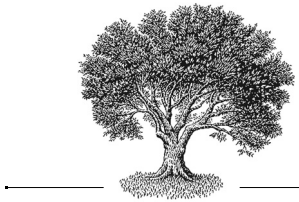

Slavic Relative *čto/co*: between Pronouns and Conjunctions

Славянское релятивное *što/co* между местоимениями и союзами

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Abstract

This paper presents the key points concerning Slavic relative constructions with a group of kindred invariable lexemes: Russian *что*, BCS *što*, Czech, Polish *co*, Slovak *čo*, and their cognates. These constructions are classified into two main types, depending on whether the third-person pronoun is used for marking the relative target. Across Slavic languages, the parameters governing the distribution between the two types are closely connected. The interpretation of these parameters (as well as their microvariation) is presented within the functional-typological approach. Syntactic category (part of speech) of the lexemes is discussed in diachronic perspective: in the more innovative construction with third-person pronoun, *čto* functions more as a complementizer; in the more conservative construction without the pronoun, *čto* retains some pronoun traits.

Keywords

relative clause, syntax, grammaticalization

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0. Introduction. This paper examines Slavic relative constructions with invariable lexemes stemming from Common Slavic **čьto* (Russian *что*, BCS – Bosnian / Croatian / Serbian *što*) or **čьso* (Czech, Polish *co*, Slovak *čo*). In the following pages, *čto* stands for the full variety of Slavic forms.

The main diachronic source of *čto* in Slavic relative constructions was, undoubtedly, an inflected pronoun (the inflected lexeme exhibited a regular polysemy, functioning as either an interrogative, an indefinite, or a relative pronoun). As a result of a process of grammaticalization, the case forms of this pronoun formed various conjunctions (for instance, Croatian *čim* 'when' [Maretić 1888: 73]). The invariable *čto* in relative constructions may also be viewed as a conjunction; at the same time, it shows traces of pronoun character. There are two main types of relative clauses introduced by the invariable *čto*. In one of the types, the relativized slot is explicitly marked by the third-person pronoun; in the other type, the additional pronoun is absent, but the form *čto* (which stems from the Nom.-Acc. form of the inflected pronoun) seems to represent the relative target. These two types are simultaneously present in most of the modern Slavic languages — BCS, Czech, Polish, Slovak, and Ukranian (the first one, with the third-person pronoun, is not found in Russian and Belorussian and presumably is more innovative). The most intriguing and revealing problem is the grammatical distribution of the two types. In this article, both Slavic morphosyntax and typological observations (accessibility hierarchy, markedness of animated direct object) are taken into account to explain the distribution of the two constructions.

Almost no new data is presented here. My goal, instead, is to combine heterogeneous accounts concerning the related constructions in Slavic languages and to place them in a broader context of the modern functional-typological approach. The relevant data is drawn both from the modern Slavic languages (in their standard and non-standard varieties) and from earlier sources (mostly mediaeval).

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 provides some background typological information on relative pronouns in general and on Slavic relative pronouns that go back to interrogatives. Section 2 introduces the two main types of Slavic relative clauses with invariable *čto* (with and without third-person pronoun). Section 3 is a detour, discussing the placement of the third-person pronoun in these clauses. Section 4 focuses on the conditions of use for the two constructions under investigation, presenting both grammatical facts and theoretical reflections on the cut-off point between them. Section 5 discusses whether the lexeme *čto* may be called a pronoun or a conjunction. The diachronic development from an inflected lexeme to an invariable one is the subject of Section 6, and Section 7 offers some concluding remarks.

1. Background facts. Cross-linguistically, the most widespread option for explicitly marking the function of the relativized NP in the relative clause is the use of third-person pronouns [Keenan 1985: 146]. Another option is the use of relative pronouns, the latter being defined as pronouns "distinct from ordinary definite personal pronouns" [Keenan 1985: 149]. Actually, the relative pronouns are more complex, as they mark both the NP_{rel} position and (with minor exceptions) the leftmost boundary of the relative clause [Givón 2001: 187; Keenan 1985: 151]. Although relative pronouns are quite common in Indo-European languages, they are somewhat exotic among the world's languages as a whole (thus, they form part of the definition of Standard Average European in [Haspelmath 2001]). Relative pronouns often coincide with (or are formally related to) interrogative pronouns [Keenan 1985: 149–151; Heine, Kuteva 2004: 251; Heine, Kuteva 2006: 204–243; Harris, Campbell 1995: 298]; see also the special survey of contact-induced replications of this model in [Heine, Kuteva 2005: 3, 94 passim].

As a paradigm example of a relative pronoun case-marked for the NP_{rel} position, Russian *который* is often cited [Andrews 2007: 218; Cristofaro, Ramat 2007: 65]. Somewhat ironically, it is precisely this pronoun that is scarcely ever used as an interrogative. The head of the corresponding relative clause is generally an NP constructed with a noun.

Slavic declinable *čto* participates in the regular polysemy model, being an interrogative, indefinite, and relative pronoun (on declinable relative *čto*, see Section 6). The Slavic *kto*-pronoun (Russian *кто* and its cognates) exhibits a similar polyfunctionality. The interrogative *kto* comprises a pair with interrogative *čto*, as *čto* stands for inanimates ('what?') and *kto* for animates ('who?'). The relative pronoun *kto* is found in Polish and East Slavic languages. The use of *kto* and *čto* as inflected relative pronouns is mostly limited to "light-headed" and "headless" relatives (those without a noun and those without any overt head, [Citko 2004]), and their distribution follows that of interrogatives (*čto* for inanimates and *kto* for animates). But the use of invariable *čto* with full nouns is generally not restricted to inanimates.

2. Slavic relative constructions with invariable *čto*: two strategies. Slavic relative clauses with full-fledged nouns as heads, introduced by *čto*, fall into two major types depending on the explicit marking of NP_{rel} by a third-person pronoun:

- "bare *čto*" strategy: no additional means of marking the relative target position are employed. The relative target in (1) is in accusative case:

(1) *peňiaze*, *čo* *nazbierali*
money *čo* collected
'money [they] have collected'
Slovak dialect in Hungary [Ondrus 1956: 216]

• "*čto* + pronoun" strategy: the inflected anaphoric pronoun in the appropriate case form (with the appropriate preposition) is used. The construction is known in many languages, including BCS, Slovenian, Ukrainian, Polish, Slovak, and Czech; it is not found in Russian and Belorussian. The pronoun may also be called *resumptive*. The pronoun forms in examples (1–3) are *f ňom*, *o nim*, *на него*:

(2) *akoų*, ***čo*** bívaja ***f*** ***ňom*** kravi, koňe
bucket, *čo* occurs in it cows, horses
'bucket, in which sometimes.are cows, horses'
Slovak dialect in Hungary [Ondrus 1956: 236]

(3) *помщаѧ Воидила* ***што*** *был* ***за него*** *сестру свою дал*
avenging Voidil.acc *što* aux to him sister.acc his.acc gave
'avenging Voidil, to whom he gave his sister'
Ruthenian, Vilno chronicle, fifteenth-sixteenth century, the example is pointed out in [Карский 1955: 472]

(4) *Poznałem wczoraj tego dziennikarza*, ***co o nim*** *było tak głośno*
I.became.acquainted yesterday that journalist *co* about him was such noisy
'I became acquainted yesterday with the journalist they were making a lot of noise about'
Polish [Grochowski et al. 1984: 345]

3. The placement of the anaphoric pronoun. These pronouns may be posited either in their neutral position after the verb, as in (3), or they may be moved to the clause edge, usually following older clitics, as in (3–4). John Haiman [Haiman 1985: 240] argues for a crucial difference between two types of pronouns standing for a relative target: relative pronouns are invariably placed close to the head, whereas clauses with anaphoric pronouns maintain unmarked word order (Haiman states that he has encountered only one language, Ute from the Uto-Aztecan family, "where the [anaphoric] pronoun is moved toward the head"). As the word order of most clausal constituents in Slavic languages is not strictly determined by grammatical relations, no single example like (2–3) can give evidence of the pronoun "moving" clause-initially. But at least some Slavic languages seem to favour the inital placement of the pronoun. For example, the speakers of modern Ukrainian I have consulted find example (5) rather unusual (they would prefer to say *колесо*, ***що на його*** *зверху пада вода*).

(5) *се колесо*, ***що*** *зверху пада* ***на*** ***його*** *вода*
that wheel, *ščo* from above falls on it water
'that is the wheel, on which the water falls from above'
Ukrainian [Гринченко 4: 528]

Bernard Comrie [Comrie 1989: 150] points, as a possible theoretical option, to an analysis of Modern Czech *co ho* in a construction similar to (4) as a relative pronoun ("the pronoun gravitates towards sentence-initial position,

giving rise to a single phonological word *co-ho*, marked as accusative case"). [Keenan, Comrie 1979b: 658] and [Comrie 1989: 150] justifiably stress that the pronoun *ho* is a clitic regardless of clause type. Nevertheless, phrases like (4) may indeed form new relative pronouns, if any extra material, even old clitics, does not intervene and phrases such as *co o* ***nim*** are grammaticalized into a single unit. This does not seem to be true for modern Slavic languages, though. Prepositions do not prevent a construction from becoming a single unit; compare Russian indefinite pronouns such as Nom. *кое-что* 'something' and the prepositional phrase *кое о чем* 'about something'. Still, the phrases that lack prepositions, such as (6), may grammaticalize more easily (another complex relativizer is exemplified in Macedonian *којшто*, [Lunt 1952: 45]). It is appropriate to mention that the *čto* + pronoun construction is not frequent with prepositional phrases, as stated explicitly for BCS in [Kurzová 1981: 161–163].

(6) *а* *жена* *несет* *ему* *младенца*, ***что*** ***него*** *родила*
Conj wife carries him baby *čto* him gave.birth
'in the meanwhile his wife the baby to whom she gave birth for him'
Russian (southern dialects, R'azan' province), [Афанасьев II, №220], quoted in [Борковский 1981: 206];

4. The distribution of the two constructions

4.1. The facts. Here we define the exact cut-off point between the "bare *čto*" contexts and the contexts in which the "bare *čto*" strategy is of very limited use. The clearest contexts for "bare *čto*" are clauses with a relativized subject. Still, some varieties of West Slavic languages allow the expansion of the third-person pronoun strategy into nominative case, as, for example, "sub-standard" Polish [Grochowski et al. 1984: 345] and Moravian dialects [Bartoš 1905: 37], but these cases are in the minority.

With the relativization of the direct object, much more variation is observed. In this context, some languages draw a distinction along the animacy line: with inanimate objects, the "bare *čto*" construction is employed (that is, inanimate objects are relativized the same as subjects); with animate objects, only the "*čto* + pronoun" strategy is used, if available. For Russian (where the second strategy is not available), the cut-off point is explicitly stated in [ГРЯ 1954, II/2: 275], although in the subsequent, more widely-known version (1980, reprinted in 2005) this detail was omitted; it is carefully pointed out in the subsequent literature, as in [Křižková 1970: 24], [Goląb, Friedman 1972], and [Kurzová 1981: 80].[1] As resumptive pronouns are not an option in

[1] The paper [Зализняк, Падучева 1978] provides exactly three other possible examples with *čto*: (1) with animate subject; (2) with inanimate subject; and (3) with inanimate object), thus implicitly pointing to the lack of examples with animate object. Likewise, [Pugh 2006] provides seventy-two examples of *что* with full nouns in contemporary Russian prose. He notes "the significant number of animate nouns as antecedents, whereas the rules strongly indicate that these should normally be

Russian, the distinction is between use and nonuse of *čto*-relatives. In other languages, the relativization of an animate object is mostly accompanied by the use of the third-person pronoun, as it is in Croatian [Kordić 1995: 160–161] and in South Czech/Moravian dialects [Kott I: 139], [Bartoš 1905: 37].[2] The relevant examples are (7–8); in Serbian *щоно* (8), the relative *що* is suffixed by the particle *но*:

(7) *того человека*, ***што*** *есте* ***его*** *казнили* [...]
that.ACC man.ACC *što* AUX.2PL him executed
и тую ***нашю*** *челядь*, ***что*** *ваши торговци без кунъ* ***их*** *поимали*
and that. ACC our. ACC servants. ACC *što* your tradesmen without money them seized
'the man whom you have executed and our servants that your tradesmen seized without money'
Ruthenian, letter of the Polotsk vice regent Ivan Sem'enovič to Riga, 1409, quoted in [Борковский 1958: 123]

(8) *за* ѡ*неи момке щоно их* ꙗє *бостанжи баша* ꙋ *драчꙋ* ѡбꙋ*ставил*
for those fellows *štono* them AUX *Bostanži* pasha in Drach.LOC arrested
'for those fellows whom pasha Bostanži has arrested'
Old Serbian, 1506/1507 [Gallis 1956: 57]

The most widespread deviation from the animacy cut-off point lies in the expansion of the "*čto* + pronoun" construction to an inanimate direct object, as in examples (9–10):

(9) *Chudobná děvečka nic jiného nema*, *jenom* ***tu postivost'***, ***co*** *si* ***ju***
poor girl nothing other has only that chastity, *co* REFL it.ACC
zachová.
keeps
'A poor girl has nothing but the chastity she keeps'
Moravian [Bartoš 1905: 37]

(10) (...)*posebnim pismom* ***što*** *su* ***ga*** *zvali sad popovicom*, *sad*
Special.INST writing.system.INSTR *što* AUX it.ACC was.called either "popovica" or
glagoljicom.
"glagolica"
'with the special writing system that was called either *popovica* or *glagolica*'
Croatian [Hamm 1974: 11]

The pattern is well attested in BCS [Kordić 1995: 160], and in Czech [Fried 2010].

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inanimate" [Pugh 2006: 221]. It is not clear which sources provide such rules. We have classified the material provided in [Pugh 2006: 221–223] depending on the case of the relativized target and the animacy of the noun: Nom., animate: 30; Nom., inanimate: 30; Acc., animate: 0; Acc., inanimate: 12. The absence of animate targets in accusative is rather noticeable.

[2] In [Vondrák 1908: 447] the examples are reproduced with reference to [Kott I: 139], the attribution "v již. Čechach" is replaced — as it seems, not correctly — to "Slovak".

The other type of deviation is the use of the "bare *čto*" pattern with animate direct objects. It is not so easy to use native speakers' judgements, as *čto* is far from being the main strategy of relativization in Slavic languages. Using the web as a corpus for Russian (via Yandex search engine, www.yandex.ru) proves difficult to find examples of *čto* with a relativizing animate direct object. Here are two of the obtained examples with *девушка* 'girl' (both examples seem to be not quite standard):

(11) *Скажите девушке, что звал когда-то Дусей* (...)
tell girl *čto* I.called someday Dus'a
'tell the girl whom I used to call Dus'a'
Russian, from the memoirs of F. Ranjevskaja

(12) *Опять же, девушка что вы описываете на Еську не «тянет»*
But.again girl *čto* you describe like Jes'ka NEG look
'But again, the girl whom you describe does not look like Es'ka'

This kind of example is also rarely attested in Old Russian. Thus, no such example is found in [Борковский 1958: 121–122]). The following example is of this rare variety:

(13) *тѣ люди што есмъ еи подавал при своемъ животѣ*
Those people *čto* AUX.1SG her gave during REFL.POSS life
'those people that I gave her while alive'
Old Russian, testament of grand duke Vasilij Dmitrievič, dated 1406 [Черепнин 1950, №20]).

Analysing properties of Russian *čto*-clauses, [Зализняк, Падучева 1975/2002] point to phrase (14), in which *что* stands for the prepositional phrase (= *в которую я влюблен*).

(14) *девушка, что я влюблен*
girl *čto* I am.in.love
the girl with whom I am in love'

The exact phrase is a part of a popular song from a movie (shot in the 1940s), and is acceptable to Russian speakers only as a citation, an example of deviant language. The pattern is in very restricted use in colloquial Russian. Examples (15–16) are found on web blogs via Google (the original punctuation is preserved):

(15) *Мой первый поцелуй с парнем, что я встречалась был в лоб* :)))
my first kiss with guy *čto* I went.out was on forehead
'My first kiss with the guy with whom I went out was on the forehead'

(16) *Остальные люди что я тебе говорил, обещаются прийти позжее.*
other people *čto* I you.DAT told promise come.INF later
'The other people I told you about promise to come later'

In this pattern, the target prepositional phrase should be easily recoverable: it might be either the main argument of the verb (15–16) or a locative or temporal adjunct — the locative adjunct is exemplified in (17–18).

The *čto* construction with locative meaning as in examples (17–18) was quite common in Middle Russian documents.

(17) *деревня Голцово, пуста, что жил Матюшка Олексеев*
village Golcovo deserted *čto* lived Matjuška Olekseev
'village Golcovo, deserted, where Matjuška Olekseev lived'
Middle Russian, a land document dated from the sixteenth century [Антонов, Баранов 1997, № 36];

(18) *подлѣ* дороги, *что ѣздятъ* (...) *черезъ дорогу, что ѣздятъ* (...)
by road čto ride.3PL over road čto ride.3PL
'by the road where one rides; across the road where one rides'
Middle Russian, a document signed by tsars Ioann Alekseevič and Petr Alekseevič and tsarevna Sofja Alekseevna, 1682–1689 [Вахромеев 1881].

The Old Russian example (19) exhibits the relativization of the verbal argument, though not the main one (the recoverability may be supported by the use of the same argument in the main clause):

(19) *бла(го)словлѧю иконою* (...) ***што ми бла**(го)с(ло)вил*
I.bless with.icon *što* I.DAT blessed
от(е)ць мои кнѧз(ь) великии
father my prince great
Old Russian, the testament of the grand duke of Moscow Vasilij Dmitrievič, dated 1406 [Черепнин 1950, №20] (the same construction is repeated in other versions of the testament, dated from 1417 and 1423 [Черепнин 1950, №№21, 22]).

The construction is occasionally attested in Russian prose [ГРЯ 1980 2: 524], Russian dialects [Шапиро 1953: 112], in Ukrainian and Polish [Maretić 1888: 11–12], and BCS, see [Maretić 1888: 2; Kordić 1995: 162; van der Auwera, Kučanda 1985: 942]. Some additional examples of similar usage of *čto* in the history of Russian are provided in [Троицкий 1959: 169] and [Борковский 1981: 215].

4.2. The interpretations. To sum up the preceding subsection, the "bare *čto*" strategy is most heavily used when the target is supposed to be in nominative, less consistently with accusative for the target, and only marginally otherwise. As the nominative and accusative may be roughly equated with subject and object respectively, this observation fits directly into accessibility hierarchy, a theory presented in a series of articles by E. Keenan and B. Comrie, see

[Keenan 1985: 147]. The relevant part of the hierarchy (we skip the distinctions between "other roles") looks like this:

subject > direct object > other roles

The higher the position in the hierarchy, the easier it is to relativize the position: thus, many relative strategies are limited to subject only or to subjects and direct objects only. The positions high in the hierarchy frequently make use of some strategy with no explicit marking of the relativization target. The lower the position, the more widespread is the use of the third-person pronoun for the target (note that the resumptive pronouns may co-occur with relative pronouns, as in non-standard English *This is the road which I don't know where it leads* [Comrie 1989:140], see also [van der Auwera 1985: 156]). The special constructions for relativizing subjects are quite widespread in the form of "participles". The construction with no pronouns in relativizing subject and direct object targets is found, for instance, in English, Irish, and Welsh [Kurzová 1981: 84–85]. Slavic facts fit well into the accessibility hierarchy, as was implicitly noted in [Keenan, Comrie 1979a: 334] and explicitly in [Kordić 1995: 159–160].

Accessibility hierarchy can only account for differentiation of grammatical roles. How can we explain the difference between animate and inanimate direct objects? The most obvious interpretation is based on the fact that, in some important morphological patterns, Slavic animate accusative is distinct from inanimate accusative (the latter being the same as nominative) [Kurzová 1981: 80], [van der Auwera, Kučanda 1985: 935].[3] It is worth stressing that this distinction is important not only for Slavic inflectional morphology, but for Slavic morphosyntax as well. The other possibility is put forward in [Fried 2010]: she notes that in her sample of *co*-relatives from colloquial Czech, 84% of accusative targets are inanimate, and she links this fact to "the universally observed tendency toward direct objects (patients) as entities that can be acted upon, manipulated, affected, etc. and, hence, prototypically inanimate things" [Fried 2010: 21], making reference to the well-known article [Hopper,Thompson 1980]. The idea that animate direct objects are more "marked" than inanimate ones is discussed in typological perspective in [Comrie 1989: 129–134] and [Croft 2003: 166–167], though this approach received considerable skepticism in [Næss 2003].

Thus, the hierarchy of using two *čto* strategies may have a single interpretation: bare *čto* is used in the least marked context and an anaphoric pronoun is

[3] Moreover, [Keenan, Comrie 1979b: 334] point out that the third pronoun marking is used in colloquial Czech "except for subject position and non-masculine or inanimate DOs". The masculine nouns mostly belong to the morphological pattern which discriminates between animate and inanimate nouns most consistently. But it is not clear in which source the cited difference between masculine and non-masculine is attested.

added in the contexts which are more difficult to process (references to psycholinguistic data on subject and object relative clauses can be found in [Hawkins 2004: 180–181], [Givón 2009: 286] and [Duffield, Michaelis 2011]).

The examples (14–19) show that the "bare" strategy may also be used — mostly not in standard language — in a broader set of contexts.

5. Pronoun or conjunction? So far, we have examined two constructions with Slavic *čto*, intentionally ignoring the syntactic category of the lexeme. The two main options are: conjunction ("complementizer") or relative pronoun. The decision, of course, may differ depending on the language in question. More specifically, the two constructions we have examined seem to differ. The standard bare *čto* (restricted to nominative and animate accusative) may be readily viewed as a pronoun with a defective paradigm. Discussing modern Russian (which exhibits only the bare *čto* construction), the paper [Зализняк, Падучева 1975/2002: 669] explicitly argues for the pronoun option: «это может создать ложное восприятие такого *что* как несклоняемого слова (или даже как союза), тогда как в действительности оно просто не употребляется в падежах, где внешнее выражение не такое, как в исходной форме» (it may cause the misconception that *что* is an indeclinable word, even a conjunction, but in fact *что* is just not used in cases with forms other than the basic one). The morphological interpretation of the animacy cut-off point in accusative, explicitly proposed by H. Kurzová, makes sense only within the pronoun version, and therefore supports it. The pronoun *čto* in the exact initial form really *is* the appropriate case form for subject and object, but still it is an invariable form.

The cases in which form of *čto* is not the appropriate case form for the relative target (both with "*čto* + pronoun" strategy and bare strategy as exemplified in (14–19) are not easily explainable within the pronoun approach, favouring instead the conjunction interpretation.

In [van der Auwera, Kučanda 1985] the two interpretations (atypical relative pronoun and atypical relative conjunction) are tested against Serbo-Croatian *što* with the following conclusion: "Our account is irenic in that we hold both accounts to be correct, but only jointly so. Our account is no less ironic, however: we claim that when the analyses are meant to exclude each other, they are both wrong" [Van der Auwera, Kučanda 1985: 954]. Within any formal approach to grammar, the "two analyses" do not make any sense: at least as a technical solution, one category should be selected, and for those who consider parts of speech as a meaningful solution, the controversy may merit attention. But the universal categories are not necessary components of grammar. For example, within the framework of construction grammar, universal categories such as pronouns and conjunctions are an epiphenomenon of generalization over different constructions [Croft 2000]. From this

perspective the controversy around the categorization of *čto* simply does not exist. Diachronic changes along the grammaticalization paths regularly result in atypical grammatical units.

6. The inflected pronoun *čto* and the diachronic development of the invariable *čto*. The most obvious diachronic source of invariable čto is the inflected pronoun *čto*, as conjunctions are regularly formed from pronouns ([Lehmann 1984: 389–393] discusses such development in Latin in detail).

Slavic languages do possess the inflected pronoun *čto*. In Russian, the relative pronoun *čto* is limited to three kinds of relative constructions: those without a full noun (*Данные статистики не совсем совпадают с* ***тем***, *с* ***чем*** *сталкиваются аналитики* 'Statistical data does not coincide with **what** analysts encounter'); without any overt head (*Я нашел что искал* 'I found what I was looking for'); and with a clause as an antecedent (*Иномарка сбила лося*, ***после чего*** *вылетела на встречную полосу* 'A foreign-made car knocked down an elk, after which it [the car] flew out into oncoming traffic'). The same is observed, for instance, in Croatian and related languages, [Kordić 1995: 144–149], [Gallis 1956: 56]. The inflected pronoun *čto* is the counterpart of the relative *kto* and is used almost exclusively for inanimates. The invariable (uninflected) *čto*, the subject of the present investigation, is used mainly with nouns, either inanimate or animate, as well as with animate NPs without a noun (*те*, *что пришли* 'those who came'). Some mediaeval Slavic texts show rare instances of the inflected *čto* with full nouns, that is, some oblique case forms. Instrumental case *чѣмъ* shows up in the Old Russian cliché *о*(*т*)*ч*(*и*)*ны чѣмъ есмъ его бл*(*а*)*г*(*о*)*с*(*ло*)*вилъ* lit. "legacy with which I blessed him" (a testament dated 1389, [Черепнин 1950, №12], the same in [Черепнин 1950, №32], cf. [Борковский 1958: 125] on such examples); different forms are attested in Old Serbian documents, [Pavlović 2009: 128]; see further references in [van der Auwera, Kučanda 1985: 935]. The official Russian grammar [ГРЯ 1980 2: 525] provides an example with an inanimate head noun (*облачается* ***в свитку***, ***чем*** *укрывался ночью* '[He] puts a *svitka* (a sort of overclothes) on, with which [he] covered himself at night') without commenting on its grammaticity; actually such examples (paired with *кто*-relatives with head noun, also exemplified in [ГРЯ 1980]), are taken from nineteenth-century literature and are highly unusual for modern Russian and should better be deemed almost non-existent. The oblique forms of the inflected pronoun *čto* seem to be limited to inanimate full nouns, as is explicitly stated for Polish in [Nieminen 1950: 100] and is confirmed by examples in [Павловић 2009: 128]; moreover, [Gebauer IV: 249] states that relative Old Czech *co* is restricted to inanimates, and [Gallis 1956: 54–55] enumerates nouns (mostly commercial and legal terms) which typically occur with *čto*; see also references in [van der Auwera, Kučanda 1985: 935].

A regular relative pronoun occurs in any syntactic role using the appropriate case. Syntactic roles differ crucially in their relative frequency in the texts; thus, subject NPs outnumber all others. It would come as no surprise if relative pronouns appeared in subject position with even higher frequency, as pronoun-headed or definite noun phrases tend to be subjects [Comrie 1989: 128, Croft 2003: 179–180 passim]. The reduction of the paradigm may have happened as a gradual fading, almost unnoticed: some rare forms occurred more and more rarely (one should also bear in mind that the *čьto* type of relative clause is not the main one). A similar morphosyntactic reduction is attested with the relative pronoun *който* in Bulgar "damascenes" of the seventeenth century. Only the form *който* (historically Nom. Sg. masc.) was used. As [Демина 1975: 128] states, the use was mostly restricted to masculine human antecedents (and feminine singular antecedents were not allowed). At that time, colloquial spoken Bulgarian already lacked relative pronouns, using relative conjunctions instead. This development contrasts with the more usual one, in which one of the forms takes over the functions of the other form: for example, the Middle Bulgarian relative pronoun ѥ*же* (historically Nom. Sg. neutr.) stood for all gender and number forms, see [Vondrák 1908: 456–457; Минчева 1982: 197]. In Old Serbian and Old Croatian both ѥ*же* and *иже* (historically Nom. Sg. masc.) were used as a common form for all genders and numbers [Gallis 1956: 21, 30, 76].

The diachronic formation of the invariable *čto* is not as clear and straightforward as simply the loss of the paradigm (or, to put it another way, decategorization). The new "relativum absolutum" coincides with the main complementizer (as in Russian *Он сказал, что...* 'He said that...') – the syncretism also attested in Iranian and Semitic languages, see [Зализняк, Падучева 1975/2002: 685–687]; the case of English *that* is discussed in great detail in [van der Auwera 1985]. The historical controversy here lies in the fact that the Slavic complementizer *čto* is believed to stem from the relative pronoun (see [Heine, Kuteva 2004: 254] for typological analogies), so we may either simply posit the parallel emergence of two conjunctions from the relative pronoun or insist that the complementizer somehow influenced the rise of the relative conjunction. The other cases of Slavic complementizers used as relative conjunctions are Old Czech and Lower Sorbian *jako* [Maretić 1888: 3–4], and Czech, Polish, and Ukrainian **že* [Maretić 1888: 2–3] (T. Maretić supposed, though, that this **že* stems from Slavic **ježe*). The fact is that West Slavic languages have relative *co* (Slovak *čo*), but almost completely lack the complementizer (see, however, [Курашкевич 1971]).

The least pronominal usage of *čto* is the East Slavic construction combining *čto* with the main relative pronoun *которыи* (*которыи* is the Old Russian form corresponding to Modern Russian *который*), as exemplified in (20):

(20) *тѣмъ волостем*, *что ми ес*(*и*) ***которые придал к Вышегороду***
Old Russian, 1450 [Черепнин 1950, №55]

Some examples of this pattern are provided in [Троицкий 1959: 169] and [Карский 1955: 472]. Such usage may be better attributed directly to the main complementizer *čto*.

The pair of constructions (with and without the resumptive pronoun, depending on case) may not stem from Common Slavic. Old Church Slavonic lacks the relative *что* altogether, but this may be due to some stylistic reasons.[4] The crucial point is that similar pairs of constructions are not restricted to the single lexeme under discussion. According to [Lencek 1982: 225], in Slovene "the indeclinable *ki* is used in all but the masculine singular form in combination with a personal pronoun". Václav Vondrák [Vondrák 1908: 453] cites examples of the construction "*kenž* + pronoun" in Lower Sorbian; Arne Gallis [Gallis 1956: 30] cites examples of ***ѥже*** followed by third-person pronoun in Old Serbian. A similar distribution of the two constructions is also attested in Romance languages, as well as in German and Greek, thus exhibiting an areal trait [Kurzová 1981: 80–84]. Moreover, Romance languages (especially in their non-standard forms) also exhibit the same ambiguity, as one and the same lexeme serve both as relativizer and complementizer (Italian *che*, Spanish and Catalan *que* [Ramat 2005: 117]).

7. Conclusion. The discussion may be summarized as follows. One formal question, inevitably faced in connection with *čto*, is its syntactic category, as its behaviour is atypical for both pronouns and conjunctions. The present paper does not argue for either option, but presents the data on (at least) two distinct constructions with a single lexeme: in one of them ("bare *čto*", examples (1) and (13)), the lexeme is more pronoun-like, while in the other (*čto* + anaphoric pronoun, examples (2–12) and (14–20)), there are some distinct conjunction-like traits. [Акимова 1964: 142] questions whether these two are simply two versions of a single construction. She points to the difference in frequency, but an even more significant reason to treat them as separate is the semantic difference, indicated in [Fried 2010]: clauses with a third-person pronoun are likely to have a parenthetical reading, and they are attached to the head noun less tightly. The correlation between the use of a resumptive pronoun and a non-restrictive (parenthetical) reading is observed in Modern Greek [Alexopolou 2006: 70]; the correlation between

[4] Interestingly, Vuk Karađić believed the absence of the relativizer in Old Church Slavonic was artificial: „Relative pronoun *što* is in use in all modern Slavic nations, but Old Church Slavonic lacks it. No doubt ancient Slavs used the pronoun; it is only that translators left it out as they thought it to be a defective usage of herdsmen and swineherds, as it is not found in Greek and Latin" [Караџић 1894–1895: 62–63], cited in [Dmitriev 1972: 287–288].

the resumptive pronoun and greater linear distance (and, hence, lesser accessibility) is observed in [Ariel 1994: 29].

The most frequent construction with *čto*, which we called "bare *čto*", is compatible with both analyses of *čto* — both as a form of a pronoun and as a conjunction. It is in this context that the inflected pronoun was most likely reanalysed as an invariable relativizer (according to classification in [Croft 2000], this is an instantiation of *hypoanalysis*, a process whereby a contextual property is reanalyzed as an inherent property of the syntactic unit [Croft 2000: 126]). The actualization of the reanalysis can be seen in the formation of the second construction, *čto* + anaphoric pronoun, which was introduced for less frequent contexts. The complementizer *čto*, which stems from the same inflected pronoun, may also have influenced the formation of the invariable relativizer. But as the pair of constructions is not restricted to Slavic *čto*, a replication of the areal pattern is also possible.

The most interesting point for synchronic investigation is probably not the relativizer's part of speech (though it poses evident problems), but the exact cut-off point between the two competing constructions. The competition was examined in detail in [Fried 2010] for modern Czech, pointing to an interesting interplay of different factors. The details may vary in Slavic languages, but the tendencies are most likely the same. We believe that the joint analysis of these constructions in Slavic languages may immensely enrich the understanding of individual languages.

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