HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ROMEYKA

MERVE YAZAR

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2024

HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ROMEYKA

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Linguistics

by

Merve Yazar

Boğaziçi University

2024

Headed Relative Clauses in Romeyka

The thesis of Merve Yazar

has been approved by:

Assist. Prof. Metin Bağrıaçık _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Assist. Prof. Ömer Demirok _____
(Thesis Co-Advisor)

Assist. Prof. Ümit Atlamaz _____

Prof. Martina Gračanin-Yüksek _____
(External Member)

Prof. Anna Roussou _____
(External Member)

April 2024

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Merve Yazar, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature……..

Date ……

ABSTRACT

Headed Relative Clauses in Romeyka

This thesis investigates Headed relative clauses in Romeyka, an endangered and understudied Asia Minor Greek variety spoken mainly in Trabzon, Türkiye. It is the very first extensive study of the Headed relatives in the language. It primarily involves a description of the noun phrase structure and finiteness in the language, and documents Headed relatives by providing a detailed description. It further offers a structural analysis of Headed relatives by focusing on three different linear positions with regard to demonstratives; two of these (N-RC and RC-N) yielding a restrictive reading, and one (RC-N) a non-restrictive one. The possible reasons for the two-way distinction of restrictive relatives are further investigated. The overall conclusion is that these two forms have different derivational paths; evidenced by the observation that the N-RC order shows connectivity effects (does not enable relativization out of islands and stacking) while RC-N doesn't. This corresponds to the idea that while RC-N is derived through matching, N-RC involves raising. The thesis also offers an analysis of the non-restrictives with the conclusion that they are integrated. Adopting Cinque (2020), a step-by-step derivation is provided for each Headed relative type. Considering that Romeyka bears no influence of Modern Greek unlike other Asia Minor Greek varieties, e.g., Cappadocian, Pharasiot, and Pontic, which employ both postnominal and prenominal relatives (Bağrıaçık, 2020; Drettas, 1989; Papadopoulos, 1955), this thesis provides important evidence for what underlies the appearance of the prenominal-postnominal variation in Asia Minor Greek as well.

ÖZET

Trabzon Rumcası’ndaki Baş Unsurlu İlgi Yantümceleri

Bu tez, tehlike altında ve üzerinde az çalışmış bir Küçük Asya Yunancası lehçesi olan Trabzon Rumcası’ndaki baş unsurlu ilgi yantümcelerini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma dildeki baş unsurlu ilgi yantümcelerinin ilk kapsamlı çalışmasıdır. Çalışma, baş unsurlu ilgi yantümcelerininin dökümantasyonunu yapmakta ve baş unsurlu ilgi yantümcelerinin gösterme adıllarına nazaran üç farklı çizgisel pozisyonuna odaklanarak bu yantümcelerin yapısal analizini sunmaktadır. Bu pozisyonlardan ikisi (İsim-Yantümce ve Yantümce-İsim) sınırlayıcı bir anlam vermekteyken diğeri (Yantümce-İsim) sınırlayıcı olmayan bir anlam vermektedir. Çalışmada iki farklı çizgisel pozisyonun sınırlayıcı anlam veriyor olmasının olası nedenleri de incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın genel sonucu, bu iki formun farklı türetme yollarına sahip olduğudur; İsim-Yantümce sırasının bağlantı etkileri gösterdiği ancak Yantümce-İsim sırasının bu etkileri göstermediği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Bu, Yantümce-İsim yapısının eşleştirme yoluyla türetildiğini, İsim-Yantümce yapısının ise yükseltme içerdiğini göstermektedir. Bu tez aynı zamanda sınırlayıcı olmayan baş unsurlu ilgi yantümceleri üzerine de bir analiz sunarak bunların bütünleşik olduğu sonucuna varmaktadır. Cinque (2020) benimsenerek, her baş unsurlu ilgi yantümcesi türü için türetme yolu gösterilmiştir. Trabzon Rumcası'nın, hem ad-sonrası hem de ad-öncesi ilgi yantümcesi kullanan Kapadokya, Farasiot ve Pontik (Bağrıaçık, 2020; Drettas, 1989; Papadopoulos, 1955) gibi diğer Küçük Asya Yunanca lehçelerinden farklı olarak Modern Yunanca etkisi taşımadığı göz önüne alındığında, bu tez Küçük Asya Yunancasında hem ad-sonrası hem de ad-öncesi varyasyonunun sebebinin ne olduğuna dair önemli kanıtlar sunmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my dear advisor Assist. Prof. Metin Bağrıaçık. His continuous assistance and care throughout this journey without a doubt has carried me to where I am today. He was there throughout it all. I always felt his constant support at times when I faced difficulties in life, which is something I will never forget. He surely believed in me and encouraged me on occasions where I was unsure of myself. He has been an excellent role model to me and I have always looked up to him; both as a linguist and as a person. He is such a kind-hearted and thoughtful soul, a great teacher, and an excellent guide, and I owe a lot to him. I don't think I have enough words to describe how grateful I am for everything he has done for me since day one. It was his insightful guidance and ideas that particularly shaped this thesis. I can't help but be in awe at his extensive knowledge, especially of Asia Minor Greek. I believe I have learned, and still have quite a lot to learn, from him. I consider myself quite lucky to have worked with him!

I would also like to extend my thanks to my co-advisor Assist. Prof. Ömer Demirok. I am really happy that I have had the chance to work and collaborate with him. His comments and contributions to this work were quite valuable. He has always encouraged me in my studies all this time. If I know one thing or two about morphemes and lambdas at the end of the day, it's thanks to him. As much of a great linguist as he is, he is also a great person. Throughout the years I have been in the department, he has always managed to make my day with his bubbly personality!

I would like to thank my committee member Assist. Prof. Ümit Atlamaz for his detailed commentary on the thesis and support throughout my master's study in every

regard. He is the person who taught me how to ask the right questions, and his classes always encouraged me to inquire further. I always enjoyed our discussions, and I surely have learned a lot from him.

My special thanks go to my committee member Prof. Anna Roussou. I am delighted to have her on my committee. The aspects that she highlighted were quite important and her detailed comments and questions developed this thesis further.

My deepest thanks go to my committee member Prof. Martina Gračanin-Yüksek for her thoughtful comments and extensive feedback on this work. She was the very first person who taught me syntax at Middle East Technical University, and I am honored to have her on my committee. Her classes were the ones I enjoyed the most during my undergraduate study. I will always remember her help and encouragement during my application process to Boğaziçi, which I am grateful for!

Without a doubt, my heartfelt thanks go to the informants. The Romeyka community welcomed me kindly and wholeheartedly, and this thesis surely would not have existed without their contributions. I am grateful for them always being patient with my endless questions and making the effort to help me even at their busiest times. This thesis is also theirs as much as it is mine.

I also owe a lot to my other professors at METU. The very first person who introduced me to the world of linguistics was Assoc. Prof. Duygu Sarısoy. She was always there for my endless questions. It was while I was taking her introductory class that I decided to pursue a graduate degree in the field and she always encouraged me and supported me. Prof. Çiğdem Sağın Şimşek's classes also stimulated my interest in linguistics further and her support surely helped me a lot. I am deeply grateful to both of my professors!

I came to Boğaziçi to study phonology in the first place, and I would like to thank our Romeyka phonology group for the opportunity: Assist. Prof. Stefano Canalis, and my friends Mete and Can. I must say we made a great team, and it was really fun to do research together!

My deepest thanks also go to the faculty members in the department at Boğaziçi, especially Assist. Prof. Kadir Gökgöz for his extensive support. I am also grateful to Prof. Balkız Öztürk, Prof. Mine Nakipoğlu, and Prof. Elena Guerzoni for their help and contributions to this day.

I was fortunate to get financial aid from TÜBİTAK (2210-A Yurtiçi Yüksek Lisans Programı) during this master's program. I sincerely thank TÜBİTAK for the support.

I wouldn't have made it without the support of my friends. Ayça was the person who was there almost every step of the way. She saw me at my worst, best, and silliest times. Pelin and Selin always managed to radiate their positivity and kindness, which I am delighted for. Berivan's support and company were also quite valuable. We met each other at challenging times and overcame the hardships we faced together, which is quite an important and memorable thing. I'll always cherish our memories together! I am more than grateful to my dear friend Buse, who made me feel at home in Istanbul with her love, generosity, and silly jokes. My dear friends Nursay and Sude have always supported me in every way ever since we met years ago at METU. I am also thankful to Betülay, Mete, and Furkan for their friendship. Last but not least, for the ten years that she has been in my life, as always, Gizem was there when all else failed.

I have also had the opportunity to meet and work with great people at TOBB ETU: Enes, Elif, Ashley, and Büşra; thanks for being great office mates. I would like to

especially thank my fellow linguist friend Enes for his encouragement. Thank you Janae for the tea times and heart-warming chats. And thank you all for your continuous support!

Needless to say, I wouldn't have done this without my family. I cannot express how much I love them, especially my father. I wouldn't be anywhere near where I am today without him. No matter how difficult times were, I always knew that I had him by my side. He was patiently there throughout all my existential crises. Thank you, Dad, for supporting me and believing in me.

I dedicate this thesis to the women of the Black Sea and the memory of my beloved grandmother, who was also a speaker of Romeyka.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

NOM	Nominative
ACC	Accusative
GEN	Genitive
DAT	Dative
F	Feminine
M	Masculine
N	Neuter
SG	Singular
PL	Plural
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
CL	Clitic
OBJ	Object
VAL	Validator
1.SG	First person singular
2.SG	Second person singular
3.SG	Third person singular
1.PL	First person plural
2.PL	Second person plural
3.PL	Third person plural
PRES	Present
PST	Past
FUT	Future tense
IRREAL	Irrealis
IMMED.PST	Immediate past
PFV	Perfective
NEG	Negation
REL	Relativizer
COMP	Complementizer

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the study

This thesis has two main goals. First, from a descriptive perspective, it aims to document an endangered variety of Pontic, offering a typological classification for the relative clauses in the language, which may further act as a reference tool for linguists. Second, from a theoretical perspective, we aspire to propose an analysis of the syntactic structure and the derivation of Headed relative clauses in Romeyka within the generative framework; and further present a detailed investigation of relativization strategies in the language.

Although some aspects of Romeyka morphosyntax (Neocleous 2020, 2022; Sitaridou, 2014a, 2014b, 2016; Yazar & Demirok, 2023) and phonetics (Yazar et al., 2023) have been previously investigated, along with studies with a descriptive comparative focus (Mackridge, 1987, 1995, 1999; Özkan, 2013), two reference grammar books (Schreiber, 2023; Tursun, 2023), a Romeyka-Turkish dictionary (Tursun, 2019), and field notes by Dr. Hakan Özkan, there is no detailed work on relative clauses in Romeyka to date. In that sense, we believe this thesis is going to be an initiator, paving the way for further research.

1.2 A historical and sociolinguistic background on Romeyka

Romeyka belongs to the Hellenic sub-branch of the Indo-European language family. Classified under the Pontic branch of Asia Minor Greek dialects (Dawkins, 1916,

Sitaridou, 2014b), it is the only Asia Minor Greek variety that is still spoken within the borders of Modern Türkiye.[1]

Historically, the Pontic variety of Greek was spoken throughout the Pontus area, which today corresponds to the central and eastern Black Sea parts of Türkiye (Dawkins, 1940).[2] Following the Islamization of settlers in that area from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Vryonis, 1986), Pontic evolved into two types: the one spoken by the Muslims, and the one by the Christians; the latter gradually getting in more contact with Modern Greek (Schreiber & Sitaridou, 2017), partially with schooling in the region and relations with the metropolitan Greek. Finally, as a result of the religion-based population exchange following the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, the Christian-Orthodox Greeks were relocated to Greece. This led the Christian variety of Pontic to be influenced by Modern Greek further while the Muslim variety ended up being in contact with Turkish (Schreiber, 2023) yet also retaining more archaic features than the Christian variety (Schreiber & Sitaridou, 2017) due to its speakers not being relocated.

The Christian variety today is referred to as Pontic Greek and is estimated to be spoken by around 300,000 speakers in Greece (Drettas, 1999). On the other hand, the naming conventions for the Muslim variety vary in the literature; the term Muslim Pontic has been used previously (Mackridge, 1987; Özkan, 2013, Brendemoen, 2006) while recent studies use the name Romeyka (e.g., Schreiber, 2023 & Neocleous, 2020; Schreiber, 2018; Sitaridou, 2016). The speakers themselves call their language Romeyka

[1] The other varieties are Pharasiot, Cappadocian and Silliot. See Bağrıaçık (2019), Karatsareas (2011), Kostakis (1968) for a detailed discussion on each variety.
[2] Dawkins (1910) also notes that Pontic was spoken in the central parts of Asia Minor by colonies.

or its Turkish counterpart Rumca, including our own informants; therefore, we also adopt the name Romeyka, in line with Sitaridou (2013).

The 1965 national census on mother tongue indicates the number of Romeyka speakers to be around five thousand (Mackridge, 1987; Andrews, 1989); however, it is important to highlight that some sociological factors such as migration and bias towards choosing Turkish as a mother tongue might have affected the participants' answer (Schreiber & Sitaridou, 2017; Brendemoen 2002; Mackridge 1987; Özkan 2013). Today, Romeyka is spoken mainly in certain areas in the Trabzon province in Türkiye; these areas include the Of Valley as well as Tonya, Çaykara, and Sürmene districts. The estimated number of villages speaking Romeyka is around fifty (Mackridge, 1987). There is also a community of Romeyka speakers in Istanbul, who migrated from Trabzon for more labor opportunities (Schreiber & Sitaridou, 2017). These varieties show considerable dialectal and idiolectal microvariation (Schreiber, 2023).

Romeyka is not recognized as an official language and it is currently not taught in schools in Türkiye. Almost all of its speakers are Romeyka-Turkish bilinguals (Schreiber, 2023) and the speaker population that uses Romeyka dominantly consists of the elderly to a great extent. Factors such as age, gender, and linguistic competence play a role in the language's vitality. If the speaker is older, vitality is observed to be stronger. Female speakers are reported to hold more positive beliefs about the language and the higher the language competence, the stronger the vitality is (Schreiber & Sitaridou, 2017).

1.3 Informants and data collection

The data in this thesis comes from various sources; a three-hour-long ELAN annotated recording that involves six speakers from the same village, a collective translation work of the *Little Prince* into Romeyka by two speakers, our own elicitation sessions with the same speakers as well as a different speaker from another village nearby. All the informants are from the Çaykara region.

In our own elicitation sessions, the method of data collection mainly involved translation and acceptability judgment tests. The data were recorded online on Zoom and stored. The ELAN-annotated recordings; on the other hand, were collected in semi-controlled tasks in 2022 in the village of Köknar (Trabzon). In total, six speakers (four female and two male) were involved, whose ages range between 31 and 73. The recordings, as well as their annotation, were made for a research project funded by Boğaziçi University Research Funds to Metin Bağrıaçık (Project code: 21B12SUP1). All the informants were asked to sign an Ethical Form before the data collection procedure. The research complies with the principles of Boğaziçi University Ethics Committee for research in social sciences and humanities.

1.4 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is organized as follows: In Chapter 2, we present a sketch of Romeyka grammar, focusing mainly on the structure of the NP and verbal inflection alongside the literature (Schreiber, 2023; Neocleous, 2020; Mackridge, 1987; Özkan, 2013; Michelioudakis & Sitaridou, 2013 amongst others).

In Chapter 3, we first offer a literature review on the typology of relative clauses across languages. Subsequently, we present an overview of the basic facts regarding

Headed relative clauses in Romeyka, overall concluding that the Head is external and both prenominal and postnominal relatives are attested. We further investigate the position of the relative clause with regard to other modifiers and provide an in-depth description of the internal composition of a Headed relative clause in the language. In addition, under the scope of Keenan & Comrie's (1979) Accessibility Hierarchy, we report the possible relativizing positions, the relativizers, and their distribution in Romeyka in detail.

Chapter 4 deals with the structure of Headed relative clauses in the language. Focusing on the order between the demonstrative, the relative clause and the Head, we conclude that Romeyka possesses three different linear positions for Headed relatives; two restrictive (prenominal and postnominal) and one non-restrictive (prenominal). We then investigate the possible sources of the availability of both prenominal and postnominal orders for restrictive relatives. We propose that these two forms have different derivational paths; evidenced by the observation that the postnominal construction shows connectivity effects via not enabling relativization out of islands and stacking while the prenominal one does. This corresponds to the idea that while restrictive prenominal Headed relatives are derived through matching, the derivation of restrictive postnominal Headed relatives involves raising. Moreover, we further focus on the non-restrictives in the language, concluding that Romeyka has the integrated type. Adopting Cinque's (2020) Double Headed Analysis, we offer a syntactic derivation for both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives in the language.

In Chapter 5, we state our concluding remarks, noting questions and possible areas open to research; these being the microvariation between dialects and sub-dialects, and a puzzle we report in Chapter 3 regarding the position of adverbs within the relative

clause. We also highlight the need for research on Headless relatives in the language, a topic out of the scope of this thesis. We end by presenting a puzzle regarding pronominally Headed relatives in the language.

CHAPTER 2

A SKETCH OF ROMEYKA GRAMMAR

2.1 The structure of the noun phrase

This section gives general information on the structure of the noun phrase in Romeyka in terms of the following: (i) inflectional classes and case, (ii) definiteness, (iii) agreement, and (iv) word order.

2.1.1 Inflectional classes and case

Nouns in Romeyka are inflected for case, number, and gender; they can be either plural or singular and the language displays nominative, accusative, and genitive cases.[3] There is also a three-way gender classification for noun stems; they can be feminine, masculine, or neuter. An inflected noun has information about all these features.

The relation between inflectional endings and gender categories is not symmetric; stems belonging to the same gender category may receive different inflectional endings. This distinction is observed with nouns of each gender class. Examples from the neuter class *ghardheli* 'boy' and *onema* 'name' are given in Table 1 and Table 2. Notice that the inflectional endings differ across paradigms; while the stem *ghardhel-* is inflected with *-i* in each case in the singular forms, no overt morphemes inflect *onema-*. The plural forms show even more variation; we observe *-e*, *-i* for *ghardhel-* and *-a* for *onemat-*. Also, notice the stem allomorphy in *onema-* versus *onemat-*, which isn't observed in *ghardel-*.

[3] Whether the language exhibits vocative remains to be further investigated.

Table 1. Inflectional Paradigms of the Neuter Word *ghardheli* 'boy'

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	ghardhel-i	ghardhel-e
Accusative	ghardhel-i	ghardhel-e
Genitive	ghardhel-i	ghardhel-i

Table 2. Inflectional Paradigms of the Neuter Word *onema* 'name'

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	onema-Ø	onemat-a
Accusative	onema-Ø	onemat-a
Genitive	onema-Ø	onemat-a

The same observations are found in Modern Greek (Ralli, 2000). Considering the inconsistencies between inflection and gender class, Ralli (2000) separates number and case from gender and considers the latter as an inherent characteristic of noun stems. She further argues that number and case information is conveyed through inflection.[4] Highlighting the existence of different inflectional endings that she refers to as 'nominal inflectional classes', or NICs in short, she proposes that noun stems are assigned to a NIC regardless of their gender.[5] The same idea can also be implemented in Romeyka. Nevertheless, for a more traditional and detailed description of noun classes, the reader is referred to Schreiber (2023).

One important issue regarding the inflection of nouns in Asia Minor Greek is that some noun stems are reported to be assigned to a different NIC in their plural forms based on their animacy (Karatsareas, 2011). In Pharasiot Greek; for example, stems that

[4] There are also alternatives to this approach. For instance, as a realizational model of morphology, Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993) takes gender and number as abstract features in syntax, later to be matched with a phonological form. Similarly, Nanosyntax (Starke, 2009) adopts a functional sequence where these features are hierarchically ordered in syntax.

[5] Ralli (2000) takes stem allomorphy on nominal roots and the form of the suffixes attached to these roots as the bases in the classification of NICs.

are [-human] and masculine are inflected in the same way as neuter stems when they are plural (Bağrıaçık, 2018). This phenomenon, known in the literature as 'heteroclisis', is also seen in Romeyka. Contrast in this context [+human] stem *anthrop-* 'man' to [-human] stem *pedin-* 'rooster'. While both are masculine and belong to the same NIC, namely the one in which the nominative singular is expressed with *-os*, we see that their inflectional endings differ in the plural (Table 3 and 4 respectively). The plural nominative ending for *anthrop* is *-i*. The latter stem; however, carries the ending *-e* in nominative plural, which is the same ending that attaches to certain neuter stems, such as *ghardel-* (Table 1). Observe further the stem allomorphy in *pedin-* and *pedinar-*. That the latter expresses neuter gender is further evidenced by the fact that it triggers neuter agreement on functional elements that unambiguously express gender, e.g., definite articles (see section 2.1.2).

Table 3. Inflectional Paradigms of the Masculine Root *anthrop* 'man'

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	anthrop-os	anthrop-i
Accusative	anthrop-o	anthrop-i
Genitive	anthrop-o	anthrop-us

Table 4. Inflectional Paradigms of the Masculine *pedinos* 'rooster' in Singular and Neuter *pedinare* 'roosters' in Plural

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	pedin-os	pedinar-e
Accusative	pedin-o	pedinar-e
Genitive	pedin-o	-

2.1.2 Definiteness

Romeyka has overt prenominal definite articles, which are listed in Table 5. We observe that the *n* at the end of the accusative singular forms is optional in daily speech; both forms are in free variation in our informants' data.[6]

Table 5. Definite Articles in Romeyka

		Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular	Nominative	o	i	to
	Accusative	to(n)	ti(n)	to
	Genitive	tu	tsi	tu
Plural	Nominative	i	i	ta
	Accusative	ti	ti	ta
	Genitive	tu	tsi	tu

The definite articles agree with the noun in terms of number, case, and gender. We occasionally observe semantic gender agreement where the neuter spreads to feminine plural nouns, e.g., *i patsi* 'the girl' - > *ta patsidhe* 'the girls'; *i porta* 'the door' - > *ta portas* 'the doors' and to masculine nouns both in singular and plural forms, e.g., *o petinos / to petino* 'the rooster' - > *ta petinare* 'the roosters'; *o pedhas / to pedhi* 'the boy' - > *ta pedhia* 'the boys' (Mackridge, 1987; Özkan 2013; Schreiber, 2023).[7]

The definite article has a wide distribution. Despite being semantically indefinite, generic common nouns and mass nouns obligatorily bear the definite article:

(1) *(Ta) melesidhe meli efthene.
the.N.NOM.PL bee.N.NOM.PL honey.N.ACC.SG make.PRES.3.PL
'Bees make honey.'

[6] In fact, the forms with *n* are the historical versions of accusative masculine and feminine singular. They are still overt in certain dialects, e.g., Cypriot (Pavlou, 2012) but it is reported to be absent or unsystematic in other dialects since late Medieval Greek (Holton et al., 2019).
[7] Neuter agreement also spreads on adjectives (see section 2.1.3.1) and demonstratives (see section 2.1.3.2)

(2) *(İ) laxana sağlukli en.
the.F.NOM.SG kale.F.NOM.SG healthy.F.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'Kale is healthy.'

We also observe the definite articles with proper nouns, acting as agreement markers and/or as proprial articles:

(3) I Ayşe so mezere
the.F.NOM.SG Ayşe.F.NOM.SG in.the.M.ACC.SG field.M.ACC.SG
stetsi.
live.PRES.3.SG
'Ayşe lives in the field.'

(4) I Trapezunta pola omorfo
the.F.NOM.SG Trabzon.F.NOM.SG very beautiful.F.NOM.SG
şehiri en.
city.F.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'Trabzon is a very beautiful city.'

It has been proposed in the literature that the definite article may be optionally dropped. There are differing views on this observation; while Neocleous (2020) proposes that the etymology of the word and the phonological environment play a role in this, Schreiber (2023) ties this to phonological reasons only. Our data does not provide a detailed explanation for this, leaving this issue to be yet understood further.

Romeyka also exhibits an indefinite article in the form of *ena*, the same as the numeral, meaning 'one' with singular nouns. Schreiber (2023) notes that it is also realized as *enan*. Our data further confirms this; however, the genitive forms still need to be further investigated and the exact distribution remains to be explored:

(5) Ena(n) aghuro idha.

a.M.ACC man.M.ACC.SG see.PST.1.SG

‘I saw a man.’

(6) Ena ineka / ghardheli idha.

a woman.F.ACC.SG boy.M.ACC.SG see.PST.1.SG

‘I saw a woman/boy.’

(7) Ena aghuros / ineka / ghardheli erthen.

A man.M.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG boy.M.NOM.SG come.PST.3.SG

‘A man/woman/boy came.’

2.1.3 Agreement in the NP

2.1.3.1 Adjectives

Adjectives in Romeyka agree with the noun they modify in terms of number, case, and in gender. This is the case for both attributive (examples 8-11) and predicative (examples 12-13) adjectives:

(8) I haremenisa i ineka

the.F.NOM.SG happy.F.NOM.SG the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG

erthen.

come.PST.3.SG

‘The happy woman came.’

(9) Ti haremenus ti ineçus idha.

the.F.ACC.PL happy.F.ACC.PL the.F.ACC.PL woman.F.ACC.PL see.PST.1.SG

‘I saw the happy women.’

(10) O haremenos o anthropos
the.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
erthen.
come.PST.3.SG
'The happy man came.'

(11) Ti haremeni ti anthropi
the.M.ACC.PL happy.M.ACC.PL the.M.ACC.PL man.M.ACC.PL
idha.
see.PST.1.SG
'I saw the happy men.'

(12) I ineka haremenisa en.
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG happy.F.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The woman is happy.'

(13) I ineçus haremeni ine.
the.F.NOM.PL woman.F.NOM.PL happy.F.NOM.PL be.PRES.3.PL
'The women are happy.'

As seen through examples that involve the attributive usage of adjectives in (8-11), adjectives in a definite noun phrase are preceded by a marker that is formally identical to the definite article (for which see section 2.1.2). This is referred to in the literature as 'obligatory definiteness spread' (Bağrıaçık, 2018; but also see Lekakou and Karatsareas, 2016 for a term alike). The inserted markers also largely encode gender, number, and case information in agreement with the Head noun. When multiple adjectives are present, this overtly expressed agreement pattern spreads before each adjective, as shown in (14):

(14) O haremenos o makris
the.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG big.M.NOM.SG
o aghuros erthen.
the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG come.PST.3.SG
'The big happy man came.'

At this point, it is important to highlight that Romeyka does not have any form of obligatory indefiniteness spread. Neither duplicating the indefinite article *ena* (15) nor having an overt definite article, which we observed spreading in obligatory definiteness spread, before the adjective (16) is possible.

(15) *Ena(n) haremenos ena(n) anthropos erthen.
a.M.NOM happy.M.NOM.SG a.M.NOM man.M.NOM.SG came.3.SG
Intended meaning: 'A happy man came.'

(16) *O haremenos ena anthropos erthen.
the.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG a.M.NOM man.M.NOM.SG came.3.SG
Intended meaning: 'A happy man came.'

Considering gender agreement within the modified phrases, there have been some observations on the spread of neuter agreement on adjectives in the literature. Drettas (1997) notes for Pontic Greek that the neuter inflection spreads on adjectives that modify feminine singular nouns; the nouns being predominantly [-human], though some [+human] instances are also seen. Drettas (1997) further adds that plural feminine forms also have this pattern. In addition, Mackridge (1987) gives us a more detailed sketch; he reports that all [-human] feminine nouns and certain [+human] ones are subject to this spread. Moreover, he suggests that this is not limited to feminine nouns; the rule targets [-animate] masculine and certain [+human] nouns as well. In our data, we observe neuter

inflection on the adjective with singular feminine and masculine nouns, regardless of their animacy:

(17)	To	omorfo	i	porta
	the.N.NOM.SG	beautiful.N.NOM.SG	the.F.NOM.SG	door.F.NOM.SG
	temo	en.		
	my.SG	be.PRES.3.SG		
	‘The beautiful door is mine.’			
(18)	To	omorfo	o	furças
	the.N.NOM.SG	beautiful.N.NOM.SG	the.M.NOM.SG	comb.M.NOM.SG
	temo	en.		
	my.SG	be.PRES.3.SG		
	‘The beautiful comb is mine.’			
(19)	To	omorfo	i	kosara
	the.N.NOM.SG	beautiful.N.NOM.SG	the.F.NOM.SG	chicken.F.NOM.SG
	temo	en.		
	my.SG	be.PRES.3.SG		
	‘The beautiful chicken is mine.’			
(20)	To	omorfo	o	pedinos
	the.N.NOM.SG	beautiful.N.NOM.SG	the.M.NOM.SG	rooster.M.NOM.SG
	temo	en.		
	my.SG	be.PRES.3.SG		
	‘The beautiful rooster is mine.’			

(21) To omorfo i patsi
the.N.NOM.SG beautiful.N.NOM.SG the.F.NOM.SG girl.F.NOM.SG
porpati.
walk.PRES.3.SG
'The beautiful girl walks.'

(22) To omorfo o pedhas
the.N.NOM.SG beautiful.N.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG boy.M.NOM.SG
porpati.
walk.PRES.3.SG
'The beautiful boy walks.'

Expectedly, plural nouns also show neuter agreement as a result of heteroclisis:

(23) Ta omorfa ta portas /
the.N.NOM.PL beautiful.N.NOM.PL the.N.NOM.PL door.F.NOM.PL
furças tema ine.
comb.M.NOM.PL my.PL be.PRES.3.PL
'The beautiful doors/combs are mine.'

(24) Ta omorfa ta kosaras /
the.N.NOM.PL beauitful.N.NOM.PL the.N.NOM.PL chicken.F.NOM.PL
pedinare tema ine.
rooster.M.NOM.PL my.PL be.PRES.3.PL
'The beautiful chickens/roosters are mine.'

(25) Ta omorfa ta patsidhe /
the.N.NOM.PL beautiful.N.NOM.PL the.N.NOM.PL girl.F.NOM.PL
pedhades porpatune.
boy.M.NOM.PL walk.PRES.3.PL
'The beautiful girls/boys walk.'

These observations, combined with the spread of neuter agreement on definite articles (see section 2.1.2) and on demonstratives (see section 2.1.3.2), overall lead to the idea that there has been a shift in agreement patterns; the system favors semantic gender agreement over grammatical gender agreement (Michelioudakis & Sitaridou, 2013).

2.1.3.2 Demonstratives

Romeyka exhibits both proximal and distal demonstratives. They agree in gender, number, and case with the noun they modify. The affix *ha-* in each form expresses emphatic stress (Schreiber, 2023). Table 6 is the list of the demonstratives.

Table 6. Demonstratives in Romeyka

			Proximal	Distal
Singular	NOM	M	ha-vu(tos)	ha-çinos / eçinos
		F	ha-vu(te)	ha-çine / eçine
		N	ha-vu(to)	ha-çino / eçino
	ACC	M	ha-vu(tona)	ha-çinuna / eçinona
		F	ha-vu(tena)	ha-çinena / eçinena
		N	ha-vu	ha-çino / eçino
Plural	NOM	M	ha-vutin	ha-çinin / eçinin
		F	ha-vutin	ha-çinin / eçinin
		N	ha-vuta	ha-çina / eçina
	ACC	M	ha-vu(tinus)	ha-çinus / eçinus
		F	ha-vu(tinus)	ha-çinus / eçinus
		N	ha-vuta	ha-çina / eçina

Unlike adjectives, demonstratives do not undergo obligatory definiteness spread:

(26)	(*Ta)	havuta	ta	pedhades
	the.N.NOM.PL	this.N.NOM.PL	the.N.NOM.PL	boy.N.NOM.PL
	tema	ine.		
	my.PL	be.3.PRES.PL		

'These boys are mine.'

Moreover, the spread of neuter inflection (see 2.1.2 for the spread on definite articles, and 2.1.3.1 for the spread on adjectives) can further expand to demonstratives, as in (27). Notice that the neuter spread is optional (28) yet the demonstrative follows the inflectional pattern of the adjective in either case:

(27)	Havuto	to	omorfo	ineka
	this.N.NOM.SG	the.N.NOM.SG	beautiful.N.NOM.SG	woman.F.NOM.SG
	pios	en?		
	who.NOM	be.PRES.3.SG		
(28)	Havute	i	omorfesa	ineka
	this.F.NOM.SG	the.F.NOM.SG	beautiful.F.NOM.SG	woman.F.NOM.SG
	pios	en?		
	who.NOM	be.PRES.3.SG		

'Who is this beautiful woman?'

Furthermore, Schreiber (2023) and Neocleous (2020) suggest that the article on the noun may be dropped in certain cases. In our data, the article is optional (29) in the nominative; however, a clear distribution is yet to be specified:

(29) Havu (o) aghuros pola

this.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG very

haremenos en.

happy.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG

'This man is very happy.'

(30) Havu(tona) *(ton) aghuro aghapo.

this.M.ACC.SG the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG love.PRES.1.SG

'I love this man.'

2.1.3.3 Possessives

Romeyka expresses possessives in two ways; with a pronominal emphatic possessive determiner or a postnominal clitic form. They are listed in Table 7.

Table 7. Possessive Forms in Romeyka

		Possessive determiner		Clitic possessives
		Singular	Plural	
1.SG		temo	tema	-m
2.SG		teso	tesa	-s
3.SG	M	teçinu	teçinu	-nat
	F	teçines	teçines	-nades
	N	teçinethi	teçinethi	-nathe
1.PL		temetero	temetera	-muna
2.PL		tesetero	tesetera	-suna
3.PL		teçinetero	teçinetera	-tuna

Clitics do not agree with the noun they are attached to (31). The third person forms agree with the possessor in gender (32):

(31) I mana = tuna

the.F.NOM.SG mother.F.NOM.SG = their.CL

'Their mother'

(32) I mana = nat/nades/the

the.F.NOM.SG mother.F.NOM.SG = his/her/its.CL

‘His/her/its mother’

Both possessive pronouns and clitics can be present in possessive constructions. We observe agreement between the possessive pronoun and the clitic (33):

(33) Temo to çiçeki = m

my.SG the.N.NOM.SG flower.N.NOM.SG = my.CL

‘The flower of mine’

It is also possible to omit the clitic when the possessive pronoun is present (34):

(34) Temo to çiçeki = ∅

my.SG the.N.NOM.SG flower.N.NOM.SG = my.CL

‘The flower of mine’

Notice that the pronoun agrees with the modified noun in number (35):

(35) Tema ta çiçege = ∅

my.PL the.N.NOM.PL flower.N.NOM.PL = my.CL

‘The flowers of mine’

Furthermore, the possessive pronoun can be dropped when a clitic is used (36):

(36) To çiçeki = m

the.N.NOM.SG flower.N.NOM.SG = my.CL

‘My flower’

From a diachronic perspective, the possessive determiners can be further broken down into sub-units, e.g., *temo* being parsed as *to + emo* bearing the agreement marker (Schreiber, 2023). Considering this, we may say they show obligatory definiteness spread diachronically.

Moreover, non-pronominal possession is expressed with the genitive case on the possessor in (37-38). Notably, we see that there is no overt agreement on the possessee:

(37)	Tu	Metin	i	mana
	the.M.GEN.SG	Metin.M.GEN.SG	the.F.NOM.SG	mother.F.NOM.SG
	'Metin's mother'			
(38)	Tsi	Merves	i	mana
	the.F.GEN.SG	Merve.F.GEN.SG	the.F.NOM.SG	mother.F.NOM.SG
	'Merve's mother'			

2.1.4 Word order within the NP

Adjectives, demonstratives and pronominal possessors precede the Head noun they modify (39-41). The N Dem/Adj/Poss order is not allowed:

(39)	*O	aghuros	o	haremenos
	the.M.NOM.SG	man.M.NOM.SG	the.M.NOM.SG	happy.M.NOM.SG
	erthen.			
	come.PST.3.SG			
	'The happy man came.'			
(40)	*O	aghuros	haçinos	erthen.
	the.M.NOM.SG	man.M.NOM.SG	that.N.NOM.SG	come.PST.3.SG
	'That man came.'			

Likewise, emphatic possessive pronouns cannot follow the noun, either:

(41)	*To	çiçeki(= m)	temo
	the.N.NOM.SG	flower.N.NOM.SG = my.CL	my.SG
	'The flower of mine'		

On the other hand, a non-pronominal possessor can either follow (42) or precede the noun as shown in (37) and repeated in (43). This pattern seems to be in free-variation when the noun is in the nominative yet the Gen-N order is fixed when the noun is in the accusative (44-45).

(42) İ mana tu Metin
the.F.NOM.SG mother.F.NOM.SG the.M.GEN.SG Metin.M.GEN.SG

(43) Tu Metin i mana
the.M.GEN.SG Metin.M.GEN.SG the.F.NOM.SG mother.F.NOM.SG
'Metin's mother'

(44) Tu Metin ti mana
the.M.GEN.SG Metin.M.GEN.SG the.F.ACC.SG mother.F.ACC.SG
idha.
see.PST.1.SG

(45) *Ti mana tu Metin
the.F.ACC.SG mother.F.ACC.SG the.M.GEN.SG Metin.M.GEN.SG
idha.
see.PST.1.SG
'I saw Metin's mother.'

Table 8 summarizes the order within the NP with respect to the Head.

Table 8. Word Order within the Noun Phrase

		Order within the NP
Adjectives		Precede the Head noun
Demonstratives		Precede the Head noun
Possessives	Possessive-genitive	Both precede and follow the Head noun
	Clitics	Follow the Head noun
	Pronominals	Precede the Head noun

2.2 Finiteness

The verbal inflection in Romeyka is synthetic-fusional. Tense, aspect, mood, and voice on finite verbs are often expressed cumulatively. Finite verbs always agree only with the grammatical subject, making Romeyka a nominative-accusative language. The language also has preverbal modal particles, such as *na* marking future as well as epistemic modality. Three tenses are encoded morphologically; present, imperfect, and aorist (Schreiber, 2023). For more details on these aspects, see Schreiber (2023) and Neocleous (2020).

If we classify verbs based on the inflectional endings they have in present tense traditionally, we end up with two different inflectional classes; the ones ending with *-o* as in *porpat-o* 'walk' and *-ume* as in *çim-ume* 'sleep', the latter being the historical 'deponent' verbs. Table 9 and Table 10 list the declensions of these verbs across present, aorist, and imperfect tenses.

Table 9. Declension of *porpato* 'walk' Across Different Tenses

	Present	Aorist	Imperfect
1.SG	porpato	eporpatesa	eporpatena
2.SG	porpatis	eporpateses	eporpatenes
3.SG	porpati	eporpatesen	eporpatenen
1.PL	porpatume	eporpatesame	eporpatename
2.PL	porpatite	eporpatesete	eporpatenate
3.PL	porpatune	eporpatesane	eporpatenane

Table 10. Declension of *çimume* 'sleep' Across Different Tenses

	Present	Aorist	Imperfect
1.SG	çimume	eçimetha	eçimumune
2.SG	çimase	eçimethes	eçimasune
3.SG	çimate	eçimethen	eçimatune
1.PL	çimumestin	eçimethame	eçimumunest
2.PL	çimastine	eçimethete	eçimastunen
3.PL	çimuntane	eçimethane	eçimusane

We also observe suppletive roots across present and past forms, e.g., *elepo* ‘see.PRES.1.SG’ being *idha* ‘see.PST.1.SG’ (as shown in Table 11) or *trogho* ‘eat.PRES.1.SG’ being *efagha* ‘eat.PST.1.SG’ in the past tense as well as the copula (as shown in Table 12).

Table 11. Declension of *elepo* ‘see’

	Present	Aorist
1.SG	elepo	idha
2.SG	elepis	idhes
3.SG	elep	idhe(n)
1.PL	elepume	idhame
2.PL	elepite	idhete
3.PL	elepune	idhane

Table 12. Declension of *ime* ‘be’

	Present	Aorist
1.SG	ime	emune
2.SG	ise	esune
3.SG	en	etone
1.PL	imest(ine)	emunest
2.PL	istin(e)	estune
3.PL	ine	esane

In addition, one characteristic of the copula is that in its third-person singular form, it can be dropped (Schreiber, 2023).

CHAPTER 3

HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ROMEYKA: AN OVERVIEW

3.1 Introduction

The empirical focus of this chapter is on Headed relative clauses in Romeyka. The chapter is meant to document basic facts of Headed relative clause formation in the language, a domain that has so far been ignored in the literature. Data in this section will be presented purely with a typological-functional orientation (e.g., Andrews, 2007; de Vries, 2002) so that it is accessible to both linguists and non-linguists who; however, have basic knowledge of linguistics. As such, the terminology used will not be relevant to one or the other linguistic framework.

The organization of the chapter is as follows: In section 3.2, we introduce the essential terminology related to relative clauses and further offer a typological overview. In section 3.3, we introduce Headed relative clauses in Romeyka and further explore them in the following domains respectively: (i) the hierarchical position of the Head with regard to the relative clause, (ii) relative clause-Head order, (iii) position of the relative clause with regard to adjectives and demonstratives, (iv) internal composition of a Headed relative clause, (v) possible relativizing positions, and (vi) relativizing strategies as well as relativizers and their distribution.

3.2 Relative clauses: Definition and claims

A prototypical relative clause (hereafter ‘RC’) is a dependent clause that specifies a noun phrase (hereafter ‘NP’) (Andrews, 2007). There are different naming conventions for the NP; it is referred to as Head (e.g., Bianchi, 2002a), antecedent, or pivot (e.g., de

Vries, 2002). The Head combined with the RC builds up a relative clause construction (hereafter 'RCC'). In this chapter, we provide the RCs in brackets. To exemplify from English, *the man* in (1) corresponds to the Head and the bracketed elements make up the RC. These two combined, we end up with the RCC, acting as the subject of the matrix clause in (1) below:

(1) The man [who/that/∅ I saw _] came to the party.

3.2.1 Relativization strategies

The Head in RCCs has a dual status (Bianchi, 2002a); it is semantically interpreted both in the RC and the matrix clause (de Vries, 2002). In (1), *the man* acts as an object of the RC as well as a part of the subject of the matrix clause. Languages utilize different strategies to build this pivotal status. One option is to leave a gap within the RC where the Head would be interpreted as in (1). However, some languages do not leave any gaps; they either overtly express the Head within the RC as Hindi (2) or they may fill this gap by using personal or demonstrative pronouns that we call 'resumptive pronouns' (de Vries, 2002) as in Hebrew in (3).[8]

(2) [jo laRkii khaRii hai] vo lambii hai.
which girl standing is that tall is
'The girl who is standing is tall.'

(Srivastav, 1991, p. 639-640)

[8] In this example, the resumptive pronoun is obligatory in the given context, hence the asterisk. This is not always the case; however, even within the same language. For instance, for Hebrew, Shlonsky (1992) further reports that the resumptive pronoun is obligatory only in oblique object and NP-internal positions.

(3) ha-ʔiš [še- xašavti ʕal = *(av)]

the-man that-thought.1.SG about-(him)

'The man that I thought about' (Shlonsky, 1992, p. 445)

3.2.2 Relative elements

RCs may further include ‘relative elements’ which consist of relative pronouns, relative particles (including relative complementizers, relative affixes, and relative markers), and resumptive pronouns (see de Vries, 2002 for a detailed discussion on each type). As seen in (1), English exhibits more than one type; it uses the relative pronoun *who*, the complementizer *that*, or it may optionally not express an overt relative element and display what we call ‘zero relativization’.

Relative elements serve three different functions (Lehmann, 1984). These functions include (i) subordination, (ii) attribution, and (iii) gap construction. Subordination refers to the relative element signaling that the RC is a dependent clause, attribution concerns the agreement between the Head and the relative element, and gap construction translates to the relative element signaling the gap in the RC through case marking. De Vries (2002) offers a revised classification of these features and concludes that the subordination function is expressed through relative complementizers and relative pronouns serve the attribution and gap construction features.

3.2.3 Relative clause types

RCs are classified into different categories across different parameters. Some relevant ones are presented below:

3.2.3.1 Headed, headless (free), and light headed RCs

The Head in a RC construction may be overtly expressed as in (1). However, it can also be absent as exemplified in (4). The former type is known as a Headed RC while the latter is a Headless (free) RC.

(4) [Whomever I saw] came to the party.

Moreover, some languages, e.g., Polish, also have a third type where the RC is Headed by a demonstrative. Such RCs are called light Headed RCs. An example is illustrated in (5):

(5) Jan czyta to [co Maria czyta].
Jan reads DEM what Maria reads
'John reads what Mary reads.'
(Lit.: John sings this what Mary sings.)

(Citko, 2004, p.98)

3.2.3.2 Restrictive vs non-restrictive RCs

A RC may restrict the reference of the NP it modifies within the state of affairs it describes (Andrews, 2007). RCs of this type are called restrictive RCs. The RC in (1) is an example of this type. On the other hand, RCs may also express further information about the NP without a restrictive reading as in (6). These are called non-restrictive RCs.

(6) Jack, [whom I saw], came to the party.

3.2.3.3 Finite vs non-finite RCs

Based on the completeness of verbal inflection, RCs can be divided into two categories. A finite RC as in (1) embodies a fully inflected verb while non-finite RCs do not, as exemplified in (7):

(7) the clothes to wash (de Vries, 2002, p.58)

3.2.3.4 Prenominal vs postnominal

The linear order between the Head and the RC is another classification criterion; some RCs follow the Head noun; hence they are 'postnominal' as examples (1) and (3) demonstrate. On the other hand, RCs can also precede the Head, being 'prenominal' as the Turkish example in (8) demonstrates:

(8) [Gör-düğ-üm] adam parti-ye gel-di.
see-REL-1.SG man party-DAT come-PST.3.SG
'The man that I saw came to the party.'

3.2.3.5 Hierarchical position of the head

Headed RCs come in different types with regard to the hierarchical position of the Head as well. In simple terms, the Head can either emerge inside the boundaries of the RC, it can also occupy a position outside of it, or it can be seen in both positions simultaneously.

The first type of RCs is also known as 'internally-Headed RCs' whereas the second type is referred to as 'externally-Headed RCs' in the literature (e.g., Basilico, 1996). These two types show different characteristics with regard to the following: (a)

linear position of the Head, (b) morphological case on the Head NP, and (c) definiteness marking on the Head NP.

In internally-Headed RCs, the Head is linearly inside the limits of the RC. Example (9) from Kabiyé, a Gur language spoken in Togo, demonstrates this (Hiraiwa et al., 2017); the Head noun *ha* 'dog' is linearly between the verb and the relative element in the embedded clause.

(9) [Ma-na ha nga ɖeɖe yɔ] , ke-goma.
1.SG-see.PST dog REL yesterday DET 3.SG-come.PST
'The dog I saw yesterday came.'

(Hiraiwa et al., 2017, p. 5)

On the other hand, the Head NP can appear linearly outside the RC. This is a property that externally-Headed RCs are argued to exhibit. The RC either follows the Head as in English (10) or precedes it as in Alamblak, a Sepik language spoken in Papua New Guinea (11):

(10) The dog [that I saw yesterday] came.

(11) [ni hik-r-fë] yima-r
You follow-IRREAL-IMMED.PST person-M.3.SG
'A man who would have followed you'

(Bruce 1984, p. 109)

The second property that signals the orientation of the Head position is the morphological case on the Head. This is relevant to languages where overt morphological case distinguishes different grammatical roles as subject, direct object, indirect object, etc. While the Head in internally-Headed RCs bears the case that is expected of it because of its grammatical function in the RC, the Head in externally-

headed RCs is case-marked according to its grammatical relation in the matrix clause, in which the Head (along with the RC) is hosted. Ancash Quechua, for instance, is a nominative-accusative language where subjects (agents or soles) receive the former and direct objects (patients) the latter. In (12), the Head noun *bestya* 'horse' bears the nominative case, which is zero. Cole (1987) claims that in this example, the Head NP is external to the RC and thus receives the subject case in the matrix clause; nominative. In (13), on the other hand, the same noun appears in accusative, the case that is expected of it inside the RC, where *bestya-ta* is the direct object of the verb *rantishqan* 's/he bought'. Hence, Cole (1987) concludes that the Head NP in (13) is internal to the RC.[9]

(12) [[nuna ranti-shqa-n] bestya-Ø] alli bestya-m ka-rqo-n.
man buy-PFV-3.SG horse-NOM good horse-VAL be-PST-3.SG
'The horse that the man bought was a good horse.'

(Cole, 1987, p. 279)

(13) [nuna bestya-ta ranti-shqa-n] alli bestya-m ka-rqo-n.
man horse-ACC buy-PFV-3.SG good horse-VAL be-PST-3.SG
'The horse that the man bought was a good horse.'

(Cole, 1987, p. 279)

One last property that may act as a cue in determining the hierarchical position of the Head with regard to the RC is the availability of the definiteness reading on the Head. Heads in internally-Headed RCs are formally indefinite; however, we do not encounter this limitation in externally-Headed RCs (see Cole, 1987 and Cinque, 2008a for a detailed discussion). One such language where we observe internally-Headed RCs

[9] Notice that the Head in (13) is also linearly inside the RC. This is another criterion that leads Cole (1987) to argue that the Head in (13) is internal.

is Lakhota, as Williamson (1987) demonstrates. Notice that the Head in (15) cannot occur with the overt definite article *ki*, suggesting that it cannot be formally definite:

(14) [[Mary [owíža wą] kağe] ki/cha/k'ų] he ophewatų
Mary quilt a make the/a/the aforementioned DEM I-buy
'I bought a quilt that Mary made'

(15) *[[Mary [owíža ki] kağe] ki] he ophewatų
Mary quilt the make the DEM I-buy
'I bought the quilt that Mary made'

(Williamson 1987, p. 171)

Apart from internally and externally-Headed RCs, the third type of RCs with regard to the hierarchical position of the Head is 'double Headed' RCs. In this type, we observe the Head both inside and outside the boundaries of the RC. Wenzhounese, a Sino-Tibetan language, is an example of this kind. The Head NP *mɜ^{42}ŋ^{33}* 'child' appears in both positions (16):

(16) [ŋɑ^{52} bo^{21} ɦo^{31} mɜ^{42}ŋ^{33} kəʔ^{0}] mɜ^{42}ŋ^{33}
grandma draw child REL child
'The child that the grandma draws' (Hu et al., 2018, p. 250)

3.3 Headed RCs in Romeyka: a bird's-eye-view

In the simplest case, a RC in Romeyka is a finite and formally subordinate clause that hosts an overt relativizer. The RC either modifies an NP (17) or functions by itself as an argument or an adjunct in the clause that hosts it (18):

(17) [Ndo idhen = me] o aghuros

REL see.PST.3.SG = 1.SG.OBJ.CL the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG

erthen.

come.PST.3.SG

'The man who saw me came.'

(18) [Ndo idhen = me] erthen.

REL see.PST.3.SG = 1.SG.OBJ.CL come.PST.3.SG

'The one who saw me came.'

Example (17) illustrates a Headed RC because it involves the modified Head noun. Example (18) illustrates a Headless (free) RC, which by itself functions as the subject of the matrix sentence with the verb *erthen* 's/he came'. This thesis mainly focuses on Headed RCs in Romeyka as in (17), leaving the remaining types for further investigation.

3.3.1 Hierarchical position of the head

In this section, we establish the hierarchical position of the Head with regard to the RC, not within the generative perspective but rather typologically; whether the head is internal or external to the RC. By evaluating Headed RCs with the three criteria in section 3.2.3.5, we can safely conclude that the Head is external to the RC in Romeyka.

The first piece of evidence comes from the linear order of the Head. The Head NPs in Romeyka cannot appear within the boundaries of the RC. They are always linearly outside the RC (19):

(19) *[Opse to milo ton
Yesterday the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG the.M.ACC.SG
aghuro opi efayen] pola aghapo.
man.M.ACC.SG REL eat.PST.3.SG very love.1.SG.PRES
'I love the man who ate the apple.'

Moreover, case facts further reveal that the Head is external. In example (20), the Head *ton aghuro* 'man' bears the accusative case despite being the subject of the RC, suggesting that it is case-marked according to its grammatical function in the matrix clause rather than its grammatical function in the RC:

(20) [Opse to milo opi efayen]
Yesterday the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL eat.PST.3.SG
ton aghuro pola aghapo.
the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG very love.1.SG.PRES
'I love the man who ate the apple yesterday very much.'

Notice that (21) where the modified noun has the nominative case is ungrammatical:

(21) *[Opse to milo opi efayen]
Yesterday the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL eat.PST.3.SG
o aghuros pola aghapo.
the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG very love.1.SG.PRES
Intended meaning: 'I love the man who ate the apple yesterday very much.'

Similarly, the Head *o aghuros* in example (22) bears the nominative case despite being the object of the RC. Here, too, case-marking is done according to the

grammatical function of the Head NP in the matrix clause. Once again, the accusative-marked Head in (23) is unacceptable:

(22) [Opse ndo idha] o aghuros
Yesterday REL see.PST.1.SG the.M.NOM.S man.M.NOM.SG
pola haremenos.
very happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man whom I saw yesterday is very happy.'

(23) *[Opse ndo idha] ton aghuro
Yesterday REL see.PST.1.SG the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG
pola haremenos.
very happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man whom I saw yesterday is very happy.'

Finally, as (24-25) demonstrate, there is no morphological definiteness restriction on the Head:

(24) Egho [pola nde na çelişev] ton
1.SG.NOM very REL FUT work.3.SG.PRES the.M.ACC.SG
öğrenci arayevo.
student.M.ACC.SG look for.1.SG.PRES
'I am looking for the student who is going to work hard.'

(25) Egho [pola nde na çelişev] öğrenci
1.SG.NOM very REL FUT work.3.SG.PRES student.M.ACC.SG
arayevo.
look for.1.SG.PRES
'I am looking for any student who is going to work hard.'

Considering these three features, we may conclude that Romeyka embedded RCs are Headed externally.

So far, we have established that Head NPs in Romeyka are external to the RC and that internally-Headed RCs do not exist. Similarly, as examples (26-27) indicate, double Headed relatives are not favored, either:

(26) *[[Opse o aghuros nd erthen]
Yesterday the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG REL come.PST.3.SG
ton aghuro] idha.
the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG see.PST.1.SG
'I saw the man who came yesterday.'

(27) *[Ton aghuro [opse o
the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG yesterday the.M.NOM.SG
aghuros nd erthen]] idha.
man.M.NOM.SG REL come.PST.3.SG see.PST.1.SG
'I saw the man who came yesterday.'

The next section deals with the order between the Head and the RC.

3.3.2 On the order between the relative and the head

Romeyka allows both prenominal and postnominal RCs (Gandon, 2016; Neocleous, 2020; Schreiber, 2023). We observe this in all accessible positions. (28-39) demonstrate prenominal and postnominal versions of RCs in each syntactic position.

Subject relatives:

(28) [Opse nd erthen] i ineka
Yesterday REL come.PST.3.SG the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG
pola haremenisa.
very happy.F.NOM.SG

(29) I ineka [opse nd erthen]
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG yesterday REL come.PST.3.SG
pola haremenisa.
very happy.F.NOM.SG
'The woman who came yesterday is very happy.'

Object relatives:

(30) [Opse ndo idha] i ineka
Yesterday REL see.PST.1.SG the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG
pola haremenisa.
very happy.F.NOM.SG

(31) I ineka [opse ndo idha]
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG yesterday REL see.PST.1.SG
pola haremenisa.
very happy.F.NOM.SG
'The woman whom I saw yesterday is very happy.'

(32) [Opse to milo nd edhoka]

Yesterday the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL give.PST.1.SG

i ineka pola haremenisa.

the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG very happy.F.NOM.SG

(33) I ineka [opse to

the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG yesterday the.N.ACC.SG

milo nd edhoka] pola haremenisa.

apple.N.ACC.SG REL give.PST.1.SG very happy.F.NOM.SG

'The woman whom I gave the apple to is very happy.'

Possessor relatives:

(34) [Opse i mana = des nd egleyen]

Yesterday the.F.NOM.SG mother = her.CL REL cry.PST.3.SG

i ineka pola haremenisa.

the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG very happy.F.NOM.SG

(35) I ineka [opse i

the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG yesterday the.F.NOM.SG

mana = des nd egleyen] pola haremenisa.

mother = her.CL REL cry.PST.3.SG very happy.F.NOM.SG

'The woman whose mother cried yesterday is very happy.'

Oblique relatives:

(36) [Opse to kitabi nd esdesa]
Yesterday the.N.ACC.SG book.N.ACC.SG REL hide.PST.1.SG
to trapezi temo en.
the.N.NOM.SG table.N.NOM.SG my.SG be.PRES.3.SG

(37) To trapezi [opse to
the.N.NOM.SG table.N.NOM.SG yesterday the.N.ACC.SG
kitabi nd esdesa] temo en.
book.N.ACC.SG REL hide.PST.1.SG my.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The table where I put the book is mine.'

Adjunct relatives:

(38) [Opse ton aghuro ndo idha]
Yesterday the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG REL see.PST.1.SG
i oda omorfo en.
the.F.NOM.SG room.F.NOM.SG beautiful.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG

(39) I oda [opse ton
the.F.NOM.SG room.F.NOM.SG yesterday the.M.ACC.SG
aghuro ndo idha] omorfo en.
man.M.ACC.SG REL see.PST.1.SG beautiful.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The room where I saw the man is beautiful.'

It is worth noting that the prenominal order shows up more frequently in our data. In the 3-hour-long ELAN annotated recording, we have nine prenominal RC

examples with zero postnominal ones. Similarly, the translation text of the *Little Prince* into Romeyka involves 33 prenominal and eight postnominal RCs. During our own online elicitation sessions with the informants, we also observed that the informants exploited an absolute tendency to prefer the prenominal order in their translations initially. Considering these, Chapter 4 offers a detailed discussion of Head-RC order in terms of why both configurations are allowed and what their syntactic structures are like.

3.3.3 Position of the RC with respect to adjectives and demonstratives

The position of the RC with regard to adjectives in prenominal relatives is fixed; the RC always precedes the adjective (40). Any deviation from this order is ungrammatical:

(40) [Ndo idha] i makresa i
REL see.PST.1.SG the.F.NOM.SG big.F.NOM.SG the.F.NOM.SG
ineka erthen.
woman.F.NOM.SG come.PST.3.SG
'The big woman that I saw came.'

In addition, in postnominal RCs, the adjective always precedes the noun (41):

(41) I makresa i ineka
the.F.NOM.SG big.F.NOM.SG the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG
[ndo idha] erthen.
REL see.PST.1.SG come.PST.3.SG
'The big woman that I saw came.'

The RC position also shows variation with respect to demonstratives in prenominal constructions; the RC may both precede or follow the demonstrative as seen in examples (42-43).

(42) Eçinos [ndo idha] o aghuros
that.M.NOM.SG REL see.PST.1.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
erthen.
come.PST.3.SG

(43) [Ndo idha] eçinos o aghuros
REL see.PST.1.SG that.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
erthen.
come.PST.3.SG
'That man that I saw came.'

On the other hand, in postnominal RCs, the order of the demonstratives is fixed; they always precede the Head (44):

(44) Eçinos o aghuros [ndo
that.M.NOM.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG REL
idha] erthen.
see.PST.1.SG come.PST.3.SG
'That man that I saw came.'

See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion on the distribution of each RC type.

3.3.4 The internal composition of the relative clause

In this section, we dive into the internal composition of the RC and provide the word order within the RC. In the simplest case, a Headed RC consists of a relativizer, an inflected verb, and a Head in Romeyka. The relativizer always precedes the verb regardless of its internal characteristics and syntactic/semantic distribution. In (45)-(51)

we demonstrate this with prenominal RCs; however, the same state of affairs is valid for postnominal ones as well.

(45) [Opi/nd efayen] o aghuros haremenos.
REL eat.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG

(46) *[Efayen opi/ndo] o aghuros haremenos.
eat.PST.3.SG REL the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that ate is happy.'

The relativizer does not necessarily have to occupy the leftmost boundary; however, subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and adverbials (hereafter 'fronted elements') may precede the relativizer. Each of these is exemplified respectively:

(47) [I Ayşe nd efayen] to
the.F.NOM.SG Ayşe.F.NOM.SG REL eat.PST.3.SG the.N.NOM.SG
fai omnosto en.
food.N.NOM.SG delicious.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The food that Ayşe ate is delicious.

(48) [To milo opi efayen] o
the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL eat.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG
aghuros haremenos.
man.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that ate the apple is happy.'

(49) [Tin Ayşe to milo opi
the.F.ACC.SG Ayşe.F.ACC.SG the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL
edhoçen] o aghuros haremenos.
give.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that gave Ayşe the apple is happy.'

(50) [Alighora opi efayen] o aghuros
Fast REL eat.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
haremenos.
happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that ate fast is happy.'

(51) [Opse tin Ayşe to milo
Yesterday the.F.ACC.SG Ayşe.F.ACC.SG the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG
opi edhoçen] o aghuros haremenos.
REL give.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that gave Ayşe the apple yesterday is happy.'

The fronted elements further demonstrate different behaviors within the RC in terms of (i) their position in the left periphery, and (ii) whether they obligatorily appear in the left periphery.

It is not obligatory for the direct and indirect objects to appear at the left periphery, preceding the relativizer. They may both appear in the left periphery; however, they can both follow the relativizer or one can precede and the other can follow the relativizer. Overall, the possible orders for the direct and indirect objects are given below in (52). No pragmatic difference is marked by the speakers.

(52) [(Tin Ayşe) (to milo) opi
the.F.ACC.SG Ayşe.F.ACC.SG the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL
edhoçen (tin Ayşe) (to
give.PST.3.SG the.F.ACC.SG Ayşe.F.ACC.SG the.N.ACC.SG
milo)] o aghuros haremenos.
apple.N.ACC.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that gave Ayşe the apple is happy.'

This is also the case with VP-level adverbials such as *alighora* 'fast'; there is no restriction for them to precede the relativizer (53). Once again, speakers do not note any pragmatic difference between these orders.

(53) [Opi (alighora) efayen (alighora)] o
REL fast eat.PST.3.SG fast the.M.NOM.SG
aghuros haremenos.
man.M.NOM.SG happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that ate fast is happy.'

On the contrary, circumstantial adverbials such as *opse* 'yesterday' always appear at the leftmost periphery, preceding the relativizer. Compare (51) and (54):

(54) *[Tin Ayşe to milo opi
the.F.ACC.SG Ayşe.F.ACC.SG the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL
(opse) edhoçen (opse)] o aghuros
yesterday give.PST.3.SG yesterday the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
haremenos.
happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that gave Ayşe the apple yesterday is happy.'

The same state of affairs applies for the postnominal RCs as well (55):

(55) O aghuros [(to milo)
the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG
(tin Ayşe) nd edhoka (to
the.F.ACC.SG Ayşe.F.ACC.SG REL give.PST.1.SG the.N.ACC.SG
milo) (tin Ayşe)] haremenos
apple.N.ACC.SG the.F.ACC.SG Ayşe.F.ACC.SG happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man that gave Ayşe the apple is happy.'

3.3.5 Relativization of constituents

Different constituents can be relativized across languages; however, the set of these constituents does not form a uniform category cross-linguistically. Languages may employ different relativization strategies to relativize different constituents. Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie, 1979) captures this cross-linguistic difference. In this section, without resorting to the relativization strategy employed, we will only look at positions that can be relativized. For relativization strategies, see section 3.3.6.

In regards to the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie, 1979), the available positions for relativization in Romeyka are the subject, object (both direct and indirect), oblique, adjunct, and possessor positions. Below (56-61) are instances of each type.[10]

[10] All examples given in this section are prenominal. See their postnominal versions in section 3.3.2.

Subject relative:

(56) [Opse nd erthen] i ineka
Yesterday REL come.PST.3.SG the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG
pola haremenisa.
very happy.F.NOM.SG
'The woman who came yesterday is very happy.'

Object relatives:

(57) [Opse ndo idha] i ineka pola haremenisa.
Yesterday REL see.PST.1.SG the woman very happy.F.NOM.SG
'The woman whom I saw yesterday is very happy.'

(58) [Opse to milo nd edhoka]
Yesterday the.N.ACC.SG apple.N.ACC.SG REL give.PST.1SG
i ineka pola haremenisa.
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG very happy.F.NOM.SG
'The woman whom I gave the apple to is very happy.'

Possessor relative:

(59) [Opse i mana = des nd egleyen]
Yesterday the.F.NOM.SG mother = her.CL REL cry.PST.3.SG
i ineka pola haremenisa.
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG very happy.F.NOM.SG
'The woman whose mother cried yesterday is very happy.'

Oblique relative:

(60) [Opse to kitabi nd esdesa]
Yesterday the.N.ACC.SG book.N.ACC.SG REL put.PST.1.SG
to trapezi temo en.
the.N.NOM.SG table.N.NOM.SG my.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The table where I put the book is mine.'

Adjunct relative:

(61) [Opse ton aghuro ndo idha]
Yesterday the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG REL see.PST.1.SG
i oda omorfo en.
the.F.NOM.SG room.F.NOM.SG beautiful.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The room where I saw the man is beautiful.'

So far, we have presented the grammatical functions that can be relativized in Romeyka. In the next section, we introduce the relativization strategies that apply to these functions, further focusing on which types of elements relativize each position.

3.3.6 Relativization strategies

Romeyka utilizes more than one relativization strategy. The strategy that has the widest distribution is to leave a gap within the RC; we observe this in each relativized position except for genitives. As we have already established in section 3.3.1, the Head is external to the RC and there are no double-Headed or internally-Headed RCs in Romeyka; further suggesting that the pivotal status of the Head is established by leaving

a gap inside the RC. Gapping is accompanied by the utilization of relativizers, which are discussed in detail in section 3.3.7.

In genitive relatives; on the other hand, we observe that the gap is filled with resumptive pronouns. Example (59), which demonstrates possessive relativization, is repeated below in (62). Notice that the sentence is not acceptable without the possessive clitic *-des.*

(62) [Opse i mana = *(des) nd egleyen]
Yesterday the.F.NOM.SG mother = her.CL REL cry.PST.3.SG
i ineka pola haremenisa.
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG very happy.F.NOM.SG
'The woman whose mother cried yesterday is very happy.'

3.3.7 Relativizer types

The relativizers in Romeyka are *op(i), nd(o),* and *ots*. These are independent relativizers. The relativizer *op(i)* may optionally emerge as *op* when the following word begins with a vowel: *op erthen o aghuros* 'the man that came', *ti ineka op idhen o aghuros* 'the man that saw the woman' but **op çimate o aghuros* 'the man that sleeps', **op treş o aghuros* 'the man that runs'. Similarly, the distribution of *nd(o)* is also phonologically conditioned yet involves a more complex pattern. In cases where the verb that *nd(o)* attaches to is (i) a verb that starts with the vowel [a] and (ii) a verb that starts with the vowel [e] where [e] is followed by a voiced consonant, the form is always contracted to *nd*: *nd anizo* but **ndo anizo, nd aghapo* but **ndo aghapo, nd eglapsen* but **ndo eghlapsen, nd elepo* but **ndo elepo*. In addition, in cases where the stem starts with a consonant, *nd* never appears: **nd treş, *nd çimate*. Everywhere else, we observe that the

contraction is optional: *nd exo* or *ndo exo, ndo eksero* or *nd eksero, nd ilizo* or *ndo ilizo, ndo ixa* or *nd ixa*.

The relativizers *nd(o)* and *op(i)* make both Headed and Headless RCs. On the other hand, *ots* only acts as a relativizer in Headless RCs in our data. Since Headless RCs are out of the scope of this thesis, we only focus on the distribution of *nd(o)* and *op(i)* in Headed RCs.

Two main factors play a role in the distribution of these two relativizers in Headed RCs; (i) the syntactic position of the relativized Head, and (ii) animacy. Factors such as tense or Head position with regard to the RC do not affect the distribution.

3.3.7.1 Syntactic position of the head

Different relativizers emerge in Headed RCs depending on the configuration that is relativized. While *nd(o)* is immune to this factor by appearing in any configuration, we observe *op(i)* only in subject and possessor relatives; animacy further contributing to the distribution.

3.3.7.2 Animacy

Animacy and humanness of the Head are other factors in the choice of the relativizer. In subject relatives, the relativizer *op(i)* emerges only if the Head noun is [+animate]. In (63), the Head noun *o furças* ‘comb’ cannot be relativized with *op(i)* whereas this is possible for the Heads *o aghuros* ‘man’ and *o şkilos* ‘dog’ in (64-65):

(63) *[Opse opi eroisen] o furças
Yesterday REL fall.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG comb.M.NOM.SG
pola kalo en.
very nice.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The comb that fell yesterday is nice.'

(64) [Opse opi eroisen] o aghuros
Yesterday REL fall.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
pola kalos en.
very nice.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The man that fell yesterday is nice.'

(65) [Opse opi eroisen] o şkilos
Yesterday REL fall.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG dog.M.NOM.SG
pola kalo en.
very nice.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The dog that fell yesterday is nice.'

Similarly, *op(i)* does not surface when the Head noun is [-animate] in possessor relatives. The Head noun *i porta* 'door' in (66) cannot be used with *op(i)* while the Head *i ineka* 'woman' in (67) can.

(66) *[Opse to şeri = the opi etsagothen]
Yesterday the.N.NOM.SG hand = its.CL REL break.PST.3.SG
i porta kalo en.
the.F.NOM.SG door.F.NOM.SG good.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The door whose handle broke yesterday is very nice.'

(67) [Opse to şeri = nades opi etsagothen]
Yesterday the.N.NOM.SG hand = her.CL REL break.PST.3.SG
i ineka kalesa en.
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG good.F.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The woman whose arm was broken yesterday is very nice.'

Notably, the position of the Head with regard to the RC does not affect the distribution of relativizers; *nd(o)* is acceptable in each position while *op(i)* is seen only in subject and possessor relatives with an animacy restriction. Compare (63) and (66) with their postnominal counterparts below in (68)-(69). The pattern is kept the same in the postnominal configurations; *op(i)* is still banned and *nd(o)* is acceptable:

(68) O furças [opse nd / *opi eroisen]
the.M.NOM.SG comb.M.NOM.SG yesterday REL fall.PST.3.SG
pola kalo en.
very nice.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The comb that fell yesterday is very nice.'

(69) İ porta [opse to
the.F.NOM.SG door.F.NOM.SG yesterday the.N.NOM.SG
şeri = the nd / *opi etsagothen] kalo en.
hand = its.CL REL break.PST.3.SG good.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The door whose handle broke yesterday is very nice.'

Similarly, the tense of the RC is not a factor in the choice of the relativizer, either. The relativizer *nd(o)* is acceptable in each possible relativizing position regardless of tense while *op(i)* only appears in subject relatives (70-71), (also notice the unacceptability of (72)) and possessor relatives (73-74) with [+animate] Heads:

Subject relatives:

(70) [Sabahle nde/opi na rois] o aghuros
Tomorrow REL FUT fall.PRES.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
pola kalos en.
very nice.M.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The man that will fall tomorrow is very nice.'

(71) [Sabahle nde/opi na rois] o şkilos
Tomorrow REL FUT fall.PRES.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG dog.M.NOM.SG
pola kalo en.
very nice.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The dog that will fall tomorrow is very nice.'

(72) [Sabahle nd/*opi na rois] o furças
Tomorrow REL FUT fall.PRES.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG comb.M.NOM.SG
pola kalo en.
very nice.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The comb that will fall tomorrow is very nice.'

Possessor relatives:

(73) [Sabahle to şeri = nadhes nd/opi na tsagude]
Tomorrow the.N.NOM.SG arm = her.CL REL FUT break.3.SG.PRES
i ineka kalesa en.
the.F.NOM.SG woman.F.NOM.SG good.F.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG
'The woman whose arm will break tomorrow is good.'

(74) [Sabahle to şeri = nathe nd/*opi na tsagude]

Tomorrow the.N.NOM.SG arm = its.CL REL FUT break.3.SG.PRES

i porta kalo en.

the.F.NOM.SG door.F.NOM.SG good.N.NOM.SG be.PRES.3.SG

'The door whose handle will break tomorrow is good.'

Table 13 below summarizes the distribution of the relativizers.

Table 13. The Distribution of *nd(o)* and *op(i)* with regard to the Position of the Relativized Element

	Subject	Direct Object	Indirect Object	Oblique	Possessor
nd(o)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
op(i)	✓ Only with [+animate] Heads	*	*	*	✓ Only with [+animate] Heads

3.3.8 Conclusion

In this section, we overall investigated the basic properties of Headed RCs in Romeyka. We first explored the hierarchical position of the Head, concluding that they are external to the RC in section 3.3.1. In section 3.3.2, we further showed that Romeyka has both prenominal and postnominal RCs. Section 3.3.3 provided data on the position of the RC with respect to adjectives and demonstratives. Moreover, we demonstrated the internal composition of a Headed RC in Romeyka, and further reported the differing behavior of the elements within the RC in section 3.3.4. We then detailed our discussion with the syntactic positions that undergo relativization in Romeyka; those being subjects, objects, obliques, adjuncts, and possessors in section 3.3.5. Furthermore, we explored the relativization strategies in the language in section 3.3.6, and provided detailed

information on the relativizers and their distribution, overall noting that animacy and the syntactic position of the relativized Head play a role in the choice of the relativizer regardless of the tense or the syntactic orientation of the RC with regard to the Head in section 3.3.7.

CHAPTER 4

STRUCTURE AND DERIVATION OF HEADED RELATIVE CLAUSES IN ROMEYKA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the syntactic derivation of Headed RCs in Romeyka. In section 4.2, we first explore the external syntax of Headed RCs by focusing on the linear order of the Head and the RC in detail. Based on the distribution that we report in section 4.3, we investigate the possible causes of the availability of both prenominal and postnominal restrictive RCs. We further propose that while these two orders may seem to be in free variation, with the former type being used more frequently, they show different patterns in the way they show connectivity effects, which are best observed in extraction from (weak) islands and the availability of stacking phenomena, as discussed in Cinque (2015, 2020). Based on these observations, we propose that the derivation of prenominal RCs is at best amenable to a matching analysis (to be defined in section 4.4.1.1). In contrast, postnominal RCs are derived by raising the Head from within the RC to a position outside it. In section 4.4, we provide a literature review on the internal syntax of restrictive RCs and further offer a step-by-step derivation for restrictive RCs in Romeyka adopting Cinque's (2020) Double-Headed RC Analysis. In section 4.5, on the other hand, we investigate non-restrictive RCs. Upon providing a literature review on their structure, we adopt Cinque's (2020) two-way classification of non-restrictive RCs and establish that Romeyka exhibits non-restrictives that are of the integrated type. We further present a derivation of non-restrictives in the language following Cinque (2020).

4.2 RC-head order

As presented in passim in section 3.3.2, Romeyka exhibits both prenominal and postnominal RCs (see also Gandon, 2016; Neocleous, 2020; Schreiber, 2023), exemplified below with subject relatives in (1) and (2) respectively:

(1) [Opse nd erthen] o aghuros
Yesterday REL come.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
pola haremenos.
very happy.M.NOM.SG

(2) O aghuros [opse nd erthen]
the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG yesterday REL come.PST.3.SG
pola haremenos.
very happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man who came yesterday is very happy.'

As further presented in section 3.3.3, the linear order between demonstrative pronouns, relative clauses, and the Head noun can be as in (3), which are exemplified in (4a)–(4c) respectively:

(3) a. RC Dem N
b. Dem RC N
c. Dem N RC

(4) a. [Nd erthen] eçinos o aghuros
REL came.3.SG that the man
b. Eçinos [nd erthen] o aghuros
That REL came.3.SG the man

c. Eçinos o aghuros [nd erthen]

That the man REL came.3.SG

'That man that arrived'

The non-available orders; on the other hand, are as follows:

(5) a. *N RC Dem

b. *RC N Dem

c. *N Dem RC

In addition, as presented in section 3.3.3, the possible linear orders between adjectives, relative clauses, and the Head noun are as follows:

(6) a. RC Adj N

b. Adj N RC

However, the following orders are not acceptable:

(7) a. *N RC Adj

b. *N Adj RC

c. *Adj RC N

d. *RC N Adj

4.3 Distribution of prenominal and postnominal RCs

The overall picture presents us with three linear positions, summarized below in (8).[11] To avoid confusion, we enumerate each RC in these positions as Rel1, Rel2, and Rel3 respectively.

(8) (Rel1) Dem (Rel2) Adj N (Rel3)

[11] The same observations also hold for the relativizer *op(i)*, though the point is exemplified here only with *nd(o)*.

The distribution of each RC is conditioned semantically; while Rel2 and Rel3 yield only a restrictive reading, Rel1 only permits a non-restrictive one. Our observations on (i) modification of proper names and (ii) relativization in a contrastive focus context along with (iii) different readings we get across different orders support this claim.

4.3.1 Modification of proper names

The first piece of evidence comes from relativization on proper names. It has been observed in the literature that only non-restrictives can modify proper names that rigidly denote individuals (De Vries, 2002). Romeyka allows the modification of proper names with prenominal RCs, yielding a non-restrictive reading.[12] Consider the following:

(9) Sin Trapezunta opi erthen o
to.the.F.ACC.SG Trabzon.F.ACC.SG REL come.PST.3.SG the.M.NOM.SG
İmamoğlu me ti anthropus
İmamoğlu.M.NOM.SG with the.M.ACC.PL human.M.ACC.PL
eselamlaşeften.
greet.PST.3.SG
'İmamoğlu, who came to Trabzon, greeted the public'.

[12] This translates to the idea that a unique referent cannot be modified by a restrictive RC. Therefore, the prediction is that the postnominal modification of proper names should be unacceptable in our case; in other words, Rel3 should not modify proper names. However, it is also important to highlight that a proper name can be followed by a RC that is in apposition to the proper name; for example, in the form of an afterthought, a repair strategy utilized to clarify the referent in ambiguous contexts (Averintseva-Klisch, 2008). Therefore, what seems to be Rel3 may be a prosodically non-integrated phrase. In fact, our informants accept the instances where the RC in (9-10) follow the proper noun, specifically noting; however, that one has to pause before uttering the RC in such structures, which suggests that these structures might; in fact, be afterthoughts. For a similar discussion, see section 4.4.2.1.3.

(10) 70 yaşında op en i Sezen Aksu

70 years old REL be.PRES.3.SG the.F.NOM.SG Sezen Aksu.F.NOM.SG

akome traghodi.

still sing.PRES.3.SG

'Sezen Aksu, who is 70 years old, still sings.'

4.3.2 Contrastive focus

We see that in contrastive focus contexts, which necessarily yield a restrictive reading, the prenominal order is attested, as seen in (11-12). This suggests that Rel2 is restrictive.

(11) Esi nd ebires tin çanta eghapesa,

You REL take.PST.2.SG the bag.F.ACC.SG love.PST.1.SG

i mana = s nd ebiren tin çanta uç eghapesa.

the mother = your.CL REL take.PST.2.SG the bag NEG love.PST.1.SG

'I liked the bag that you took, not the one your mother took.'

(12) Egho koçinon ndo en tin çanta thelo,

I red REL be.PRES.3.SG the bag want.PRES.1.SG

mavron ndo en tin çanta u thelo.

black REL be.PRES.3.SG the bag NEG want.PRES.1.SG

'I want the red bag, not the black one.'

Similarly, the post-nominal order is accepted (13), overall leading to the idea that Rel3 is restrictive:

(13) Egho tin çanta koçinon ndo en thelo,

I the bag red REL be.PRES.3.SG want.PRES.1.SG

tin çanta mavron ndo en u thelo.

the bag black REL be.PRES.3.SG NEG want.PRES.1.SG

'I want the red bag, not the black one.'

Table 14 summarizes the patterns we observe on the order of the RC in the DP.

Table 14. Distribution of RC Readings in Romeyka: Prenominal and Postnominal

	Prenominal RCs (Rel1-Rel2)	Postnominal RC (Rel3)
Modification of proper names	✓	*
Relativization in contrastive focus contexts	✓	✓
Result	Both restrictive and non-restrictive	Restrictive

As seen in Table 14, the unavailability of modification of proper names and relativization in contrastive focus contexts postnominally shows us that Rel3 is necessarily restrictive. However, we observe evidence for prenominal RCs being both restrictive and non-restrictive. In other words, it seems that these observations alone still do not fully distinguish Rel1 from Rel2. The semantic observations we have had; in fact, confirm that the RC-Dem-N order, namely Rel1, yields a non-restrictive reading. Consider Context A below.

Context A: Merve bought two bags. Speaker B is familiar with the bags. One of these bags is proximally closer to Speaker B while the other is not.

(14) Speaker A: Pio çanta thelis?

Which bag want.PRES.2.SG

'Which bag do you want?'

Speaker B: I Merve nd ebiren eçino tin çanta thelo.

The Merve REL took.3.SG that the çanta want.PRES.1.SG

'I want that bag, which Merve took.'

On the other hand, we observe that the reading we retain in the Dem-RC-N order are rather restrictive. See Context B below.

Context B: There are four bags, all of which are far away from Speaker B. Speaker B is not familiar with the bags prior to the moment of speaking.

(15) Speaker A: Pio çanta thelis?

Which bag want.PRES.2.SG

'Which bag do you want?'

Speaker B: Eçino mavro ndo en tin çanta thelo.

That black REL be.PRES.3.SG the bag want.PRES.1.SG

'I want the bag that is red.'

Table 15 summarizes the different readings we get in RC-Dem-N and Dem-RC-N orders. These correspond to the non-restrictive Rel1 and restrictive Rel2 respectively.

Table 15. Distribution of RC Readings: Rel1 and Rel2

	Rel1	Rel2
Semantic observations	Non-restrictive	Restrictive

At this point; however, one question arises: Why can restrictive RCs be both prenominal and postnominal?

Both the prenominal and postnominal orders are judged to be grammatical by both of our consultants. They do not make any specific remarks on any distinguishing factors that may account for this variation. One relevant observation; however, we have is that the Rel2-Head order is much more frequently attested in corpora than the Head-Rel3 order, as we mentioned in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, this does not offer a full explanation as to why both orders are attested. One possible answer to this question is that both orders are in free variation; speakers are opting for whichever order they prefer at the time of speaking. In other words, on the surface, it seems that we observe genuine optionality in their use within a single grammar, in the sense of Roberts (2021). On the other hand, considering that our informants are heritage speakers who are Romeyka-Turkish bilinguals, it is reasonable to say that they possess two grammars competing in Kroch's (1994) sense; hence, both options are available to them at the same time.[13]

Regardless of either account; however, we propose that these two configurations differ in their internal syntax and have distinct derivational histories. In the next section, we give background information on the syntax of restrictive RCs, further propose evidence for our claim, and provide an analysis of the derivation of both orders.

[13]According to Kroch (1994), language change arises from different grammars (different forms) competing with each other. During this competition phase, these grammars (hence different forms) co-exist in speakers' utterances. Gradually, one of these forms replaces the other. See the following studies adopting this idea to explain word order change in various languages; Pintzuk (1991) for English, A. Taylor (1994) for Classical Greek. Disregarding the details; however, the relevant idea here is that such forms might co-exist due to competition.

4.4 Derivation of restrictive RCs

4.4.1 Literature review

Crosslinguistically, two theoretical questions are raised regarding the structure of RCs: (i) the problem of connectivity and (ii) the problem of modification (Bianchi, 2002a).

The connectivity problem is related to the relationship between the modified Head and the relativization site; namely, the internal position of the modified Head (Bianchi, 2002a). We briefly touched upon this issue in Chapter 3, section 3.2.1; by reporting that the Head in RCCs has a dual status; it satisfies certain morphosyntactic requirements both in the main clause and within the RC, and is semantically interpreted twice, at the two locations. To exemplify the former behavior; for instance, in Chapter 3 (the examples are repeated below in 16-17), we concluded that in Romeyka, case marking on the Head is done according to the grammatical function the Head has in the matrix clause, suggesting that the Head is an argument of the matrix clause.[14]

(16) [Opse ndo idha] o aghuros
Yesterday REL see.PST.1.SG the.M.NOM.SG man.M.NOM.SG
pola haremenos.
very happy.M.NOM.SG

(17) *[Opse ndo idha] ton aghuro
Yesterday REL see.PST.1.SG the.M.ACC.SG man.M.ACC.SG
pola haremenos.
very happy.M.NOM.SG
'The man whom I saw yesterday is very happy.'

[14] More precisely, the Head here should be understood as the maximal projection that the Head projects.

On the other hand, consider the example in (18), where the idiomatic reading of the phrase *to make headway* is retained even though the Head appears in a position that is distant from the position it is expected to be interpreted, namely, as the object of the verb *make*. Bianchi (2002a) further adds that the Head *headway* meets the selectional requirements of the predicate *make*, which is inside the RC. This indicates that the Head also has a relationship with the predicate in the RC.

(18) The headway that John made *e* was impressive.

(Bianchi, 2002a, attributed to Vergnaud, 1974,1985)

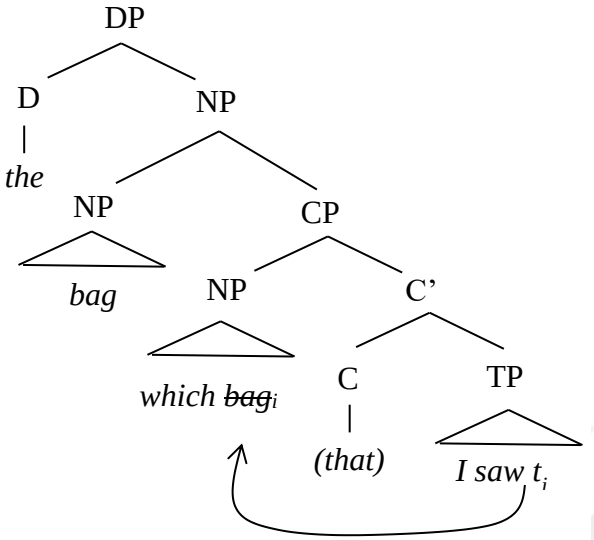
The modification problem; on the other hand, concerns the relationship between the whole RC and the Head (Bianchi, 2002b). The question is how the RC is syntactically tied to the Head, and what the syntactic category of the RC is.

In an attempt to explain the dual status of Heads in RCs, linguists have proposed two main solutions; (i) raising and (ii) matching analyses.

4.4.1.1 Raising and matching analyses

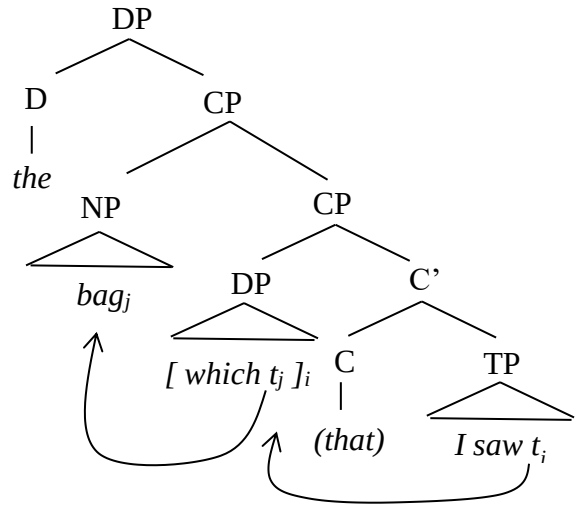
In simple terms, in the matching analysis (e.g., Lees, 1961; Chomsky, 1965; Citko, 2001 amongst others), the Head NP is generated external to the CP layer of the RC. An identical NP Head, which builds an identity relation with the external NP Head, is also found inside the RC boundaries. The internal NP Head may optionally move inside the RC. Eventually; however, the internal Head is deleted. The matching analysis is illustrated in (19).

(19)



In the raising analysis (e.g., Kayne 1994; Bianchi 1999, 2000; de Vries 2002 amongst others); on the other hand, the NP Head is generated inside the RC. It first raises to the left periphery of the RC along with the relative pronoun. The Head NP is then further extracted to a higher position inside the RC boundaries without the relative pronoun. This analysis follows from the idea that the RC CP is selected by the external determiner. The raising analysis is shown in (20) below.

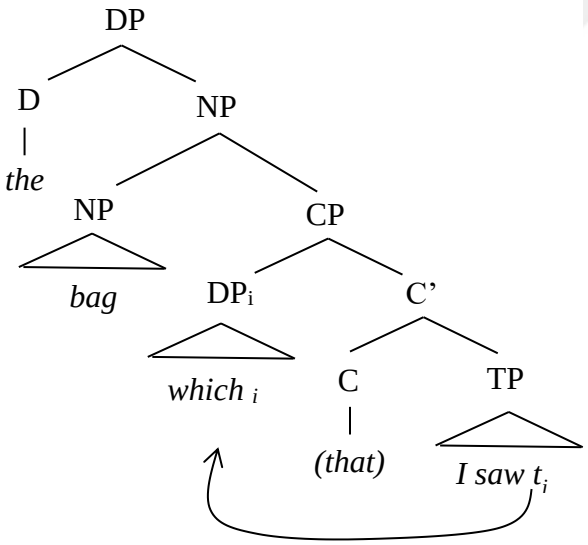
(20)



It goes without saying that these two analyses have various implementations in the literature; therefore, we only present a unified sketch of common elements in each of them. However, there are at least two more alternatives worth mentioning, which differ from the two main analyses in minor details. These are the Head External Analysis and Promotion Analysis.

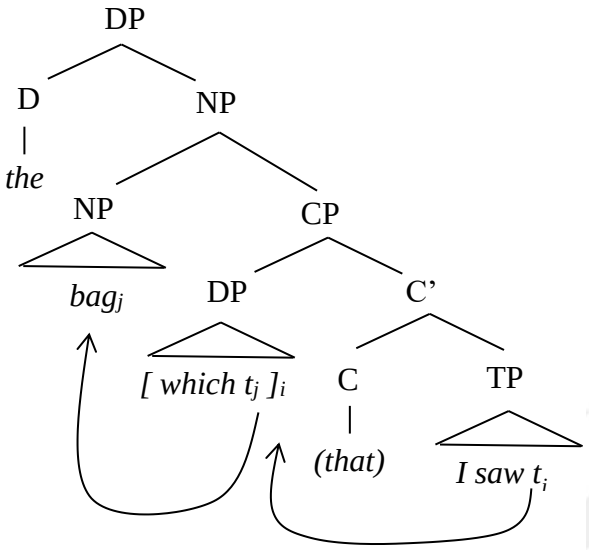
The Head External Analysis (e.g., Chomsky, 1977; Jackendoff, 1977; Boef, 2013 amongst others) adopts the idea that the Head NP is generated outside the CP layer of the RC and Merged RC externally. The relativizer moves to the specifier of the RC CP. There is no Head internal to the RC. We demonstrate this in (21) below.

(21)



The Promotion Analysis (e.g., Schachter, 1973; Vergnaud, 1985; Bhatt 2002; Heycock 2014 amongst others) resembles the raising analysis. The difference between the two analyses is that the final landing position of the Head NP is outside the RC. This structure is displayed in (22).

(22)



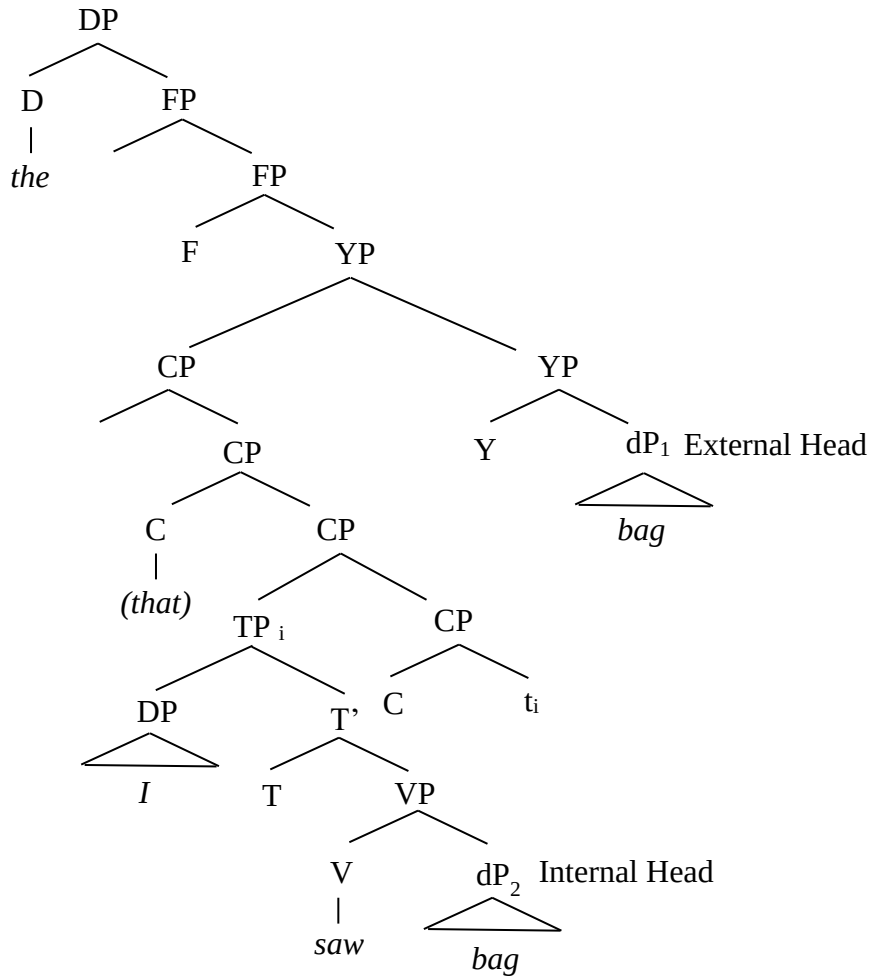
4.4.1.2 A unified approach: Cinque's (2020) double headed analysis

Cinque (2008a, 2015, 2020) puts forward a unifying account of these analyses, the latest version of which is illustrated below in (23). Cinque's proposal is known as the Double-Headed Analysis. By adopting Kayne's antisymmetry (1994), he proposes all RC types involve two Heads; one internal (dP_2) and one external (dP_1) to the relative clause.[15] The relative clause, a CP, is base-generated as a modifier of the external head, dP_1 on par with other modifiers, i.e., numerals, adjectivals, etc. More precisely, as a specifier of a functional projection in the extended projection of the external Head, labeled as YP in

[15] The idea of antisymmetry builds on asymmetric c-command. Under Kayne's (1994) analysis, the definition of c-command is as follows: X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y and every category that dominates X dominates Y. Considering this, Kayne (1994) notes that a node X asymmetrically c-commands node Y iff X c-commands Y but not vice versa. He further proposes that there is a connection between linear order and asymmetric c-command; if X asymmetrically c-commands Y, X linearly precedes Y. This is known as the Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA). Taking this into consideration, Cinque (2020) takes prenominal modifiers (including all RCs) as mergers above the NP. The derivation of postnominal modifiers further involve movement.

(23). This means that regardless of the PF-linear order between the RC and the Head cross-linguistically, the RC is always higher in the structure than the (external) Head.

(23)



The external Head is smaller than a full DP; it is taken to be an indefinite dP. Following Milsark (1974) on the division between weak and strong determiners, Cinque (2008a, 2020) observes that the indefiniteness of the Head follows from the fact that it can host only weak determiners but not strong ones.[16] Similarly, the dP status of the

[16] Milsark (1974, 1977) observes that *there be* constructions do not allow post-verbal subjects that are definite noun phrases. Compare 1 and 2 below, taken from É. Kiss (2023, p. 626):
1.There is a picture/There are some/two pictures on the wall.
2.There is *the picture/*every picture/*Mary's picture on the wall.

Head is linked to the same observation. According to Cinque's (2008a, p.9) proposal on the universal structure of NPs, given in (24), a full DP contains strong determiners. Since external Heads cannot host strong determiners, they are taken to be dPs.

(24) [DemP D° [RC X° [NumP Y° [AP… Z° [NP]]]]]

The internal Head; on the other hand, may be an exact match of the external Head or be larger than a dP in languages like Italian or English.[17] When it is larger, the Head is realized as either a relative or a resumptive pronoun. As stated in (24), dP Heads can further host quantifiers, numerals, APs, and null indefinite determiners.

This analysis not only brings raising and matching analyses on a unique template, but it also captures all RC types across different parameters such as word order and the hierarchical position of the Head. These are expressed by different movement options within the structure.

In all derivations, the TP moves to the left periphery of the RC.[18] Following this, the movement of the internal Head (dP_2) to the specifier of the CP in the RC, and the deletion of the external Head (dP_1) under an identity relation with the internal Head captures postnominal RCs that involve raising.[19] The Head that is licensed to be deleted

---

Milsark refers to the determiners that are permitted in such constructions (such as *a, several, some)*, etc. as 'weak determiners' whereas the non-acceptable ones (such as the definite article, demonstratives or universals) are 'strong determiners'.

[17] The size of the internal dP conditions the licensing and the deletion of the Heads; when both dPs match in category, one Head can be elided.

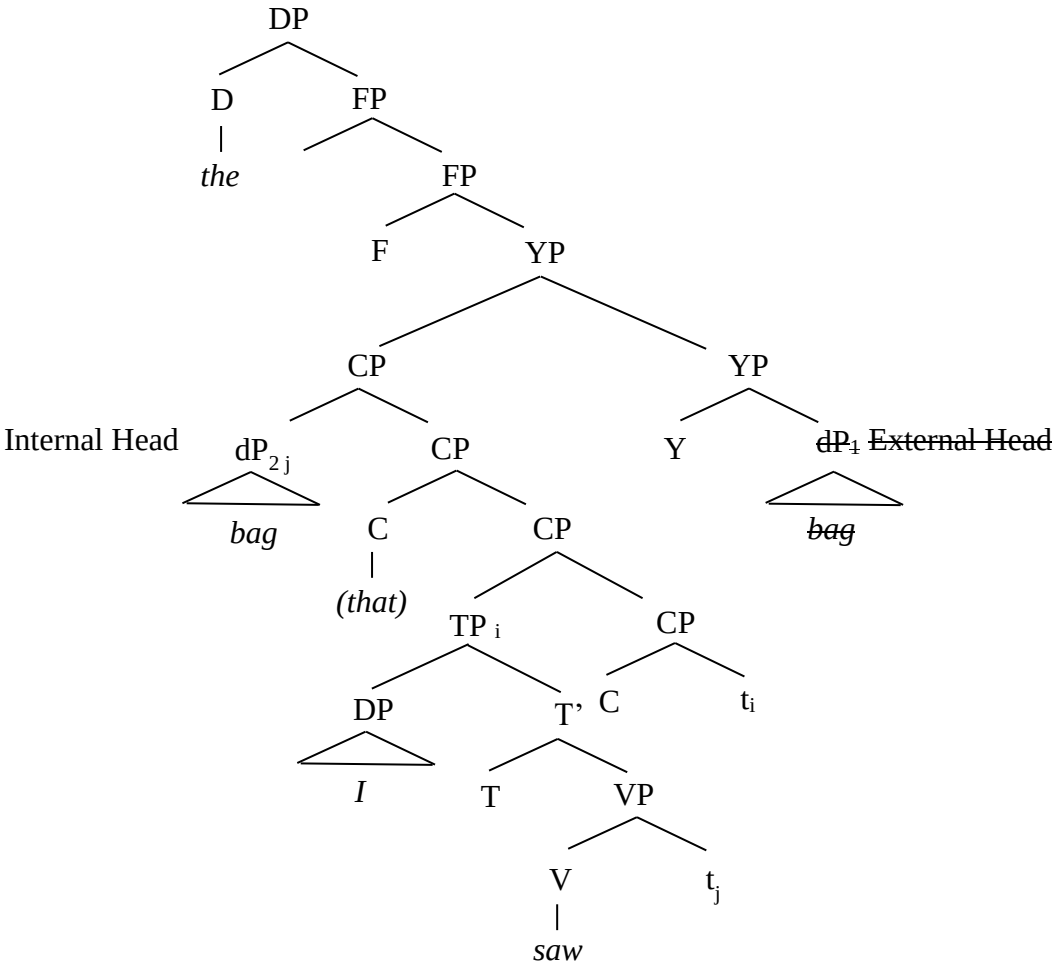
[18] By examining cross-linguistic data on different relativizer patterns, Cinque (2020) assumes that there are at least four different projection sites in the RC left periphery. The highest of these hosts the internal Head after it undergoes movement. The second-highest and the lowest C projections host relativizers. The evidence for this comes from languages where two overt relativizers surround the RC, further suggesting that the TP must undergo movement leftward. Therefore, the second-lowest CP layer is assumed to be the landing site of the TP of the RC after movement. All in all, RCs that are of

(i) "which that TP" type leave the lowest CP layer null,
(ii) "which TP" type leave the lowest two CP layers null,
(iii) "that TP" type leave the highest and the lowest CP layers null,
(iv) "TP that" type have the lowest CP layer pronounced.

[19] Cinque (2020, 2008a) considers this process as a true deletion. In this case, he argues against the copy theory of movement, which potentially posits unpronounced constituents at PF. He provides counter-

by the pronounced Head is required to be c-commanded by it as defined in Kayne (1994). By moving to the Spec CP of the RC, the internal Head c-commands the external one since it is neither within the CP nor YP. As a result, the external Head is elided and the internal Head is realized as the overt Head. The tree in (25) below offers the raising analysis of the relative clause construction *the bag that I saw*.

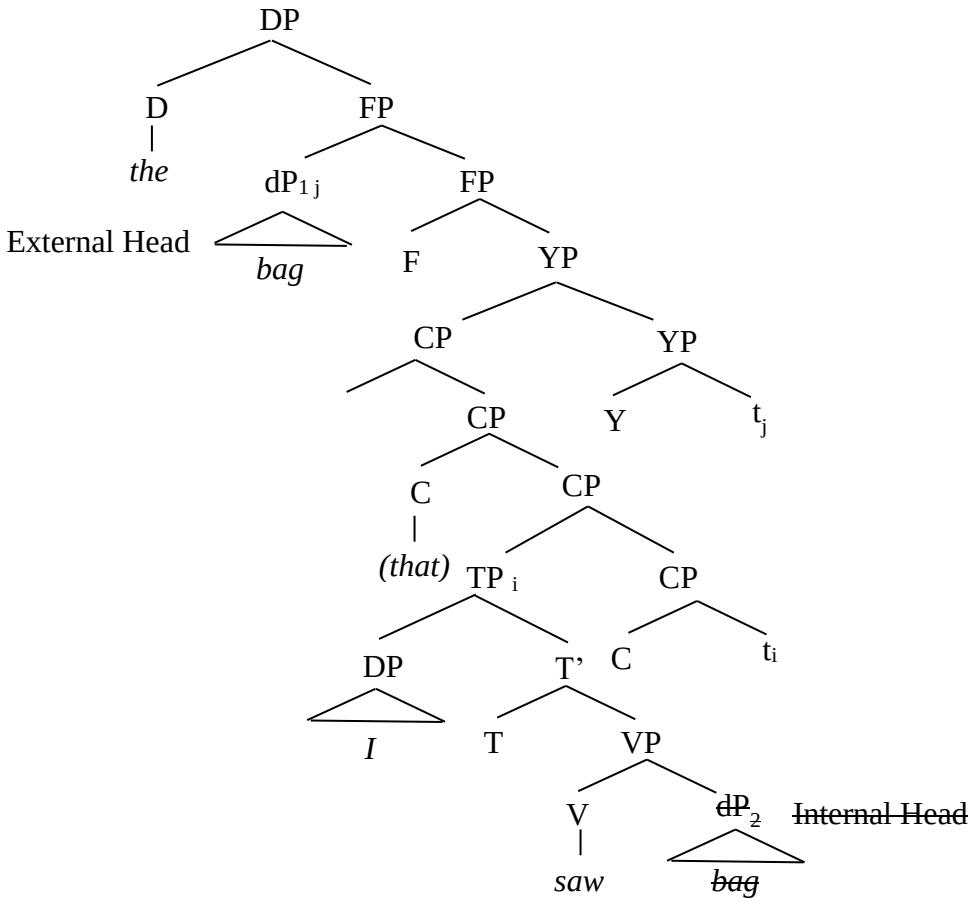
(25)



evidence for copies from binding relations in English as the following example (Cinque, 2008a, p.12) which involves a Principle C violation in the Merge position of the Head:
1. [The pictures of Marsden$_i$ [which pictures of Marsden$_i$ he$_i$ displays which pictures of Marsden$_i$ prominently] pictures of Marsden$_i$] are generally the attractive ones.

On the other hand, movement of the external Head (dP_1) to the lower Spec FP after TP movement represents postnominal RCs with a matching derivation. In head-initial languages, like English, the external Head moves after the internal Head (dP_2) raises to the Spec CP of the RC.[20] In both Head-initial and Head-final languages; though, the internal Head is elided under an identity relation with the external Head, matching it in category.[21] This derivation of the RC *the bag that I saw* under the matching analysis is illustrated in (26).

(26)

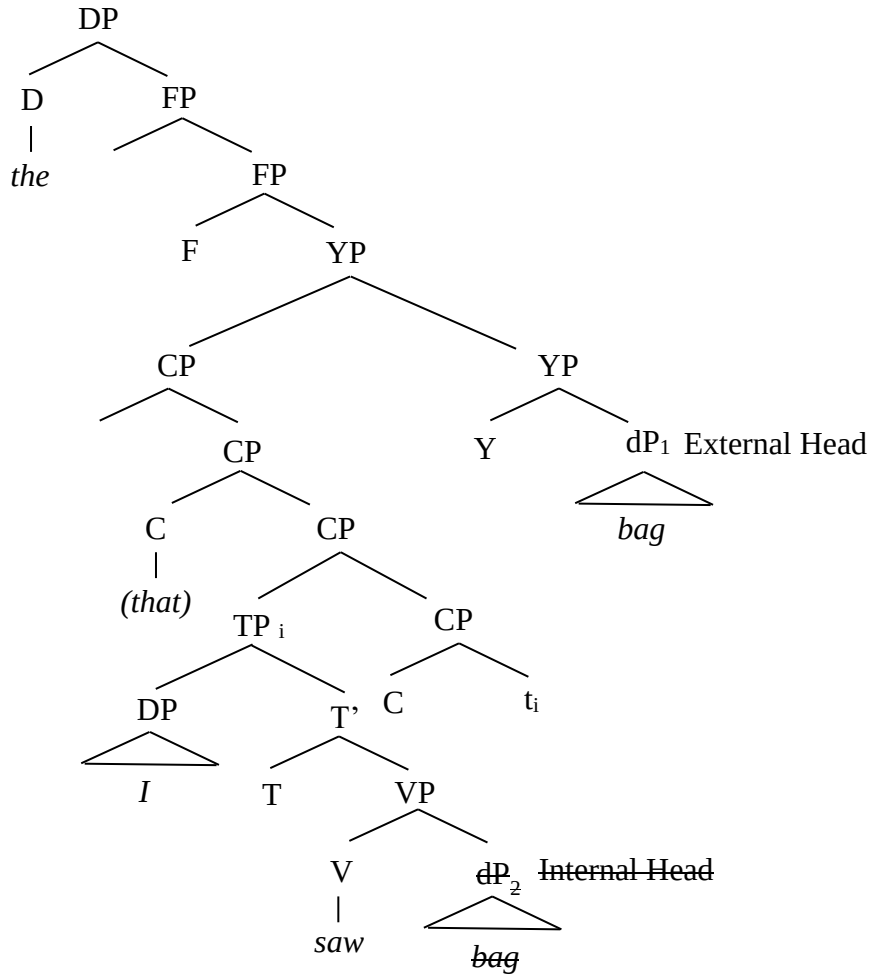


[20] Cinque (2017) assumes that this movement is a part of DP derivation in rigid head-initial languages; the DP cyclically moves to a position higher than its modifiers.

[21] In cases where the internal Head is bigger than a dP; however, it cannot be deleted. It is instead realized as a wh or resumptive pronoun.

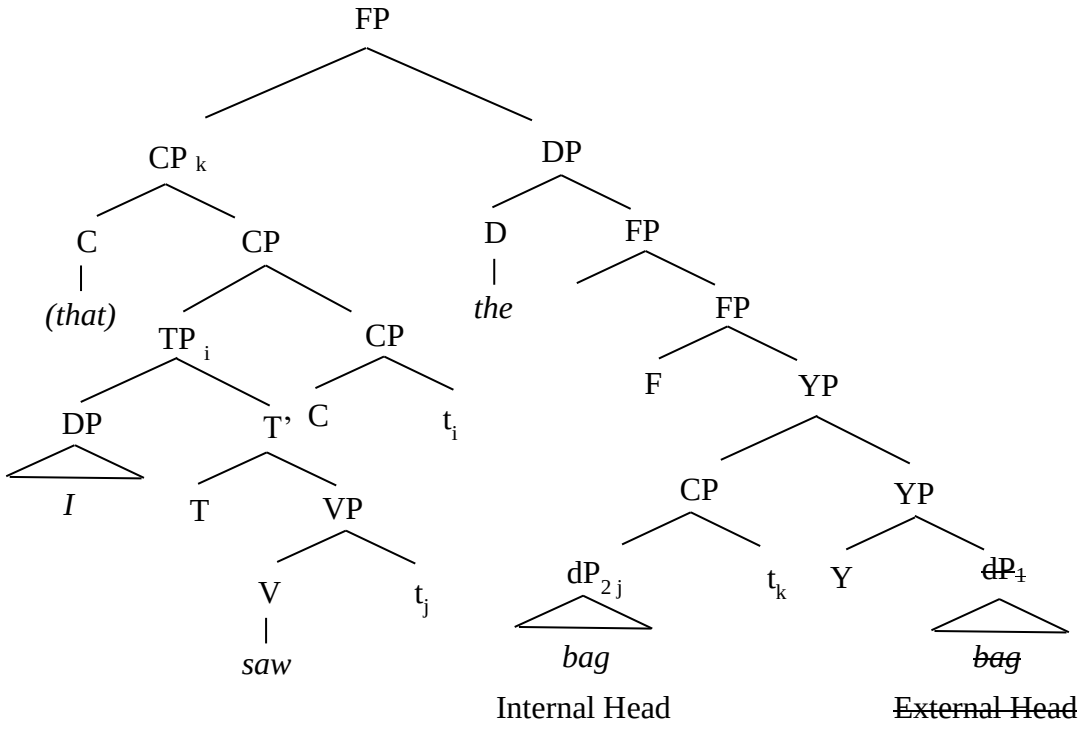
In prenominal RCs that exhibit matching, the internal Head is backwardly elided after the TP movement, and the external Head is expressed overtly. This derivation is shown in (27), and the nodes linearize as [*that I saw the man*] with a matching analysis.

(27)



The derivation of prenominal RCs with raising involves the internal Head (dP_2) moving to the Spec CP of the RC, following the TP movement. The external Head, dP_1, is deleted under identity and the RC remnant moves to the higher Spec FP. We illustrate this in (28) by using English words below.

(28)



4.4.1.3 Raising or matching?

Regardless of the differences between accounts, recent work on RC syntax shows that both raising and matching strategies are possible cross-linguistically. In fact, it has been argued that the same language can display both. Bağrıaçık & Danckaert (2022) propose that in Pharasiot Greek, another Asia Minor Greek variety, the derivation of prenominal RCs involves a matching analysis while the postnominal RCs are derived as a result of raising. Other works that argue for the existence of both include Choueiri (2002), Sauerland (2003), Hulsey & Sauerland (2006), Krapova (2010), Gračanin-Yüksek (2013), and Deal (2016) amongst others.

There are multiple tests that distinguish one derivation from the other. The main aim of these tests is to capture connectivity effects, the presence of which signals a

raising account, indicating that the Head can reconstruct within the RC boundary. Some relevant tests include (i) weak island sensitivity, (ii) idioms, (iii) stacking, (iv) extraposition, and (v) quantifier scope.

4.4.1.3.1 Weak island sensitivity

One test that discriminates raising from matching is sensitivity to weak islands. RCs that involve Head raising show island sensitivity whereas this is not the case with RCs that exhibit matching. Referencing Rizzi (1990), Cinque (2015, p.15) presents evidence for this from English RCs. As seen through (29b-29d), it is not possible to relativize *the way* out of the island boundary:

(29) a. This is the way that I think he should behave.

b. *This is the way that I want to know whether he behaved. (wh-island)

c. *This is the only way that he didn't behave. (negative island)

d. *This is the way that I regret that he behaved. (factive island)

The unavailability can be explained by locality restrictions on movement; such as Minimal Link Condition, or MLC in short (Chomsky, 1995), which states that in a group of elements candidate for movement to a position X, the closest element to X wins. This translates to the idea that the moving element must stop at the closest potential landing site, which is the Spec CP of the island in this case. Adopting successive cyclic movement and assuming that the Spec CP of the island is already occupied with a null Operator, the Head NP can't move passing that position; hence the ungrammaticality. This indicates that RCs in (29) are built by raising the Head to the left periphery of the RC. Matching analyses are immune to such sensitivity effects since no movement is involved and the Head is base-generated outside the island.

4.4.1.3.2 Idioms

It has been argued that the derivation of RCs involving idiomatic expressions as in (30) can only involve raising (e.g., Schachter, 1973; Vergnaud, 1985; Carlson, 1977; Bhatt, 2002). Carlson (1977, p. 535) argues that if the Head originated outside the RC as in the matching analysis, it would never be interpreted as being the object of the verb *make*.

(30) The headway that Mel made was satisfactory.

Similarly, Bhatt (2002) further argues that this is because of the way idioms are kept in the lexicon; if they are locally distant upon Merge, the special meaning cannot be retained. Therefore, if the Head started outside the RC domain, this observation could not be accounted for.[22]

4.4.1.3.3 Stacking

Another test that is used to distinguish raising from matching is stacking (Cinque, 2015; 2020). It has been argued that RCs that involve raising do not allow stacking (Carlson, 1977; Grosu & Landman, 1998; Grosu & Giurgea, 2015 as mentioned in Cinque, 2015), assuming that there is only one Head raising in the structure as in (31).

(31) *Jake noticed the headway we made I said we could make.

(Cinque, 2015, p. 13)

This is not a problem for the matching analysis since the external Head can build an identity relation with the internal Head without undergoing movement.

[22] There are also counter-arguments on the acceptability of this test. Referencing the works such as Fraser (1970), Schenk (1995) and Quang (1971), de Vries (2002) highlights the difference between 'idioms' and 'collocations' and states that while verb + object idioms cannot undergo relativization, collocations can. Compare the following (taken from de Vries, 2002, p. 78):

1. *The bucket he kicked was horrible.
2. The headway we made was great.

4.4.1.3.4 Extraposition

RCs of the raising type do not allow extraposition (Hulsey, 2001; Hulsey & Sauerland, 2006; Cinque, 2015; 2020). Consider the following RC in (32), taken from Hulsey & Sauerland (2006, p.115), involving an anaphor bound by an NP within the RC. When the RC is extraposed, the sentence is no longer acceptable (33):

(32) I saw the picture of himself$_i$ that John$_i$ liked.

(33) *I saw the picture of himself$_i$ yesterday that John$_i$ liked.

Now compare (33) and (34) below. We see that a similar example that potentially does not involve a raising derivation is compatible with extraposition.

(34) I saw the picture of Clinton yesterday that John liked.

Notice that the unacceptability of (33) is not a ban on having reflexives in extraposed RCs as (35) demonstrates. As long as the antecedent is outside the RC, anaphors are allowed in extraposed RCs.

(35) I saw the picture of myself yesterday that John liked.

All in all, the conclusion is that sentences involving raising are incompatible with extraposition.

4.4.1.3.5 Quantifier scope

Observations on quantifier scope further signal connectivity effects, which is an indication of Head raising. Aoun & Li (2003, p. 98) present evidence for this by examining scope relations of numerals inside the Head DP and a quantifier in the RC. Their example is provided in (36):

(36) I phoned [the two patients [that every doctor will examine tomorrow]].

There are two possible readings in (36). On the one hand, the linear order yields an interpretation where the Head *the two patients* takes wide scope over *every doctor*, the latter of which is inside the RC boundary (two > every). On the other hand, the Head can also take a narrow scope under *every doctor* (every > two), leading to an interpretation where for every doctor, there are two patients each. The availability of the narrow scope reading of the Head indicates that the Head is interpreted within the c-commanding domain of *every doctor*; therefore, it must start its journey inside the RC and further undergo raising.

4.4.2 Derivation of restrictive RCs in Romeyka

4.4.2.1 Raising or matching?

Recall from section 4.3 that there are two types of restrictive RCs in Romeyka, prenominal and postnominal. Recall further that the restrictive reading of the prenominal RC obtains only under the demonstrative, as we mentioned in the same section. We marked this as Rel2 for convenience and the postnominal RC as Rel3.

In this section, we show, based on the tests presented in section 4.4.1.3, that prenominal restrictive RCs (Rel2) in Romeyka involve a matching analysis while postnominal restrictive RCs (Rel3) are derived by raising.

4.4.2.1.1 Relativization out of islands

Romeyka has what one could call weak islands. Good candidates for these are the complements of factive verbs *pişmanev-* 'regret' and *ekser-* 'know'.[23] While it is

[23] Although the verb *know* is argued not to be factive on its own (see Hazlett, 2010 for a discussion that it is not the verb itself that retains the factivity reading, but the verb plus what it combines with; hence,

possible to extract arguments out of constructions with factive predicates as in (37-38), adjuncts cannot be preposed (39-40).

(37) Alis [ndoxna$_i$ [oti oxuyepsen _$_i$]] epişmanepsen?[24]

Ali what COMP read.PST.3.SG regret.PST.3.SG

'What did Ali regret that he read?'

(38) Alis [tina$_i$ [ndo idhen _$_i$]] uç eksernes?

Ali who COMP see.PST.3.SG NEG know.PST.2.SG

'Whom didn't you know that Ali saw?'

(39) *Alis [legha$_i$ [oti etsagothen tin porta _$_i$]] epişmanepsen?

Ali how COMP break.PST.3.SG the door regret.PST.3.SG

Intended meaning: 'How did Ali regret that he broke the door?'

(40) *Alis [legha$_i$ [nd eroise _$_i$]] uç eksernes?

Ali how COMP fall.PST.3.SG NEG know.PST.2.SG

Intended meaning: 'How didn't you know that Ali fell?'

We further observe that Rel2 allows relativization across the island boundary (41-42) while this is strictly forbidden with Rel3 (43-44).

(41) [[Ndo idha(= tena)] ndo uç eksernes] i patsi hathaçeka en.

COMP see.PST.1.SG = her REL NEG knew.2.SG the girl here is

'The girl who you did not know that I saw is here.'

structures such as *know whether/when/what*), it is argued to be used factively in configurations with negation (Cohen, 1992).

[24] The examples with *oti* (37-39-42-44) and *ndo* (38-40-41-43) are uttered by different speakers from different villages. The pattern we observe is the same regardless of the form of the complementizer. Nevertheless, it is important to note that *oti* might also be an adverbial subordinator; hence, the translation for (37) could be "What did Ali regret when/because he read (it)?". This translates to the idea that adverbial clauses are weak islands in that speaker's dialect.

(42) [[Oti oxuyepsen = a] nd epişmanepse] to kitabin
COMP read.PST.3.SG = it REL regret.PST.3.SG the book
puçega en?[25]
where be.PRES.3.SG
'Where is the book that she regretted that she read?'

(43) *I patsi [[ndo idha(= tena)] ndo uç eksernes]
The girl COMP see.PST.1.SG = her REL NEG know.PST.2.SG
hathaçeka en.
here be.PRES.3.SG
Intended meaning: 'The girl who you did not know that I saw is here.'

(44) * To kitabin [[oti oxuyepsen = a] nd epişmanepse]
The book COMP read.PST.3.SG = it REL regret.PST.3.SG
puçega en?
where be.PRES.3.SG
Intended meaning: 'Where is the book that she regretted that she read?'

4.4.2.1.2 Stacking

Our second piece of evidence comes from stacking phenomena. While it is possible to do stacking with Rel2 with two RCs modifying the Head *t'astre* 'the stars' in (45), Rel3 does not permit this (46); it is not possible to modify *o aghuros* 'the man' with more than one RC.

[25] Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein (2001) divide resumptive pronouns into two categories; those that are motivated by movement (apparent resumptives) and those that are not motivated by movement and are there for economy reasons (true resumptives). The resumptive here could be of the 'true' type. This goes hand in hand with our argumentation that Rel2 does not show connectivity effects; hence, no movement. The 'true' resumptive also corresponds to Sells's (1984) and McCloskey's (2017) 'intrusive' resumptive.

(45) [[[Son urano ndo ine] nd elepiskuntane] t'astre]

in.the sky REL be.PRES.3.PL REL are.seen the stars

'The stars that are in the sky that are seen'

(46) *[Eçinos o aghuros [ndo idha [ndo eghapesa]]]

That the man REL see.PST.1.SG REL love.PST.1.SG.

'The man that I saw that I loved'

4.4.2.1.3 Extraposition

We are doubtful that the extraposition test is applicable in Romeyka. Consider the sentence in (47). On the surface, it may seem that Romeyka exhibits extraposition due to the verb intervening between the Head NP and the RC:

(47) Ndo makris en erthen, eçinos o aghuros.

REL big be.PRES.3.SG come.PST.3.SG that the man

'The man arrived, who is big.'

However, this may not necessarily be the case.

Recall from Chapter 3 that Headless argument RCs only differ from Headed argument relatives with respect to the existence of an overt head (48-49):

(48) [Ndo idhen = me] o aghuros erthen.

REL see.PST.3.SG = 1.SG.OBJ.CL the man come.PST.3.SG

'The man who saw me came.'

(49) [Ndo idhen = me] erthen.

REL see.PST.3.SG = 1.SG.OBJ.CL come.PST.3.SG

'The one who saw me came.'

Such free relatives always receive a definite interpretation if the predicate is singular as in (50). The Universal reading mainly obtains if the predicate is plural (51).

(50) Ndo erthen.

REL come.PST.3.SG

'The one who came'

(51) Ndo erthane.

REL come.PST.3.PL

'The ones who came' - > 'Whoever comes'

Based on the facts that the predicate within the RC can agree with an element in number, and given that the free relatives receive a definite reading, we claim, on par with Cinque (2020) that the Headless RCs involve silent categorial Heads. Hence (47) and (49); in fact, have the following structures:

(52) [Ndo makris en PERSON] erthen.

REL big be.PRES.3.SG come.PST.3.SG.

'The one who is big came.'

(53) [Ndo idhen = me PERSON] erthen.

REL see.PST.3.SG = 1.SG.OBJ.CL come.PST.3.SG

'The one who saw me came.'

Following this, we claim that the RC in (47) is a free-standing RC, and the DP *eçinos o aghuros* 'that man' is in apposition to this RC.[26]

The same state of affairs also applies to postnominal RCs, exemplified in (54).[27]

[26] The DP might function as an afterthought (in Averintseva-Klisch, 2008's terms), as discussed briefly in footnote 12 in this chapter. Needless to say, more data is needed to further confirm this.

[27] This time, the RC might function as an afterthought. Our informants further confirm this by noting that a pause is needed after the verb *erthen*.

(54) Eçinos o aghuros erthen, ndo makris en.
That the man come.PST.3.SG REL big be.PRES.3.SG
'The man arrived, who is big.'

4.4.2.2 Interim summary

Our observations on both relativization out of islands and stacking show us that the Head in Rel3 shows connectivity effects. This further suggests the Head is base-generated and merged inside the RC and its surface position is only a derived one. This in turn forces us to conclude that the derivation of the postnominal restrictive, namely Rel3, involves Head raising. Things are different for the prenominal restrictive, namely Rel2, whose Head doesn't exhibit any connectivity effects, as these RCs are immune to islands, and stacking of the same type of RCs is available. This means that the Head is outside the domains of the RC; hence, these RCs are derived by matching. Table 16 recapitulates the overall patterns we observe on Rel2 and Rel3.

Table 16. Summary of Observations on Restrictive RCs in Romeyka

	Rel2	Rel3
Relativization out of weak islands	✓	*
Stacking	✓	*
Possible Interpretation	No connectivity	Connectivity
Possible Analysis	Matching	Raising

4.4.2.3 Deriving Rel2 and Rel3

Adopting Cinque's (2020) Double–Headed Analysis, we now demonstrate the derivation of Rel2 and Rel3 respectively.[28]

4.4.2.3.1 Category of the head

We take the internal and the external Heads to be both of dP category since the RCs involve independent relativizers instead of relative pronouns. By doing so, we assume that the d Head is overtly realized with articles. This idea is motivated by Lekakou & Karatsareas's (2016) DP structure for Cappadocian Greek, which is proposed under an analysis of definiteness spreading in the same language (for a detailed definition of the phenomena and its status in Romeyka, see Chapter 2, section 2.1.3.1 as well as 2.1.3.2 and 2.1.3.3). Consider the following example (55) taken from their study (p. 1) where we observe definiteness spreading. The so-called definite article spreads to the adjective:

(55) du omurfu du kuritʃ (Cappadocian Greek)
the pretty the girl
'The pretty girl'

The authors argue that there is a clear mismatch between semantics and morphosyntax for structures as (55); even though the definite article emerges more than once, there is only one unique entity that is referred to. In an attempt to explain this

[28] Our choice of favoring Cinque's (2020) analysis over minimalist approaches is simply motivated by the variation we observe in our data between Rel2 and Rel3. The variable that differs between these forms is simply word order. Minimalist approaches treat word order as a matter of PF (Phonological Form) and take Merge as a commutative operation: Merge (x,y) = Merge (y,x). This disregards our observations regarding Romeyka relatives. If the word order was a matter of PF, and Merge was commutative, then we would expect the distribution of Rel2 and Rel3 to be exactly the same, which as our data shows is not the case. Therefore, minimalist approaches seem to be less successful at explaining the source of this variation. Cinque's (2020) analysis does not oblige such restrictions.

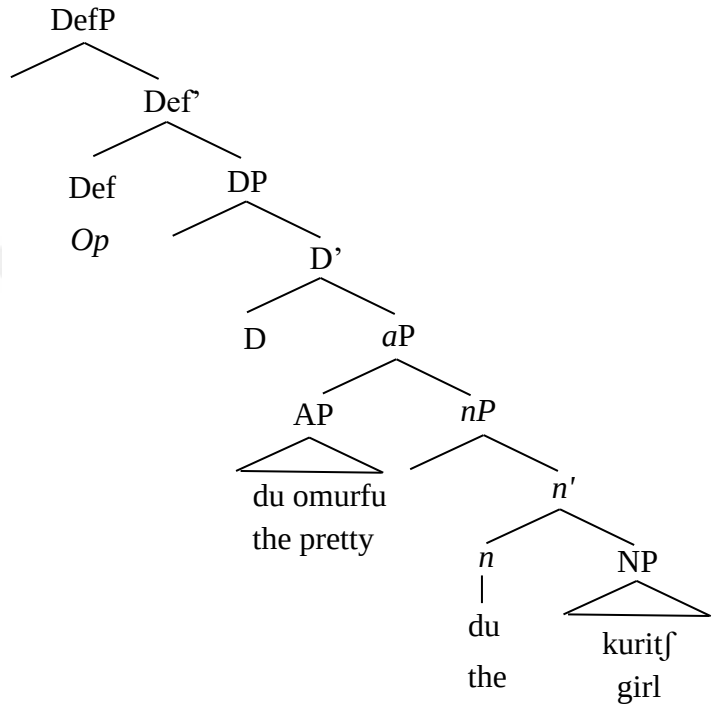
mismatch, they propose that the adjectival determiner is there for agreement reasons; a noun that is encoded with definiteness causes the emergence of the definite article on the adjective.

They propose the structure in (56), replicating the derivation of a definite DP in Cappadocian Greek. Considering arguments on the idea that the adjectival and nominal determiners in languages such as Hebrew (Borer, 1988; 1999) and North Germanic (Julien, 2005) have different syntactic positions, Lekakou & Karatsareas also separate the two for Cappadocian Greek. Following Julien's (2005) approach on introducing articles in a low position specifically, they introduce nominal determiners under the *n* Head. They further propose that adjectival determiners are inserted post-syntactically (referencing Alexiadou, 2014) into AP, but not under D. They adopt Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993) and adapt Alexiadou's (2014) proposal on Hebrew that definiteness spreading structures involve feature copying for Cappadocian Greek. They assume Lekakou & Szendrői's (2013) idea that definiteness is encoded in a phonologically null Def Head that selects DP; D head has an uninterpretable definiteness feature and by Agreeing with Def, it satisfies this requirement. In other words, after Merge and before Vocabulary Insertion, the features of the Def Head are copied.

As for the semantics of the definite articles, Lekakou & Szendrői (2012, 2013) propose that they are expletives in SMG. The idea follows from the observation that even though proper names are inherently definite, they have to bear the definite article. The same state of affairs is valid for Cappadocian Greek (Lekakou & Karatsareas, 2016) and Romeyka as well (see section 2.1.2). Overall, Lekakou & Karatsareas's (2016) proposal translates to the idea that definite articles themselves do not bear any

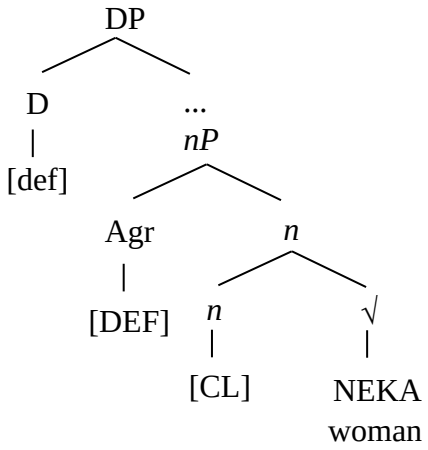
definiteness information; they rather express which category nouns belong to lexically by acting as classifiers.

(56)



Gülsün & Bağrıaçık (2023) reformulate this proposal a bit and assume the following structure (57) for definite DPs in AMG:

(57)



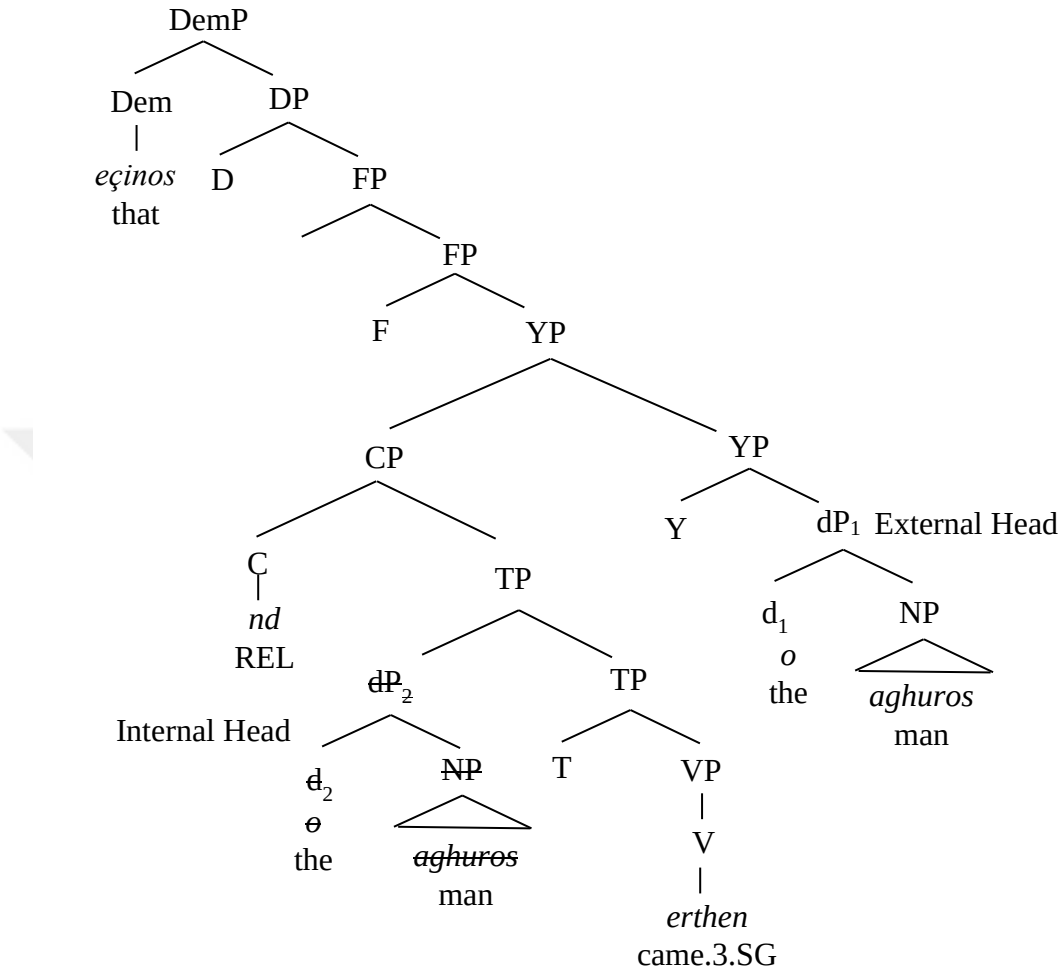
The derivational steps are almost the same; instead of Def Head, we have D head bearing the definiteness feature. Even though D head encodes this feature, it is not morphologically spelled out. Assuming post-syntactic agreement and adopting Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993), after Agr Merges into the structure, the definiteness feature is copied from D Head to Agr, which is the closest c-commanding D for Agr. When vocabulary insertion takes place, articles are inserted into Agr. The difference is that in Gülsün & Bağrıaçık's (2023) adaptation, the features [DEF] and [CL] are fused and realized with definite articles. This also captures the intuition that the so-called definite articles are; in fact, classifiers.

Considering the discussion in Chapter 2 on definiteness, which goes hand in hand with Cappadocian Greek, it is safe to assume that definite articles do not bear a semantic function for Romeyka, either; they act as noun classifiers. The reader is also referred to Revithiadou & Spyropoulos (2012) for a similar discussion on a Pontic variety, and Bağrıaçık & Danckaert (2022) for an adaptation on RCs in Pharasiot Greek.

4.4.2.3.2 Analysis

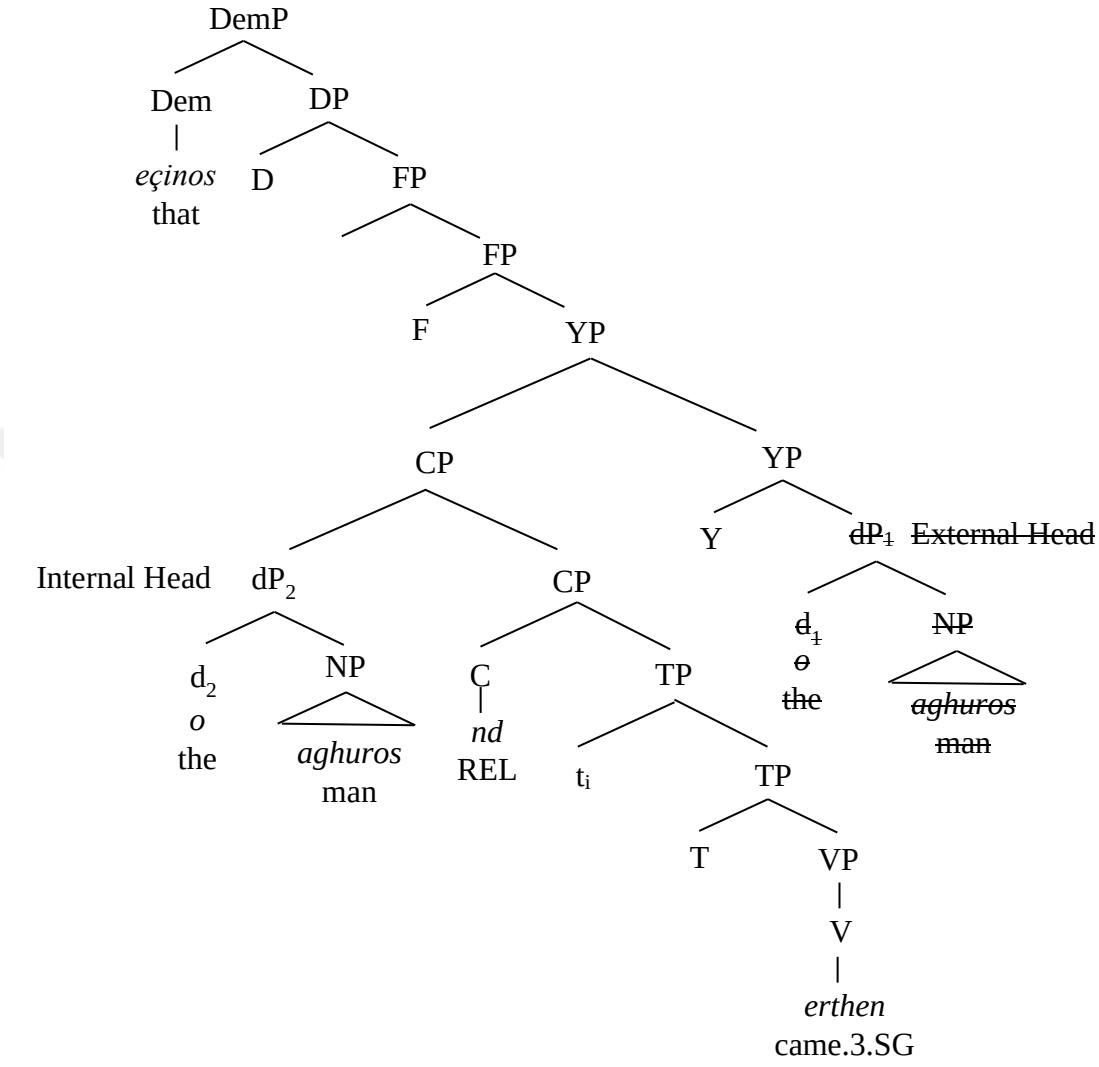
The tree in (58) illustrates the structure of Rel2, involving matching. The derivation of Rel2 includes the licensing of the deletion of the internal Head (dP_2) by the external Head (dP_1) backwardly; overall corresponding to a structure where the overt Head is the external one. This representation accounts for our observations on reconstruction effects and island sensitivity; the internal Head is elided in the end and the Head does not undergo movement in the first place.

(58)



On the other hand, (59) sketches the derivation of Rel3, involving raising. The internal Head (dP2) is raises to Spec CP in the RC. At this landing position, dP2 licenses the deletion of dP1, and the internal Head is realized overtly. This analysis also explains the island sensitivity and reconstruction effects we encountered; the overtly expressed internal Head forms a movement chain with its originating gap position and the Spec CP in the RC is occupied.

(59)



The next section deals with the derivation of non-restrictive RCs.

4.5 Derivation of non-restrictive RCs

In section 4.3.1, we established that Rel1 yields a non-restrictive reading by providing evidence from the availability of modification of proper names and further semantic observations regarding word order. In the remainder of this section, we first present a literature review on the syntax of non-restrictive RCs, and further provide an analysis of the structure of Rel1 by adopting Cinque (2020).

4.5.1 Literature review

Non-restrictive RCs (henceforth 'NRRCs') have been a topic of discussion for quite some time. The discussion mainly revolves around whether such RCs are syntactically parts of the constructions in which they emerge or they are simply elements of discourse. In the remainder of this subsection, we present these two competing viewpoints and further provide information on a unifying account by Cinque (2008b, 2020).

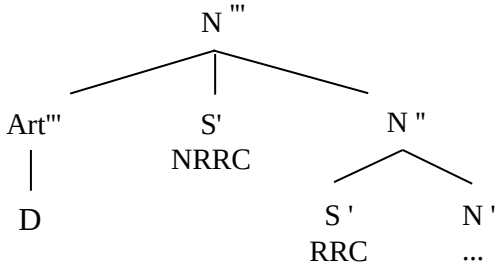
4.5.1.1 Constituency approaches

Constituency approaches, which argue that NRRCs are syntactically linked to the clause they appear in, differ in how the NRRCs relate to the Head and where their syntactic position is. One of the earliest accounts is by Smith (1964) who argues that RCs are complements of D and they undergo movement to the right of the Head within the NP. This approach is rather problematic since it does not reflect the differing behavior of restrictive and non-restrictive RCs (de Vries, 2002).

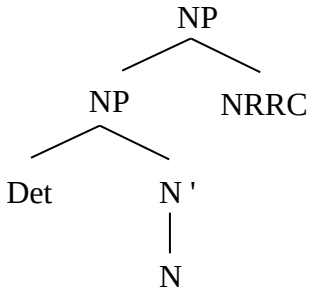
Following Smith (1964), Jackendoff (1977) came up with the Subordinate Clause Hypothesis, claiming that NRRCs are subordinate clauses attached to a higher position within the NP.[29] This is sketched in (60). Some subsequent work (e.g., Smits, 1988; Toribio, 1992) adapted this approach as well. Smits (1988); for instance, adjoins a group of NRRCs that he calls Type A non-restrictives to the right of the NP, as shown in (61).[30] On the other hand, Toribio (1992) merges NRRCs to a DP.

[29] His analysis does not adopt binary branching and involves a third-bar level, corresponding to fully-projected phrases in Chomskian analyses. In other words, RRCs adjoin to N' while NRRCs adjoin to NP.
[30] He further argues that unlike Type A non-restrictives, Type B non-restrictives are syntactically independent from the Head.

(60)

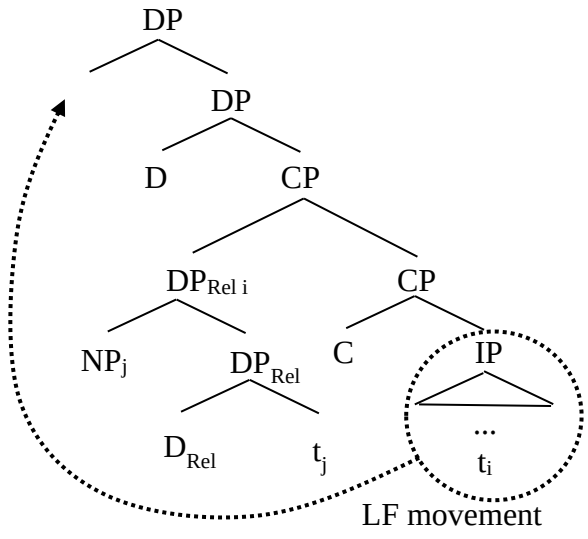


(61)



Kayne (1994) and Bianchi (1999) provide a different approach. They propose that both RRCs and NRRCs are generated in the same way; the RC undergoes raising. However, the TP in the NRRCs undergoes further movement to the Spec DP at LF, as shown in (62).

(62)



De Vries (2002) criticizes this analysis for a number of reasons: (i) what triggers the movement of the TP is not clear, (ii) the derivation of prenominal RCs is the same as the structure proposed for non-restrictives in Kayne (1994) yet the non-restrictive reading is not attained in prenominal RCs, (iii) antecedents of different categories such as CP may not necessarily undergo raising as DPs or NPs do.

In addition to this, some analyses take NRRCs as coordination structures. These include Sturm (1986), and de Vries (2000, 2002, 2006). Details of each account differ; while Sturm (1986) takes both restrictive and non-restrictive relatives as conjuncts merged at different positions in syntax, De Vries (2006) considers NRRCs as a type of free relative, differing from regular free relatives in that NRRCs involve a null pronominal Head (also refer to de Vries, 2006 for an alternative approach).

Also see alternative analyses, building on similar ideas (e.g., Platzack, 1997; Demirdache, 1991; Koster, 2000).

4.5.1.2 Orphanage approaches

This type of approaches consider NRRCs as elements generated independently from the main clause they emerge in. The term ‘orphanage’ is coined by Haegeman (1988) in her work on parenthetical adverbials. Orphanage approaches are mainly divided into two categories: ‘radical’ and ‘non-radical’.

In non-radical orphanage, the NRRCs are existent syntactically but they do not originate with the Head. They are merged in a high position in the structure; either with the S Head or at Deep Structure or LF.

One of the earliest accounts of NRRCs is by Ross (1967). His Main Clause Hypothesis argues that NRRCs are main clauses. They are merged with the main clause

in Deep Structure yet they become parenthetical expressions after transformations take place and the NRRC appears adjoined to the Head. Also see Thompson (1971), Emonds (1979), Stuurman (1983) for similar claims.

An alternative is by McCawley (1982). Considering that precedence and dominance are separate relations, he proposes that it must be possible to alter the order of constituents without affecting the relations between them. Therefore, NRRCs start their journey by being merged with the main clause yet they end up next to the Head by a transformation that changes the order of constituents.

Other non-radical-orphanage approaches are those of Smits (1988) and Bianchi (1999). They both propose that NRRCs are derived independently of the Head yet they do not state the position they originate in.

On the other hand, radical-orphanage approaches do not take NRRCs as a part of the main clause syntax. For instance, Safir (1986) argues that NRRCs are adjoined to the Head in the LF' layer, a layer that is beyond LF. Similarly, Fabb (1990) suggests that NRRCs are merged in a discourse layer. In addition, Espinal (1991) comes up with different layers of syntax that she calls 'planes', each having its own separate tree structure. These planes are integrated at PF and Conceptual Structure.

Also, see Peterson (2004) and Canac-Marquis & Tremblay (1997) for similar analyses.

4.5.1.3 A unifying account: Cinque (2008b, 2020)

Cinque (2008b, 2020) embraces both the constituency and orphanage approaches and proposes that they cross-linguistically correspond to two types of NRRCs, these being 'integrated' and 'non-integrated'. He argues that the integrated type NRRCs are

syntactically involved in the derivation of the matrix clause while the non-integrated NRRCs are elements of Discourse Grammar.[31] He further adds that while some languages (e.g., Italian) encode both types, some don't (e.g., English), and some (e.g., Navajo, Andrews, 1975; Aygen, 2003, as cited in Cinque, 2020) lack NRRCs completely.

By focusing on Italian and English, he lists some properties that distinguish one type from the other, which are provided below (Cinque, 2020, pp. 144-145).[32]

4.5.1.3.1 Independent illocutionary force

One distinction between non-integrated versus integrated NRRCs comes from the availability of independent illocutionary force. Illocutionary force refers to a speech act that involves the intention that the speaker has in the form of an assertion, question, suggestion, etc. (Searle & Vanderveken, 1985). Cinque (2020) proposes that NRRCs of the integrated type do not have an illocutionary force of their own independent from the matrix clause while this is not the case for non-integrated NRRCs. He further gives examples from Italian, which he argues exhibits both types of NRRCs, provided in (63-64) below (taken from p. 146). Notice that the *il quale* type NRRC allows an illocution

[31] Williams (1977) observes that rules regarding deletion phenomena do not pattern the same way; whilst some of these rules follow Ross's (1967) constraints and cannot be implemented across discourse, some behave in the opposite direction. He explains this observation by dividing grammar into two sub-categories: Sentence Grammar and Discourse Grammar. The difference between the two is that while the former involves different realizational levels (surface structure, deep structure, and logical form), the latter can be used across "utterance boundaries" (p.101). He further proposes that rules behaving differently belong to different grammar components.

[32] Cinque (2020) also notes that integrated NRRCs and restrictive RCs show similar patterns with regard to these observations. This parallelism between the two types as opposed to non-integrated NRRCs further makes the proposal that they are generated in the same sub-grammar component more plausible.

independent from the matrix clause (specifically of imperative type) as in (63), this is not possible with the *che/cui* type NRRC in (64):

(63) Ci sono poi i Rossi, per i quali, ti prego, cerca di trovare una sistemazione!
'There are then the Rs, for whom please try to find an accommodation!'

(64) *Ci sono poi i Rossi, per cui, ti prego, cerca di trovare una sistemazione!
'There are then the Rs, for whom, please, try to find an accommodation!'

4.5.1.3.2 Usage across discourse and different speakers

While the integrated NRRCs cannot be used across discourse and by different speakers, non-integrated NRRCs can. Consider (65) (Cinque, 2020, p. 147). While the *il quale* type NRRC can be uttered by a different speaker, *che/cui* type NRRC cannot:

(65) A: Ha difeso la sua tesi contro tutti.
'He defended his thesis against everyone.'
B: La quale/ *che sosteneva la necessità del non intervento
'Which asserted the need for non-intervention.'

4.5.1.3.3 The possibility of split antecedents

Another distinctive tool that distinguishes non-integrated and integrated NRRCs is the availability of split antecedents. While the integrated NRRCs do not permit split antecedents, non-integrated NRRCs do. Consider the examples from French (Del Gobbo, 2017, p.26) in (66). The relativizer *qui* does not refer to both Charles and Anne at the same time whereas the relativizer *lequels* can.

(66) Si Charles$_i$ n'aimait plus Anne$_j$, [*qui$_{i+j}$ / lequels$_{i+j}$ d'ailleurs ne s'etaient
If Charles not loved any.longer Anne, who at.any.rate not rec were
jamais vraiment aimés, c'est qu'il y avait une raison.
never really loved it be that it there have a reason
'If Carlo was no longer in love with Anna, who at any rate never really loved each other, there was a reason.'

4.5.1.3.4 The possibility of full retention of the internal head

While it is possible to keep the internal Head in non-integrated NRRCs, this is not applicable for integrated NRRCs. In Italian, the non-integrated *il quale* non-restrictives retain the internal Head *farmaco* 'medicine' whereas integrated *che* non-restrictives do not as (67) shows (taken from Cinque, 2020, p.149):

(67) Se quel farmaco, il quale/*che farmaco è il frutto di molti anni di lavoro, non
If that medicine, which medicine is the result of many years' work, was
è stato messo in commercio, una ragione ci dev'essere.
non-commercialized, there must be a reason.

4.5.1.3.5 The possibility of non-identity of the external and the internal Heads

The internal and external Heads in non-integrated NRRCs may differ; however, integrated NRRCs do not permit this. (68) is an example from Italian non-integrated *il quale* NRRCs, the Heads being distinct as *Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini* and *romanzo* 'novel' (taken from Cinque, 2020, p.149):

(68) Ha raggiunto la fama con ‘Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini’, il quale/*che romanzo
He became famous with ‘Il giardino dei Finzi-Contini’, which novel
ha poi anche avuto una riduzione cinematografica.
was then also made into a film.

4.5.1.3.6 The possibility of a head other than DP

The non-integrated type of non-restrictives can have constituents bigger than DPs as antecedents yet this is not the case for the integrated type which can only take DPs. In (69) taken from (Cinque 2020, p.151), the non-integrated *il quale* non-restrictive takes a VP as an antecedent whereas this is not allowed with the integrated *che/cui* type:

(69) Maria interveniva sempre. La qual cosa / *che faceva anche sua madre.
Maria was always speaking up. Which her mother also used to do.

4.5.1.3.7 Parasitic gaps

Another difference between the two types of non-restrictives regards parasitic gaps. Parasitic gaps are defined as gaps whose occurrence is conditioned by another gap’s existence (Engdahl, 1983). Consider the following example (70) taken from Engdahl (1983, p.1) where the wh-phrase *which articles* is interpreted in both gap positions:

(70) Which articles did John file __ without reading __ ?

The gap in the adjunct construction is considered to be ‘parasitic’ due to the following observations by Kearney (1983) and Chomsky (1986) :

(71) Which books about himself did John file __ [before Mary read __] ?

(72) *Which books about herself did John file __ [before Mary read __] ?

(72) does not show any construction effects; it is not possible to interpret the wh-phrase containing the anaphor *herself* bound by *Mary*, the subject of the adjunct clause. In fact, the anaphor can only be bound by *John* in the matrix clause as in (71).

Cinque (2020) proposes that integrated NRRCs allow parasitic gaps while non-integrated NRRCs do not. Consider the examples from English, which is argued to have only non-integrated type of NRRCs. The non-restrictive in (73) with a parasitic gap is unacceptable (Cinque, 2020, p.156, examples taken from Safir 1986, p. 673):

(73) *John is a man who Bill, who knows $\_\__i$, admires $\_\__i$.

In addition, notice that (74), which is the restrictive version of (71), allows parasitic gaps:

(74) John is a man who everyone who knows $\_\__i$ admires $\_\__i$.

4.5.1.3.8 Reflexive antecedents

Integrated NRRCs may contain reflexive antecedents. On the other hand, non-integrated NRRCs do not show this pattern. Cinque exemplifies this with Italian (p. 151) in (75); the non-integrated *il quale* non-restrictives do not tolerate reflexives as antecedents while this is not the case with the integrated *che/cui* type:

(75) Facendo questo rovinerà anche se $stesso_i$, che_i / *$il\ quale_i$ non avrebbe certo
By doing this he will also ruin himself, that would certainly
bisogno di altre disgrazie.
not need another blow now.

4.5.1.3.9 Coordinating the wh-pronoun with another D

In non-integrated non-restrictives, a wh-pronoun can be coordinated with a different DP. This is not the case for the integrated type. Example (76) shows this for Italian; the non-integrated *i quali* non-restrictive can be coordinated with *tra le rispettive consorti* 'between their respective wives' yet the integrated non-restrictive *che/cui* cannot (Cinque, 2020, p. 152):

(76) Gianni e Mario, tra le rispettive consorti e i quali / *cui non c'era mai stato
Gianni and Mario, between their respective wives and whom there never was
un grande affiatamento, ...
a real understanding, ...

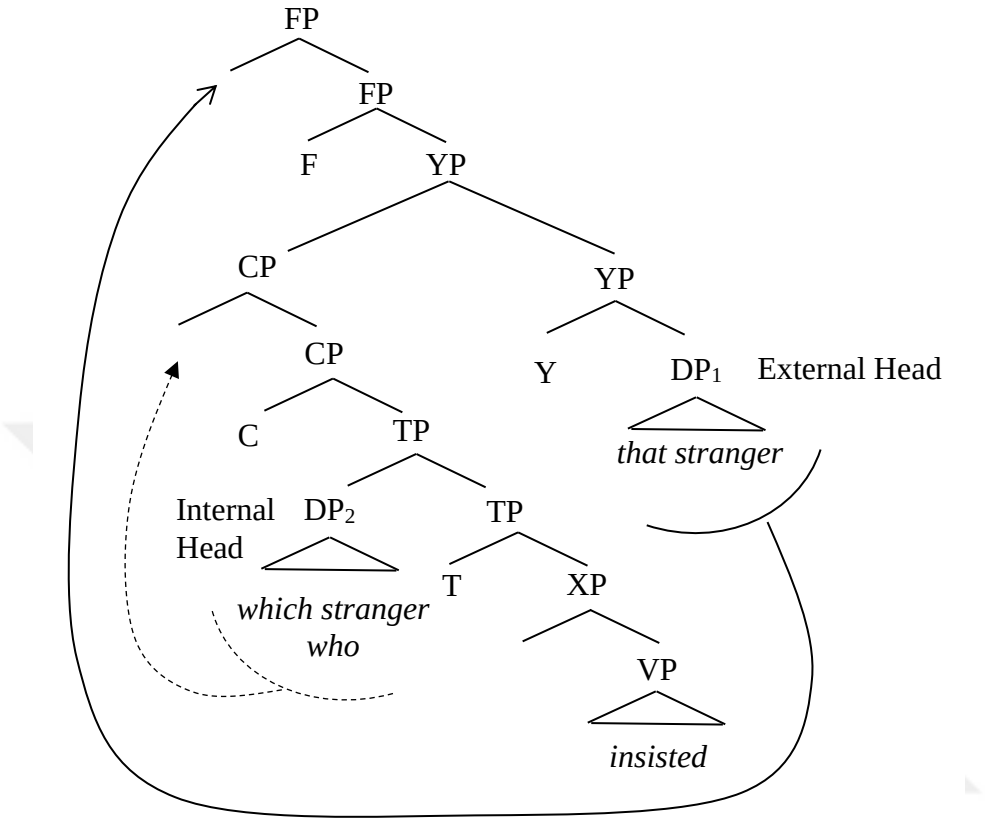
4.5.1.3.10 Heavy pied-piping

While pied-piping is available in both non-restrictive types, integrated non-restrictives only allow pied-piping of functional PPs. However, non-integrated non-restrictives permit the pied-piping of heavier constructions. In (77), we see that the non-integrated *il quale* non-restrictive allows the pied-piping of a CP in Italian (Cinque, p. 168):

(77) I dimostranti, [$_{CP}$ quanti dei quali siano stati arrestati] è tutt'altro che chiaro, …
The demonstrators how many of whom were arrested is far from clear, …

The derivation of integrated NRRCs is almost identical to restrictive RCs; the only difference lies in the merge position of the RC. While restrictive RCs are merged below demonstratives, NRRCs are merged to a position higher than determiners and demonstratives. This is sketched in (78) below, taken from Cinque (2020, p.158).

(78)



Cinque (2020) further proposes that it is impossible for the integrated type of NRRCs to have a raising derivation since no connectivity effects are observed. The first piece of evidence for this comes from idioms; they cannot be linked to NRRCs as in (79). Moreover, it is not possible for a Head containing a reflexive to be co-indexed with a phrase inside the NRRC. This is exemplified in (80). Likewise, a quantifier in the RC cannot bind a pronominal in the Head (81). Lastly, the Head containing a quantifier cannot be under the scope of a quantifier within the NRRC; in (82), the wide scope reading of *every* is not available.

(79) *Peter is aware of some significant headway, which (by the way) John had made recently.

(80) *Peter liked some pictures of each other, which (by the way) they acquired yesterday.

(Sportiche, Koopman & Stabler, 2014, p. 412, as cited in Cinque, 2020, pp. 188-189)

(81) *Two pictures of his_i mother, which every $student_i$ had given Sue, were on the table.

(82) I talked to two patients, who every doctor in town had examined.

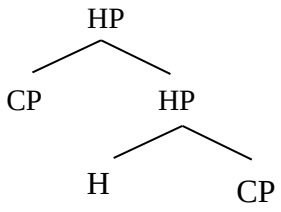
(Authier & Reed, 2005, p. 638, as cited in Cinque, 2020, pp. 188-189)

These observations show us that only the matching analysis is available for the integrated type. Consequently, the derivation of postnominal integrated NRRCs involves the external Head DP_1 moving to the specifier of the FP, as indicated with solid lines in (78), and the elision of the internal Head. In languages like English, the internal Head is elided after it moves to the specifier of the RC CP. On the other hand, prenominal integrated NRRCs are derived by the elision of the internal Head under identity relation with the external Head.

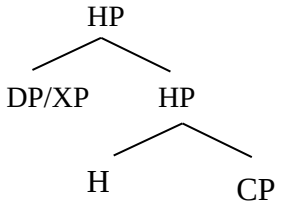
Adopting Kayne's (1994) LCA also for Discourse Grammar, Cinque (2020) suggests that the structure of non-integrated NRRCs involves an intermediary silent Head H, displaying asymmetric c-command. Despite this asymmetric c-command relation, the silent H Head is assumed to interrupt any possible connection (e.g., binding, Move, Agree) related to Sentence Grammar between its complement and specifier. The expression that linearly comes before is adjoined to the specifier position of this silent Head H. The preceding expression might be of a CP, DP, or an AP category. Example (83), where we have a CP preceding illustrates the structure of non-integrated NRRCs

that occur across discourse. Example (84) with a DP/XP preceding, on the other hand, illustrates non-integrated NRRCs in which the RC is next to the Head.[33]

(83)



(84)



Similar to the integrated type, non-integrated non-restrictives are also argued to not involve raising (Cinque, 2020). This is evident considering that the RC and the antecedent may appear in different sentences or even be produced by different speakers.

These proposals capture the different behavior of the integrated and non-integrated non-restrictives. Considering that non-integrated non-restrictives are CPs that are free-standing utterances at the discourse level in (83) and (84), it is expected that they have their own illocution, that they can be uttered across discourse by different speakers, that they have both split and non-nominal antecedents, and that they do not permit parasitic gaps which are licensed by elements in the matrix clause. Moreover, the explanation of the remaining observations can be attributed to the E-type nature of wh-

[33] We also see non-integrated NRRCs embedded, which as Cinque (2020) argues may follow from a feature spreading relation built between the DP/XP in the specifier and the dominating HP category where the DP/XP projects its features to the HP and regulates its features. This proposal resembles the analysis on unbalanced coordination structures in Johannessen (1998).

phrases in non-integrated non-restrictives.[34] The parallelism is in that both E-type pronouns and wh-pronouns in non-integrated non-restrictive relatives can refer to antecedents across discourse, be coordinated with other categories of constituents, and be embedded independently.

On the other hand, since integrated non-restrictives belong to the DP in which the Head they modify is in, we expect that they do not have independent features; no independent illocutionary force, and no split antecedents. Similarly, since they are Merged within the DP already, they cannot have antecedents of the non-nominal type. Due to the same reason, they are c-commanded by the constituents that c-command their antecedent; therefore, an operator in the matrix clause may bind a parasitic gap inside the RC. As for the unavailability of retaining the internal Head and limitations on pied-piping, specifically in the Italian case, Cinque (2020) suggests that this is due to the relativizer *cui* used in the integrated-type NRRCs being a pronoun.

4.5.2 Derivation of non-restrictive RCs in Romeyka

4.5.2.1 Integrated, non-integrated, or both?

We propose that non-restrictive RCs in Romeyka are of the integrated type. This follows from both (i) typological availability and (ii) the non-applicability of Cinque's (2020) distinguishing criteria discussed in section 4.5.1.3.

[34] The definition of E-type pronouns comes from Evans (1980). Consider the following (p. 339):
1. Few congressmen admire only the people they know.
2. Few congressmen admire Kennedy, and they are very junior.
The retained meaning in 1 is that the pronoun *they* is bound by the quantifier. Compare this with example 2, which also includes a quantifier. Sentence 2 cannot be interpreted in the same way as 1; it is not the case that few congressmen both admire Kennedy and are very junior. Such pronouns that involve quantification yet lack binding (as in example 2) are E-type pronouns. Sells (1985) & Demirdache (1991) & Del Gobbo (2017) amongst others further propose that wh-pronouns in non-restrictive RCs are interpreted as E-type pronouns.

4.5.2.1.1 Typological availability

Recall from sections 4.2 and 4.3 that the non-restrictives (Rel1) in Romeyka are prenominal (85):

(85) [Nd erthen] eçinos o aghuros
REL came.3.SG that the man
'That man that arrived'

Even though prenominal NRRCs are observed in various languages such as Turkish (Kornfilt, 1997; Göksel & Kerslake, 2005), Laz (Lacroix, 2009), Basque (De Rijk, 1972) amongst others, following Kayne (1994), Cinque (2020) argues that they can only be of the integrated type.

This proposal is mainly attributed to wh-pronouns and the typological observation on their unavailability in prenominal RCs. Some studies (e.g., Sells, 1985; Demirdache, 1991; Del Gobbo, 2017) argue that wh-pronouns are interpreted as E-type pronouns. Given that E-type pronouns and demonstratives can be associated with their antecedent across discourse (e.g., Ross, 1967; Demirdache, 1991), wh-elements are argued to pattern similarly.[35] The availability of occurring across discourse suggests that NRRCs with wh-elements must have a non-integrated reading, assuming that non-integrated NRRCs are elements of Discourse Grammar. However, wh-elements are not attested in prenominal RCs typologically (as observed by Downing, 1978; Keenan, 1985). This translates to the idea that prenominal NRRCs cannot be of the non-integrated type.[36]

[35] Here, the demonstrative refers to the referential usages of pronouns as in: 'She is sad.' (pointing to a specific individual).
[36] Andrews (1975) notes that languages that only exhibit prenominal RCs do not distinguish integrated versus non-integrated NRRCs, overall corresponding to the idea that they have Cinque's (2020) integrated

Additionally, as we reported in Chapter 3, section 3.3.7, Romeyka lacks wh-pronouns as relativizers to begin with; the language only exhibits independent relativizers. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that NRRCs in Romeyka cannot be non-integrated.

4.5.2.1.2 Cinque's (2020) tests on non-restrictives

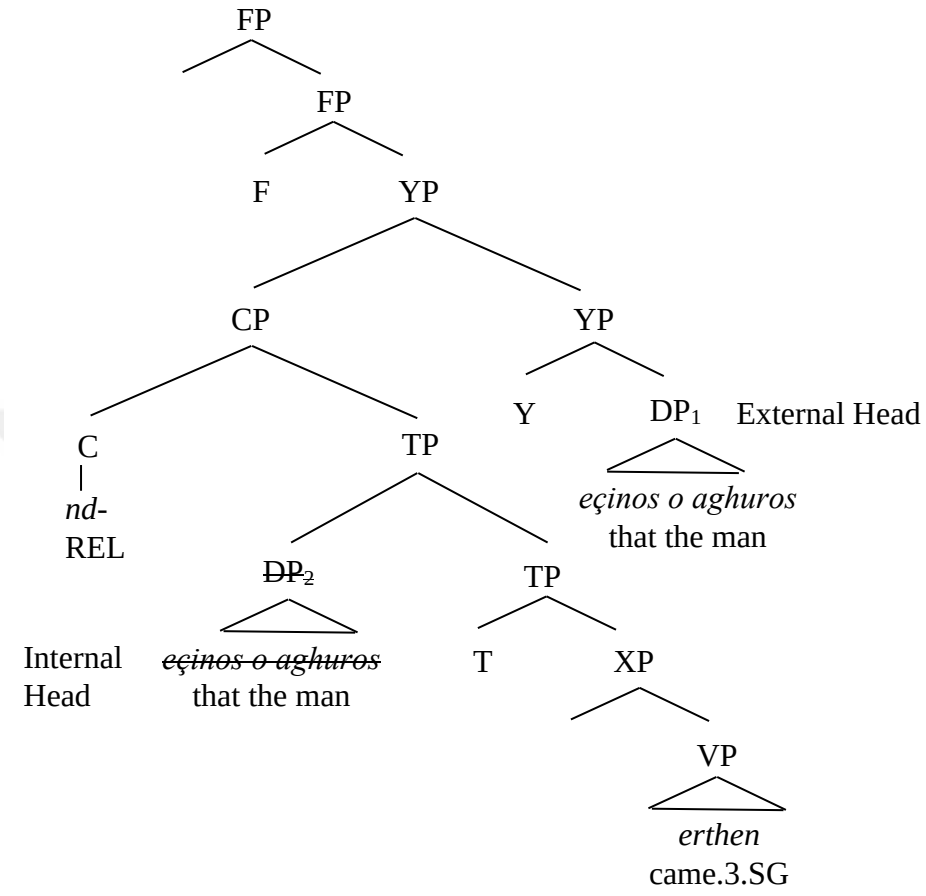
Cinque's (2020) distinctive criteria on non-restrictives, discussed in section 4.5.1.3 are not applicable to Romeyka due to NRRCs being prenominal. In order for the tests to apply, the discourse must be established before the RC is provided. Instead, in prenominal relatives, the RC is presented priorly. Moreover, some of the tests such as split antecedent, and reflexive antecedents require an antecedent. However, we do not have an antecedent in prenominal RCs to begin with. Though indirect, these may be count as evidence that NRRCs in Romeyka are not non-integrated.

4.5.2.2 Analysis

Following Cinque (2020), we assume that the derivation of Rel1 involves a matching analysis where the internal Head is backwardly-elided under an identity relation built with the external Head. This is illustrated in (86).

NRRCs. However, they are still different from restrictives in that they are merged to different positions in syntax; non-restrictives above demonstratives and restrictives below them.

(86)


FP
FP
F
YP
CP
YP
Y
DP1
External Head
C
TP
nd-
REL
eçinos o aghuros
that the man
DP2
TP
Internal
Head
eçinos o aghuros
that the man
T
XP
VP
erthen
came.3.SG

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of the findings

The main aim of this thesis was to investigate Headed relative clause structures in Romeyka, an understudied and endangered Hellenic variety spoken in Trabzon, Türkiye.

Chapter 2 offered a brief description of the noun phrase in Romeyka. Alongside the existing literature (e.g., Schreiber, 2023; Neocleous, 2020; Mackridge, 1987; Özkan, 2013; Michelioudakis & Sitaridou, 2013), we presented the inflection classes and case, further noting that Romeyka exhibits heteroclisis, parallel to other Asia Minor Greek varieties presented in Karatsareas (2011). We further noted that articles, adjectives and demonstratives are subject to neuter agreement in align with Michelioudakis & Sitaridou (2013) in that semantic gender agreement is favored in lieu grammatical gender agreement. In addition, we highlighted that adjectives undergo obligatory definiteness spread. Lastly, we provided the word order within the NP, overall concluding adjectives, demonstratives and pronominal possessives obligatorily precede the Head while genitive-noun constructions allow a flexible word order.

In Chapter 3, we first presented a literature review on relative clauses; specifically focusing on relativizing strategies and relative elements across languages as well as different relative clause types and the hierarchical position of the Head within a relative clause construction. We demonstrated that Romeyka possesses Headed and Headless relative clause structures. The scope of the thesis being Headed relatives specifically, we subsequently provided a detailed description of Headed relative clauses in Romeyka. By providing evidence from linear order, case facts and the unavailability

of a morphological definiteness restriction, we first established that Headed relatives are Headed externally. Furthermore, we reported that Headed relatives are permitted both prenominally and postnominally. With regard to the order of the adjectives, demonstratives and the relative clause, we demonstrated that the relative clause always precedes the adjective in prenominal relatives whereas it is the adjective that always precedes the noun; hence, the relative clause in postnominal ones. We further noted that demonstrative-relative clause order is flexible in prenominal relatives yet it is fixed in postnominal ones, the demonstrative always preceding the relative clause and the Head. Moreover, we investigated the internal composition of a Headed relative clause; stating that it consists of a relativizer, an inflected verb and a Head, and the relativizer mandatorily precedes the verb. We added that such constructions as subjects, objects, and adverbials may be fronted and; as a result, precede the relativizer whereas circumstantial adverbs obligatorily appear at the left periphery. We further stated that scrambling is permitted among the subjects and objects both in the left periphery of the relative clause and in situ. In addition, with regard to the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie, 1979), we reported that elements that undergo relativization in Romeyka are subjects, direct and indirect objects, obliques, and possessors and that the most common, though not only, strategy is gapping while resumptive pronouns are also attested in possessor relatives. Additionally, we detected that Headed relatives employ the relativizers *op(i)* and *nd(o)*, being non-pronominal in nature. We further explored their distribution, concluding that *nd(o)* is acceptable in all Headed relative configurations that the language permits and that the distribution of *op(i)* is conditioned by the syntactic position of the relativized Head and animacy; it only relativizes subjects and possessors that are animate.

In Chapter 4, we investigated the syntax of Headed relatives in the language. Specifically focusing on the linear order between the Head, the relative clause and demonstratives, we noted that there are three different linear positions where a Headed relative clause may emerge. We further reported the distribution of each type, concluding that two of these orders, namely RC-N and N-RC, Rel2 and Rel3 respectively, are restrictive while one of them, namely RC-N or Rel1, is non-restrictive. We based our argument on the following criteria: the prenominal modification on proper names, relativization in contrastive focus contexts, and semantic observations. Upon establishing the distribution, we further questioned the availability of the restrictive reading both prenominally and postnominally, given that our informants did not give any specific remarks on the distribution. Subsequently, we proposed that these two orders; in fact, differ in their derivational histories. We demonstrated that postnominal restrictives exhibit connectivity effects; they enable neither the relativization out of weak islands and nor stacking contrary to the prenominal restrictives, which allow both. As a result, we argue that the postnominal restrictives are best compliant with a raising analysis while the prenominal restrictives translate to a matching one. Following Cinque's (2020) Double Headed Analysis, which unifies both raising and matching approaches, we showed a step-by-step derivation for both of these restrictive variants. Furthermore, we focused on the non-restrictive relatives in the language and proposed that they are of the integrated type, namely elements of Sentence Grammar in Williams's (1977) sense. We tied this to two factors, one of which was the availability of wh-elements. As Cinque (2020) points out, non-integrated relatives encode wh-elements, which can build reference across discourse, acting as an E-type pronoun (originally suggested by Sells, 1985; Demirdache, 1991; Del Gobbo, 2017). Following Downing (1978) and Keenan

(1985) on the proposal that wh-elements do not emerge in prenominal relatives typologically, and given that our non-restrictive Headed relatives are prenominal, we concluded non-restrictives in Romeyka cannot be of the non-integrated type. The second reason of non-restrictives being of the integrated type, though indirect, was the unavailability of applying Cinque's (2020) distinguishing tests for Romeyka. We lastly offered a step-by-step derivation of non-restrictive relatives in the language, following Cinque (2020).

5.2 Remaining issues and further research

The data in this thesis was from the Çaykara region in Trabzon. Considering that there is substantial dialectal micro-variation (Schreiber, 2023), it is needless to say that the results in this study might differ in other dialects, which could be a topic of further study.

Moreover, we mainly focused on Headed relatives in this thesis, despite utilizing several examples of Headless ones. Headless relatives in Romeyka remain to be investigated in detail.

In Chapter 3, while we were introducing the internal composition of a Headed relative clause in the language, we reported a restriction of the position of adverbials in Headed relatives. We stated that while VP-level adverbials do not need to appear at the left periphery within the relative clause, circumstantial adverbials are obligatorily fronted. Considering that the data we have on the issue was rather scarce, more data is needed. The possible reasons and the consequences of the assumptions on this restriction could be further studied in depth.

In addition, we observe one further puzzle regarding pronominally headed relatives. Romeyka has what one could call 'pronominally Headed' relatives. Consider the example given in (1):[37]

(1) Eçinos nd erthen
That.M.NOM.SG REL come.PST.3.SG
'That one that came'

Interestingly, the switched order where the demonstrative follows the relative clause is not attested (2):

(2) *Nd erthen eçinos
REL come.PST.3.SG that.M.NOM.SG

Recall the discussion in Chapter 4, section 4.4.2.1.3, where we introduced Cinque (2020)'s analysis of silent categorial Heads. The idea was that RCs without overt Heads involve Heads that are not overtly expressed. We adopted this for Romeyka on the basis that the verb in free relatives shows number agreement and the retained reading in those structures is definite. As for the pronominally Headed examples in (1) and (2), we see that the demonstrative is in the masculine form, further suggesting there is agreement between the demonstrative and a Head noun. Therefore, it is safe to assume that these structures also encode a silent categorial Head. This overall translates to (1) and (2) having the following structures in (3) and (4) respectively:

(3) [Eçinos nd erthen PERSON]

(4) *[Nd erthen eçinos PERSON]

[37] Even though such examples look like light Headed RCs at first glance due to not having an overt NP Head but a demonstrative, given the fact that we have not analyzed their internal structure in detail, we abstain from labeling them as light Headed structures.

However, under a silent categorial Head analysis, the unacceptability of (2) is unexpected. Notice that by introducing a silent Head, Headless relatives are likened to Headed ones, the only difference being the overt realization of the Head. The fact that the structure in (5), which contains an overt Head, is acceptable makes us question the source of this unacceptability:

(5)	Nd	erthen	eçinos	o	aghuros
	REL	come.PST.3.SG	that.M.NOM.SG	the	man.M.NOM.SG

In other words, why is it the case that non-restrictive pronominally Headed relatives are not permitted? A similar case is also reported in Lipták (2015), where she notes that the pronominally Headed relatives in Hungarian are necessarily restrictive. Assuming that (2) and (5) are structurally the same under the silent Head analysis, there is no syntactic reason as to why (2) should be non-attested. One alternative explanation we have is that the unacceptability might be conditioned by a semantic restriction; the demonstrative itself might not be adequate to identify the referent in (2). As of now, we are uncertain what exactly might be causing this restriction; therefore, this issue could be further investigated in detail.

REFERENCES

Alexiadou, A. (2014). *Multiple determiners and the structure of DPs*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Andrews, A. (2007). Relative clauses. In Timothy Shopen (Ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* (2nd ed.) (pp. 206-236), Cambridge University Press, New York, NY.

Andrews, A. D. III. (1975). *Studies in the syntax of relative and comparative clauses.* (Doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Andrews, P. A. (1989). *Ethnic groups in the republic of Turkey.* Wiesbaden: L. Reichert Verlag.

Aoun, J. & Li, Y.-H. A. (2003). *Essays on the representational and derivational nature of grammar. The diversity of wh-constructions.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Aoun, J., Choueiri, L. & Hornstein, N. (2001). Resumption, movement and derivational economy. *Linguistic Inquiry, 32*(3), 371–403. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4179155

Authier, J.-M. & Reed, L. (2005). The diverse nature of non-interrogative wh. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *36*(4), 635–647. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4179343

Averintseva-Klisch, M. (2008). To the right of the clause. Right dislocation vs afterthought. In C. Fabricius-Hansen, W. Ramm (Eds.), *Subordination versus Coordination in Sentence and Text* (pp. 217–239). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Aygen, G. (2003). Are there 'non-restrictive' prerelatives in Turkish? *Harvard Working Papers in Linguistics, 8,* 199–212.

Bağrıaçık, M., & Danckaert, L. (2022). Raising and matching in Pharasiot Greek relative clauses: A diachronic reconstruction. *Journal of Linguistics, 58*(3), 495–533. doi:10.1017/S0022226721000335

Bağrıaçık, M. (2018). *Pharasiot Greek: Word order and clause structure* (Doctoral dissertation). Universiteit Ghent, Ghent, Belgium.

Basilico, D. (1996). Head position and internally headed relative clauses. *Language, 72*(3), 498-533. doi:10.2307/41627

Bhatt, R. (2002). The raising analysis of relative clauses: Evidence from adjectival modification. *Natural Language Semantics,10*(1), 43-90. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/23748144

Bianchi, V. (2002a). Headed relative clauses in generative syntax-part I. *Glot International, 6*(7), 197–204. Retrieved from https://www.ciscl.unisi.it/

Bianchi, V. (2002b). Headed relative clauses in generative syntax-part II. *Glot International, 6*(8), 1-13. Retrieved from https://www.ciscl.unisi.it/

Bianchi, V. (2000). The raising analysis of relative clauses: A reply to Borsley. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *31*(1), 123-140. Retrieved from https://www.uni-potsdam.de/en/ling/index

Bianchi, V. (1999). *Consequences of antisymmetry: Headed relative clauses*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110803372

Boef, E. (2013). *Doubling in relative clauses: Aspects of morphosyntactic microvariation in Dutch*. Utrecht: LOT Publications.

Borer, H. (1999). Deconstructing the construct. In K. Johnson & I. Roberts (Eds.), *Beyond principles and parameters* (pp. 43-89). Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Borer, H. (1988). On the morphological parallelism between compounds and constructs. In G. Booij & J. van Marle (Eds.), *Yearbook of morphology 1* (pp. 45-65). Dordrecht: Foris.

Brendemoen, B. (2006). Aspects of Greek-Turkish language contact in Trabzon. In H. Boeschoten & L. Johanson (Eds.), *Turkic languages in contact* (pp. 63–73). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Brendemoen, B. (2002). *The Turkish dialects of Trabzon: Their phonology and historical development*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Bruce, L. (1984). *The Alamblak language of Papua New Guinea (East Sepik)*. Pacific Linguistics Series C - No. 81. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. doi:10.15144/pl-c81.

Canac-Marquis, R. & M. Tremblay (1997). The wh-feature and the syntax of restrictive and non-restrictive relatives in French and English. In J. Lema & E. Treviño (Eds.), *Issues in romance linguistics* (pp.127-142). John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Carlson, G. (1977). Amount relatives. *Language*, *53*(3), 520–542. doi:/10.2307/413175

Chomsky, N. (1995). *The minimalist program*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Chomsky, N. (1986). *Barriers*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Chomsky, N. (1977). On wh-movement. In P. Cullicover, T. Wasow, & A. Akmajian (Eds.), *Formal syntax* (pp.71-132). New York: Academic Press.

Chomsky, N. (1965). *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Choueiri, L. (2002). *Issues in the syntax of resumption: Restrictive relatives in Lebanese Arabic* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Southern California, CA.

Cinque, G. (2020). *The syntax of relative clauses: A unified analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cinque, G. (2017). A microparametric approach to the head-initial/head-final parameter. In S. Karimi & M. Piattelli-Palmarini (Eds.), *Linguistic Analysis, 41*(3-4). 309–366. Retrieved from https://iris.unive.it

Cinque, G. (2015). Three phenomena discriminating between 'raising' and 'matching' relative clauses. *Semantics-Syntax Interface, 2*(1), 1–27. Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/53183006.pdf

Cinque, G. (2008a). More on the indefinite character of the head of restrictive relatives. In P. Benincà, F. Damonte & N. Penello (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 34th Incontro di Grammatica Generativa* (pp. 3-24). Padova: Unipress. Retrieved from https://lingbuzz.com/j/rgg

Cinque, G. (2008b). Two types of non-restrictive relatives. *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics, 7*, 99–137. Retrieved from http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss7/

Citko, B. (2004). On headed, headless, and light-headed relatives. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, 22*(1), 95–126. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4048076

Citko, B. (2001). Deletion under identity in relative clauses. In M. Kim & U. Strauss (Eds.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society (NELS) 31* (pp. 131-145). Amherst, MA: Graduate Linguistic Student Association.

Cohen, L. J. (1992). *An essay on belief and acceptance*. Oxford University Press.

Cole, P. (1987). The structure of internally headed relative clauses. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory, 5*(2), 277-302. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4047634

Cornish, F. (2018). Revisiting the system of English relative clauses: Structure, semantics, discourse functionality. *English Language and Linguistics, 22*(3), 431–456. doi:10.1017/S136067431700003X

Dawkins, R. M. (1940). The dialects of Modern Greek. *Transactions of the Philological Society, 39*(1), 1–38. doi:10.1111/j.1467-968X.1940.tb01219.x

Dawkins, R. M. (1916). *Modern Greek in Asia Minor: A study of the dialects of Silli, Cappadocia and Pharasa with grammar, texts, translations and glossary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deal, A. R. (2016). Cyclicity and connectivity in Nez Perce relative clauses. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *47*(3), 427-470. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/24917013

Del Gobbo, F. (2017). More appositives in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your linguistics. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics 2*(1): 49. doi: doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.14

Del Gobbo, F. (2001). On the syntax and semantics of appositive relative clauses. In N. Dehè & Y. Kavalova (Eds.), *Parentheticals* (pp. 173-201). Amsterdam: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/la.106.10del

Demirdache, H. (1991). *Resumptive chains in restrictive relatives, appositives and dislocation structure*s (Doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

De Rijk, R. P. G. (1972). *Studies in Basque syntax: Relative clauses* (Doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Downing, B. T. (1978). Some universals of relative clause structure. In J. H. Greenberg, C. A. Ferguson & E. A. Moravcsik (Eds.), *Universals of human language, volume 4: Syntax* (pp. 375–418). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Drettas, G. (1999). Το ελληνο-ποντιακό διαλεκτικό σύνολο [The Greek-Pontic dialect group]. In Anastasios-Foivos Christidis, Arapopoulou, Maria & Giannoulopoulou, Giannoula (Eds.), *Διαλεκτικοί θύλακοι της ελληνικής γλώσσας [Dialect enclaves of the Greek language]* (pp. 91–100). Athens: Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs/Centre for the Greek Language.

Drettas, G. (1997). *Aspects pontiques*. Paris: Association de Recherches. Pluridisciplinaires.

É. Kiss. K. (2023). Definiteness effect in the PP. *Linguistic Inquiry 54*(3), 625–648. doi: 10.1162/ling_a_00453

Emonds, J. (1979). Appositive relatives have no properties. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *10*(2), 211-243. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4178107

Engdahl, E. (1983). Parasitic gaps. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, *6*(1), 5–34. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/25001116

Espinal, M. T. (1991). The representation of disjunct constituents. *Language, 67*(4), 726–762. doi:10.2307/415075

Evans, G. (1980). Pronouns. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *11*(2), 337–362. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4178164

Fabb, N. (1990). The difference between English restrictive and nonrestrictive relative clauses. *Journal of Linguistics*, *26*(1), 57-77. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4176036

Fraser, B. (1970). Idioms within a transformational grammar. *Foundations of Language*, *6*(1), 22-42. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/25000426

Gandon, O. (2016). *La relativisation dans une perspective areale: L'aire Caucase Anatolie de l'est-Iran de l'ouest* (Doctoral dissertation). Université de Paris Sorbonne, Paris 3, Paris, France.

Göksel, A. & Kerslake, C. (2005). *Turkish: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.

Gračanin-Yüksek, M. (2013). The syntax of relative clauses in Croatian. *The Linguistic Review*, *30*(1), 25−49. doi:10.1515/tlr-2013-0002

Grosu, A., & Giurgea, I. (2015). Selected aspects of amount relatives: The Romanian English connection. *Linguistics Beyond and Within (LingBaW)*, *1*(1), 86–103. doi:10.31743/lingbaw.5625

Grosu, A. & Landman, F. (1998). Strange relatives of the third kind. *Natural Language Semantics*, *6*(2), 125–170. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/23748734

Gülsün, U. & Bağrıaçık, M. (2023). 'In' in Asia Minor Greek. Paper presented at the *43rd Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics,* Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Thessaloniki, Greece), May 4–7, 2023.

Haegeman, L. (1988). Parenthetical adverbials: The radical orphanage approach. In S. Chiba, A. Shuki, A. Ogawa, Y. Fuiwara, N. Yamada, O. Koma and T. Yagi (Eds.), *Aspects of Modem Linguistics: Papers Presented to Masatomo Ukaji on his 60th Birthday* (pp. 232-254). Tokyo: Kaitakushi.

Halle, M. & A. Marantz. (1993). Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In K. Hale & S. J. Keyser (Eds.), *The view from building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger* (pp. 111–176). Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.

Hazlett, A. (2010). The myth of factive verbs, *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research 80*(3), 497-522. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/20722804

Heycock, C. (2014). *Relative reconstructions*. Lecture given at the Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main.

Hiraiwa, K., Akanlig-Pare, G., Atintono, S., Bodomo, A., Essizewa, K. & Hudu, F. (2017). A comparative syntax of internally-headed relative clauses in Gur. *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics*, *2*(1): 27. doi:doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.40

Holton, D., Horrocks, G., Janssen, M., Lendari, T., & Manolessou, I. (2019). *The Cambridge grammar of Medieval and early Modern Greek.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hu, S., Cecchetto, C. & Guasti, M. T. (2018). A new case for structural intervention: Evidence from Wenzhounese relative clauses. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics 27*(3), 247–73. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/44984646

Hulsey, S. (2001). *Extraposition of relative clauses*. (B.A. thesis). Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

Hulsey, S. & Sauerland, U. (2006). Sorting out relative clauses. *Natural Language Semantics 14*(2), 111−137. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/23749618

Jackendoff, R. (1977). *X'-syntax: A study of phrase structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Johannessen, J. B. (1998). *Coordination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Julien, M. (2005). *Nominal phrases from a Scandinavian perspective.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Karatsareas, P. (2011). Neuter heteroclisis in Asia Minor Greek: Origin and development. *Neoeliniki Dialektologia [Modern Greek Dialectology], 6,* 111–135.

Kayne, R. (1994). *The antisymmetry of syntax*. The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Kearney, K. (1983). *Governing categories* (Unpublished ms). University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT.

Keenan, E. (1985). Relative clauses. In T. Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Volume 2, complex constructions* (pp. 141–170). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Keenan, E. L. & Comrie, B. (1979). Data on the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy. *Language*, *55*(2), 333–351. doi:10.2307/412588

Kornfilt, J. (1997). *Turkish*. London: Routledge.

Koster, J. (2000). *Extraposition as parallel construal*. Manuscript, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

Krapova, I. (2010). Bulgarian relative and factive clauses with an invariant complementizer. *Lingua*, *120*(5), 1240−1272. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2009.08.002

Kroch, A. (1994). Morphosyntactic variation. In Beals et al. (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society 2*, (pp. 180–201). Chicago, Illinois: Chicago Linguistic Society.

Lacroix, R. (2009). *Description du dialecte laze d'Arhavi (caucasique du sud, Turquie): Grammaire et textes* (Doctoral Dissertation). Université Lumière Lyon 2, Lyon, France.

Lees, R. B. (1961). The constituent structure of noun phrases. *American Speech*, *36*(3), 159-168.

Lehmann, C. (1984). *Der relativsatz.* Gunter Narr Verlag, Tübingen.

Lekakou, M. & Karatsareas, P. (2016). Marking definiteness multiply: Evidence from two varieties of Greek. *Studies in Greek Linguistics, 36*, 189–203.

Lekakou, M. & Szendrői, K. (2013).When determiners abound: Implications for the encoding of definiteness. In P. Cabredo-Hoffher & A. Zribi-Hertz (Eds.), *Crosslinguistic studies in noun phrase structure and reference* (pp. 212-38). Leiden: Brill.

Lekakou, M. & Szendrői, K. (2012). Polydefinites in Greek: Ellipsis, close apposition and expletive determiners, *Journal of Linguistics 48*(1), 107-49. doi: 10.1017/S0022226711000326.

Lipták, A. (2015). Relative pronouns as sluicing remnants. In Katalin É. Kiss, Balázs Surányi and Éva Dékány (Eds.), *Approaches to Hungarian 14: Papers from the 2013 Piliscsaba conference* (pp. 187–207). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/atoh.14.08lip.

Mackridge, P. (1999). The Greek spoken in the region of Pontus. In Christidis, AnastasiosFoivos, Arapopoulou, Maria & Giannoulopoulou, Giannoula (Eds.), *Διαλεκτικοί θύλακοι της ελληνικής γλώσσας [Dialect enclaves of the Greek language]* (pp. 101–105). Athens: Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs/Centre for the Greek Language.

Mackridge, P. (1995). Pontic in contemporary Turkey: Ancient features in the dialect of Ofis. *Αρχείον πόντου 46 [Pontus archive 46]*, 133–161.

Mackridge, P. (1987). Greek-speaking Moslems of north-east Turkey. Prolegomena to a study of the Ophitic sub-dialect of Pontic. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies 11*, 115–137. doi:10.1179/030701387790203037

McCawley, J. (1982). Parentheticals and discontinuous constituent structure. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *13*(1), 91-106. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4178261

McCloskey, J. (2017). New thoughts on old questions: Resumption in Irish. In J. Ostrove, R. Kramer & J. Sabbagh, eds., *Asking the Right Questions: Essays in*

honor of Sandra Chung (pp. 81-102). University of California Santa Cruz: California Digital Library. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8255v8sc

Michelioudakis, D. & Sitaridou, I. (2013). Multiple wh-fronting across Pontic Greek dialects. In Ralli, Angela, Joseph, Brian, Janse, Mark & Karasimos, Athanasios (Eds.), *Online Proceedings of the 5th International Conference of Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory*, *5*(1), 353–378.

Milsark, G. (1977). Toward an explanation of certain peculiarities of the existential construction in English, *Linguistic Analysis*, *3*, 1-30.

Milsark, G. (1974). *Existential sentences in English* (Doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Neocleous, N. (2022). The evolution of VO and OV alternation in Romeyka. In Asadpour, Hiwa & Jügel, Thomas (Eds.), *Word order variation: Semitic, Turkic and Indo-European languages in contact* (pp. 141–161). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Neocleous, N. (2020). *Word order and information structure in Romeyka. A syntax and semantics interface account of order in a minimalist system* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Cambridge, UK.

Özkan, H. (2013). The Pontic Greek spoken by Muslims in the villages of Beşköy in the province of present-day Trabzon. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *37*(1), 130–150. doi:10.1179/0307013112Z.00000000023

Pavlou, P. (2012). Cypriot Greek. *Langues et littératures modernes. Moderne taal en letterkunde, 90*(3), 967-971. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.3406/rbph.2012.8270

Peterson, P. (2004). Non-restrictive relatives and other non-syntagmatic relations in a lexical-functional framework. In M. Butt & T. Holloway King (Eds.), *Proceedings of LFG 2004 Conference* (pp. 391–397). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Pintzuk, S. (1991). *Phrase structures in competition: Variation and hange in old English word order* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Platzack, C. (1997). A representational account of restrictive and non-restrictive relatives: The case of Swedish. *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax*, *59*, 65-95.

Quang, P. D. (1971). The applicability of transformations to idioms. *Papers from the seventh regional meeting* (pp. 198-205), Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, IL.

Ralli, A. (2000). A feature-based analysis of Greek nominal inflection. *Γλωσσολογια/Glossologia*, 11-12, 201-227. Retrieved from http://glossologia.phil.uoa.gr/

Revithiadou, A. & Spyropoulos, V. (2012). *Ofitiki: Ptyches tis grammatikis domis mias Pontiakis ialektou [Ophitic: Aspects of the grammatical structure of a Pontic dialect].* Thessaloniki: Kyriakidis.

Rizzi, L. (1990). *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press

Roberts, I. (2021). *Diachronic syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ross, J. R. (1967). *Constraints on variables in syntax* (Doctoral dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Safir, K. (1986). Relative clauses in a theory of binding and levels. *Linguistic Inquiry, 17*(4), 663-689. Retrieved from: https://www.jstor.org/stable/4178512

Sauerland, U. (2003). Unpronounced heads in relative clauses. In K. Schwabe & S. Winkler (Eds.), *The interfaces: Deriving and interpreting omitted structures* (pp. 205−226). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schachter, P. (1973). Focus and relativization. *Language, 49*(1), 19-46. doi:10.2307/412101

Schenk, A. (1995). The syntactic behavior of idioms. In M. Everaert et al. (Eds.) *Idioms: Structural and psychological perspectives* (pp. 253-272). LEA Publishers, Hillsdale, New Jersey, UK.

Schreiber, L. (2023). *A (contact-)grammar of Romeyka* (Doctoral dissertation). Universität Bamberg, Bamberg, Germany; Ghent University, Ghent, Belgium.

Schreiber, L. (2018). Romeyka. In G. Haig & G. Khan (Eds.), *The languages and linguistics of Western Asia: An areal perspective* (pp. 892–933). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Schreiber, L.& Sitaridou, I. (2017). Assessing the sociolinguistic vitality of Istanbulite Romeyka. An attitudinal study. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 39*(1), 1–16. doi:10.1080/01434632.2017.1301944

Searle, J. R. & Vanderveken, D. (1985). *Foundations of illocutionary logic*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Sells, P. (1985). *Restrictive and non-restrictive modification*. Stanford: CSLI report.

Sells, P. (1984). *Syntax and semantics of resumptive pronouns* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA.

Shlonsky, U. (1992). Resumptive pronouns as a last resort. *Linguistic Inquiry, 23*(3), 443–468. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4178780

Sitaridou, I. (2016). Reframing the phylogeny of Asia Minor Greek: The view from Pontic Greek. *CHS Research Bulletin 4*(1), 1-17. Retrieved from https://research-bulletin.chs.harvard.edu

Sitaridou, I. (2014a). Modality, antiveridicality, and complementation: The Romeyka infinitive as a negative polarity item. *Lingua 148*, 118–146. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2014.05.017

Sitaridou, I. (2014b). The Romeyka infinitive: Continuity, contact and change in the Hellenic varieties of Pontus. *Diachronica, 31*(1), 23-73. doi:10.1075/dia.31.1.02sit

Sitaridou, I. (2013). Greek-speaking enclaves in Pontus today: The documentation and revitalization of Romeyka. In M. C. Jones, & S. Ogilvie (Eds.), *Keeping languages alive: Documentation, pedagogy and revitalization* (pp. 98-112). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, C. (1964). Determiners and relative clauses in a generative grammar of English. *Language 40*(1), 37-52. doi:10.2307/411923

Smits, R. (1988). *The relative and cleft constructions of the Germanic and Romance languages* (Doctoral Dissertation). Katholieke Universiteit Brabant. Foris, Dordrecht.

Sportiche, D., Koopman, H. & Stabler, E. (2014). *An introduction to syntactic analysis and theory*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Srivastav, V. (1991). The syntax and semantics of correlatives. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory, 9*(4), 637–686. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4047712

Starke, M. (2009). Nanosyntax: A short primer to a new approach to language. *Nordlyd, 36*(1). 1–6. doi:10.7557/12.213

Sturm, A. (1986). *Primaire syntactische structuren in het Nederlands* (Doctoral dissertation), Universiteit Utrecht, Netherlands.

Stuurman, F. (1983). Appositives and x-bar theory. *Linguistic Inquiry 14*(4), 736-744. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4178361

Taylor, A. (1994). The change from SOV to SVO in Ancient Greek. *Language Variation and Change, 6*(1), 1–37. doi:10.1017/S0954394500001563

Thompson, S. (1971). The deep structure of relative clauses. In C. Fillmore & D. Langendoen (Eds.), *Studies in Linguistic Semantics* (pp. 78-94). Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Toribio, A. (1992). Proper government in Spanish subject relativization, *Probus 4*(3), 291-304. doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/prbs.1992.4.3.291

Tursun, V. (2023). *Romeika (Karadeniz Rumcası).* Ankara: Töz Yayınları.

Tursun, V. (2019). *Romeika-Türkçe sözlük [Romeika-Turkish dictionary]*. Istanbul: Heyamola Yayınları.

Vergnaud, J.-R. (1985). *Dépendances et niveaux de répresentation en syntaxe*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Vergnaud, J.-R. (1974). *French relative clauses* (Doctoral Dissertation). Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA.

Vries, M. de (2006). The syntax of appositive relativization: On specifying coordination, false free relatives, and promotion. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *37*(2), 229-270. Retrieved from https://www.jstor.org/stable/4179362

Vries, M. de (2002). *The syntax of relativization*. Utrecht: LOT.

Vries, M. de. (2000). Appositive relative clauses. *Linguistics in the Netherlands 17*, 221 231. Retrieved from https://www.let.rug.nl/~dvries/

Vryonis, S. (1986). *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh through the fifteenth century.* (Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Williams, E. S. (1977). Discourse and logical form. *Linguistic Inquiry*, *8*(1), 101–139. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/4177974

Williamson, J. (1987). An indefiniteness restriction for relative clauses in Lakhota. In E. J. Reuland & A.G.B. ter Meulen (Eds.), *The representation of (in)definiteness* (pp. 168-190). Cambridge: MIT Press

Yazar, M., Bağrıaçık, M., Canalis, S, Dadan, M.C., & Eryılmaz, M. (2023). Acoustic correlates of allophonic voicing in Romeyka Greek, In Radek Skarnitzl & Jan Volín (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* (pp. 3374–3378). Guarant International. Retrieved from https://guarant.cz/icphs2023/743.pdf

Yazar, M. & Demirok, Ö. (2023). *ABA in Romeyka verbal paradigms. In Daria A. Bikina & Hande Sevgi (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 8th Workshop on Turkic and*

Languages in Contact with Turkic, *8* (pp. 89–102). Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.3765/gxr5aq02