for a demonstrative pronoun instead of a vacuous conjunction, the RC would receive a subject in the shape of a resumptive pronoun]

[106] Van den Eynden Morpeth (2002) remarks on the cross-linguistic difference between Dutch, which allows the complementizer in this linguistic context, as well as an overt subject introducing the RC, and English: In English, the relativizer functions as the subject of the following RC (and not as a constituent of the superordinate 'bridge clause') (cf. van den Eynden Morpeth 2002: 191). By contrast, "[i]n Dutch, relativisation within the main clause [superordinate/'bridge clause'] thus seems to be far more common than relativisation in the embedded clause. Dutch does not have the abovementioned subject vs. non-subject asymmetry" (van den Eynden Morpeth 2002: 191), as English shows this peculiarity only in embedded subject RCs.

13.5.3. Summary: It has been demonstrated how the presence of resumptive pronouns opens up new possibilities for relativization into deeper levels of subordination or across coordinate structures by holding up the coreference relation between antecedent and REL marker after intervening clauses and explicating the grammatical function of the relativized NP. Resumptives can overcome the coordinate construction constraint by expressing the change in grammatical function of the REL marker in a latter coordinate RC. Resumptives lift restrictions on the number of clause boundaries (we saw relativization across one and two clause boundaries) and on the types of clauses (for example, interrogative and conditional clauses) into which relativization can reach. By overtly indicating the grammatical function of subject of the relativized NP in the 'deep-embedded' clause, resumptive pronouns enhance the explicitness in 'subject in partially object environment' RCs and can even fill the subject slot in subjectless zero RCs in this syntactic environment.

13.6. NONREDUCTION

A special variant of 'resumptive' is the **nonreduction** of the relativized NP, that is, the antecedental NP, or part of it, surfaces within the RC. Obviously, a nonreduced NP is more explicit than the proper resumptive. For this reason it is situated to the left of proper resumptive pronouns on the CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS on p. 49 in 5.3. STRUCTURAL MEANS. For example:

(30) *CSW-SRLM 224 p. 88<u CA>*
*[...] These are **the points**, [what we used to stand them on **the points**], yes. [...]*

(31) *SCO-GYW<S: 484>*
*And then they, the one where Johnny Weismuller was, it was **a lake in front of a great arena** [which they did a lot of you know, swimming about in **the lake** and the different formations].*

(32) *EAN-H5G<S: 883>*
*[...] well then there used to be wire and used to have **a big wheel in top**, [which you couldn't go over **the top**] and [...].*

(33) *EAN-H5H<Person: PSEAN4><S: 425>*
*[...] cos you got **a radio tower on the dock** now [which every ship [that come into port or leave the port] have to go through **the radio tower**] and [...].* [multiple RC: further embedded *that* RC consisting of two coordinated juncts linked via *or*, inside *which* RC]

(34) *SCO-GYW<S: 552>*
*And of course the, with the boxes being all round the side, the dressing boxes, this was outmoded, we needed a building at **the side**, [which there was sufficient room **~~at~~** [to build something **at the side**] [because we had a park at the side of it then]].* [stranded (or even fronted: ***~~at~~*** *which there was sufficient room*) preposition *at* was extracted from superordinate RC across one bracket into the further embedded *to*-infinitive clause together with the nonreduced NP]

Nonreduced NPs should be subject to the same principles as resumptive pronouns. In other words, Prediction 1 and 2, set out for resumptive pronouns on page 149, should hold for them, too: First, the frequency of occurrence of nonreduced NPs should reflect the AH in the reverse order (GEN > PCOMP > DO > SUBJ). Second, nonreduced NPs should co-occur more often with REL particles than with REL pronouns. On the basis of only a handful of clear examples of nonreduced NPs, no valid interpretation can be made regarding these predictions. However, all examples relativize the prepositional complement position—a position located at the lower end of the AH—which seems to lend support to Prediction 1. The nonreduced NPs fill the gaps created by relativizing on PCOMPs with stranded prepositions. Either the whole antecedental NP re-emerges as a nonreduction or just part of

the antecedent re-emerges: the head noun with its determiner in example (33); the prepositional attribute in example (32). Examples (33) and (34) are complex RCs which involve another embedded RC, consisting of two coordinated RCs in (33) and a further embedded nonfinite *to*-infinitive clause, followed by a causal clause in (34). Thus, the distance between the REL marker and its governing (stranded) preposition is considerable, created by an intervening medial RC in (33) and by an infinitival clause in (34). The appearance of the redundant nonreduced NP makes the laborious recovering process of the relativized NP unnecessary and that of its grammatical function in the RC in such environments. In example (34), the stranded preposition *at* was extracted from its proper position at the end of the (superordinate) RC and moved into the further embedded infinitival clause together with its governed nonreduced NP.

Contradicting Prediction 2, four examples contain the REL pronoun *which*; one example the REL particle *what*. This result is attributed to the nonrestrictiveness of all examples, which is the cause of the application of the nonrestrictive REL markers *which* and *what*, on the one hand, and the recourse to a resumptive in the form of a nonreduced NP, on the other hand, as we have seen in **13.3.1. (Non)Restrictiveness as a factor** above.

14. *WHICH* AS 'CONNECTOR'?

14.1. Introduction: In this chapter, I will regard the interpretation of *which* as a so-called "connector" in settings where it seems to lack a concrete antecedent. I will question the existence of a 'connector' *which* and offer more natural explanations for the apparent lack of semantic and grammatical meaning of *which* in these cases. Instead, I will show that three features of dialectal speech can account for all instances of so-called 'connector' *which* in my data. In addition, I will point out the role played by online production in spoken language and unknown or difficult syntactic environments in the production of 'connector' *which* examples.

14.2. 'CONNECTOR' *WHICH*

In his investigation of Somerset English, Ihalainen (1980) argues that *which* can function as a so-called 'connector'—not as a REL pronoun—which "simply connects two statements" (Ihalainen 1980: 190) in cases in which there is no "obvious antecedent for *which*" (*ibidem*). For example:

(1) *CSW-SRLM 107<T 3004>*
[...] And, er, you had a great big chap up in between the hooves. ***Which*** *the cow did go crippled. [...]*

(2) *CMI-H4B<S: 561>*
Then we moved to the <gap cause=anonymization desc=address> and then I went to <gap cause=anonymization desc=address> Road School, ***which*** *I finished my time there, fourteen.*

(3) *SCO-GYW<S: 552>*
And of course the, with the boxes being all round the side, the dressing boxes, this was outmoded, we needed a building at the side, ***which*** *there was sufficient room to build something at the side because we had a park at the side of it then.*

(4) *CMI-FXU<S:159>*
And they had addresses and I ran around, I went to get a job at the pit, ***which*** *er I had no more sense so I'm glad now that I didn't get on.*

(5) *CSW-SRLM 224 p. 85<u CA>*
[...] the one down Taunton left his pottery to his son, ***which*** *all he wanted was drink.*

In a similar vein, Miller & Weinert (1998) remark in their study of spoken Lothian Scottish English that in these cases "[t]he function of *which* is to signal a general link between the

material that precedes it and the material following" (Miller & Weinert 1998: 110). Instead of a REL pronoun, *which* is analyzed as a "general discourse linking element" (Miller & Weinert 1998: 111) or "complementizer"[107] (*ibidem*). This analysis appears to receive support if the subsequent clause shows no grammatical gap, i.e., if *which* does not seem to have a grammatical function in the clause, as all syntactic positions are already taken by other NPs (cf. Miller & Weinert 1998: 110). Miller & Weinert observe parallel historical developments of *that* and *which*, in the course of which the former REL pronoun *which* has caught up with *that* (cf. Miller & Weinert 1998: 110/111) in having developed "a second function as general conjunction" (Miller & Weinert 1998: 111).

To my mind, analyzing *which* as a 'general conjunction' is unnecessary as well as unwarranted, because the element of (post)modification is still strongly felt in these cases—even if the REL marker cannot readily be assigned a grammatical function in the clause at first sight. In all alleged 'connector' instances, *which* introduces either a nonrestrictive adnominal RC or a sentential RC, which is nonrestrictive by nature. The REL pronoun *which* is the nonrestrictive REL marker par excellence and the only available option in sentential RCs. Besides, all instances of alleged 'connector' *which* involve nonpersonal antecedents, except for one instance in text CSW-SRLM 224: Example (5) above contains a personal antecedent *his son*. In chapter 10 PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY it was demonstrated that *which* does not exclusively modify personal antecedents, although this is its highly preferred environment. In the Central Southwest and in the idiolect of speaker CSW-SRLM 224: CA, in particular, *which* also combines with personal antecedents. These occurrences of personal *which* are clearly instances of adnominal RCs which do not provoke any need to adduce explanations as possible manifestations of 'connector' *which* for these examples:

(6) *CSW-SRLM 224 p. 73<u CA>*
[...] And then there was ***Caleb****, [****which*** *caught his hand in the machinery up here] and he had his hand off, being severed (at the) wrist. [...]*

[107] The term 'complementizer' must be treated with care, since the authors do not (clearly) distinguish between a REL particle and a conjunction. In a former publication, Miller (1993) explicitly states that his data suggest "that *that* in relative clauses is not a relative pronoun but a conjunction" (Miller 1993: 113).

Accordingly, *which* does not seem to have parted with its properties as a REL pronoun but still seems to operate in its favorite syntactic environment, i.e., in nonrestrictive RCs modifying nonpersonal antecedents. A close look at all putative examples of 'connector' *which* reveals that they can be reanalyzed more satisfactorily as cases of three phenomena: Preposition elision, resumptives, and new starts:

1) Preposition elision:

The following instances can be explained as cases of 'preposition elision':

(7) [formerly example (1)] *CSW-SRLM 107<T 3004>*
[...] And, er, you had ***a great big chap up in between the hooves****. [****Which*** *the cow did go crippled* ***[~~from/by~~]****]. [...]*

[Stranded preposition '*by*' elided (preposition '*by*' could also have been elided in fronted position: ***[~~from/by~~] Which*** *the cow did go crippled*); REL pronoun *which* functions as adverbial (A) instead of prepositional complement in adverbial function (PCOMP(A))]

(8) *CNO-HN p. 2<u AmbHN>*
Carriages ..... well, my father had ***two horses*** *[****which*** *he used to do the local emptying of dustcarts* ***[~~with~~]*** *and any haulage [∅ there was to be done in the village]]. [...].*

[Multiple RC: RC in RC; preposition '*with*' is elided; stranded preposition '*with*' is of questionable acceptability in the position above, but after the second coordinate NP *any haulage* it would cause an obstruction between the antecedent *any haulage* and the following zero RC: *Carriages ..... well, my father had* ***two horses*** *[****which*** *he used to do the local emptying of dustcarts and* ***any haulage [~~with~~]*** *[∅ there was to be done in the village]]*; (preposition '*with*' could also have been elided in fronted position: ***[~~with~~] which*** *he used to do the local emptying of dustcarts and any haulage [∅ there was to be done in the village])*; problematic positioning of preposition might have enforced preposition elision; REL pronoun *which* functions as A instead of PCOMP(A)]

(9) *EAN-HDL<S: 277>*
So we were really answerable to the Ipswich Borough Council, rather than to ***private enterprise*** *[****which*** *some people really wanted to sell us off* ***[~~to~~]****] as being a, you know, a weight round their necks because if we didn't make a lot of money after the war, [...]*

[Preposition elision of stranded '*to*' in the face of a second preposition (*off*) which precedes '*to*'; REL pronoun *which* functions as indirect object (IO) instead of prepositional complement functioning as object of preposition (PCOMP(OP))]

Cases like examples (7)-(9) but also example (2), in which the preposition '*at*' is elided (see example (12) below), are the result of 'preposition elision'. *Which* was supposed to function as a prepositional complement (PCOMP) with a stranded preposition. (Recall that preposition stranding is the rule in dialect (see above chapter 11 PREPOSITION PLACEMENT)).[108]

[108] Preposition fronting is possible, but uncommon in dialects.

However, stranded prepositions, which are separated from their governing REL markers, are often "forgotten" (elided). Elision of (stranded) prepositions is a recurrent dialectal feature (also in nominal RCs; compare example (9) in chapter 10 PERSONALITY/ NONPERSONALITY) as well as a typical feature of spontaneous spoken language. Preposition elision occurs with various REL markers and also outside RCs, for instance in nonfinite *to*-infinitive clauses (cf. Miller & Weinert 1998: 106 and 108 for spoken Lothian Scottish English; see also Miller 1993: 112). Preposition elision is frequently found after massive and/or complex intervening material (as in example (8)) and after another preposition (as in example (9)). If the governing preposition is missing, *which* cannot function as a prepositional complement (PCOMP), of course. Instead *which* assumes the functions adverbial (A), indirect object (IO), or even direct object (DO), whereas with a preposition *which* would function as PCOMP(A), PCOMP(OP), and PCOMP(GEN) in analytical genitives, as in example (10):

(10) *NIR-20<I MS16>*
[...] And he come home one night, and he had ***two wee canaries****, [****~~of~~*** *]* ***which*** *he was sure [∅ was hens]]. [...]*

[This could be regarded as a case of preposition elision of the preposition '*of*' in *he was sure of*; making REL pronoun *which* function as direct object instead of PCOMP(GEN) (zero subjects in further embedded RCs are possible even in Standard English (see above p. 164 in 13.5. FURTHER EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSES VIA RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS)); HOWEVER, the preferred analysis of this example is: REL pronoun *which* has subject function ('subject in partially object environment') (see above p. 163 in 13.5. FURTHER EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSES VIA RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS)]

Elision of prepositions is not limited to RCs introduced by *which*. It also occurs with other REL markers:

(11) *SCO-K6M<S: 010>*
And never in my wildest dream did we imagine that Labour would get in with ***the resounding majority*** *[that they did get in* ***~~with~~*** *]*.

[Elided stranded preposition '*with*' after another preceding preposition *in*; (alternative, but less preferable analysis: preposition *in* is an afterthought to a RC in which REL marker *that* functions as direct object (in order to reconstruct the RC so that the REL marker *that* functions as prepositional complement): *And never in my wildest dream did we imagine that Labour would get in with* ***the resounding majority*** *[that they did get] in*$_{AFTERTHOUGHT}$)]

2) Resumptives: Resumptive pronouns (or adverbs) and nonreduced NPs:

Some other so-called 'connector' *which* examples can be explained as instances of resumptives:

(12) [formerly example (2)] *CMI-H4B<S: 561>*
Then we moved to the <gap cause=anonymization desc=address> and then I went to ***<gap cause=anonymization desc=address> Road School****, [****~~[at]~~*** ***which*** *I finished my time* ***there****], fourteen.*

[For clarity's sake, preposition '*at*' is portrayed as having been elided in fronted position (preposition '*at*' would rather have been elided in stranded position: ***which*** *I finished my time* ***~~[at]~~***); instead of a preposition, resumptive demonstrative adverb *there* unambiguously indicates the grammatical function of REL pronoun *which*; *which* functions as A instead of PCOMP(A)]

(13) *CMI-FYH<S: 556>*
So after a fortnight, thereabouts, the union had a meeting and decided that ***everybody in the industry*** *like, [****which*** *of course there was only about a thousand of* ***us*** *any way], everybody would (trunc) s would stop until this man could start at work.*

[Resumptive personal pronoun *us* after stranded partitive genitive preposition *of*; REL pronoun *which* and resumptive pronoun in PCOMP(GEN) function; (alternative analysis: existential *there* is resumptive pronoun in subject position)]

(14) *EAN-H5H<S: 684>*
Because once the ship come up ***that's still a certain amount of water in the hold [which that*** *must be], cos then once you heave your door up then of course you load your ship again and [...]*

[Sentential RC: REL marker *which* and resumptive pronoun *that* in subject function; (less preferable analysis: *that* could also be analyzed as a vacuous conjunction in the Middle English REL marker relic *which that* (see above p. 154 in 13.3. PRONOUN RETENTION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF THE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY))]

(15) *CSW-SRLM 105<T 1420>*
[...] They sold this and some at Cary and I jumped in and bought ***this****, [****which*** *I were lucky in a way [to get* ***it****]], you know, had it, being a tenant you did get it cheaper, you see?*

[Conflation of sentential RC modifying *bought this* and adnominal RC modifying *this*: slightly reconstructed version of: *which to get I were lucky*; resumptive pronoun *it* as direct object in further embedded *to*-infinitive clause saves the sentence from ambiguity; REL pronoun *which* functions as direct object]

(16) [formerly example (3)] *SCO-GYW<S: 552>*
And of course the, with the boxes being all round the side, the dressing boxes, this was outmoded, we needed a building at ***the side****, [****which*** *there was sufficient room [to build something at* ***the side****] [because we had a park at the side of it then]].*

[Nonreduced NP in PCOMP(A) function in further embedded *to*-infinitive clause]

(17) *CMI-FXV<S: 335>*
Which involved going to evening classes and er then back to work and this involved nights regular, so it was a bit a bit of a dash, sleeping, evening class and then catching ***a bus [which the first one****, nine o'clock] and to the colliery and starting.*

[A kind of nonreduced NP *the first one* in subject position, as is REL pronoun *which*; there is loose coreferentiality between nonreduced NP *the first one* and antecedent *a bus*; RC is incomplete since the verb is missing; (alternative, but less preferable analysis: new start as parataxis after *which*)]

(18) *CSW-SRLM 132<T 2380>*
[...] And he kicked so hard that he sent me flying backwards and I pitched on the elbow, and it snatched ***here [which*** *I 'd already broke* ***this arm****]. [...]*

[A kind of nonreduced NP *this arm* in direct object function; a loose coreferentiality relation seems to hold between antecedent *here* and nonreduced NP *this arm*, in the sense of a part/whole relation (*here* signifies a part of *this arm*); (alternative, but less preferable analyses: *this arm* is an afterthought (right dislocation) following the RC: *[**which** I 'd already broke] this arm*$_{AFTERTHOUGHT}$; OR: *this arm* is the real antecedent, which would make the RC prenominal (see below 14.4. ARE THERE PREPOSED RELATIVE CLAUSES?))]

Examples (12)-(15) involve resumptive pronouns (or adverbs), while (16)-(18) involve different kinds of nonreduced NPs. Due to the redundant nature of resumptives, the respective grammatical function is filled twice in a RC: once by the REL marker and a second time by the resumptive. Thus, the REL pronoun *which* is not deprived of its grammatical function in the RC by the presence of a resumptive, but the resumptive steps in to explicate its grammatical function in SOME syntactic environments rather than in others (see above 13.3. PRONOUN RETENTION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF THE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY). For instance:

a) In nonrestrictive adnominal and sentential RCs, which are difficult and rather unknown to dialect speakers (compare p. 156 in 13.3.1. (Non)Restrictiveness as a factor).

b) In cases of preposition elision, as in example (12): In lieu of a preposition, the resumptive adverb *there* is inserted, which has taken over the task of unambiguously indicating the adverbial locative function in the normal clause position.

c) In inaccessible relativization environments, such as in examples (13) and (15): In (13), REL pronoun *which* relativizes the PCOMP position, which is low on the Accessibility Hierarchy, while in (15), REL pronoun *which* relativizes a position in a further embedded clause (see above 13.5. FURTHER EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSES VIA RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS).

In example (16), inaccessibility of position (PCOMP) in terms of the AH combines with further embedding (specifically, a further embedded *to*-infinitive clause). Examples (17) and (18) are reminiscent of nonreductions but the coreferentiality relation is very loose, for which reason they were not counted as full-fledged nonreduced NPs in chapter 13.6 NONREDUCTION. The REL pronoun *which* in (17) figures as subject, followed by a NP (*the first one*) that refers to the same entity as the antecedent (*a bus*) in real life, though it is expressed by a different NP. If we adopt a broad definition of 'coreferentiality relation' which has to hold among antecedent, REL marker, and nonreduced NP, the NP *the first one* can be regarded as an instance of nonreduction (of the deleted NP in the RC). Alternatively, this example can be rated as a new start after the REL pronoun *which* in subject position, in favor of an incomplete paratactic construction with *the first one* as its subject. Example (18) shows

an even looser coreferentiality relation between antecedent (*here*) and nonreduced NP (*this arm*): A part-whole relation appears to hold between the two, in the sense that *here* (i.e., the indicated part of the arm) is part of *this arm*. Again, an alternative analysis as a new start is thinkable: After the completion of the RC [***which** I 'd already broke*], *this arm* was tagged onto the RC as a specifying afterthought realized as a right dislocation.

Furthermore, resumptives are found with all kinds of REL markers (see above Table 14 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS IN SIMPLE RCS ACROSS REGIONS). Yet, the zero marker, *that*, *what*, and *who* are not analyzed as 'connectors'—instead of real REL markers—when they take a resumptive. For example:

(19) *EAN-HDL<S: 101>*
*[...] it was, you know, looked upon then you were, were public transport and **the public team** [that you belonged to **them**]*. [resumptive personal pronoun *them* in prepositional complement position, co-occurring with REL marker *that*]

3) New starts:

The remaining examples of so-called 'connector' *which* examples can be explained as new starts:

(20) [formerly example (4)] *CMI-FXU<S:159>*
*And they had addresses and I ran around, I went **to get a job at the pit**, [**which**] **er** I had no more sense so I'm glad now that I didn't get on.* [sentential RC: abandoned after REL marker *which*; pause filler *er*, followed by new parataxis with its own subject (*I*)]

(21) *CMI-FXV<S: 090>*
*I don't really know, but er they managed to keep us looking nice and clean and tidy er because **one respected teachers and elders** [**which**], well, I don't think I've ever changed anyway, but today they don't]*. [sentential RC: abandoned after REL marker *which*; pause filler *well*, followed by new parataxis]

(22) [formerly example (5)] *CSW-SRLM 224 p. 85<u CA>*
*[...] the one down Taunton left his pottery to **his son**, [**which** all ∅ he wanted was drink]*. [adnominal RC (e.g., *which only wanted (to) drink*): abandoned after REL pronoun *which* in subject function, in favor of new start with *all*-pseudo-cleft]

Examples (20)-(22) belong to a third category which comprises abandoned RCs after the REL marker *which*. A new start is made using a paratactic construction, often preceded by a filler element like '*er*', '*erm*', *well*, etc. and/or punctuation (like a comma in (21)) to indicate a pause. Both elements are indicative of reorientation in sentence planning (see above p. 151 in

13.3. PRONOUN RETENTION STRATEGY IN TERMS OF THE ACCESSIBILITY HIERARCHY). Consequently, this type of 'connector' *which* is due to an involuntary midclause reconstruction, which proves the dominance of parataxis over hypotaxis, particularly in difficult and unfamiliar environments, such as nonrestrictive adnominal and (nonrestrictive) sentential RCs. Dialect speakers tend to start the nonrestrictive RC as a subject RC, which is the most basic type of RC (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977: 95) (compare p. 157 above in 13.3.1. (Non)Restrictiveness as a factor). In contrast to object RCs, subject RCs necessitate no change of the normal SVO word order, according to the 'relative marker fronting rule' (cf. Downing 1977: 181), since the REL marker in subject function already is in front position (see above p. 50 in 5.3. STRUCTURAL MEANS).

Relativization of a prepositional complement with a stranded or elided preposition also avoids disrupting the normal (paratactic) SVO word order; the fronting of the REL marker in PCOMP position corresponds to the peripheral clause position of PCOMPs in declarative main clauses, where prepositional complements can PRECEDE or succeed the central SVO group. This may explain why most so-called 'connector' *which* examples either relativize nonrestrictive subjects or (primarily adverbial) prepositional complements: (Some) dialect speakers plan to construct a nonrestrictive RC, but owing to online production constraints and a lack of familiarity with the phenomenon (as well as with its structural means, viz the *wh*-pronouns), these RCs are finished in an unconventional nonstandard way.

14.3. Summary: Nonstandard RC constructions or reconstructions—in the face of difficult syntactic environments in spontaneous speech production—appear to give rise to the construction labeled 'connector *which*'. In particular, preposition elision, resumptives, and new starts are responsible for the unconventional instances involving REL marker *which*, rather than any loss of the modifying character of *which* and a resultant deprivation of its grammatical function in the RC.

In this spirit, I would like to approach another set of unusual constructions in 14.4. below: apparent prenominal RCs.

14.4. ARE THERE PREPOSED RELATIVE CLAUSES?

When dealing with so-called 'connector' examples, I came across a subtype of unconventionally constructed *which* RCs which had one property in common, namely, that they seemed to modify an 'antecedent' that was still to come, i.e., to the right of the RC. By definition, this type of **preposed** RC in which the RC precedes its 'antecedent' (rather 'postcedent') is termed **prenominal RC** (in the case of an adnominal RC) and **prejoined RC** (in the case of a sentential RC) (see above 5.2. LINEAR ORDER OF ANTECEDENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE). However, the SVO language English has developed **postnominal** and **adjoined** RCs to minimize obstruction by intervening clause constituents which separate the RC from its antecedent ('center-embedding') (see above p. 47 in 5.2. LINEAR ORDER OF ANTECEDENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE).

My data raise the following questions: How rigid is the linear order

antecedent [RC]

in dialectal RCs?—Or is there a subtype of preposed RCs: **[RC] 'antecedent'**?

For example:

(23) *CNO-BX p. 7/8<u AmbBX>*
It was 5 years really, but if you started at 16 you were out of your time at 21, but if you started like I did at 14, you did those 2 years as a shop boy and that didn't count, you still had your 5 years to do and then on the top of that [which was pretty galling], ***you had to improve for 12 months after that****. You didn't come on to full money and you weren't classed as a fully skilled tradesman till you were 22. You 'd done 12 months improving after 5 years. [...].*

[Prejoined RC: sentential RC precedes 'antecedent']

(24) *CSW-SRLM122<T 1160>*
Of course it 's different see today now, because they pasteurise all the milk and bring it to a, a level. [Which you read in this article] ***that certain fields you couldn't make cheese off of it****. [...]*

[Prejoined RC: 'antecedent' is within appositive clause; nature of appositive clause is that it follows what it explicates, which is a sentential RC in this case, but at the same time the sentential RC modifies appositive clause; (*certain fields* is left dislocation while *it* refers back to *milk*); 'proper' adjoined RC would be: ***You couldn't make cheese off of the milk of certain fields.*** *[Which you read in this article]* OR (maintaining the left dislocation): ***Certain fields, you couldn't make cheese off of it.*** *[Which you read in this article]*]

(25) *CNO-DX p. 3<u AmbDX>*
[...] and I went down on my old bone shaker, [which wasn't far] ***from High Barn down to Cunsey****, [...].*

[Prejoined RC *[which wasn't far]* modifies *from High Barn down to Cunsey*; alternative analysis: *from High Barn* and *down to Cunsey* are specifications while the real antecedent is *went down*; the PCOMP(A) *from High Barn* may be either part of the RC or part of the afterthought right dislocation: *I* ***went down*** *on my old bone shaker, [which wasn't far from High Barn] down to Cunsey*$_{AFTERTHOUGHT}$ OR *I* ***went down*** *on my old bone shaker, [which wasn't far] from High Barn down to Cunsey*$_{AFTERTHOUGHT}$]

(26) *CMI-FXV<S: 341>*
[...] and er we used to nip in and kip down with the horses for ten minutes [which was forbidden], ***to sleep in the colliery****.*

[Prejoined RC modifies concise 'antecedent' *to sleep in the colliery*; alternative analysis: *to sleep in the colliery* is explanatory right dislocation resuming the preceding statements of *we used to nip in and kip down with the horses for ten minutes* while *we used to nip in and kip down with the horses for ten minutes* is the real antecedent]

(27) *CMI-FXV<Person: PSCMI17><S: 077>*
at Mansfield which had two stations then, Great Central and the old London, Midland, Scottish, [which was one of my delights anyway], ***engines*** *were, er they were to me.*

[Prenominal RC: *engines* is the NP which is modified by the RC; functions as an explanatory right dislocation resuming the preceding talk about the two train stations and the train connections of the latter]

(28) *CSW-SRLM 132<T 2380>*
[...] And he kicked so hard that he sent me flying backwards and I pitched on the elbow, and it snatched here [which I 'd already broke] ***this arm****. [...]*

[Prenominal RC *[which I 'd already broke]* seems to modify *this arm*; (alternative, but less preferable analysis: *this arm* is an afterthought (right dislocation) following the RC: *[which I 'd already broke] this arm*$_{AFTERTHOUGHT}$); (preferred analysis: kind of nonreduction; instead of strict coreferentiality, a part/whole relationship seems to hold between antecedent *here* and nonreduced NP *this arm*)]

(29) *CMI-FXW<Person: PSCMI18><S: 178>*
Yes well it was er we lived at the top of the second hill and this school was at the bottom.
<S: 179>
Between <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street and er <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street.
<S: 180>
[Which the council school was on] ***<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Road****.*

[Prenominal RC *[Which the council school was on]* seems to modify *<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Road*; (alternative, but less preferable analysis: *<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Road* is an afterthought (right dislocation) following the RC: *[Which the council school was on] <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Road*$_{AFTERTHOUGHT}$); (preferred analysis: kind of nonreduction; loose coreferentiality relationship between (paraphrase) antecedent *Between <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street and er <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street* and (concise) nonreduced NP *<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Road*)]

While there is a vague preceding antecedent (underlined)—with which the REL marker is loosely coreferential—in examples (25), (26), (28), and (29), there is NO such preceding antecedent in examples (23), (24), and (27) that the RC could modify. In (25), (26), (28), and (29), the subsequent 'second' 'antecedents' (*down to Cunsey*, *to sleep in the colliery*, *this arm*, and *<gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Road*)—which refer to the same entities or situations as the preceding antecedents in a loose way—are more concise and appropriate than the preceding vague ones (*went down*, *we used to nip in and kip down with the horses for ten minutes*, *here*, and *Between <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street and er <gap cause=anonymization desc="last or full name"> Street*). As a result, the RCs appear to be preposed since these 'proper' 'antecedents' come AFTER the RCs. For instance, in (26), *to sleep in the colliery* narrows down to its exact meaning the preceding *we used to nip in and kip down with the horses for ten minutes*. Thus, *to sleep in the colliery* functions as an explanatory right dislocation which specifies what was forbidden. These subsequent 'antecedents' either emerge in the shape of an afterthought outside the RC or in the shape of a (loosely coreferential) nonreduction within the RC.

By contrast, (23), (24), and (27) just have this one succeeding 'antecedent' to which the REL marker in the RC refers. In (27), for instance, the NP *engines* is one of his delights—not the two train stations *Great Central* and *the old London, Midland, Scottish*. However, I would not argue in favor of a preposed RC subtype even in those cases, but rather suggest that the mentioning of the antecedent was mentally postponed till after the RC, where it appears as an afterthought.

15. POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

15.1. Introduction: In this chapter, I will discuss the three positions that RCs can take in a sentence (final, medial, and extraposed) and analyze the motivations for selecting or requiring one or the other position. At the same time, I will distinguish the parameter (non)immediacy from 'position of the RC'.

15.2. POSITION OF THE RELATIVE CLAUSE ACROSS REGIONS

Relative clauses can be medial, final, or extraposed in relation to the matrix clause. Which of the three positions a RC occupies is largely conditioned by the basic SVO word order pattern in English, as described in 5.2. LINEAR ORDER OF ANTECEDENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE. Consequently, object antecedents (or complement or adverbial antecedents, for that matter) entail finality of the RC (sentence pattern: [SVO_{matrix} [RC_{final}]]).[109] Final RCs are easiest to process because the final position unites the advantages 'adjacency of antecedent and RC' and 'noninterruption of matrix clause'. Adjacency of antecedent and RC helps maintaining the coreference relation between the antecedent and the REL marker (cf. Givón 1993: 145; compare Hawkins 1994: 119/120). Noninterruption of the matrix clause saves memory tasks while the RC is being processed (compare Hawkins 1999: 247 and 251/252). For these reasons and for upholding the principles of end-weight and end-focus, final RCs are most common in SVO languages like English (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999: 623; compare Hawkins 1994: 117-119) (see above 5.2. LINEAR ORDER OF ANTECEDENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE). For example:

(1) *EAN-HDL<S: 342>*
[...] *they brought in* ***a bloke*** *[who was retired from some place up north], [...].* [FINAL RC]

[109] Unless they are fronted, of course, in which case they behave like subjects.

(2) *CMI-FYD<S: 303>*
[...] *they used to perhaps have competitions for* ***the childrens*** *[what used to want to go on].* [FINAL RC]

(3) *SCO-G62<S: 0324>*
They were ***another set of people*** *[that had it].* [FINAL RC]

In examples (1) to (3), the matrix clauses (indicated by underlining) are finished, before the RCs (put into square brackets) begin. Antecedents (*a bloke*, *the childrens*, and *another set of people*) and RCs are adjacent to one another. While the final RC in (1) modifies a direct object, the final RCs in (2) and (3) modify a prepositional complement (prepositional object) and a subject complement, respectively.

Subject antecedents, on the other hand, leave a choice between mediality and extraposition, that is, the RC may immediately ensue its antecedent (medial) or it may be put off until the matrix terminates (extraposed), in which case the RC becomes final, too. Either option involves both an advantage and a disadvantage in mental processing (compare Hawkins 1994: 66): Mediality ensures the adjacency of antecedent and RC, but puts a mental load on human memory by deferring the rest of the matrix clause to the right (cf. Kuno 1974: 119/120). Extraposition is even more difficult to process, because one or more intervening constituents separate the RC from its antecedent, although the matrix remains intact (compare Hawkins 1994: 196/197). Since speakers are inclined to interpret the NP that is adjacent to the RC as the antecedent, extraposition runs counter to the identification strategy for antecedents (cf. Givón 1993: 150). Extraposed RCs rarely occur (see Table 16 POSITION OF RC ACROSS REGIONS below): Of 335 RCs which could be either medialized or extraposed, i.e., which involve antecedents figuring as subjects, fronted objects, or prepositional complements (figuring as prepositional attributes of the subject) AND which are "properly" finished (RC as well as matrix), 313 (93.43 %) are medialized while only 22 (6.57 %) are extraposed. Before illustrating mediality in examples (5) to (7) and extraposition in examples (8) to (10), an example of a 'not properly finished' matrix will be given, which is excluded from the count, along with all other 'not properly finished' examples. In (4) below, the subject antecedent *the things* is modified by a medial RC introduced by *that*; instead of resuming the matrix (most probably with a verb) after the intervening RC, a new parataxis follows, starting with the new subject *we*:

(4) *SCO-GYW<S: 263>*
And er ***the things*** *[that we had], we had a (UNCLEAR) or two when they used to be, when all the cars most of them were open of course in the early days and [...].* ['not properly finished' matrix]

(5) *EAN-H5G<S: 505>*
[...] cos ***our shovels*** *[what they used to feed the boiler with] were all steel shovels.* [MEDIAL RC]

(6) *CSW-SRLM 109<T 1240>*
[...] ***the one*** *[who finished milking first] had to corner them in the corner, you see, and with a dog as well, [...].* [MEDIAL RC]

(7) *CMI-FYH<S: 357>*
Anything *[∅ the men wanted] the women would oppose, and vice versa.* [MEDIAL RC]

(8) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 016>*
[...] ***chemicals*** *erm have come on the scene [which bring with it their own particular dangers] [...].* [EXTRAPOSED RC]

(9) *CMI-FY5<S: 723>*
And the the moment that ***that sort of sole*** *had worn off [that the shoe repairer had put on] it wasn't allowed to go any further than that, it was taken off and another one put on.* [EXTRAPOSED RC]

(10) *CNO-BX p. 6<u AmbBX>*
[...] and then you used to lift it and struggle out, up the shop, where ***the chap*** *was [that said [he wanted it]] and then he said [...].* [EXTRAPOSED RC]

In examples (5) to (7), the medial RCs interrupt the matrix clauses, yet, adjacency of antecedents (*our shovels*, *the one*, and *anything*) and RCs is maintained. In lieu of a subject antecedent, a fronted direct object is modified by a medial RC in example (7). In the extraposed examples (8) to (10), the subject antecedents (*chemicals*, *that sort of sole*, and *the chap*) are followed by the remainder of the matrix clauses (*have come on the scene*, *had worn off*, and *was*), before the RCs set in. Example (10) involves a complex RC including a further embedded object clause.

The mediality/extraposition distinction hinges on the position of the verb phrase, not on the position of other intervening constituents which may separate the RC from its antecedent. Such intervening constituents, usually in the shape of adverbials, bring about **nonimmediacy** of the RC in relation to its antecedent but do not affect the parameter 'position of the RC'. For example:

(11) *EAN-K69<Person: PSEAN13><S: 076>*
[...] or take away ***the problem*** *away from them [that's causing them the pain].* [nonimmediate RC]

(12) *EAN-H5G<Person: PSEAN2><S: 708>*
[...] say you take ***a ship*** *now [what's been sunk in the river], [...].* [nonimmediate RC]

(13) *SCO-K7G<Person: PSSCO32><S: 265>*
No well <vocal desc="clears throat"> more or less the branches had the opportunity to send in ***resolutions*** *to the national agreement [which were dealt with at conference].* [nonimmediate RC]

(14) *CNO-Z/AA p. 21<u AmbZb>*
[...] And would get ***these poor lads*** *possibly [that did school], [...].* [nonimmediate RC]

(15) *CNO-Z/AA p. 19<u AmbZb>*
[...] and those days they would have been about ***ten shillings*** *to buy, [which is fifty pence now], a pair of clogs, [...].* [intervening nonfinite clause functioning as adverbial clause] [nonimmediate RC]

(16) *NIR-35<I MM17>*
[...] Implements that were used years ago, and all that sort of thing, the names of them, there's ***some of the kids*** *going to school [∅ wouldn't even know [what they we(re), what they were now]].* [intervening nonfinite clause functioning as relative clause; multiple RC: 'stacked RC', in which the second, finite zero RC modifies on the already restricted subset cut out by the first, nonfinite RC] [nonimmediate RC]

(17) *SCO-K7G<S: 448>*
We got every ***every woman*** *[that worked in the bakery] into the union.* [immediate RC]

In examples (11) to (14), adverbials (*away from them*, *now*, *to the national agreement*, and *possibly*) separate the RCs from their antecedents (*the problem*, *a ship*, *resolutions*, and *these poor lads*), which results in nonimmediacy of the final RCs. Intervening (non)finite clauses, like *to buy* and *going to school*[110] in examples (15) and (16), also cause nonimmediacy between the antecedents and the RCs. By contrast, example (17) illustrates an immediate final RC, in which the antecedent and the RC border onto each other, while the adverbial *into the union* is separated from the initial part of the matrix clause by postponing it till after the RC.
Like extraposition (see below), nonimmediacy typically correlates with nonrestrictiveness because of nonadjacency. Nonimmediate RCs can also be restrictive, however, as examples (11)-(14) and (16) show. Yet in general, nonimmediate RCs suggest and promote a

[110] In an alternative but unlikely interpretation, *there's some of the kids going to school* could be taken for a progressive aspect in a *there*-existential, consisting of *there* + **auxiliary** '*be*' + NP + present participle (cf. Breivik 1983a: 7 and 223/224).

nonrestrictive reading, which can be even reinforced by using the *a priori* nonrestrictive REL marker *which*:

(18) *SCO-G63<PSSCO16><S: 411>*
But the first week of the quarter you could get ***messages*** *all that week [which you didn't have to pay till the end of the quarter]*. [nonimmediate restrictive RC, although nonadjacency of RC suggests and promotes nonrestrictive reading]

Table 16 POSITION OF RC ACROSS REGIONS

POSITION OF RC						
REL marker	**medial RC**		**extraposed RC**			**TOTAL**
	N	%	**N**	%		
zero	**74**	23.64	**0**	-		**74**
that	**167**	53.35	**9**	40.91		**176**
what	**22**	7.03	**6**	27.27		**28**
as	**4**	1.28	**0**	-		**4**
who	**38**	12.14	**2**	9.09		**40**
which	**8**	2.56	**5**	22.73		**13**
total	**313** **[93.43 %]**	100.00	**22** **[6.57 %]**	100.00		**335** **[100 %]**

Compared to the overall distribution of REL markers (see above Table 1), in medial RCs, *which* is grossly underrepresented (2.56 % in medial RCs versus 15.05 % overall). Zero is slightly underrepresented (23.64 % in medial RCs versus 28.11 % overall). *Who* is slightly overrepresented (12.14 % in medial RCs versus 10.07 % overall) and *that* is fairly overrepresented (53.35 % in medial RCs versus 38.97 % overall). (The percentage of medial *what* largely corresponds to its overall percentage, while the percentage of medial *as* is almost twice that of its overall percentage.)

In extraposed RCs, only four REL markers occur: *that*, *what*, *who*, and *which*. Zero and *as* do not occur. Although the frequencies are low, *that*, *what*, and *which* appear to dominate in extraposed RCs, while the latter two do not figure high in medial RCs: *what* is used in 27.27 % of all extraposed RCs but used in just 7.03 % of all medial RCs; *which* is used in 22.73 % of all extraposed RCs but used in just 2.56 % of all medial RCs. (We will be able to

shed light on the use of individual REL markers in medial and extraposed RCs when we come to (non)restrictiveness in the positioning of the RC below.

The position of the RC partially depends on the length of the RC. Longer RCs are more likely to be postponed to prevent lengthy interruptions of the matrix (cf. Hawkins 1994: 117/118). The mean clause length of an extraposed RC is 6.23 words,[111] whereas the mean clause length of a medial RC is 4.23 words. The mean clause length of a matrix containing an extraposed RC is 3.82 words. That means, extraposed RCs are close to doubling their matrices in length. In other words, shorter RCs tend to be medialized, while longer RCs tend to be extraposed, especially if the matrix clause is short in comparison. Extraposition is also effected by the principles of end-weight and end-focus (cf. *ibidem*; see above 5.2. LINEAR ORDER OF ANTECEDENT AND RELATIVE CLAUSE). Thus, heavy RCs involving further subordinate clauses are likely to be extraposed (see example (10) above and (19) below). If the informational status of the RC is superior to the informational status of the matrix clause, the RC is readily moved to the focus position on the right margin of a sentence (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1066):

> (19) *CSW-SRLM 107<T 1420>*
> *Only, you see with this one down so long, you see,* ***the grass*** *was grown up through it. You see, [which you had to pull* ***it*** *up by hand, you see, [because the swath turner were no good]].*
> [extraposed RC with resumptive pronoun *it* in direct object position and further embedded causal clause]

The resumptive pronoun in the RC in example (19) attests to the memory load arising from extraposed RCs: The coreference relation between antecedent and REL marker (relativized NP) is tightened by the resumptive pronoun *it*.

The other important conditioning factor for the position of the RC is (non)restrictiveness. Albeit, (non)restrictiveness correlates with the length of the RC and the principle of end-weight.—In investigating the Lancaster/IBM Spoken English Corpus, Yamashita (1994) found that nonrestrictive RCs tend to occur in final position, owing to their tendency to be complex and long (cf. Yamashita 1994: 81/82).—In 5.3. STRUCTURAL MEANS above, I

[111] Each word separated from neighboring words by a space in standard orthography counted as one word, such that compounds, for example, that are written as two separate words counted as two words. REL markers, truncated words, false starts, pause fillers like '*erm*', '*well*'; '*like*', repetitions, or interjections like '*you see*' were not included in the word count.

outlined a correlation between mediality and restrictiveness AND another one between extraposition and nonrestrictiveness, based on the dovetailing of the cline of explicitness and the cline of subordination across languages. As can be adduced from Tables 17 and 18 below, medial RCs are almost always restrictive (93.29 %) in my data. Unfortunately, my figures cannot clearly reflect the latter correlation between extraposition and nonrestrictiveness. Both, extraposed and nonrestrictive RCs, are infrequent in my data, since both types are adverse to the online production of (dialectal) speech. Even so, extraposed RCs have a disproportionally high percentage of nonrestrictive RCs (40.91 % nonrestrictive extraposed RCs versus 19.94% nonrestrictive RCs overall). These correlations, on the one hand, explain the nonoccurrence of the prima facie restrictive REL markers zero and *as* in nonrestrictive medial and extraposed RCs to some degree. On the other hand, the prime nonrestrictive REL marker *which* occurs only twice in restrictive medial RCs but six times in nonrestrictive medial RCs. In extraposed RCs, by contrast, *which* emerges five times in nonrestrictive RCs while it is absent in restrictive RCs. Being also designated markers for nonrestrictiveness, *who* and *what* introduce nonrestrictive medial and extraposed RCs, too. That is to say, REL markers follow their typical tendency with regard to (non)restrictiveness when there is a choice between medial and extraposed contexts: REL markers which are preferred or even limited to restrictive contexts only appear in medial RCs (zero and *as*), whereas REL markers which prefer (*which*) or highly tolerate (*who* and *what*) nonrestrictive contexts disproportionally accumulate in (nonrestrictive) extraposed but also in nonrestrictive medial RCs.

Since restrictive RCs define subsets, restrictiveness constitutes the strongest form of modification which a RC is capable of, for which reason restrictive RCs cling to their antecedents as adjectival attributes do. Thus, adjacent medial RCs are more nominalized than their extraposed counterparts, which are more clause-like. (That is, compared to extraposed RCs, adjacent medial RCs resemble and behave like proper nouns, or rather adjectives in this case; hence they are closer to the pole of nominalization on the cline of subordination.) At the same time, adjacent restrictive medial RCs allow (or prefer) the less explicit REL particles *that*, *what*; *as*, and even the totally inexplicit zero REL marker. By contrast, nonrestrictiveness is a much weaker form of modification, adding solely nondefining information. For that reason, nonrestrictive RCs are easily moved away from their antecedents, yet prefer more explicit REL markers like the REL pronouns *which* and *who* in nonrestrictive extraposed RCs and prohibit the zero REL marker (cf. Lehmann 1984: 181/182, 205/206, 231, and 280).

Table 17 (NON)RESTRICTIVENESS IN MEDIAL RCS ACROSS REGIONS

MEDIAL RCS						
REL marker	**restrictive**		**nonrestrictive**			**TOTAL**
	N	%	**N**	%		
zero	**74**	25.34	**0**	-		**74**
that	**162**	55.48	**5**	23.81		**167**
what	**19**	6.51	**3**	14.29		**22**
as	**4**	1.37	**0**	-		**4**
who	**31**	10.62	**7**	33.33		**38**
which	**2**	0.68	**6**	28.57		**8**
total	**292 [93.29 %]**	100.00	**21 [6.71 %]**	100.00		**313 [100 %]**

Table 18 (NON)RESTRICTIVENESS IN EXTRAPOSED RCS ACROSS REGIONS

EXTRAPOSED RCS						
REL marker	**restrictive**		**nonrestrictive**			**TOTAL**
	N	%	**N**	%		
zero	**0**	-	**0**	-		**0**
that	**9**	69.23	**0**	-		**9**
what	**4**	30.77	**2**	22.22		**6**
as	**0**	-	**0**	-		**0**
who	**0**	-	**2**	22.22		**2**
which	**0**	-	**5**	55.55		**5**
total	**13 [59.09 %]**	100.00	**9 [40.91 %]**	100.00		**22 [100 %]**

15.3. Summary: The position of the RC largely depends on word order: Modifying an object (or a complement or an adverbial) in the matrix clause results in finality, while modifying a subject (or a fronted constituent) results in either mediality or extraposition. Final RCs are preferred to medial or extraposed RCs because they are cognitively least demanding of the

three, as they combine adjacency of antecedent and RC AND noninterruption of the matrix. Medial RCs harbor the former property, extraposed RCs only the latter, which makes them most difficult to process. Extraposed RCs are separated from their antecedent by an intervening verb constituent (plus other constituents). Opposed to that, nonimmediate RCs are not adjacent to their antecedent mostly by intervening adverbials. Partly, mediality/extraposition is determined by the length of the RC as well as the matrix clause. In addition to that, mediality/extraposition correlates with (non)restrictiveness. In my data, restrictive RCs accumulate in medial RCs, whereas extraposed RCs accommodate more nonrestrictive RCs. Apart from (non)restrictiveness, strength of modification influences the choice of REL markers in medial and extraposed RCs: Adjacent (medial) RCs tolerate inexplicit REL particles, while distant (extraposed) RCs are more in need of explicit REL pronouns, as spelled out in 5.3. STRUCTURAL MEANS when comparing the cline of subordination to the cline of explicitness.

15.4. COPIES

The mental load created by mediality can be taken up by the presence of a **copy**. A copy resumes the antecedent in the shape of a pronoun after the RC. For example:

(20) *CSW-SRLM 109<T 1140>*
[...] ***every girl*** *[∅ he had there as a cheese maker]* ***she*** *went off, got married.*

(21) *SCO-G62<Person: PSSCO11><S: 0444>*
[...] ***the old man*** *[that lived in er (trunc) u up in Mount Blair],* ***he*** *didn't like the folk going to the kirk [...].*

(22) *EAN-H5G<S: 676>*
All people *[that went to the Salvation Army in <gap cause=anonymization desc=address>]* ***they*** *<pause>* ***they*** *always used to have their treat there, [...].*

The copies *she*, *he*, and *they* in examples (20) to (22) above represent the antecedents *every girl*, *the old man*, and *all people* in the continuations of the **matrix clauses**. Therefore, copies have to be distinguished from **resumptive pronouns**, which represent the antecedent **within the RC** (see above chapter 13 RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS). Both are phenomena of "redundancy" typically occurring in online speech production which serve as mental props for the speaker and the hearer. However, copies may also clarify the antecedental NP: In example (23) below, the copy *it* points out *one* as the head of the antecedental NP *one of them horses*:

(23) *CNO-AY p. 3<AmbAY>*
[...] You might not believe this but ***one of them horses*** *[that I bought in Manchester], we loaded a wagon with* ***it*** *down Hale Court Drive in (trunc)crick-(/trunc), cricket field as they call it.*

Instead of a proper passive continuation of the matrix after the RC in which *one of them horses* would figure as subject (passive), an active continuation (with a new subject) plus a copy is used. The frequency of this combination (e.g., examples (24)-(28) below) attests to the prevalence of active voice constructions over passive voice constructions, on the one hand, and to the memory load created by medial RCs disrupting their matrices, on the other hand:

(24) *NIR-17<I LD102>*
Well, they, eh, I don't know what way the Creggan children come, but ***them there wee children*** *[∅ goes from Creggan here],* ***they*** *nearly, the teachers nearly brings* ***them****, three of their own cars, like [...].* [resumption of matrix by subject copy *they* after RC; new start after *nearly* and reconstruction as active voice continuation of matrix with copy in direct object position]

(25) *CNO-DB p. 9<u AmbDB>*
[...] And ***lots of jobs*** *[that he would have been doing] I had to do* ***them****. [...].*

(26) *CNO-CE p. 10<u AmbCEa>*
[...] and ***all the gaps*** *[that the trees knocked down] they put* ***them*** *up. [...].*

(27) *NIR-16<I PT14>*
[...] ***The money*** *[that they had saved] they were actually waiting on* ***it*** *then. [...]*

(28) *CNO-DX p. 2<u AmbDX>*
[...] ***Any worms*** *[that are running about in t' bottom], or* ***any*** *[that 's hanging on to t' roof], he [i.e. mole, T.H.] catches* ***them****, and as soon as he gets his tummy full, he goes back to bed. [...].*

Similar to resumptive pronouns (see above 13.5. FURTHER EMBEDDED RELATIVE CLAUSES VIA RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS), copies in this kind of construction provide memorial links to the antecedent in the initial part of the matrix and enable long coordinate sentences and complex sentences. For example:

(29) *NIR-8<I WC10>*
[...] ***The ones*** *[that he wear, had to wear all week], he had to go and try and clean* ***them*** *up on Sunday morning, blacken them a little bit. [...]*

(30) *SCO-K7G<S: 080>*
Although ***some of the things*** *[that you were taught] you maybe never got a chance to do* ***them*** *in the bakery.*

(31) *CNO-DX p. 6<u AmbDX>*
[...] But ***a lot of things*** *[that he was asked to move], he had not one clue as to how to move* ***them****. [...].*

(32) *EAN-H5H<S: 605>*
Yeah I know, I don't know whether she was going out or coming in but they got one there now and I think they <trunc> th ***the one*** *[∅ they got there now] I don't know whether the Corporation,* ***that****'s theirs or whether* ***that****'s put out to contract and I think* ***that****'s put out to contract now.*

> [After the RC (∅ *they got there now*), the matrix is not 'properly' resumed but two coordinated interjections occur—each followed by two or one subordinate clauses, respectively: *I don't know [whether the Corporation,* ***that****'s theirs]*[112] *or [whether* ***that****'s put out to contract] and I think [****that****'s put out to contract now]*. Since the three instances of demonstrative *that* refer back to the antecedent *the one*, they qualify as copies.]

Hence, relative clause length is a plausible determining factor for the occurrence or nonoccurrence of a copy in unplanned speech: the longer the (interrupting) relative clause, the greater the likelihood of encountering a copy. Indeed, the average RC length is 4.72 words in sentences with copies, in contrast to an average RC length of 3.95 words in sentences without copies.[113]

Considering the total of 313 medialized RCs in 'properly finished' matrices, 112 sentences employ a copy (35.78 %), while 201 sentences correspond to Standard English, without a copy (64.22 %). Copies are used in all six dialect regions. The frequency of use correlates with the broadness of the regional corpus, such that the broad Central Southwest corpus, the broad Central North corpus, and the broad Northern Ireland corpus oscillate about 40 %, whereas the less broad corpora range between 21.57 % in the Central Midlands and 34.21 % in Scotland. Mainly thanks to the sophisticated speech style of one broad dialect speaker (EAN-H5G/H5H: PSEAN2/4) in two long texts (EAN-H5G and EAN-H5H), who uses 13 copies in 23 medial RCs, the less broad East Anglia corpus also hovers about the 40 % mark (40.35 %).

The 112 copies distribute along REL markers as follows: 15 x zero, 68 x *that*, 10 x *what*, 2 x *as*, 14 x *who*, and 3 x *which*. Comparing these frequencies to the occurrence of REL markers in medial RCs in general, on the one hand, and to the occurrence of REL markers in matrices without copies, on the other hand, matrices with copies disproportionally often appear in combination with medial RCs introduced by the traditional dialect markers *what* (10 of 22 medial RCs contain a copy; ≙ 45.45 %) and *as* (2 of 4 medial RCs contain a copy), which causes little wonder as both REL markers are indicative of broad dialectal speech. While *that* is very well represented among the sentences with copies (60.71 %), zero scores comparatively low (13.39 %)—in fact, only 20.27 % of all medial RCs introduced by zero

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[112] This is a typical case of genitive avoidance in dialectal speech (see above 12.4 GENITIVE AVOIDANCE): Instead by a genitive, the possessor is expressed by a left dislocation (*the Corporation*) plus a possessive pronoun (*theirs*).

[113] REL markers, truncated words, false starts, pause fillers like '*erm*', '*well*'; '*like*', repetitions, or interjections like '*you see*' were not included in the word count.

contain copies. The percentages of *who* (12.5 %) and *which* (2.68 %) with copies roughly mirror their percentages in medial RCs overall (12.14 % *who* and 2.56 % *which*).

As could be seen above, copies commonly surface in the shape of personal pronouns but they may also appear as demonstrative pronouns (or adverbs), indefinite pronouns, or even as full NPs. In addition, copies are coreferential with their antecedents without having to be strictly congruent with them. Singular antecedent NPs can be represented by copies in the plural (examples (33) and (34) below), and vice versa (cf. van den Eynden Morpeth 2002: 186; *footnote* 8). Example (35) illustrates a loose coreference relationship between the inanimate antecedent *all these big houses* and the copy *they*, referring to the animate residents of these big houses, who are also modified in the RC *that had ground*:

(33) *EAN-H5G<Person: PSEAN2><S: 612>*
[...] so ***the man*** *[who done the Monday night],* ***they*** *done the Friday night.*

(34) *NIR-9<I JM43>*
[...] And, eh, ***anybody*** *[that ever got them],* ***they*** *done very well with them, and they were very satisfied about the quality of the stock.*

(35) *CNO-AE p. 1<u AmbAE>*
[...] years ago, ***all these big houses****, you know, [that had ground],* ***they*** *used to keep gamekeepers as well, [...].*

16. RÉSUMÉ

This typological analysis of relative clauses is concerned with traditional English dialects. Traditional dialects have retained syntactic features which have disappeared from Standard English and/or are ostracized by Standard English. Because of their low prestige in comparison to the standard language and the dialect-leveling impact of our modern society, traditional dialects are not heading toward a bright future—in fact, they might be gone within another generation.

Six non-contiguous dialect regions served as the areas of investigation, namely, the Central Southwest, East Anglia, the Central Midlands, the Central North, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. The data derive from transcribed tape recordings of interviews with mostly NORMs, dating from the 1970s to the 1990s.

Relative clauses are defined as subordinate clauses that modify an antecedent (typically a NP) with which a relative marker in the RC is coreferential. In this cross-dialectal study, different strategies of adnominal RC formation are compared and discussed exhaustively within a descriptive-functional-typological framework.

My typology of relative clauses incorporates the three parameters 1) 'type of subordination', 2) 'linear order of antecedent and relative clause', and 3) 'structural means'. With respect to parameter 1): By forming constituents of the matrix, nominal RCs are the most subordinated type of RCs, followed by adnominal RCs, which form part of a constituent of the matrix. Sentential RCs, by contrast, do not form (part of) a constituent of the matrix; they typically modify clauses or sentences. Arranged on a cline of subordination, with 'sententialization/coordination' on the left end and 'nominalization/subordination' on the right end, there are two additional subtypes of RCs: First, correlative diptychs, which are nominal RCs with a copy in the matrix clause that forms a correlative pair with the REL marker in the RC. Correlative diptychs are placed to the left of ordinary nominal RCs, since their copy appears to save them from being a constituent of the matrix. Second, relative junctures, which are located closer to the pole of sententialization than regular sentential RCs, as relative junctures are a more independent type of sentential RC. On a second and third layer on the cline of subordination, nominal RCs contain their antecedent within the REL marker and are necessarily restrictive. Sentential RCs are necessarily nonrestrictive and situated on the right margin of the sentence. Adnominal RCs, in contradistinction to the former two types of RCs,

can be either restrictive or nonrestrictive; they can be medial or extraposed; adjacent or nonadjacent. Extraposed and nonrestrictive adnominal RCs are more sententialized and coordinated than their medial and restrictive counterparts, which are more nominalized and subordinated. These latter three parameters correlate in the sense that on the one hand, extraposition, nonrestrictiveness, and nonadjacency tend to co-occur, whereas on the other hand, mediality, restrictiveness, and adjacency tend to co-occur in a RC (see below).

On 2): To facilitate language processing by avoiding center-embedding, English, like most SVO languages, has the RC to the right of the antecedent, resulting in postnominal (adnominal) and adjoined (sentential) RCs. However, perceptual difficulties from center-embedding are effected when modifying the matrix subject, which causes the RC to be either medial or extraposed. In the first case, the remainder of the matrix clause is postponed till after the medial RC; in the second case, antecedent and RC are not adjacent due to an intervening verb (plus other) constituent(s) of the matrix.

With respect to 3): The structural means representing the relativized NP (primarily with respect to adnominal RCs) are aligned on a cline of explicitness. From maximally explicit on the left-hand side to nonexplicit on the right, the cline comprises nonreduced NPs, resumptive pronouns, REL pronouns, REL particles, and the zero REL marker. Explicitness is constituted by structural markedness (i.e., declinability in terms of congruence with the antecedent and expression of the syntactic function within the RC) and position of the REL marker within the RC, compared to its normal clause position in a corresponding declarative clause. Both factors contribute to the retrieval of the relativized NP (and thus the identification of the antecedent) and the determination of the grammatical function of the REL marker. Whereas nonreduced NPs and resumptives remain in their normal clause position, REL pronouns and REL particles are fronted. Nonreduced NPs and resumptives can make use of the declension possibilities of nouns and pronouns (mostly personal and demonstrative pronouns), respectively. REL pronouns, by contrast, have inferior declension possibilities, which are gender/animacy in terms of personality/nonpersonality, restricted number agreement with collective nouns, and case-marking with personal referents (*who*/*whose*/*whom*). (In the absence of case-marking, the grammatical function of the REL marker must be derived from word order, that means, identifying the missing constituent by default). REL particles are not declinable by definition, while the zero marker is not even structurally existent.

The areal distribution of adnominal REL markers in my dialect data revealed a predominance of REL particles in comparison to REL pronouns (¾ REL particles versus ¼ REL pronouns). Interpreting this result in terms of historical development, it can be concluded that indigenous

REL particles (still) prevail over foreign *wh*-pronouns (which are a more recent development in the English language and nowadays a typical trait of written Standard English), but Standard English is encroaching on traditional dialects. Case-marked *wh*-pronouns (*whose*; *whom*), however, are (still) hardly found in dialectal speech (0.28 % altogether).—In fact, the quality or broadness of dialectal speech can be read off from the proportion of *wh*-pronouns and the (non)occurrence of case-marked *wh*-pronouns.—At the same time, the truly vernacular REL markers, which are equally symptomatic of the quality/broadness of a dialect or idiolect, are receding: *As* has disappeared from East Anglia and is limited to topicalization structures in the Central Southwest; it counts two instances in Tyrone, Northern Ireland; *as* is rare in the Central North and even in the Central Midlands, which was the stronghold of *as* in every linguistic environment at the time of the SED, in the 1950s. Judging from previous investigations, *as* has been retreating toward the interior counties of the Central Southwest and is thinning out even in its former heartland, the Midlands. On the other side of the British map, *as* is also backing out of the Southeast and into the counties to the west of Cambridgeshire. The condition and development of *what*, on the other hand, is more ambiguous: It is decaying in its homeland East Anglia, where it is associated with uneducatedness and vulgarity. In contrast to that, it appears to be spreading among the younger generation in the rest of Great Britain, where it seems to enjoy covert prestige. Among the older generation of dialect speakers in my data, *what* is frequent in the South (Central Southwest; East Anglia), but loses impetus as we go farther north. It is reduced to 5.75 % in the Central Midlands and dwindles down to 2.39 % in the Central North. In Scotland *what* is hardly known; in Northern Ireland *what* is nonexistent. In addition, there appears to be a rivalry between *as* and *what*, such that in an idiolect, the two generally exclude each other. In this power struggle, archaic *as* is increasingly losing ground to (more) modern *what*.

The REL particles that are also part of the standard variety, *that* and zero, scored highest in my data (38.97 % and 28.11 %, respectively). Both REL markers are prominent in each investigated dialect. *That*, or its phonemic variant '*at*, increases its number as we move farther north. Zero, on the other hand, with particular reference to zero in subject function, appears to be independent of region but rather correlates with the broadness of dialect. (In the very conservative Northern Ireland corpus, zero attains a sensational 46.93 %!)

Although the notion of nonrestrictiveness is alien to (traditional) dialectal speech, nonrestrictive RCs account for about a fifth of all RCs in my data, which bears witness to the influence that Standard English exerts on dialect. Nonrestrictive RCs in dialect, however, are

also formed via the REL particles zero, *that*, and *what*. *What* appears to be particularly inclined to nonrestrictiveness, thus entering into a competition with nonpersonal *which*, the nonrestrictive REL marker par excellence: Whereas nonrestrictive *which* is preferred by speakers whose idiolect is closer to Standard English, broad dialect speakers employ nonrestrictive *what*. Relative *as* is scarce overall. Where it (still) occurs, it seems to have totally abandoned nonrestrictive environments.

In dialects, the relative pronoun *which* is not confined to nonpersonal antecedents but also refers to personal antecedents outside the licensed borderline cases (like collective nouns, etc.), as it did in Middle English. Personal *which* is noticeably frequent in partitive genitives, which are semantically similar to the semantic property 'limited set' encoded in nominal and interrogative *which*, on which adnominal *which* in partitive genitives is probably modeled. Representing a grammatical feature of Early Modern English, dialectal *that* in subject position is not restricted from referring to personal common nouns and even proper names. Archaic *as* has not specialized in either personal or nonpersonal referents. Unlike its nominal counterpart (the REL pronoun *what*, which is marked for nonpersonality), the adnominal REL marker *what* freely relativizes personal antecedents, too.

Regarding preposition placement, dialects greatly prefer preposition stranding, even with REL pronouns, which would permit preposition fronting. Adnominal *what* never occurs with a fronted preposition in my data, which would signal (the beginning of) a change in word class, from conjunction (REL particle) to pronoun (REL pronoun).

The Accessibility Hierarchy, as posited by Keenan & Comrie in 1977, mirrors the accessibility of different syntactic positions to relativization, such that the leftmost position is easiest to relativize while the rightmost position is most difficult. For the present study, the AH underwent slight modifications, with the following result: SUBJ > DO > PCOMP > GEN. This Accessibility Hierarchy is confirmed for all RC formation strategies in each of the investigated regions, with some reservations for the zero REL marker strategy. In contrast to Standard English, zero can relativize the subject position in all dialects, yet only in two of the broad corpora (Northern Ireland and Central North), zero relativizes most often on subjects. However, by its sheer presence in SUBJ in four regions and its supremacy in the remaining two, the zero marker strategy is rehabilitated as a primary RC formation strategy, as the gap in subject position on the AH left by Standard English is remedied by dialectal English. The RC formation strategies *what* and *as* seem to be heading into opposite directions: *What* enters the AH by the subject position (except for East Anglia, where *what* is of long standing),

working its way down, whereas *as* has largely withdrawn from the lower positions and exits the hierarchy via the subject position.

The genitive position is generally avoided in relativization. Genitive relatives are substituted by paratactic constructions, *and*-coordinations, and left dislocations. Promotion of potential genitives to higher positions on the AH, for example via a possessive resumptive pronoun, does not occur but once in my data. If GEN is relativized at all (3 instances overall), it requires an explicit case-marked form of the *wh*-pronoun strategy (*whose*).

Relating the Accessibility Hierarchy (formulated on the basis of restrictive RCs) to the pronoun retention strategy yields unexpected results when including instances of resumptive pronouns in nonrestrictive RCs: First, instead of **reversing** the AH (GEN > PCOMP > DO > SUBJ), resumptive pronouns appear most often in subject position, followed by direct object, prepositional complement, and genitive position. Second, instead of co-occurring with less explicit REL particles, resumptives rather combine with more explicit REL pronouns, particularly *which*. The frequency of resumptive pronouns in my data is extremely low; when subtracting all nonrestrictive instances, only a handful of examples (5 instances) are left. The REL pronoun *which* predominates (in subject position) owing to its status as 'principal nonrestrictive REL marker'. As nonrestrictive RCs are rather unfamiliar ground for many dialect speakers, they resort to the easiest type of RC (i.e., relativization on the subject position) with the help of a resumptive pronoun, in addition to nonrestrictive *which*.

Resumptive pronouns in complex RCs give rise to new constructions (which are ungrammatical in Standard English), as resumptives explicate the grammatical function of the relativized NP in its underlying position (normal clause position) and thus maintain the coreference relation between antecedent and REL marker. Resumptives overcome the coordinate construction constraint in multiple RCs (that means, the relativized NP serves different grammatical functions in both/various conjuncts). Relativization into more subordinate clauses, for instance, into interrogative and conditional clauses, is enabled by the presence of a resumptive pronoun. By expressing the subject in the further embedded clause, resumptive pronouns save 'subject in partially object environment' RCs from incorrect parsing and provide an overt subject in the case of zero RCs, which are subjectless in this syntactic environment in the standard variety. More explicit even than resumptive pronouns are nonreduced NPs, which resume (part or whole of) the antecedental NP in the RC.

Analyzing RCs involving the REL pronoun *which* that seem to lack a concrete antecedent as instances of the so-called 'connector' *which* phenomenon (in which elements of discourse are linked via a general connecting conjunction *which*) is neither necessary nor warranted. On

closer examination, all those instances of alleged 'connector' *which* are explainable in terms of (1) preposition elision, (2) occurrences of resumptives, and (3) new starts, in situations of online speech production. All those instances include the REL pronoun *which* because either a nonpersonal referent is **modified** by a nonrestrictive adnominal RC or a sentential RC, which is inherently nonrestrictive. (The sole personal antecedent modified by a nonrestrictive RC is produced by a speaker (CSW-SRLM 224: CA) who has a predilection for using *which* with personal antecedents.) In other words, the REL pronoun *which* operates in its favorite (nonpersonal antecedent; nonrestrictive adnominal RC) or only possible (sentential RC) syntactic environment. (1) Preposition elision causes the REL marker to function as a mere adverbial (in lieu of a prepositional complement serving adverbial function) or as an indirect object (in lieu of a prepositional complement serving prepositional object function). In unplanned speech, prepositions are occasionally "forgotten" when stranded, especially after another preposition. Preposition elision occurs with various REL markers and in different types of subordinate clauses. (2) Resumptive pronouns and nonreduced NPs naturally fill a grammatical slot a second time. This does not entail the REL marker being deprived of its grammatical function, neither in combination with *which* nor with any other REL marker. (3) New starts are recurrent in spontaneous conversation. Particularly in unfamiliar and difficult syntactic environments, dialect speakers attempt to construct a (subject) RC but change course in midclause in favor of a paratactic construction.

Though posing the question whether there is a preposed subtype (an adnominal or sentential RC in which the RC precedes its 'postcedent'), I decide against the existence of such a subtype in English dialects. Even in those RCs which lack any potential preceding antecedent, I plead for an analysis of a RC in which the 'antecedent' is involuntarily omitted, as a consequence of online production, but occurs as an afterthought.

Relative clauses can assume three positions in a sentence: final, medial, and extraposed. Position is largely dependent on word order, such that the SVO language English (having postnominal RCs) produces final RCs when an object or complement is modified. When the subject of the matrix is modified, the RC can either be medialized or extraposed. Final RCs are easiest to process since they combine the favorable properties 'adjacency of antecedent and RC' and 'noninterruption of the matrix'; medial RCs just possess the former property whereas extraposed only possess the latter. On that account, extraposed RCs are most difficult to process and scarcely to be found (6.57 %). Whether RCs take medial or extraposed position is partially determined by the length of the RC (and the matrix clause) and its focal weight, such that shorter and 'lighter' RCs are medialized while longer and 'heavier' or complex RCs

are extraposed (particularly if the matrix is relatively short). On the other hand, the position correlates with (non)restrictiveness: Medial RCs tend to be restrictive. They constitute a strong type of modifier, behaving like 'proper nominals', which cling to their antecedents. For that reason, restrictive medial RCs do not demand explicit REL markers, which explains the occurrence(s) of zero and *as* in my data. In contradistinction to that, extraposition and nonrestrictiveness correlate. In my data, the percentage of nonrestrictives in extraposed RCs more than doubles the percentage of nonrestrictives overall. Nonrestrictive extraposed RCs correspond more closely to the image of 'proper clauses', as they are weaker modifiers, which can be moved away from their antecedents. However, they need more explicit REL markers to prevent complete dissociation from the antecedent. Therefore, the zero REL marker is not found in my data, although other REL particles do occur.

Copies differ from resumptive pronouns in expressing the antecedent in the continuation of the matrix clause. They constitute mental props which spell out the grammatical function of the antecedent after the intervening medial RC. Copies are frequent in the speech of broad dialect speakers. As a product of online production, they ease off the memory load caused especially by longer medial RCs.

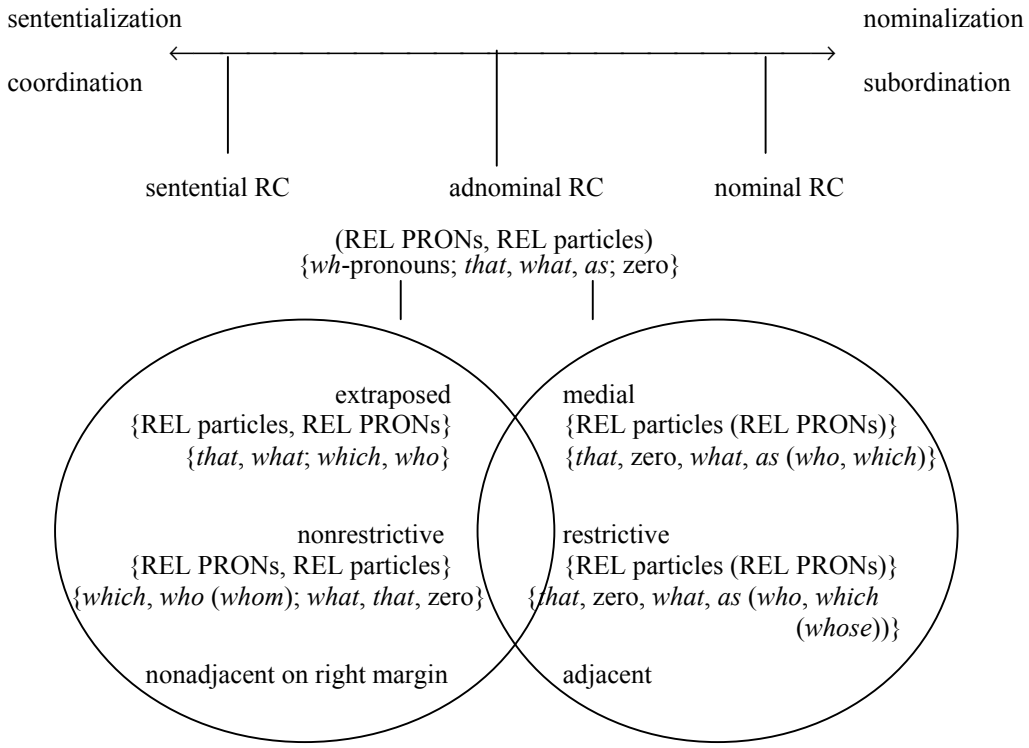
To sum up, there is significant correlation between the cline of subordination and the cline of explicitness. The convergence of the two clines is based on the strength of modification: strong modifiers like restrictive or medial RCs adhere to their antecedents yet permit inexplicit REL markers like zero; weak modifiers like nonrestrictive or extraposed RCs may stray away from their antecedent but require more explicit REL markers like REL pronouns to forestall complete dissociation.

As indicated on the CLINE OF SUBORDINATION AND CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS COMBINED IN STANDARD ENGLISH on page 53 above, extraposed RCs strongly prefer REL pronouns and nonrestrictive RCs demand REL pronouns in Standard English. On the other hand, in (written) Standard English, even medial and restrictive RCs prefer REL pronouns but also allow REL particles.

In dialect, this division of labor of REL markers is loosened and enriched by some additional participants. The maximally explicit positions nonreduced NPs and resumptive pronouns, which appear in addition to a REL marker at the beginning of the RC, are only to be found in dialects. (More explicit REL markers and greater redundancy in dialect compensate for a lack in declension possibilities of REL pronouns.) Dialects possess (additional) indigenous REL particles, like *what* and *as*. In their use of standard REL pronouns and particles (*who*, *which*,

that; zero), dialects are less constrained: Nonrestrictive RCs may also be introduced by (less explicit) REL particles, such as *that*, *what*, and even the nonexplicit zero. Extraposed RCs more often combine with the REL particles *that* and *what* than with the REL pronouns *who* and *which*. In restrictive RCs, REL particles (i.e., *that*, *what*, *as*, and zero) account for 87.57 % of all REL markers. In medial RCs, (the same) REL particles amount to 85.3 % of all REL markers. These combination possibilities and preferences are portrayed in the CLINE OF SUBORDINATION AND CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS COMBINED IN DIALECTAL ENGLISH:

CLINE OF SUBORDINATION AND CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS COMBINED IN DIALECTAL ENGLISH

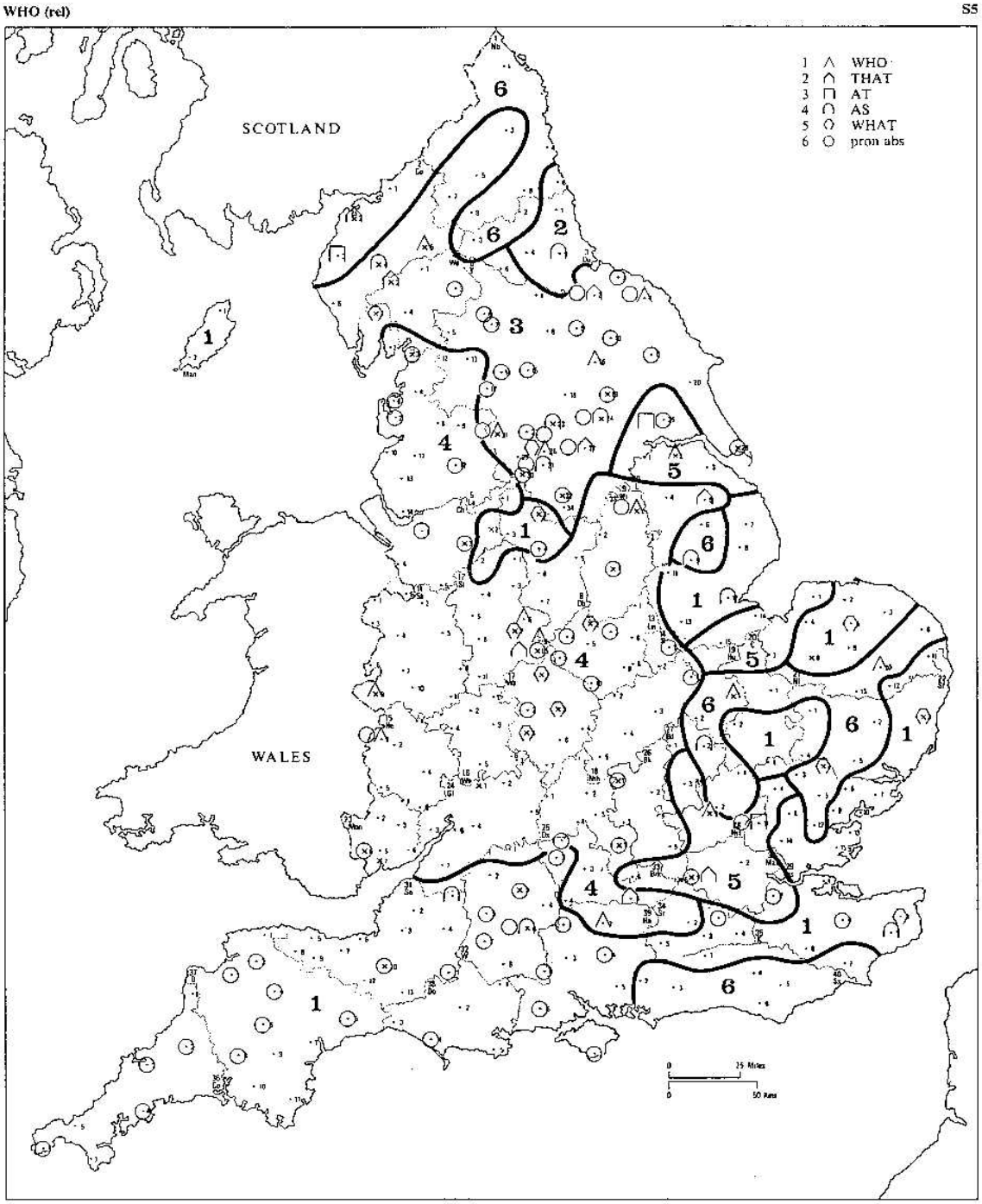


The circles around the correlating clusters overlap. Comparing this diagram above with the CLINE OF SUBORDINATION AND CLINE OF EXPLICITNESS COMBINED IN STANDARD ENGLISH on page 53, we see that REL particles (dominant in the right cluster above) have swamped the left cluster (rather reserved for REL pronouns), as dialects are freer in their usage of REL markers.—From a diachronic point of view, however, it is rather the other way round: The left cluster, which relies more on explicit REL pronouns, has invaded

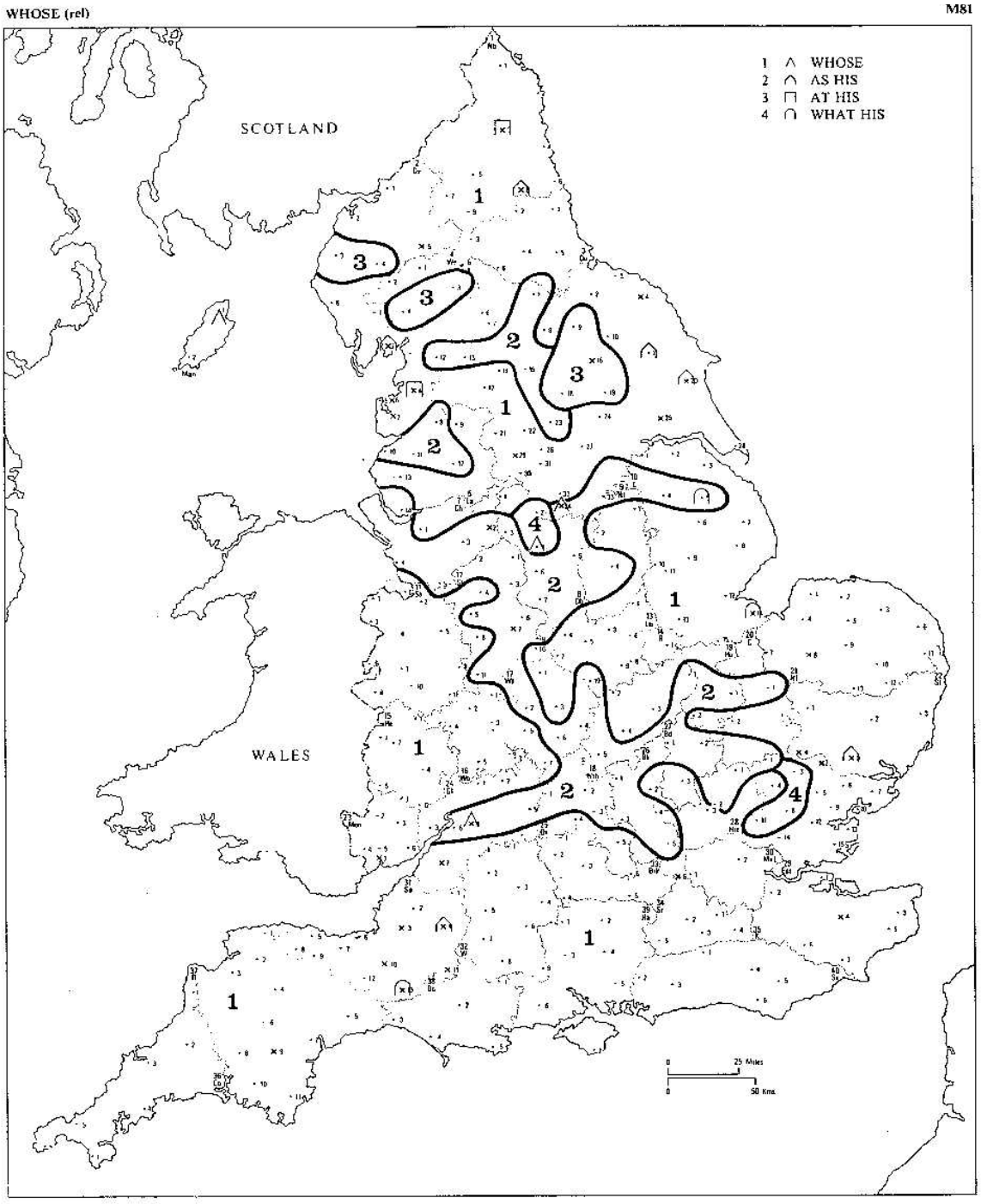
the former territory of REL particles in the right cluster, reflecting the influence of Standard English in the form of spreading *wh*-pronouns.—Nonstandard *what* has advanced furthest: While it can relativize all (combinations of) subtypes, its percentages (in comparison to all other REL particles) are most evened out between its use in restrictive (66.47 %) and nonrestrictive (33.53 %) RCs and between medial (78.57 %) and extraposed RCs (21.43 %). (Being the most versatile REL marker, *what* equally cuts across the personal/nonpersonal dichotomy.) Contrasting with all dialectal REL markers, nonstandard *what* is on the rise. It may develop into an adnominal REL pronoun (if found with fronted prepositions) or even into a sentential REL pronoun (compare examples (15)-(17) on page 57 above in 6.3. SENTENTIAL RELATIVE CLAUSES), and/or make its debut in (spoken) Standard English.

APPENDIX 1:

Map 7 S5 (LAE) (SED Question IX.9.5 who)



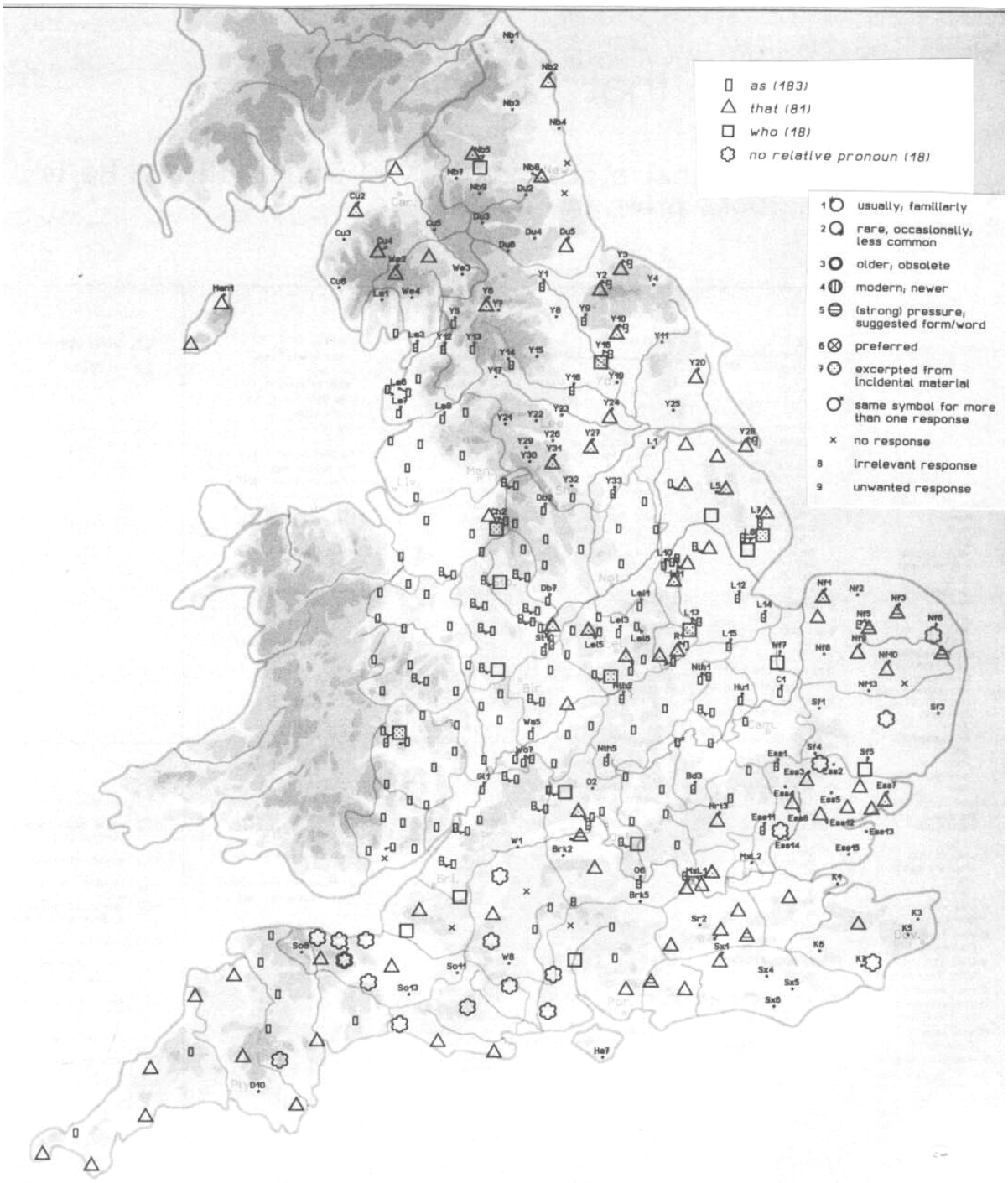
Map 8 M81 (LAE) (SED Question IX.9.6 whose)



Map 9 S 8a: III.3.7 that (The computer developed linguistic atlas of England 1)

S 8a: III.3.7 that

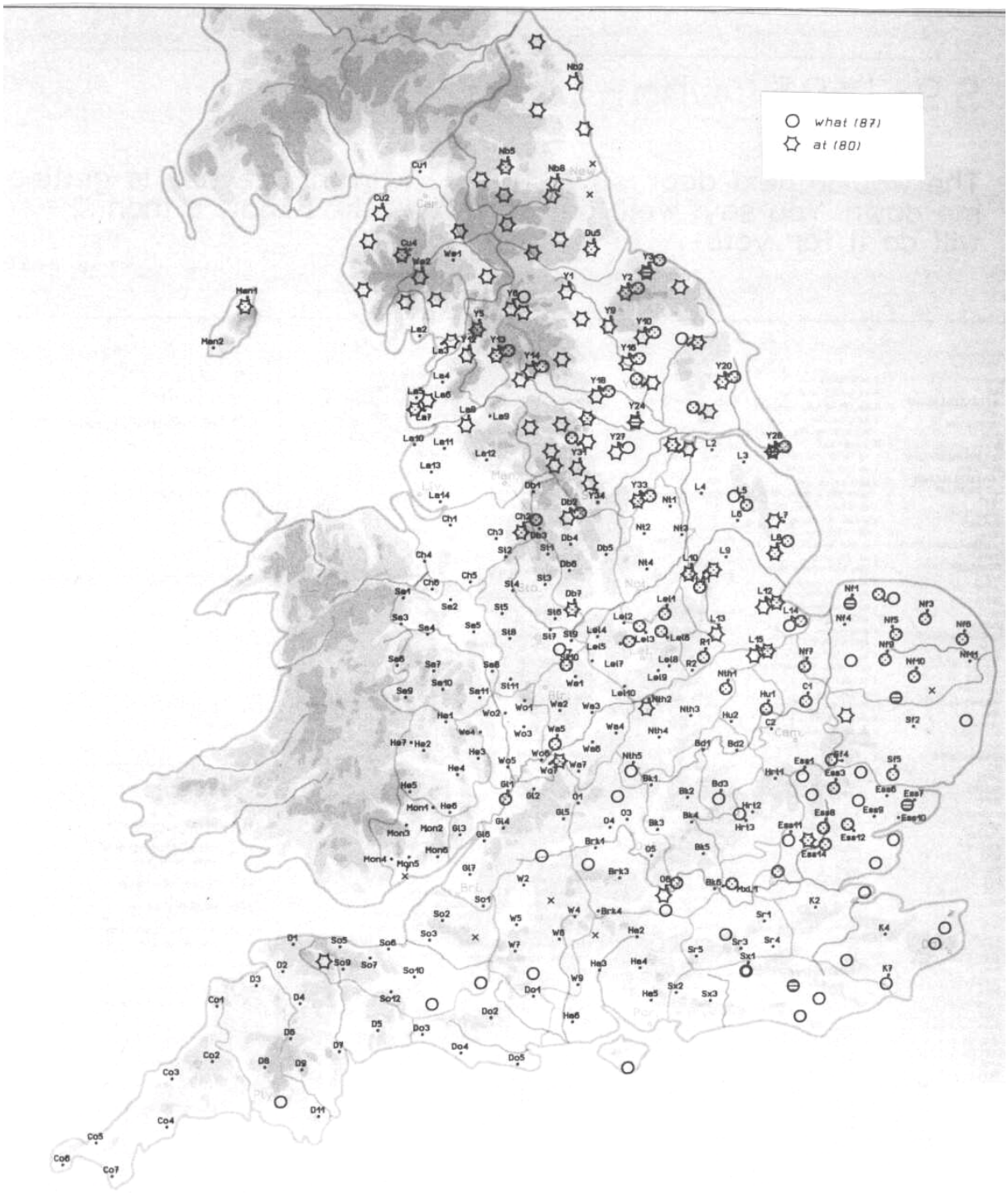
If I didn't know what a cowman is, you would tell me: He is the man ... looks after the cows.



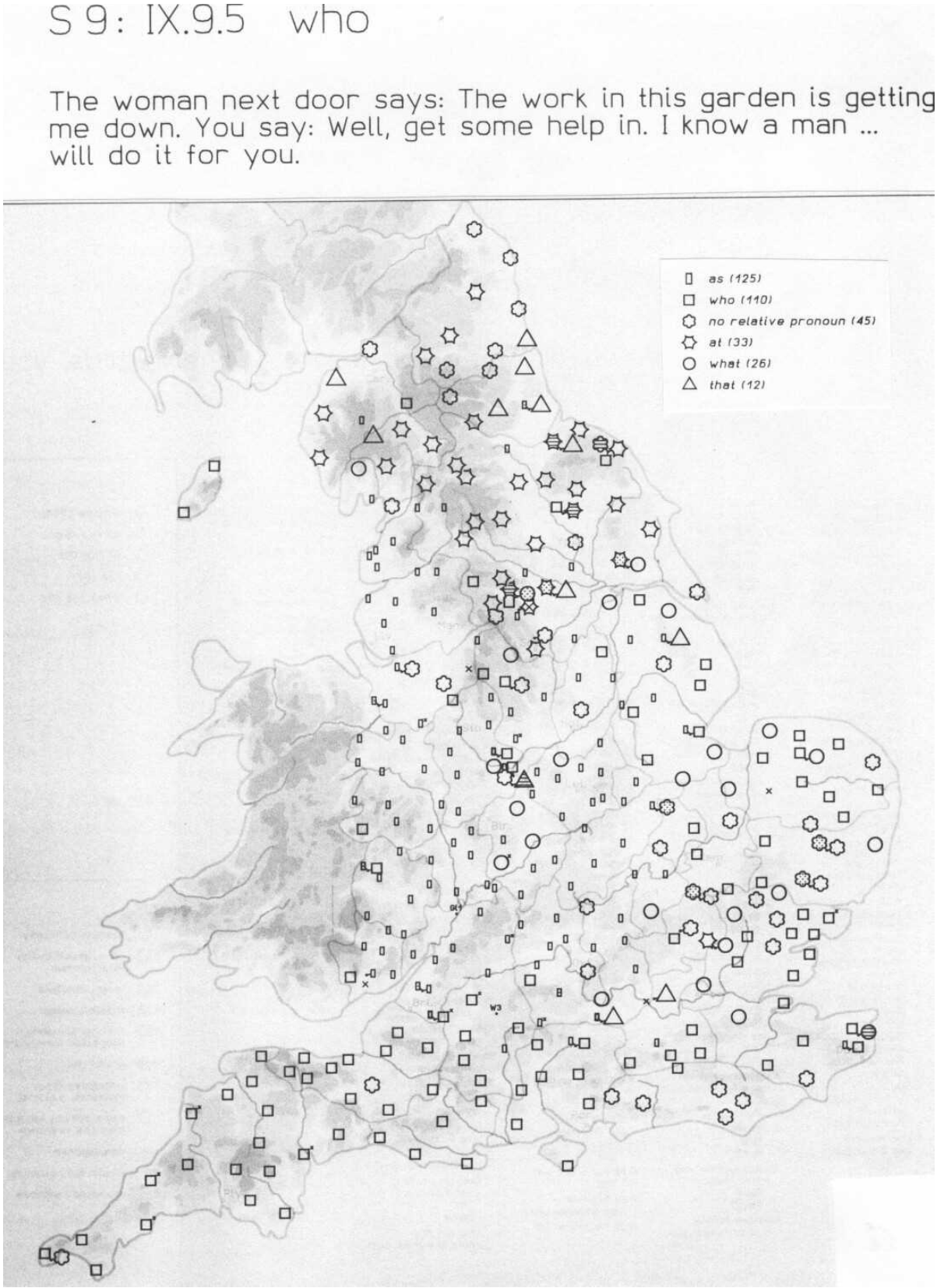
Map 10 S 8b III.3.7 that (The computer developed linguistic atlas of England 1)

S 8b : III.3.7 that

If I didn't know what a cowman is, you would tell me: He is the man ... looks after the cows.



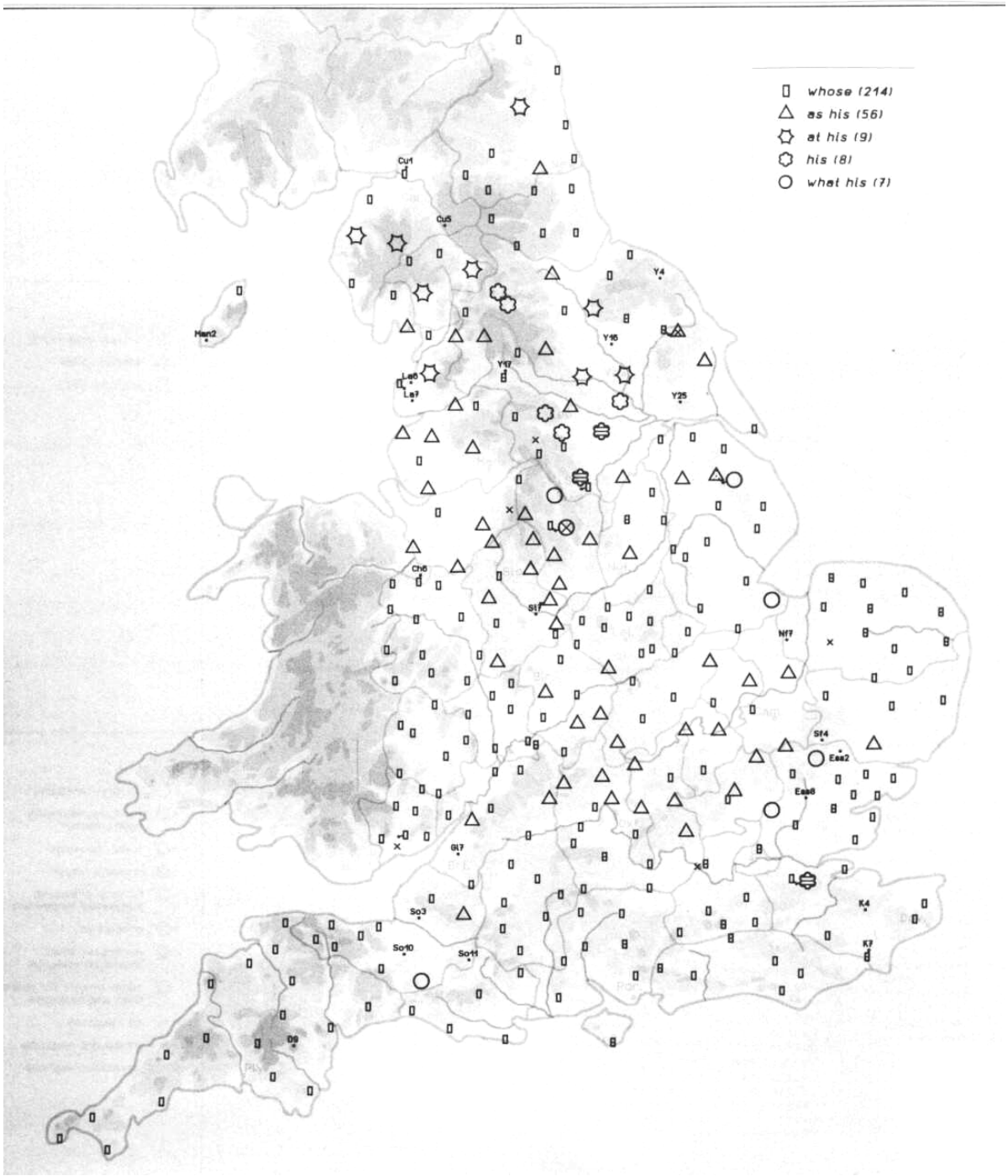
Map 11 S 9 IX.9.5 who (The computer developed linguistic atlas of England 1)



Map 12 S 10 IX.9.6 whose (The computer developed linguistic atlas of England 1)

S 10: IX.9.6 whose

That man's uncle was drowned last week. In other words, you might say, that's the chap ... uncle was drowned.



APPENDIX 2:

In the **Central Southwest**, the SED investigated 7 localities in Eastern Somerset, 6 in Western Somerset, 8 in Wiltshire, 5 in Dorset, 5 in Berkshire (4 in West Berkshire), 6 in Oxfordshire, 1 in South Gloucestershire (Gl7 = Latteridge), and 3 in Western Hampshire (Ha1, Ha3; Ha6). In the SED *Basic Material*, vol. II: *The West Midland counties*, parts I (1969) and III (1971) and vol. IV: *The southern counties*, parts I (1967) and III (1968), the following occurrences of REL markers are recorded in response to SED Questions III.3.7, IX.9.5, and IX.9.6; incidental material is given in parentheses (cf. Orton & Wakelin 1967: 288-292; Orton & Wakelin 1968: 1154-1157; Orton & Barry 1969: 254; Orton & Barry 1971: 1071/1072):[114]

Table 19 SED Question III.3.7 (and incidental material) of the Central Southwest

CSW **SED Question III.3.7** **(Incidental material)**	*what*	*that*	*at*	*'t*	*who*	*as*	zero[115]
Eastern Somerset:	2 (9)	2			2	(1)	
Western Somerset:		1	1				4
Wiltshire	2 (3)	1 (2)				2 (10)	3
Dorset	(1)	2 (1)				(1)	3
West Berkshire	1 (1)	2				1 (19)	
Oxfordshire	1 (1)	(2)		1	2 (1)	3 (19)	
South Gloucestershire						1 (1)	
Western Hampshire		(2)			1		1

[114] Occasionally, informants gave no answer or more than one answer.

[115] In the SED, 'zero' means 'pronoun absence', i.e., the SED is noncommittal as to whether these occurrences are instances of the zero REL marker, paratactic continuations, elisions of personal pronouns (pro-drop), or *that*-less object clauses (in response to Question IX.9.5: *I know* [*a man will do it for you*].) (see below Table 23; *footnote* 128).

Table 20 SED Question IX.9.5 (and incidental material) of the Central Southwest

CSW **SED Question IX.9.5** **(Incidental material)**	*what*	*that*	*at*	*'t*	*who*	*as*	zero	'zero'[116]
Eastern Somerset:					7	1	(2)[117]	1
Western Somerset:					6			
Wiltshire					7	2	(3)[118]	(4)[119]
Dorset					5			(1)[120]
West Berkshire					1	4	(1)[121]	
Oxfordshire	(1)					4	(1)[122]	1
South Gloucestershire						1		
Western Hampshire					3		(2)	(1)[123]

Table 21 SED Question IX.9.6 (and incidental material) of the Central Southwest

CSW **SED Question IX.9.6** **(Incidental material)**	*what's*	*whose*	*as his*	reconstruction as subject RC	parataxis
Eastern Somerset:	1	2	1	2[124]	1[125]
Western Somerset:		6			
Wiltshire		9			
Dorset		5			
West Berkshire		4			
Oxfordshire		3	3		
South Gloucestershire				1[126]	
Western Hampshire		3			

In **East Anglia**, the SED investigated 5 localities in Suffolk, 2 in Cambridgeshire, 13 in Norfolk, and 15 in Essex. The SED *Basic Material*, vol. III: *The East Midland counties and East Anglia*, parts I (1969) and III (1971) record the following occurrences of REL markers in

[116] In the SED, 'zero' means 'pronoun absence', i.e., the SED is noncommittal as to whether these occurrences are instances of the zero REL marker, paratactic continuations, elisions of personal pronouns (pro-drop), or *that*-less object clauses (in response to Question IX.9.5: *I know* [*a man will do it for you*].)

[117] One zero occurs in a *there*-existential and one in a *have*-existential.

[118] All 3 zeros occur in *there*-existentials. In addition, 1 zero occurs in object position.

[119] These dubious 'zeros' might just as well be parataxes.

[120] This dubious 'zero' might just as well be a parataxis.

[121] This zero occurs in a *there*-existential.

[122] This zero occurs in a copular '*be*' clause introduced by *here*.

[123] This is probably a cleft-sentence.

[124] These 2 reconstructions as subject RCs are *at lost his uncle* and *his uncle what was drowned*.

[125] Namely, *uncle got drowned*.

[126] This reconstruction as a nonpossessive subject RC is *as had his uncle drowned*.

East Anglia (and surroundings) in response to SED Questions III.3.7, IX.9.5, and IX.9.6; incidental material is given in parentheses (cf. Orton & Tilling 1969: 301-303; Orton & Tilling 1971: 1325-1327):[127]

Table 22 SED Question III.3.7 (and incidental material) of East Anglia

EAN SED Question III.3.7 (Incidental material)	*what*	*that*	*at*	*'t*	*who*	*as*	zero
Suffolk	1 (7)		1		1		2
Cambridgeshire	(1)					2 (4)	
Norfolk	4 (13)	6 (1)			1	(1)	1
Essex	8 (25)	6 (3)	(1)			(3)	1

Table 23 SED Question IX.9.5 (and incidental material) of East Anglia

EAN SED Question IX.9.5 (Incidental material)	*what*	*that*	*at*	*'t*	*who*	*as*	zero	'zero'[128]
Suffolk	1				2		[129]	2[130] (2)[131]
Cambridgeshire					1			1[132]
Norfolk	3	1			8		(1)[133]	2[134]
Essex	3		1		10		(3)[135]	3[136]

[127] Occasionally, informants gave no answer or more than one answer.

[128] In the SED, 'zero' means 'pronoun absence', i.e., the SED is noncommittal as to whether these occurrences are instances of the zero REL marker, paratactic continuations, elisions of personal pronouns (pro-drop), or *that*-less object clauses (in response to Question IX.9.5: *I know* [*a man will do it for you*].)

That means, some—or even all—of these instances might not be RCs with a zero REL marker. For example, the syntactic interpretation of *will help you* from Norfolk hinges on the bracketing (or on prosody): *I know* ***a man*** [∅ *will help you*]$_{RC}$ or *I know* [*a man will help you*]$_{Object\ clause}$. All other responses are equally ambiguous between a RC reading and an object clause reading: *I know* ***a man*** [∅ *want the job*]$_{RC}$ or *I know* [*a man want the job*]$_{Object\ clause.}$

Absence of 3rd person singular *–s* in the present tense is a typical Norfolk feature (cf. Trudgill 1995: 136).

Therefore, these occurrences of 'zero' should be disregarded, as the occurrence of a zero REL marker in this linguistic environment is dubious.

[129] One zero occurs in object position.

[130] The response is *would* both times.

[131] Namely, *a bloke would help ye* and *somebody would help you*.

[132] The response is *someone will help*.

[133] This zero appears in a *there*-existential.

[134] The responses are *will help you* and *want the job*.

[135] All 3 zeros appear in *there*-existentials. In one case, doubts cannot be totally ruled out as to its nature as a zero RC, namely in *there's a cap go through* in Essex (cf. Orton & Tilling 1971: 1326).

[136] The responses are *somebody would do it*, *a man would help ye*, and *a man could do it*.

Table 24 SED Question IX.9.6 (and incidental material) of East Anglia

EAN **SED Question IX.9.6** **(Incidental material)**	*what his*	*what's*	*what*	*that's*	*whose*	*as his*	recon-struction as subject RC	parataxis
Suffolk					3	1	1[137]	
Cambridgeshire					1	1		
Norfolk					11 (1)		1[138]	
Essex	1	1	1	1	10	1		1[139]

In the **Central Midlands**, the SED investigated 4 localities in Nottinghamshire, 1 in Eastern Derbyshire (Db5 = Stonebroom), and 4 in North-Western Leicestershire (Lei2, Lei4, Lei5; Lei7). In the SED basic material volumes II and III *The West Midland counties* (part I and III) and *The East Midland counties and East Anglia* (part I and III), the following occurrences of REL markers are recorded in response to SED Questions III.3.7, IX.9.5, and IX.9.6; incidental material is given in parentheses (cf. Orton & Barry 1969: 250; Orton & Barry 1971: 1071/1072; Orton & Tilling 1969: 296-299; Orton & Tilling 1971: 1324-1326):[140]

Table 25 SED Question III.3.7 (and incidental material) of the Central Midlands

CMI **SED Question III.3.7** **(Incidental material)**	*what*	*that*	*at*	*'t*	*who*	*as*	zero
Nottinghamshire						4 (12)	
Eastern Derbyshire						1 (3)	
North-Western Leicestershire	(1)	(1)				4 (23)	

[137] Namely, *what had his uncle drowned*.

[138] Namely, *his uncle is the one what got drowned*.

[139] Namely, *his uncle was drowned*.

[140] Occasionally, informants gave no answer or more than one answer.

Table 26 SED Question IX.9.5 (and incidental material) of the Central Midlands

CMI **SED Question IX.9.5** **(Incidental material)**	*what*	*that*	*at*	*'t*	*who*	*as*	zero	'zero'[141]
Nottinghamshire					1	2	(1)[142]	1[143]
Eastern Derbyshire						1		
North-Western Leicestershire	1					3	(2)[144]	

Table 27 SED Question IX.9.6 (and incidental material) of the Central Midlands

CMI **SED Question IX.9.6** **(Incidental material)**	*whose*	*as his*	reconstruction as subject RC	parataxis
Nottinghamshire	3	1		
Eastern Derbyshire		1		
North-Western Leicestershire	4[145]			

In the **Central North**, the SED investigated 6 localities in Cumberland, 4 in Westmorland, and 2 in North Lancashire (La1; La2). The SED *Basic Material*, vol. I: *The six northern counties and the Isle of Man*, parts I (1962) and III (1963) record the following occurrences of REL markers in response to SED Questions III.3.7, IX.9.5, and IX.9.6; incidental material is given in parentheses (cf. Orton & Halliday 1962: 243; Orton & Halliday 1963: 1082-1085):[146]

[141] In the SED, 'zero' means 'pronoun absence', i.e., the SED is noncommittal as to whether these occurrences are instances of the zero REL marker, paratactic continuations, elisions of personal pronouns (pro-drop), or *that*-less object clauses (in response to Question IX.9.5: *I know* [*a man will do it for you*].)

[142] This zero occurs in a *there*-existential.

[143] Namely, *a chap [woul]d help you*.

[144] These 2 zeros occur in *there*-existentials. In addition, 1 zero occurs in object position.

[145] The SED Basic Material phonetically transcribes these 4 alleged instances of *whose* as [əz], which is the identical phonetic transcription for *as* in North-Western Leicestershire in Questions III.3.7 and IX.9.5. Viereck's (1991) Map S10 interprets these 4 instances as *whose*, while instances with a resumptive possessive pronoun are interpreted as *as his*, i.e., [*əz*] *uncle was drowned* is interpreted as *whose uncle was drowned* while [*əz*] *his uncle was drowned* is interpreted as *as his uncle was drowned*. Poussa (2002) also remarks on the dubiousness of these examples, but she interprets them as instances of 'personal pronouns functioning as relatives' [i.e., *his* (?)] (cf. Poussa 2002: 10).

[146] Occasionally, informants gave no answer or more than one answer.

Table 28 SED Question III.3.7 (and incidental material) of the Central North

CNO **SED Question III.3.7** **(Incidental material)**	*what*	*that*	*at*	*'t*	*who*	*as*	zero
Cumberland		3	4	1			
Westmorland		2	3				
North Lancashire			1			1	

Table 29 SED Question IX.9.5 (and incidental material) of the Central North

CNO **SED Question IX.9.5** **(Incidental material)**	*what*	*that*	*at*	*ut*	*who*	*as*	zero	'zero'[147]
Cumberland		1	2	1	1	1	(1)[148]	1
Westmorland		1	3				(1)[149]	
North Lancashire	1					1		

Table 30 SED Question IX.9.6 (and incidental material) of the Central North

CNO **SED Question IX.9.6** **(Incidental material)**	*at his*	*at's*	*whose*	*as his*	reconstruction as subject RC	parataxis
Cumberland	1	1	3		2[150]	
Westmorland	2		2			
North Lancashire			1	1		

[147] In the SED, 'zero' means 'pronoun absence', i.e., the SED is noncommittal as to whether these occurrences are instances of the zero REL marker, paratactic continuations, elisions of personal pronouns (pro-drop), or *that*-less object clauses (in response to Question IX.9.5: *I know* [*a man will do it for you*].)

[148] This zero occurs in a *there*-existential.

[149] This zero occurs in a *there*-existential.

[150] Namely, *who got his uncle drowned* and *at had an uncle drowned*.

APPENDIX 3:

Table 31 SCALE/ HIERARCHY OF BROADNESS OF REL MARKERS APPLIED TO ALL 96 SPEAKERS (13 CSW + 8 EAN + 14 SCO + 14 CMI + 14 CNO + 33 NIR)

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<	▌	>	>	>	
CSW-SRLM 105	(broad) (15 RCs)		**[2]**[151]	**3**	**3**	**2 / 5**	**1**	**1 / - [1]**		
CSW-SRLM 107	(broad) (27 RCs)			**1**	**1**	**2 / 16**	**1**	**6 / - [6]**		
CSW-SRLM 108	(broad) (25 RCs)		**[2]**	**1**	**6**	**4 / 14**				
CSW-SRLM 109	(broad) (68 RCs)			**24**	**2**	**16 / 6**	**12**	**8 / - [8]**		
CSW-SRLM 122	(broad) (25 RCs)			**3**	**3**	**3 / 3**	**-**	**12 / - [12]**	**1**	
CSW-SRLM 123: man	(broad) (17 RCs)			**5**	**3**	**4 / 3**	**2**			

[151] Examples:

CSW-SRLM 105<T 1160>
[...] ***All as*** *we could get for this milk was four pence a gallon, [...].*

CSW-SRLM 105<T 1300>
[...] I broke him in, a lovely shire horse, and ***all as*** *I could get for un were fifty pound.*

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<	▌	>	>	>	
CSW-SRLM 123: wife	(broad) (1 RC)						**1**			
CSW-SRLM 132	(broad) (29 RCs)			**10**	**1**	**5 / 8**	**-**	**4 / 1** **[1]**		
CSW-SRLM 5: LD	(broad) (4 RCs)			**2**	**-**	**2 / -**				
CSW-SRLM 20: AE	(broad) (13 RCs)			**4**	**1**	**- / 6**	**2**			
CSW-SRLM 62: HR	(broad) (27 RCs)		**[1]**	**3**	**6**	**5 / 10**	**-**	**2 / -** **[2]**	**1**	
CSW-SRLM 224: CA	(broad) (28 RCs)			**8**	**1**	**8 / 6**	**1**	**4 / -**		
CSW-SRLM 302: SH	(broad) (12 RCs)			**1**	**2**	**4 / -**	**2**	**- / 3**		
EAN-H5G/H5H: PSEAN2/4	(broad) (118 RCs)			**43**	**8**	**25 / 10**	**9**	**20 / -** **[5]**	**3**	
EAN-HDH/HYC: PSEAN6/17	(broad) (49 RCs)			**13**	**2**	**12 / 15**	**2**	**1 / 3** **[1]**	**1**	
EAN-K65: PSEAN8	(broad) (15 RCs)			**7**	**-**	**8 / -**				
EAN-K65: PSEAN9	(medium) (4 RCs)			**1**	**1**	**- / 1**	**-**	**1 / -** **[1]**		
EAN-K68: PSEAN11	(moderate) (41 RCs)					**3 / 10**	**11**	**10 / 4** **[3]**	**3**	

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<	▌	>	>	>	
EAN-K69: PSEAN13	(modest) (91 RCs)				**1**	**9 / 28**	**10**	**31 / - [1]**	**12**	
EAN-HDK: PSEAN15	(modest) (14 RCs)			**1**	**1**	**2/ 2**	**4**	**2 / 2 [1]**		
EAN-HDL: PSEAN19	(moderate) (90 RCs)			**2**	**4**	**10 / 27**	**11**	**19 / 9 [3]**	**8**	
CMI-FYD: PSCMI10	(broad) (23 RCs)		**2 [1]**	**19**	**-**	**- / 2**				
CMI-FYE: PSCMI12	(broad) (20 RCs)		**5**	/[152]	**-**	**4 / 8**	**-**	**3 / -**		
CMI-FXU: PSCMI15	(moderate) (53 RCs)				**2**	**2 / 16**	**11**	**12 / 6 [7]**	**2**	**1 / 1**
CMI-FXV: PSCMI17	(medium) (31 RCs)				**1**	**5 / 6**	**-**	**17 / 2 [19]**		
CMI-FXW: PSCMI18	(modest) (11 RCs)					**2 / 5**	**1**	**3 / -**		
CMI-FXX: PSCMI20	(moderate) (29 RCs)				**2**	**6 / 17**	**1**	**1 / - [1]**	**-**	**2 / -**
CMI-FXX: PSCMI21	(medium) (3 RCs)		**1**	/	**1**	**- / 1**				
CMI-FXX: PSCMI22	(medium) (5 RCs)				**1**	**- / 4**				

[152] The hierarchy is not disrupted by the blank in the slot of the REL marker *what*, because, beside a < sign, there is also a slash between the two: 1 *as* / no *what*.

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<		>		>	>
CMI-FXX: PSCMI23	(medium) (7 RCs)		**1**	/	**-**	**- / 6**		**[1]**		
CMI-FY0: PSCMI32	(broad) (7 RCs)			**6**	**-**	**-**	**1**			
CMI-FY2: PSCMI25	(medium) (18 RCs)		**1**	/	**3**	**4 / 2**	**-**	**8 / -** **[3]**		
CMI-FY5: PSCMI27	(moderate) (127 RCs)				**7**	**19 / 73**	**1**	**26 / -** **[4]**	**1**	
CMI-H4B: PSCMI35	(broad) (38 RCs)			**1**	**3**	**2 / 14**	**8**	**10 / -** **[6]**		
CMI-FYH: PSCMI29	(broad) (80 RCs)		**1**	/	**7**	**9 / 28**	**20**	**8 / 6** **[16]**	**-**	**- / 1**
CNO-AE: AmbAE	(broad) (33 RCs)		**1**	/	**10**	**3 / 19**				
CNO-AQ: AmbAQ	(broad) (25 RCs)		**1**	**3**	**2**	**7 / 4**	**4**	**1 / -**	**3**	
CNO-AY: AmbAY	(broad) (45 RCs)		**4**	/	**8**	**11 / 20**	**1**	**1 / -**		
CNO-BR: AmbBR	(broad) (46 RCs)			**2**	**10**	**4 / 21**	**1**	**6 / 2** **[4]**		
CNO-BX: AmbBX	(modest) (32 RCs)				**4**	**9 / 17**	**-**	**1 / 1** **[1]**		
CNO-CE: AmbCE	(medium) (4 RCs)					**2 / 2**				
CNO-CE: AmbCEa	(medium) (7 RCs)					**1 / 6**				
CNO-DA: AmbDA	(broad) (27 RCs)			**2**	**4**	**4 / 14**	**2**	**- / 1**		

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<		>	>	>	
CNO-DB: AmbDB	(medium) (31 RCs)			**1**	**9**	**5 / 13**	**1**	**2 / - [1]**		
CNO-BP: AmbBP	(moderate) (10 RCs)					**3 / 5**	**-**	**- / 2 [1]**		
CNO-DX: AmbDX	(medium) (43 RCs)				**1**	**7 / 21**	**5**	**3 / 6 [5]**		
CNO-HN: AmbHN	(moderate) (33 RCs)				**5**	**9 / 12**	**1**	**3 / 2 [1]**	**1**	
CNO-Z/AA: AmbZb	(medium) (78 RCs)			**2**	**15**	**8 / 25**	**1**	**13 / - [2]**	**14**	
CNO-Z/AA: AmbZs	(moderate) (4 RCs)					**1 / 3**				
SCO-GYU: PSSCO1	(medium) (69 RCs)				**2**	**15 / 15**	**11**	**20 / 4 [7]**	**2**	
SCO-GYS/GYT: PSSCO6/8	(broad) (50 RCs)				**16**	**10 / 24**				
SCO-FXP: PSSCO3	(moderate) (6 RCs)				**1**	**2 / 3**				
SCO-G62: PSSCO11	(broad) (52 RCs)			**1**	**2**	**10 / 35**	**4**	**[4]**		
SCO-G63: PSSCO15	(medium) (33 RCs)				**3**	**3 / 19**	**4**	**1 / 3**		
SCO-G63: PSSCO16	(medium) (19 RCs)			**1**	**-**	**2 / 13**	**1**	**1 / 1 [1]**		
SCO-G63: PSSCO17	(medium) (7 RCs)				**1**	**1 / 4**	**-**	**1 / -**		

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<	▌	>	>	>	
SCO-GYW: PSSCO18	(moderate) (120 RCs)				**4**	**18 / 25**	**16**	**34 / 10 [7]**	**11**	**- / 2**
SCO-K6K: PSSCO21	(modest) (10 RCs)				**1**	**2 / 7**		**[2]**		
SCO-K6L: PSSCO24	(moderate) (39 RCs)				**8**	**2 / 24**	**1**	**2 / 2 [2]**		
SCO-K6M: PSSCO26	(moderate) (45 RCs)				**2**	**5 / 25**	**6**	**3 / 2 [2]**	**2**	
SCO-K6N: PSSCO28	(medium) (9 RCs)				**4**	**- / 4**	**-**	**- / 1**		
SCO-K6N: PSSCO29	(medium) (9 RCs)					**2 / 6**	**1**			
SCO-K7G: PSSCO32	(medium) (54 RCs)				**1**	**6 / 37**	**2**	**5 / 1 [7]**	**2**	
NIR-2: AM	(broad) (13 RCs)				**11**	**- / 2**				
NIR-3: BO	(broad) (9 RCs)				**4**	**3/ 2**		**[1]**		
NIR-7: WG	(broad) (10 RCs)				**4**	**- / 5**	**1**			
NIR-12: LM	(broad) (24 RCs)				**1**	**8 / 15**				
NIR-19: JB	(broad) (11 RCs)				**4**	**3 / 4**				
NIR-4: ML	(broad) (1 RC)				**1**					
NIR-5: TF	(broad) (7 RCs)				**4**	**1 / 2**				

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<	▌	>	>	>	
NIR-6: AH	(broad) (6 RCs)				**2**	**2 / 2**				
NIR-11: JM	(broad) (30 RCs)				**12**	**4 / 14**				
NIR-8: WC	(broad) (16 RCs)				**2**	**2 / 11**	**1**			
NIR-9: JM	(broad) (16 RCs)					**- / 16**		**[1]**		
NIR-10: JM	(broad) (4 RCs)				**1**	**1 / 2**		**[1]**		
NIR-15: OM	(broad) (11 RCs)				**2**	**2 / 7**		**[1]**		
NIR-16: PT	(broad) (30 RCs)		**1**	/	**3**	**3 / 23**		**[1]**		
NIR-17: LD	(broad) (20 RCs)		**1**	/	**10**	**3 / 5**	**1**			
NIR-18: FC	(broad) (17 RCs)				**6**	**4 / 7**				
NIR-25: PH	(broad) (12 RCs)				**1**	**2 / 9**				
NIR-26: TK	(broad) (10 RCs)				**6**	**1 / 3**				
NIR-24: CM	(broad) (6 RCs)					**1 / 5**				
NIR-22: JO	(broad) (10 RCs)				**5**	**2 / 3**				
NIR-31: JR	(broad) (15 RCs)				**1**	**4 / 10**				

Speaker	(overall rating) (Σ RCs)		*as* /[*as* in T-structures]	*what*	∅ + S	∅ / *that*	r *who*	nr *which* / nr *who* /[sentential REL PRONs]	r *which*	*whose*/*whom*
			< /	<	<	▌	>	>	>	
NIR-32: MM	(broad) (8 RCs)				**1**	**4 / 3**				
NIR-33: MM	(broad) (30 RCs)				**11**	**11 / 7**	**-**	**1 / -**		
NIR-34: PH	(broad) (10 RCs)				**7**	**2 / 1**				
NIR-27: SB	(broad) (8 RCs)					**1 / 7**		**[3]**		
NIR-28: GG	(broad) (1 RC)					**- / 1**				
NIR-20: MS	(broad) (22 RCs)				**1**	**4 / 13**	**1**	**3 / - [1]**		
NIR-21: JA	(broad) (6 RCs)				**1**	**3 / 2**				
NIR-21: DA	(broad) (8 RCs)				**1**	**2 / 4**	**-**	**- / -**	**1**	
NIR-35: MM	(broad) (25 RCs)				**4**	**4 / 16**	**1**			
NIR-36: CO	(broad) (2 RCs)				**1**	**1 / -**				
NIR-38: MH	(broad) (4 RCs)					**1 / 3**				
NIR-30: PB	(broad) (5 RCs)				**5**					

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DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende Arbeit ist eine umfassende komparative Analyse von Relativsätzen und den mit Relativsätzen in Zusammenhang stehenden syntaktischen Phänomenen in englischen Dialekten aus typologischer Perspektive. Grundlage für diese Untersuchung bilden verschriftlichte und computerisierte Tonbandaufnahmen aus folgenden Teilen Großbritanniens: der mittlere Südwesten, East Anglia, die mittleren Midlands, der mittlere Norden, Schottland und Nordirland. Im Zentrum der Analyse stehen adnominale Relativsätze, während nominale und angeschlossene Relativsätze nur am Rande behandelt werden. Neben dem Grad der Subordination und Nominalisierung auf einer Skala der Subordination umfaßt die Typologie zwei weitere Parameter: Hinsichtlich der Stellung des Relativsatzes bilden alle englischen Dialekte postnominale Relativsätze aus, d.h. der Relativsatz folgt dem Antezedenten. In bezug auf die Verfahren der Subordination (Relativisierer) gibt es in den Dialekten neben Relativpronomen und Relativpartikeln resumptive Pronomen und nicht-reduzierte Nominalphrasen, welche auf einer Skala der Explizität ganz oben rangieren, wohingegen das Nullrelativum am unteren Ende angesiedelt ist. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Grad der Subordination können adnominale Relativsätze weiter in Restriktive und Nicht-restriktive und in Mediale und Extraponierte unterteilt werden, wobei einerseits Restriktivität und Medialität miteinander korrelieren und andererseits Nicht-Restriktivität und Extraposition, was auf der Stärke der Modifikation beruht. Restriktive und mediale Relativsätze sind stärkere Modifikatoren, da sie Nominalen eher gleichen als die satzähnlicheren nicht-restriktiven und extraponierten Relativsätze, die schwächere Modifikatoren darstellen. Durch die Nähe zum Antezedenten benötigen restriktive und mediale Relativsätze weit weniger explizite Relativisierer, wohingegen nicht-restriktive und extraponierte Relativsätze auf explizite Relativisierer angewiesen sind, um eine komplette Dissoziation vom entfernt stehenden Antezedenten zu verhindern (Konvergenz zwischen der Skala der Subordination und der Skala der Explizität).

Die regionale Verteilung der Relativisierer läßt in den untersuchten englischen Dialekten eine Dominanz der Relativpartikel erkennen. Das Vorkommen von *wh*-Relativpronomen spiegelt jedoch auch den Einfluß des Standardenglischen wider. Kasus-markierte Relativpronomen sind allerdings kaum nachzuweisen. Die archaische Dialektrelativpartikel *as* zieht sich

zunehmend aus den südlichen Gebieten (East Anglia und mittlerer Südwesten) weiter ins Landesinnere zurück. Gleichzeitig verliert sie auch in ihrer früheren Hochburg, den Midlands, zusehends an Einfluß und Stärke. Im mittleren Norden und in Nordirland ist *as* ohnehin sehr schwach repräsentiert. Die Existenz von *as* wird bedroht durch die stärkere Dialektpartikel *what*, die sich von Süden aus (East Anglia) über die Großstädte weiter nach Norden und damit über ganz Großbritannien auszubreiten scheint. In ihrer Heimat East Anglia hingegen wird die Frequenz der Relativpartikel *what* eher abnehmen, da sie dort wenig Ansehen genießt. In den mit älteren Dialektsprechern geführten Interviews wird *as* noch am häufigsten in den mittleren Midlands benutzt, gefolgt vom mittleren Norden, und einem Bezirk in Nordirland (Tyrone). *What* ist im Süden (mittlerer Südwesten und East Anglia) stark vertreten und verliert an Häufigkeit je weiter man nach Norden kommt. In Schottland (Glasgow) ist *what* sehr selten, während es in den ländlichen Gebieten Nordirlands (noch) nicht zu finden ist. Die Relativpartikel *that* und das Nullrelativum sind in allen untersuchten Regionen stark bis sehr stark vertreten, wobei sich *that* als die dominante Relativpartikel des Nordens präsentiert.

Obwohl Dialekten das Konzept der Nicht-restriktivität fremd ist, ist etwa ein Fünftel aller untersuchten Relativsätze nicht-restriktiv. Im Gegensatz zur Standardsprache jedoch werden nicht-restriktive Relativsätze auch mittels der Relativpartikel *that*, *what* und des Nullrelativums gebildet. *As* hat sich bereits aus dieser syntaktischen Umgebung zurückgezogen und relativisiert ausschließlich restriktive Relativsätze.

Im Vergleich zur Standardsprache erweisen sich Dialekte generell als weniger einschränkend. Bezüglich einer Kongruenz zwischen Antezedenten und Relativpronomen kann sich das nicht-personale Relativpronomen *which* in den Dialekten auch auf personale Antezedenten beziehen. Die adnominale Relativpartikel *what* kann im Gegensatz zum nominalen Relativpronomen *what* personale und nicht-personale Antezedenten gleichermaßen relativisieren.

Die von Keenan und Comrie aufgestellte Zugänglichkeitshierarchie beschreibt die unterschiedliche Zugänglichkeit einzelner syntaktischer Positionen in bezug auf die Relativisierung. Die hier vorgestellte leicht veränderte Version der Zugänglichkeitshierarchie wird in sämtlichen Strategien der Relativsatzbildung in allen untersuchten Dialekten bestätigt, mit einer leichten Einschränkung hinsichtlich des Nullrelativums. Die unterste und damit schwierigste Position der Zugänglichkeitshierarchie, die Genitivposition, wird im gesamten Korpusmaterial (480.000 Wörter) lediglich dreimal relativisiert. Anstelle eines Genitivrelativsatzes weichen Dialektsprecher auf parataktische Satzkonstruktionen aus.

Bezogen auf die Strategie, Pronomen beizubehalten, läßt sich die umgekehrte Zugänglichkeitshierarchie nicht bestätigen. Resumptive Pronomen sind im untersuchten Korpusmaterial extrem selten und zudem erscheinen die meisten resumptiven Pronomen in nicht-restriktiven Relativsätzen. Somit läßt sich die für restriktive Relativsätze aufgestellte Zugänglichkeitshierarchie nicht automatisch auf nicht-restriktive Relativsätze übertragen. Andererseits ermöglichen resumptive Pronomen die Relativisierung von tiefer eingebetteten Sätzen und schaffen damit neue komplexe Konstruktionen, die in der Standardsprache als ungrammatisch gelten.

Laut früherer Analysen kann das Relativpronomen *which* angeblich als reines (subordinierendes) Verbindungselement zwischen zwei Aussagen fungieren. Eine derartige Analyse ist weder notwendig noch gerechtfertigt, da alle diese Beispiele Fälle von weggelassenen Präpositionen, resumptiven Pronomen bzw. nicht-reduzierten Nominalphrasen und Neuanfängen sind, wie sie spontane Sprache typischerweise aufweist.

Zusammenfassend sind Dialekte in ihren Verwendungsmöglichkeiten von Relativisierern grundsätzlich freier als das Standardenglische. Häufig spiegeln Dialekte frühere Sprachstufen des Englischen wider, indem sie Elemente enthalten, die der heutigen Standardsprache verloren gegangen sind oder von ihr stigmatisiert werden. Dialekte besitzen zusätzliche Relativisierer und Redundanzmechanismen, die ein etwaiges Defizit an Deklinationsmöglichkeiten von Relativpronomen ausgleichen können.