

December 9, 2016

名詞修飾構文の対照研究
平成28年度第3回研究会

On Keenan (1976) and Keenan & Comrie (1977)

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今日・明日の予定

名詞修飾構造についての、最も影響力のある論考の批判的レビュー

今日 二つの密接に関連する論文

- (1) Keenan, Edward 1976. Toward a universal definition of "Subject"
- (2) Keenan, Edward and Bernard Comrie 1977. Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar

明日

寺村秀夫1999. 『寺村秀夫論文集1—日本語文法編—』

連体修飾の意味とシンタクス—その1—

—その2—

—その3—

—その4—

寺村氏の目標 p. 158

本稿の目標は、日本語の連体修飾の構造をシンタクスと意味の両面から分類し特徴づけることである。国語で一般に連体修飾といえば、いわゆる連体詞によるもの、体言プラス連体助詞「ノ」によるものなども含まれるが、本稿で直接の対象としようとするのは、用言、ないし用言を中心として一つの叙述を成り立たせ得るような、つまり文として成り立ち得るような、語のかたまりによる名詞修飾の構文であって、英語のそれらに相当する構文の特徴をも視野に入れつつ、**一般に動詞や形容詞が名詞を修飾するというのはどういうことか**についても考えてみようとするものである。

以上見てきたところから、連体修飾構造は、まず大きく、

構文的には

意味的には

{ 「内の関係」 ……	{ 「付加的修飾」
{ 「外の関係」 ……	{ 「内容補充的修飾」

という2つの類型に分けられると一応言うことができると思われる。連体修飾

内の関係

男がさんまを焼く

→ さんまを焼く男

外の関係

(19) さんまを焼く匂いがする。

というような文は、それが、

(19)' { (イ) (或る) 匂いがする
{ (ロ) さんまを焼く

Three major achievements in Language Typology in late 20th century

1. Word order typology

Greenberg, Joseph. 1966. Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements. In Greenberg (ed): *Universals of Language*. MIT Press.

- Typologizing world's languages in terms of basic order of syntactic constituents such as SOV (Subject-Object-Verb), SVO, VOS, etc.
- Underlying assumption: Grammatical relations such as Subject and Object are universal properties of human language and can be identified in any language.

2. Grammatical relations

- Subject

Keenan, Edward L. 1976. Towards a universal definition of subject. In Charles N. Li (ed.) *Subject and Topic* 303–333. New York: Academic Press.

- Ergativity and case marking patterns

Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language*, 55 (1), 59-138.

Dixon, R.M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity.

In R.M.W. Dixon (ed.) *Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages* 112–171. New Jersey: Humanities Press.

3. Relative clauses

Keenan, Edward and Bernard Comrie, 1977. Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 63-99.

Comrie, Bernard and Edward L. Keenan. 1979. Noun Phrase Accessibility revisited. *Language* 55. 649-664

- Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive
> Object of comparative

- Major claim: “in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP’s” (Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)

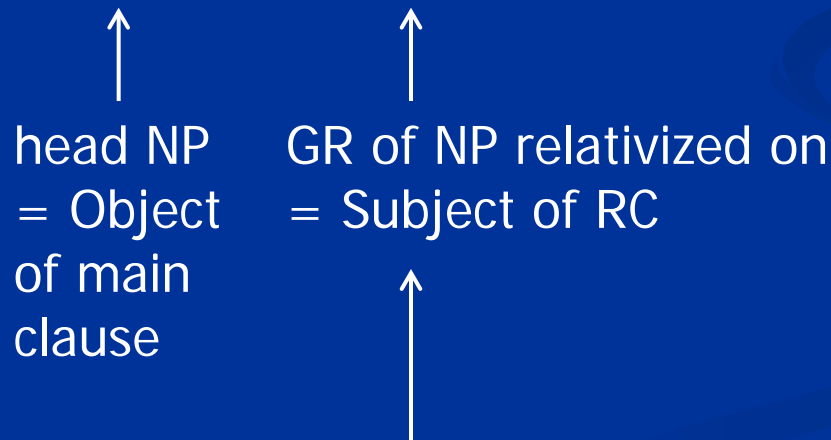
Relativization and grammatical relations

RCs (relative clause constructions) consist of two parts: a head NP and an RC

Both the head NP and what is “**relativized on**” in the RC have a grammatical relation, the former with respect to the main clause and the latter w.r.t to the RC.

“Relativized on” or “relativization on SU, OBJ, etc.” refers to **the GR of a relative clause**, not to that of the relative head

I saw **the man** [who [\emptyset came to my house yesterday]]



Here, we say that “Subject is relativized on”, referring to the relevant GR of RC

English allows **relativization on** any grammatical relation; SU (subject), DO (direct object), IO (indirect object), etc.

SU IO DO

The man gave the boy the book.

Relativization on **subject (SU)**

The man [who [\emptyset gave the boy the book]] (was my father)

Relativization on **direct object (DO)**

The book [which [the man gave the boy \emptyset]] (was expensive)

Relativization on **indirect object (IO)**

The boy [who(m) [the man gave \emptyset the book]] (was my son)

Relativization on **oblique object (OBL)**

The man gave a book to the boy.

The boy [who(m) [the man gave a book to \emptyset]] (was my son)

Relativization on **Adjunct**

Mary studied with her friends.

Her friends [who(m) [Mary studied with \emptyset]] are my class mates.

Relativization on **genitive (GEN)**

The man's book has just been published.

The man [whose [\emptyset book has just been published]] (is in town)

Relativization on **object of comparison (OCOMP)**

The man is taller than the woman.

The woman [whom [the man is taller than \emptyset]] (is his mother.)

In other languages possibilities are (far) more limited than English

Malagasy (Madagascar)

		P/OBJ?		ADJCT		A/SU?	
n-i-kapoka	ilay	alika	t-aminy	hazokely	ilay	lehilahi	(AF)
PST-AF.MID-hit	DEF	dog	PST-with	stick	DEF	man	"Actor focus"

'The man hit the dog with a stick.'

n-a-hita	ilay	lehilahy	(izay)				
PST-AF-see	DEF	man	REL				
[n-i-kapoka	ilay	alika	t-aminy	hazokely	∅]	aho	
PST-AF.MID-hit	DEF	dog	PST-with	stick		1SG	

'I saw the man [who ∅ hit the dog with a stick].'

(REL on A/SU?)

*n-a-hita	ilay	alika	(izay)				
PAST-AF.see	DEF	dog	REL				
[n-i-kapoka	∅	t-aminy	hazokely	ilay	lehilahi]	aho	
PAST-AF.MID-hit		PST-with	stick	DEF	man	1SG	

'I saw the dog [that the man hit ∅ with a stick].'

(REL on P/OBJ?)

Malagasy

n-i-kapoka ilay alika t-aminy hazokely ilay lehilahi (AF)
PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog PST-with stick DEF man
'The man hit the dog with a stick.'

*n-a-hita ilay hazokely (izay)
PST-AF-see DEF stick REL
[n-i-kapoka ilay alika ∅ ilay lehilahi] aho
PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog DEF man 1SG
'I saw the stick [with which the man hit the dog ∅]' (REL on ADJCT)

When there is a syntactic restriction on a particular phenomenon in terms of grammatical relations, typically **voice change** is invoked so that a derived grammatical relation can undergo the relevant syntactic process.

Coordinate structure subject reduction in English:

John came and **he** hit Bill.

John came and \emptyset hit Bill.

John came and Bill hit **him**.

*John came and Bill hit \emptyset .

John came and **he** was hit by Bill. (Passivize the second sentence)

John came and **\emptyset** was hit by John.

Malagasy

If you want to relativize on **Patient**

n-i-kapoka ilay alika t-aminy hazokely ilay lehilahi (AF)
 PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog PST-with stick DEF man
 'The man hit the dog with a stick.'

no-kapoh-in-ilay lehilahy t-aminy hazokely ilay alika
 PST-hit-PF-DEF man PST-with stick DEF dog
 'The man hit the dog with a stick'

↓
 (PF)
 "Patient focus"

n-a-hita ilay alika (izay)
 PST-AF-see DEF dog REL

[no-kapoh-in-ilay lehilahy t-aminy hazokely Ø] aho
 PST-hit-PF-DEF man PST-with stick ISG

'I saw the dog that Ø was hit by the man with a stick.'

(REL on P/SU?)

If you want to relative on **Instrument**

Malagasy

n-i-kapoka ilay alika t-aminy hazokely ilay lehilahi (AF)
 PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog PST-with stick DEF man
 'The man hit the dog with a stick.'



n-i-kapoh-an-ilay lehilahy ilay alika ilay hazokely (CF)
 PST-AF.MID-hit-CF-DEF man DEF dog DEF stick "Circumstantial focus"
 'The man hit the dog with the stick.'

n-a-hita ilay hazokely (izay)
 PST-AF-see DEF stick REL

[n-i-kapoh-an-ilay lehilahy ilay alika ∅] aho
 PST-AF.MID-hit-CF-DEF man the dog ISG

'I saw the stick with which the man hit the dog.'

(REL on Instrument/SU?)

Keenan and Comrie (1977)* / Comrie and Keenan (1979)** on relativization

Accessibility Hierarchy (1977: 66)

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

(Genitive) (OBJ of comparison)

Malagasy



Welsh, Finnish



Basque, Tamil



N. Frisian, Catalan



French, German



English, Urhobo



(Niger-Congo)

"in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP's"
(Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)

*Keenan, Edward L. and Bernard Comrie. 1977.

NP accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8. 63-100.

**Comrie, Bernard and Edward L. Keenan. 1979. Noun Phrase Accessibility

revisited. *Language* 55. 649-664.

Keenan and Comrie's (1977) assumptions about Austronesian languages and relativization

1. Austronesian "Topics" → Subjects
2. Austronesian PF, LF (locative focus) and CF Constructions → Passive
3. They instantiate those languages that only subjects can be relativized; **the "subjects-only" constraint** obtains in these languages

My claims in today's talk

1. Keenan's approach to grammatical relations, especially Subject, is problematic and fails to properly identify subjects in some types of languages.
2. The Keenan-Comrie approach to relativization is incorrect.
 - The position in the NP Accessibility Hierarchy is incorrect
 - for some languages
 - Their claim that "Subjects are the most relativizable of NPs" is incorrect.
 - Actually, NP Accessibility Hierarchy is not relevant to relativization per se.

Keenan (1976) Toward a universal definition of "Subject"

p. 305

In this paper I will attempt to provide a definition of the notion "subject of" which will enable us to identify the subject phrase(s), if any, of any sentence in any language.

Such a definition is needed in universal grammar in order for the many universal generalizations which use this notion to be well defined. For example:

- 1 Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie, 1972): NPs on the upper end of the AH, given below, are universally easier to relativize than those on the lower end. Thus some languages (Ls) have relative clause forming strategies which apply only to subjects; other Ls have strategies which apply only to subjects and direct objects, others have ones which apply only to the top three positions on the AH, etc.

Subj > Dir Obj > Ind Obj > Obl > Gen > Obj of Comp

Keenan's (1976) check-list approach to Subject

Semantic properties:

- Basic subjects normally express the agent of the action, if there is one.
- Basic subjects are normally the topic of the basic sentence, i.e. they identify what the speaker is talking about.
- Etc.

Coding properties

- Indispensability: A non-subject may often simply be eliminated from a sentence with the result still being a complete sentence. But this is not usually true of basic subjects.
- Etc.

Behavior and control properties

- Basic subject in general can control reflexive pronouns. And in some languages control of reflexives within clauses is largely restricted to basic subjects.
- Basic subjects are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalization.
- Etc.

Characteristics of Keenan's approach

Subjects are not uniform within single languages and across different languages; Subject is a prototype category, rather than an absolute one

Problems of traditional definitions of subject:

"The subject in a sentence or clause is the person or thing doing, performing, or controlling the action of the verb. "

Active sentence

John hit Bill.

Passive sentences

John was hit by Bill.

Basic sentence and basic subject

First, universal means of distinguishing a privileged subset of sentences in any L will be given. These sentences will be called the semantically basic sentences (henceforth b-sentences) and their subjects will be called basic subjects (henceforth b-subjects). Then we shall attempt to provide universally valid criteria for identifying subjects of b-sentences in any L. Once the b-subjects have been identified in any particular L then the full set of properties characteristic of b-subjects in that L can be determined. So in

Some subjects within a single languages and across lags are more subject-like than others

ties. Finally, once the full complement of b-subject properties has been determined for a given L, subjects of non-basic sentences will be defined to be those NPs, if any, which present a clear preponderance of the properties characteristic of b-subjects. Thus in any given L, subjects of non-basic sentences may present very few of the universal properties of subjects, but still be clearly identifiable as subjects in that L since they possess very many of the language specific properties of b-subjects in that L.

Note further, that on this type of definition, subjects of certain sentences, and more generally of certain sentence types, will be more subject-like than the subjects of others. The reason is that they will exhibit more of the complement of properties which characterize b-subjects in general. Thus the subjecthood of an NP (in a sentence) is a matter of degree.

Consequently we must have recourse to a somewhat weaker notion of definition. We shall say that an NP in a b-sentence (in any L) is a subject of that sentence to the extent that it has the properties in the properties list below. If one NP in the sentence has a clear preponderance of the subject properties then it will be called the subject of the sentence. On this type of definition then subjects of some b-sentences can be more subject-like than the subjects of others in the sense that they present a fuller complement of the subject properties.

Basic sentences

II.1 The Definition of Basic-Sentence in a Language

4 For any Language L,

- a. a syntactic structure x is semantically more basic than a syntactic structure y if, and only if, the meaning of y depends on that of x. That is, to understand the meaning of y it is necessary to understand the meaning of x.
- b. a sentence in L is a basic sentence (in L) if, and only if, no (other) complete sentence in L is more basic than it.

Concerning 4a, there is no simple way of determining whether some sentence e.g. is more basic than another since such a determination requires that we understand the meaning of the two sentences. So some cases will surely be problematic. But many cases we feel are quite clear. E.g., John is a linguist is clearly semantically more basic than Fred

Active/Passive

John hit Bill. Bill was hit by John.

Active (ergative)/Antipassive

Dyribal

a. η uma yabu- η u bur-n. (Active)

father.ABS mother-ERG see-PAST

‘Mother saw father.’

b. yabu bural- η a- η u η uma-gu. (Antipassive)

mother.ABS see-ANTIP-PAST father-DAT

‘Mother saw father.’

Basic sentences

Syntactically the “simplest” (309)

They will have the greatest privileges of occurrence. (309)

Focus-type Austronesian languages

Tagalog

- a. H<um>i-hiwa ang=lalaki ng=karne. (Actor Focus construction: A=ang)
RED<AF>-cut TOP=man GEN=meat
'The man is cutting meat.'
- b. Hi-hiwa-in ng=lalaki ang=karne. (PF construction: P=ang)
RED-cut-PF GEN=man TOP=meat
'The man is cutting the meat.'

If PF is basic, Subject is patient

(p. 307)

"Subjects of some languages are more subject-like than those of other languages in the sense that they will in general present a fuller complement of the features which characterize universal b-subjects"

Keenan thinks (b) is passive but considers Tagalog passive to be more basic than (a) p. 311

Can there be two subject(-like) NPs in a sentence?

Tagalog

- a. H<um>i-hiwa ang=lalaki ng=karne. (Actor Focus construction: A=*ang*)
RED<AF>-cut TOP=man GEN=meat
'The man is cutting meat.'
- b. Hi-hiwa-in ng=lalaki ang=karne. (PF construction: P=*ang*)
RED-cut-PF GEN=man TOP=meat
'The man is cutting the meat.'

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"Subjects of some languages are more subject-like than those of other languages in the sense that they will in general present a fuller complement of the features which characterize universal b-subjects"

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Case marking and agreement patterns in Warlpiri (Hale 1969)

a. **ɲatju** ka-**ɲa** puḷa-mi (He walks.)
1SG.ABS PRES-1SG
shout-NONPAST
'I am shouting/I shout.'

b. **ɲjuntu-luḷu** ka-**ɲpa-tju** **ɲatju** njanji
2SG-ERG PRES-2SG-1SG 1SG.ABS see-NONPAST
'You see me.'

c. **ɲatju-luḷu** ka-**ɲa-ɲku** **ɲjuntu** njanji (He hits me).
1SG.ERG PRES-1SG-2SG 2SG.ABS see-NONPAST
'I see you.'

When there are two (or more) subject-like NPs exist, as above,

ties. Finally, once the full complement of b-subject properties has been determined for a given L, subjects of non-basic sentences will be defined to be those NPs, if any, which present a clear preponderance of the properties characteristic of b-subjects. Thus in any given L, subjects of non-basic sentences may present very few of the universal properties of subjects, but still be clearly identifiable as subjects in that L since they possess very many of the language specific properties of b-subjects in that L.

Note further, that on this type of definition, subjects of certain sentences, and more generally of certain sentence types, will be more subject-like than the subjects of others. The reason is that they will exhibit more of the complement of properties which characterize b-subjects in general. Thus the subjecthood of an NP (in a sentence) is a matter of degree.

Keenan & Comrie (1977: 80)

Of these categories, Schachter's claim that the "focus" NP in Tagalog cannot be regarded as a subject is the most damaging to our claim, since Tagalog was one of the languages that justified HC1 and HC3 (a language may relativize only subjects).

Subject A and Subject B must be recognized for Sasak (similar to Tagalog)

Subject A: involved in

- (a) Relativization
- (b) Raising
- (c) Controlling of the gap in sentence coordination

Subject B: involved in

- (a) cliticization
- (b) Reflexive binding
- (c) Bagu meno-mené REL selection

“in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP’s”
(Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)

properties that are characteristic of subjects in general. A language in which the subject properties were systematically distributed across two or more NPs then might arguably be said not to have a single category of subject. In such a case the AH for that language would lack the subject position, much as the AH applied to other languages may lack an OCOMP position (see 1.2.1), and the predictions made by the HCs would be reduced and further principles would have to be found to account for the degree of

(1.2.1: For example, some languages (e.g. Hindi) treat objects of comparison like ordinary objects of prepositions or postpositions. In such cases we treat these NPs as ordinary OBLs, and the OCOMP position on the AH is unrealized.)

However, it has been shown in Keenan (1976a) that others of the Western Malayo- Polynesian languages, notably Malagasy, do not present the evidence that supports Schachter's claims for Tagalog, and consequently there is still sufficient data to support HC1. The

But the relativiation pattern in Tagalog (Philippines) and Sasak (Indonesia) exactly parallels the Malagasy pattern

a. Nag-bigay ang=lalaki ng=bulaklak sa=babae. (AF)
 AF:PRFV-present TOP=man GEN=flower DAT=woman
 'The man presented the woman with a flower.'

a'. ang=lalaki=ng [nag-bigay ∅ ng=bulaklak sa=babae]
 TOP=man=LK AF:PRFV-present GEN=flower DAT=woman
 'the man [who [∅ presented the woman with a flower]]'

a''. *ang=bulaklak na [nag-bigay ang=lalaki ∅ sa=babae]
 TOP=flower LK AF:PRFV-present TOP=man DAT=woman
 'the flower [which [the man presented the woman with ∅]]

a'''. *ang=babae=ng [nag-bigay ang=lalaki ng=bulaklak ∅]
 TOP=woman=LK AF:PRFV-give TOP=man GEN=flower
 'the woman [whom [the man presented ∅ with a flower]]'

In order to relativize on the Instrument, you need to use another construction, the Circumstantial focus (CF) construction.

b. I-b<in>igay ng=lalaki **ang=bulaklak** sa=babae. (CF)
 CF-present<PRFV> GEN=man TOP=flower DAT=woman
 'The man presented the woman with the flower.'

b'. ang=bulaklak na [i-b<in>igay ng=lalaki ∅ sa=babae]
 TOP=flower LK CF-present<PRFV>GEN=man DAT=woman
 'the flower which the man presented the woman with.'

Similarly, if you want to relativize on the Goal, you need to use the following Locative focus (LF) construction:

c. B<in>igy-**an** ng=lalaki ng=bulaklak **ang=babae.** (LF)
 present<PRFV>-LF GEN=Man GEN=flower TOP=woman
 'The man presented the woman with a flower.'

c'. ang=babae=ng [b<in>igy-an ng=lalaki ng=bulaklak ∅]
 TOP=woman=LK present<PRFV>-LF GEN=man GEN=flower
 'the woman whom the man presented with a flower:'

Sasak (Lombok Island)

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. **dengan mame** ino mantok loq Ali (AF)
person male that N.hit ART Ali
'That man hit Ali.'

a'. dengan mame [si \emptyset mantok loq Ali] batur=meq
person male REL? N.hit ART Ali friend=2SG
'That man who hit Ali is your friend.'

a''. *Loq Ali [si dengan mame ino mantok \emptyset] batur=meq
ART Ali REL? person male that hit friend=2SG
'Ali, whom that man hit, is your friend'

b. **Loq Ali** pantok=na siq dengan mame ino (PF)
ART Ali \emptyset .hit=3SG by person male that
'That man hit Ali.'

b'. loq Ali [si \emptyset pantok=na siq dengan mame ino] batur=meq
ART Ali REL hit=3SG by person male that friend=2SG
'Ali, whom that man hit, is your friend.'

b''. *dengan mame [si Ali pantok=na \emptyset] batur=meq
person male REL Ali hit=3SG friend=2SG
'The man who hit Ali is your friend.'

Keenan's (1976) check-list approach to Subject

Semantic properties:

- Basic subjects normally express the agent of the action, if there is one.
- Basic subjects are normally the topic of the basic sentence, i.e. they identify what the speaker is talking about.
- Etc.

Coding properties

- Indispensability: A non-subject may often simply be eliminated from a sentence with the result still being a complete sentence. But this is not usually true of basic subjects.
- Etc.

Behavior and control properties

- Basic subject in general can control reflexive pronouns. And in some languages control of reflexives within clauses is largely restricted to basic subjects.
- Basic subjects are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalization.
- Etc.

Identifying Christians across the globe



Behavioral property:
They gather in a special place
to worship deity.



Aha, there are many
Christians in Japan!



I've found many Christians
in Bali, too! ³⁹

Keenan & Comrie (1977: 75)

properties that are characteristic of subjects in general. A language in which the subject properties were systematically distributed across two or more NPs then might arguably be said not to have a single category of subject. In such a case the AH for that language would lack the subject position, much as the AH applied to other languages may lack an OCOMP position (see 1.2.1), and the predictions made by the HCs would be reduced and further principles would have to be found to account for the degree of

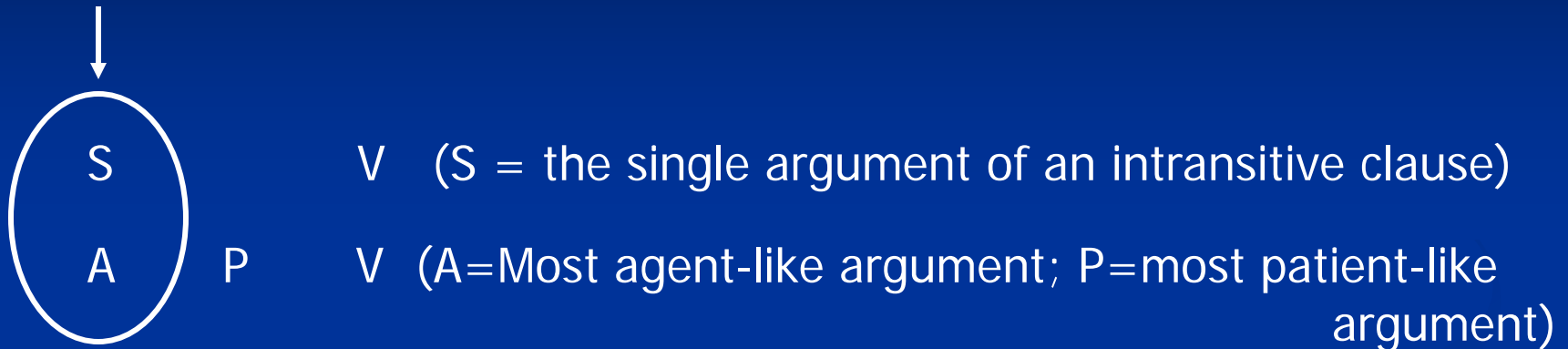
Similar to saying there are no Christians (no Christianity) in Lebanon because 45% of the population is Christian and 55% Moslem.

Problems with Keenan's approach

- Keenan fails to make the referent point for Subject sufficiently clear. Subject is a notion developed in the European grammatical tradition dealing with European languages.
- He should have made the question about the universality of Subject as an empirical one —**do all languages display phenomena** that call for a special grouping of NPs that may be labeled Subject, as seen in European languages?
- He fails to entertain possibilities that (i) some languages may have grammatical relations different from Subject and Object, (ii) two (or more) distinct yet syntactically prominent grammatical relations may coexist in single languages.
- Many of Keenan's properties are symptomatic, missing essential properties that may distinguish underlying differences among those that show similar symptoms/functions.

What is Subject? Clarifying the reference point

Subject in English (and other languages, where this relation obtains)



The category of Subject obtains when there are various phenomena that treat S and A alike to the exclusion of P.

Pronominal forms

He came.

He greeted her.

She greeted him.



S & A are treated alike.

Generalization:

3rd P SG → he in Subject

3rd P SG → him in Object

Agreement

He walks.
He greets them.



They greet him.

S & A are treated alike to the exclusion of P.

Generalization:
Subject agrees.

Control

I tried [___ to walk]

I tried [___ to kiss her]

*I tried [she kisses ___]

I tried [___ to be kissed by her]

Gap is S

Gap is A

Gap is P

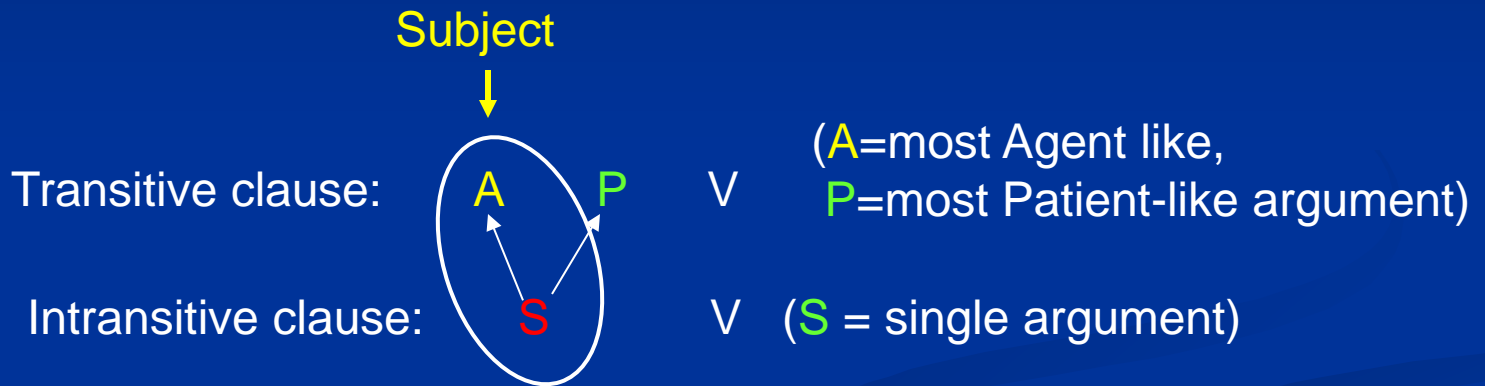
S & A behave alike to the exclusion of P.

Generalization:
Only Subject gaps can be controlled.

Derived Subject: behaves like S.

The nature of (the English-style) Subject

Subject is a category emerging from the generalization of the Agent role over the single arguments of intransitive clauses, which may be either Agentive or Patientive



NB: S can be either Agentive *John ran* or Patientive *John died*.

Theoretically S, therefore, can assimilate either to A or P for

the purpose of generalization

Subject relation obtains when a language treats S like A (i.e. when there are phenomena that call for a union of S and A). **Subject is an A-based generalization over/grouping of A and S arguments**, the latter of which may be either Agent or Patient. **A language has Subject if there are phenomena that treat A and S alike to the exclusion of P.**

Now, the question about the universality of Subject can be empirically answered.

You only need to examine if all languages have phenomena treating S and A alike to the exclusion of P. (This is what Keenan should have told us to do.)

This has not been done to all the languages in the world, and so whether Subject is a universal relational category or not remains unanswered at the moment.

The Austronesian languages in Taiwan, Indonesia, and the Philippines display phenomena calling for the union of S and A, showing that they have a Subject.

Subjects in these languages are different from what is known as Topic, though they often coincide, which is associated with another set of phenomena.

Subjects in Tagalog (Austronesian; Philippines)

Does the language have phenomena treating **S** and **A** alike?

Yes, 1. Focus marking in the verb

S Topics trigger AF (-um-) marking in the verb

a. S<um>emplan ang=bata.

AF:fall TOP=child

'The child falls (down).'

b. T<um>akbo ang=bata.

AF:run TOP=child

'The child runs.'

A Topics trigger AF (-um-) marking in the verb

c. P<um>atay ang=lalaki nang=aso.

AF:kill TOP=man GEN=dog

'The man kills a dog.'

P Topics trigger PF (-in) marking in the verb

d. Patay-in nang=lalaki ang=aso.

kill-PF GEN=man TOP=dog

'The man killed the dog.'

2. Reflexive-binding

S (Topic) binding *sarili*

- a. S<um>emplan **ang=lalaki** sa=**sarili=niya**=ng upuan.
AF:fall TOP=man DAT=self=3SG.gen=LIN chair
'The guy fell down from his own chair.'

A (Topic) binding *sarili*

- b. Nag-sabon **ang=bata** nang=**sarili=niya**.
AF-wash TOP= child GEN self 3SG.GEN
'The child washed up him/herself.'

A (non-Topic) binding *sarili*

- c. P<in>atay **nang=lalaki** ang=**sarili=niya**.
PF:kill GEN=man TOP=self=3SG.GEN
'The man killed himself.'

P (Topic) binding *sarili*

- c. *P<in>atay nang=**sarili=niya** **ang=lalaki**.
PF:kill GEN==self=3SG.GEN TOP=man
'Himself killed the man.'

3. "Want"-control

a. Gusto=ko=ng [s<um>emplan \emptyset]. $\emptyset=S=TOP$
want =1SG.GEN=LIN AF:fall
'I want to fall down.'

b. Gusto=ko=ng [interviewh-in \emptyset si=Gabby]. $\emptyset=A=Non-TOP$
want =1SG.GEN=LIN PF:interview TOP=Gabby
'I want to interview Gabby.'

c. *Gusto =ko=ng [interviewh-in \emptyset ni=Gabby]. $\emptyset=P=TOP$
want=1SG.GEN=LIN PF:interview GEN=Gabby
'I want Gabby to interview me.'

4. Purposive control constructions

a. Mag-handa=ka para [s<um>emplan Ø]. Ø=S=TOP
AF-prepare=2SG.TOP for AF:fall
'Prepare to fall down.'

b. Mag-handa=ka para [interviewh-in Ø si=Gabby]. Ø=A=
AF-prepare=2SG.TOP for interview-PF TOP=Gabby Non-TOP
'Prepare to interview Gabby.'

c. *Mag-handa=ka para [interviewh-in Ø ni=Gabby]. Ø=P=TOP
AF-prepare =2SG.TOP for interview-PF
'Prepare for Gabby to interview you.'

There is thus a range of phenomena referring to/treating **S** and **A** alike to the exclusion of P, pointing out the existence of Subject in Tagalog.

Yet, it is not the Subject that is relevant in relativization. Topics, instead, are what can be relativized on in Tagalog.

A=**SUBJ**=**TOP** (AF construction)

a. P<um>atay **ang=lalaki** nang=aso.
AF:kill TOP=man GEN=dog
'The man killed a dog.'

a'. ang=lalaki=ng [P<um>atay \emptyset nang=aso] (A=**SUBJ**=**TOP** relativized)
ART=man=LIN AF:kill GEN=dog
'the man who killed a dog.'

P=**Non-SUBJ**=**TOP** (PF construction)

b. P<in>atay nang=lalaki **ang=aso**.
PF:kill GEN=man TOP=dog
'The man killed the dog.'

b'. ang-aso=ng [p<in>atay nang=lalaki \emptyset] (P=**Non-SUBJ**=**TOP** relativized)
ART=dog=LIN PF:kill GEN=man
'the dog that the man killed'

b''. *ang=lalaki=ng [p<in>atay \emptyset ang=aso] (A=**SUBJ**=**Non-TOP** relativized)
'the man who killed the dog'

Keenan and Comrie (1977)* / Comrie and Keenan (1979)** on relativization

Accessibility Hierarchy (1977: 66)

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

(Genitive) (OBJ of comparison)

Malagasy



Welsh, Finnish



Basque, Tamil



N. Frisian, Catalan



French, German



English, Urhobo



(Niger-Congo)

"in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP's"
(Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)

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NP accessibility and universal grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8. 63-100.

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Keenan and Comrie's (1977) assumptions about Austronesian languages and relativization

1. Austronesian "Topics" → Subjects

2. Austronesian PF, LF and CF Constructions → Passive

3. They instantiate those languages that only subjects can be relativized; the "subjects-only" constraint obtains in these languages

RE 1: Topic and Subject are two different grammatical relations.

It is the latter that is relevant to relative clause formation—only Topics can be relativized on.

RE 2: The second assumption comes from the fact that many of these Austronesian languages of the Philippines, Taiwan, and Malagasy do not have a separate passive construction, apart from Topicalization/Focusing.

But other Austronesian languages, notably **Sasak** and many others in Indonesia, have a separate passive construction.

The way I look at Austronesian languages of Indonesia (and elsewhere)

Focus morphology in Austronesian languages and its demise

PAn focus morphology : < **um* > Actor, **-ən* Patient, **-an* Location, **Si-* Circumstantial

4-way contrast	3-way	2-way	∅
Formosan Philippine	Kavalan (Formosan) Thao (Formosan) Lun Dayeh (Sawarak)	Malay/Indonesian Javanese, Balinese Sasak Sumbawa	Rukai Sasak Sumbawa
AF, PF LF, CF	AF, PF /LF (-an) CF (Kavalan) AF, PF, LF (Thao) AF, PF, IF (Lun Dayeh; Clayre 2005)	AF (N-) PF (∅-)	?

Philippine languages in general and many Formosan languages (Taiwan), as well as Malagasy have reflexes of the Proto-Austronesian four-way focus morphology.

Tagalog (4-way morphological focus contrast)

- a. H<um>i-hiwa **ang=lalaki** ng=karne. (AF: PAn * <um>)
RED<AF>-cut TOP=man GEN=meat
'The man is cutting meat.'
- b. Hi-hiwa-**in** ng=lalaki **ang=karne.** (PF: Pan * -ən)
RED-cut-PF GEN=man TOP=meat
'The man is cutting the meat.'
- c. K<in>ain-**an** ng=lalaki **ang=restaurant.** (LF; *-an)
eat<PRFV>-LF GEN=man TOP=restaurant
'The man ate at the restaurant.'
- d. I-b<in>ili ng=lalaki ng=relo **ang=babae.** (CF; *S)
CF-buy<PRFV> GEN=man GEN=watch TOP=woman
'The man bought the woman a watch.'

Kavalan (Formosan; 3-way morphological contrast,
4-way structural contrast; Li and Tsuchida 2006:26-27)

- a. q-<m>aRat **saku** 'nay 'tu mutun. (AF; * <um>)
 <AF>bite cat that OBL rat
 'That cat bit a rat.'
- b. qaRat-an na saku **mutun** 'nay. (PF)
 bite-PF GEN cat rat that
 'That rat was bitten by a cat.'
- b'. Ribaut-an-na **ya** iRuR a **zau.** (LF; * -an)
 fish-LF-he.GEN NOM stream LIG this
 'This stream is where he fishes.'
- c. **ti**-tabu na tina-ku tu baut **ya** **biRi.** (CF; * -S)
 RF-wrap GEN mother-my OBL fish NOM leaf
 'My mother wrapped fish with the leaf.'

In Thao and Lun Dayeh (Sawarak), RF/CF or LF has
dropped out of the system; e.g., Instrumental or Location
cannot be directly aligned with Topic in these languages.

Thao (Formosan: 3-way morphological and structural contrast; Blust 2003)

a. cicu k-**m**-an fizfiz. (AF; * <um>)
he eat<AF> banana
'He is eating a banana.'

b. fizfiz kan-**in** cicu (PF; *-ən)
banana eat-PF he
'He is eating a banana.'

c. haya wa falhazan ma-qitan saraan-**an** maqa ma-kapa
that LINK stream MID-easy cross-LF because MD-shallow
sa sazum (LF; *-an)
as.for water
'This stream is easy to cross because the water is shallow.'

Standard Malay/Standard Indonesian, Balinese (2-way nasal/∅ contrast)

- a. **Saya mem-**beli rumah baru (Malay/Indonesian **AF**; * <um>)
I N-buy house new
'I bought a new house.'
- b. **Rumah baru itu** saya beli. (Malay/Indonesian **PF**; * -ən)
house new that I ∅.buy
'I bought **the new house**.'
- a'. **Tiang meli** umah anyar (Balinese **AF**; * <um>)
I N.buy house new
'I bought a new house.'
- b'. **Umah anyar=e ento** tiang beli (Balinese **PF**; * -ən)
house new=DEF that I ∅.buy
'I bought **that house**.'

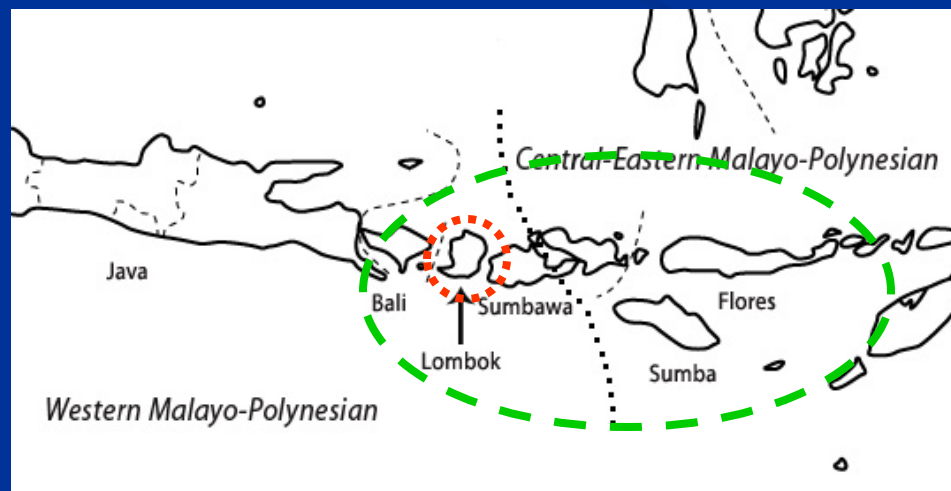
Sasak

Pancor ngeno-ngené Sasak

- a. Oku ken-yengka-ng=ku **mbace** buku ini (N-AF; * <um>)
I PROG-LIN=1 N.read book this
'I am reading this book.'
- b. Buku ini ken-yengka-ng=ku **bace** (Ø-PF; * * -ən)
book this PROG-LIN=1 Ø.read
'I am reading **this book**.'

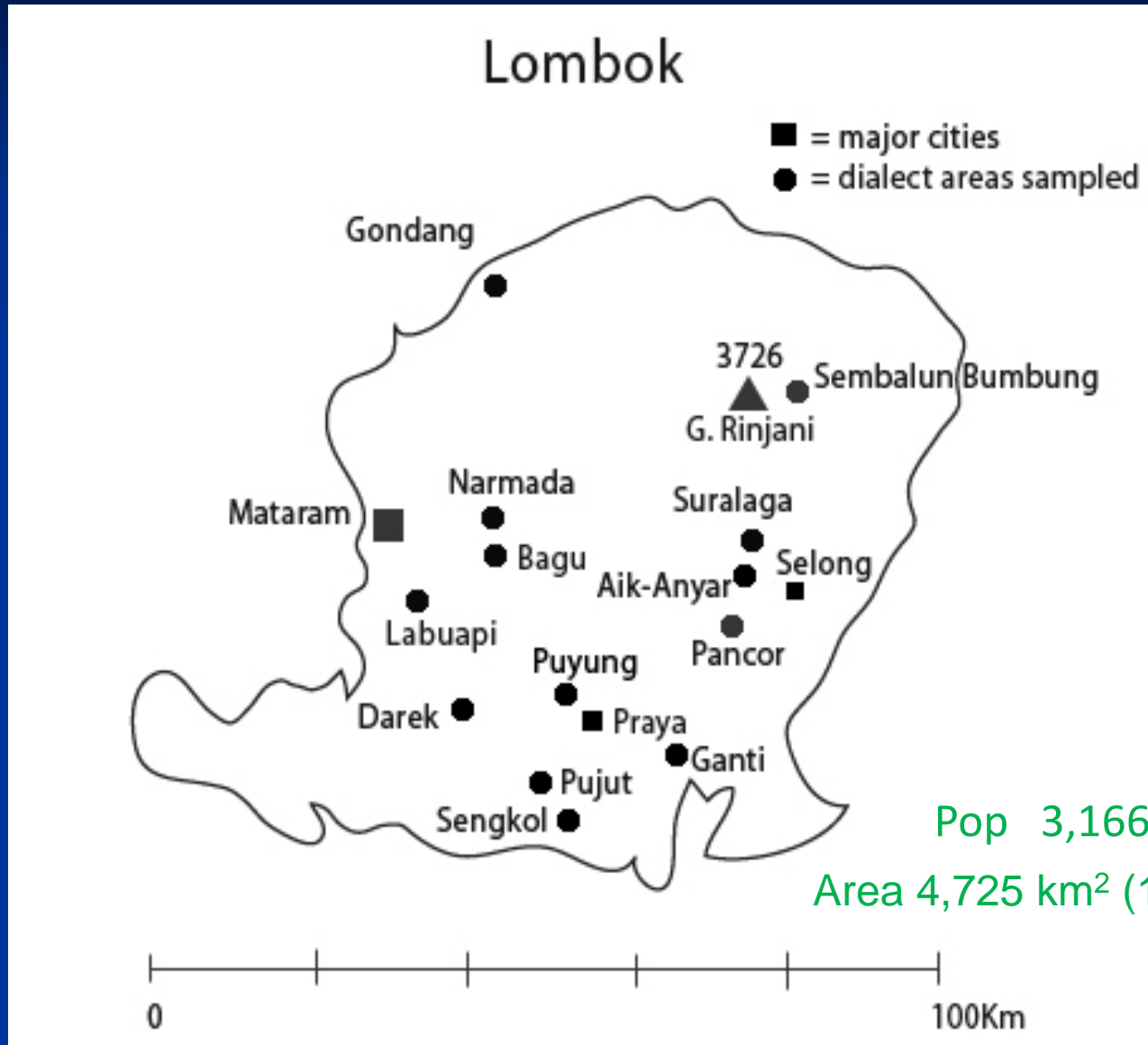
Puyung meno-mené Sasak

- a. Aku nyengke **bace** buku=ni (AF)
I PROG Ø.read/N.read book=this
'I am reading this book.'
- b. Buku=ni nyengke=k **bace**
book=this PROG=1SG Ø.read/N.read (PF)
'I am reading this book.'



Nusa Tenggara

Languages of Lombok Island: Sasak (and Balinese, Sumbawa; Bahasa Indonesia)



Only two-way morphological contrast of AF (Nasal)/PF (Ø)
is maintained in some Sasak dialects

As seen in certain eastern dialects

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. Oku ken-yengka-ng=ku mbase buku ini (N-AF)
I PROG-LIN=1 N.read book this
'I am reading this book.'

b. Buku ini ken-yengka-ng=ku bace (Ø-PF)
book this PROG-LIN=1 Ø.read
'I am reading **this book**.'

Suralaga ngeto-ngeté

a. Aku mantok epe (N-AF)
I N.hit you
'I hit you.'

b. Epe pantok=ku (Ø-PF)
you Ø.hit=1SG
'I hit **you**.'

Morphological AF/PF contrast is lost in some other dialects

Puyung meno-mené

- a. **Aku** nyengke bace/***m** baca buku=ni (AF)
I PROG Ø.read/N.read book=this
'I am reading this book.'
- b. **Buku=ni** nyengke=k bace (PF)
book=this PROG=1SG Ø.read
'I am reading **this book**.'

Structurally these are AF and PF constructions

Grammatical characteristics of Sasak

- Well-developed pronominal clitic systems

Pancor ngeno-ngené

Balé ino beli=**ne** siq dengan mame=no
house that Ø.buy=**3** by person male=that
'The man bought that house.'

Puyung meno-mené

Buku=ni mu=**n** bace isiq Ali.
book=this PAST=**3** read by Ali
'Ali read this book.'

Tunjang=no isiq=**en** empuk acong isiq kanak=no
stick=that with=**3** hit dog by child=that
(lit.) 'That stick, with it the child hit the dog.'

Narmada ngeno-ngené

[siq=**ku** empok] kamu
NMLZ=1 hit you (NMLZ=nominalization)
'The one I hit is you.'

Passive constructions in addition to PF constructions

Puyung meno-mené

Ali mu-n empuk aku. (AF)

Ali PAST=3 hit I

'Ali hit me.'

Aku mu-n empuk siq Ali (PF) Agreement is still triggered by A

I PAST=3 read by Ali

'Ali hit me.'

Aku mu=k te-empuk siq Ali. (Passive)

I PAST=1 PASS-hit by Ali

'I was hit by Ali.'

Agreement is now triggered
by the derived P=Subject

PF constructions cannot be Passive, contra the Keenan-Comrie assumption.

Subject-controlled phenomena: (1) pronominal clitics

Puyung meno-mené

Intransitive subjects

- a. (Aku) mu=**k** lalo jok peken
I PAST=**1** go to market
'I went to the market.'
- b. Mu=**m** lalo jok peken
PAST=**2** go to market
'You went to the market.'
- c. Inaq mu=**n** lalo jok peken
mother PAST=**3** go to market
'Mother went to the market.'

Cf. English agreement

He walks. (S)

Transitive subjects

- d. Mu=**k** empuk Ali
PAST=**1** hit Ali
'I hit Ali.'
- e. Inaq mu=**n** empuk Ali
mother PAST=**3** hit Ali
'Mother hit Ali.'
- f. Mun=**n** empuk Ali.
PAST=**3** hit Ali
'S/he hit Ali.'

He hits us. (A)

S=A≠P

Passive subject

Puyung meno-mené

a. (Aku) wah=**k** te-empuk isiq Ali
I PERF=**1** PASS-hit by Ali

'I have been hit by Ali.'

b. Te-empuk=**m** isiq Ali
PASS-hit=**2** by Ali

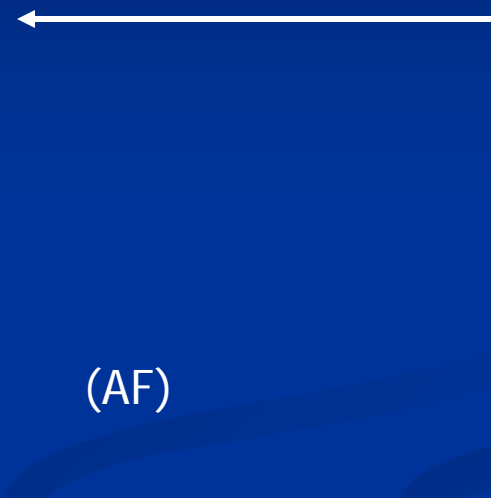
'You were hit by Ali.'

c. Te-empuk=**n** isiq Ali
PASS-hit=**3** by Ali

'S/he was hit by Ali.'

He **was** hit by John. (P SUBJ of Passive)

Cf.



PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject

PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject

Puyung meno=mené PF constructions

a. **Ali**_i wah=**en**_i kirim-an aku surat (AF)
Ali PERF=3 send-APPL I letter
'Ali sent me a letter.'

a'. **Aku** wah=**en**_i kirim-an surat **isiq** **Ali**_i (PF)
I PERF=3 send-APPL letter by Ali
'Ali sent me a letter.'

b. **Aku**_i wah=**k**_i kirim-an Ali surat (AF)
I PERF=1 send-APPL Ali letter
'I sent Ali a letter.'

b'. **Ali** wah=**k** kirim-an surat (PF)
Ali PERF-1 send-APPL letter
'I sent Ali a letter.'

(2) Reflexive-binding

Selong ngeno=ngené

AF

Loq Ali ngarek diri=na (A=SUB > REFL)

ART Ali AF.scratch self=3

'Ali scratched himself.'

Antecedent must
be a Subject

PF

Diri=na karek=na isiq loq Ali; (A=SUB > REFL)

self=3 PF.scratch=3 by ART Ali

'Ali scratched himself.'

PF

*Loq Ali karek=na isiq diri=na. (P=Object > A=REFL/SUB)

ART Ali PF.scratch=3 by self=3

'Himself scratched Ali.'

Passive

*Diri=na te-karek isiq loq Ali (A=Adjunct > P=REFL/SUB)

self=3 PASS-scratch by ART Ali

'Himself was scratched by Ali.'

(3) Bagu meno-mené “relativizer” selection

∅=A=**SUBJECT**=TOPIC

- a. Dengan mame [saq ∅ gitaq dengan nine]=no amaq=k (AF)
person male REL see person female=that father=1
'That man who sees the woman is my father.'

∅=PATIENT=**SUBJECT**=TOPIC

- b. Dengan nine [saq ∅ te-gitaq siq dengan mame]=ne inaq=k (Passive)
person female REL **PASS**-see by person male=this mother-1
'This woman who is seen by the man is my mother.'

∅=PATIENT=**OBJECT**=TOPIC

- c. Dengan nine [saq-siq=n gitaq ∅ siq dengan mine]=ne inaq=k (PF)
person female REL=3 see by person male=this mother=1
'This woman whom the man sees is my mother.'

NB: Non-Topic Object cannot be relativized in this is and other WMP lgs;
Only Topic NPs can be relativized on in these lgs (see below).

You need the GRs Subject & Object (in addition to TOP)

Topic-controlled phenomena (1) Relativization (only Topics can be relativized on)

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. dengan mame ino mantok loq Ali (AF)
person male that N.hit ART Ali
'That man hit Ali.'

a'. dengan mame [si Ø mantok loq Ali] batur=meq (Topic A relativized)
person male REL N.hit ART Ali friend=2SG
'That man who hit Ali is your friend.'

a''. *Loq Ali [si dengan mame ino mantok Ø] batur=meq (Non-Topic P relativized)
ART Ali REL person male that hit friend=2SG
'Ali, whom that man hit, is your friend.'

b. Loq Ali pantok=na siq dengan mame ino (PF)
ART Ali Ø.hit=3SG by person male that
'That man hit Ali.'

b'. loq Ali [si Ø pantok=na siq dengan mame ino] batur=meq (Topic P relativized)
ART Ali REL hit=3SG by person male that friend=2SG
'Ali, whom that man hit, is your friend.'

b''. *dengan mame [si Ali pantok=na Ø] batur=meq (Non-Topic A relativized)
person male REL Ali hit=3SG friend=2SG
'The man who hit Ali is your friend.'⁶⁹

Raising of Topic: Ganti meno-mené

"I see Ali run."

Aku gitaq [**Ali** pelai]

Ali gitaq=ko [___ pelai] S=TOP

"I see Ali kiss Siti"

Aku gitaq [**Ali** seruk **Siti**]

Ali gitaq=ko [seruk Siti] A=TOP

***Siti** gitaq=ko [Ali seruk] P=Non-TOP

Aku gitaq [**Siti** seruk=ng isiq Ali] P=TOP

Siti gitaq=ko [___ seruk=ng isiq Ali]

Aku gitaq [**Siti** te=seruk isiq Ali] P=TOP

Siti gitaq=ko [___te=seruk isiq Ali]

(2) Gap-controller in sentence coordination (Ganti meno-mené)

'Siti hit Ali and \emptyset ran away.'

Controllers

Siti empuk Ali, terus \emptyset pelai=**n** (\emptyset =Siti)

A=SUB=TOP

siti hit Ali, then run=3

Ali empuk=**en** siq Siti, terus \emptyset pelai=**n** (\emptyset =Ali, *Siti)

P=OBJ=TOP

Ali hit-3 by Siti then run=3

Ali te-empuk siq Siti, terus \emptyset pelai=**n** (\emptyset =Ali, *Siti)

P=SUB=TOP

Ali PASS-hit by sity then run-3

SUB=TOP controlled phenomenon
“try”-control constructions in Sasak

Selong ngeno-ngené

a. Ali nyobaq [∅ pelai] (∅ = S = SUB = TOP)

Ali N.try run

‘Ali tried to run.’

a'. [Ali pelai]
‘Ali runs.’

b. Ali nyobaq [∅ ngiduk Siti] (∅ = A = SUB = TOP)

Ali N.try N.kiss Siti

‘Ali tried to kiss Siti.’

b'. [Ali ngiduk Siti] (AF)
Ali N.kiss Siti
‘Ali kisses Siti.’

c. Ali nyobaq [∅ te-iduk isiq le Siti] (∅ = P = SUB = TOP)

Ali N.try PASS-kiss by ART Siti

‘Ali tried to be kissed by Siti.’

c'. [Ali te-iduk isiq Siti] (Passive)
Ali PASS-kiss by Siti
‘Ali was kissed by Siti.’

Selong ngeno=ngené

a. *Ali nyobaq [na-iduk Siti \emptyset] ($\emptyset=A=$ **SUB=NON-TOP**)
Ali N.try 3= \emptyset .kiss Siti
'Ali tried to kiss Siti.'

a'. [na-iduk Siti siq **Ali**] (PF)
3= \emptyset .kiss Siti by Ali
'Ali kisses Siti.'

b. *Ali nyobaq [Siti ngiduk \emptyset] ($\emptyset=P=$ **OBJ=NON-TOP**)
Ali N.try Siti N.kiss
(lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (him).'

b'. [Siti ngiduk **Ali**] (AF)
Siti N.kiss Ali
'Siti kisses Ali.'

c. *Ali nyobaq [\emptyset na-iduk isiq Siti] ($\emptyset=P=$ **OBJ=TOP**)
I N.try 3= \emptyset .kiss by Siti
(lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (him).'

c'. [**Ali** na-iduk isiq Siti] (PF)
Ali 3= \emptyset .kiss by Siti
'Siti kisses Ali.'

“try”-type control: The controlees (\emptyset) must be **SUB=TOP**

Contrasting pair

☞ b. Ali nyobaq [∅ te-iduk isiq Siti] (∅ = P = SUBJECT = TOPIC)
Ali N.try PASS-kiss by Siti

'Ali tried to be kissed by Siti.'

b'. [Ali te-iduk isiq Siti] (Passive)

Ali PASS-kiss by Siti

'Ali was kissed by Siti.'

☞ c. *Ali nyobaq [∅ na=iduk isiq Siti] (∅ = P = OBJECT = TOPIC)
Ali N.try 3=∅.kiss by Siti

(lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (him).'

c'. [Ali na=iduk isiq Siti] (PF) → Cannot be a passive

3=∅.kiss by Siti

'Siti kisses Ali.'

Summary of the basic argument alignment patterns

Puyung meno-mené

a. AF-construction

Ali bace buku=ni

(A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ)

Ali read book=this

'Ali read this book.'

b. PF-construction

Buku=ni mu=n bace siq Ali

(A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP)

book=this PERF-3 read by Ali

'Ali read this book.'

c. Passive construction

Buku=ni te-bace siq Ali

(A=OBL; P=SUB=TOP)

book=this pass-read by Ali

'This book is read by Ali.'

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But other Austronesian languages, notably **Sasak** and many others in Indonesia, have a separate passive construction.

Both Subject and Topic must be recognized for Sasak

1. **Subject:** involved in
 - (a) cliticization
 - (b) Reflexive binding
 - (c) Bagu meno-mené REL selection
2. **Topic:** involved in
 - (a) Raising
 - (b) Relativization
 - (c) Controlling the gap in sentence coordination
3. **Subject=Topic:** involved in “Try”/“order”-type controlee
4. **Object:** involved in
 - (a) Passivization
 - (b) Applicative objects (not discussed)

Conclusion:

In Sasak, Bahasa Indonesia, and Tagalog, there are two types of GRs—
Subject and Topic

Some phenomena (e.g. cliticization in Sasak and Focus marking in Tagalog, Jangan-imepratives in B Indonesia) are controlled by Subject.

Some phenomena (e.g. relativization, raising) are controlled by Topic)

Yet some others are controlled by Subject=Topic
(Sasak, B Indonesia 'try-control)

Both Topic and Subject, as separate grammatical relations, are needed in these languages.

Conclusion about the GRs and relativization in Austronesian

Subject Relative Universal

- a. "All languages can relativize Subjects." (Comrie and Keenan 1979:652)
- b. "...in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP's."
(Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)
- c. "Subjects are universally the most relativizable of NPs."
(Keenan 1985:158)

"if there turn out to be languages for which the traditional notions of Subject etc. are inapplicable, then our generalizations make no claim about how relativization should pattern in those languages. The generalizations are not of course falsified thereby, but their domain of applicability is restricted." Comrie and Keenan (1979:659)

In Sasak and Tagalog "the traditional notions of Subject, etc." obtain; yet Subjects are not the most relativizable NPs of these (and other Austronesian languages of Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Madagascar).

Another group of languages that cast doubt on the AH

Ergative languages Many syntactically erg lgs allow only Absolutive nominals (S and P) to be (directly) relativized

K'ichee' (Mayan, Guatemala; Larssen & Norman 1979)

- a. š-Ø-u-č'ay le: išoq le: ačih
ASP-3SG.ABS.3SG.ERG-hit the woman the man
'The man hit the woman/the woman hit the man.'
- b. š-Ø-inw-il le: išoq [le: š-Ø-u-č'ay le: ačih] (P
ASP-3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-see the woman REL ASP-3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-hit the man relativized)
'I saw the woman whom the man hit.' (P relativized)
'*I saw the woman who hit the man.' (A relativized)
- a'. š-Ø-č'ay-ow le: išoq le: ačih (Antipassive)
ASP-3SG.ABS-hit-ANTIP the woman the man
'The woman hit the man.' (A is now an ABS.)
- b'. š-Ø-inw-il le: išoq [le: š-Ø-č'ay-ow le: ačih] (erstwhile A
ASP-3SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-see the woman REL ASP-3SG.ABS-hit-ANTIP the man relativized)
'I saw the woman who hit the man.'

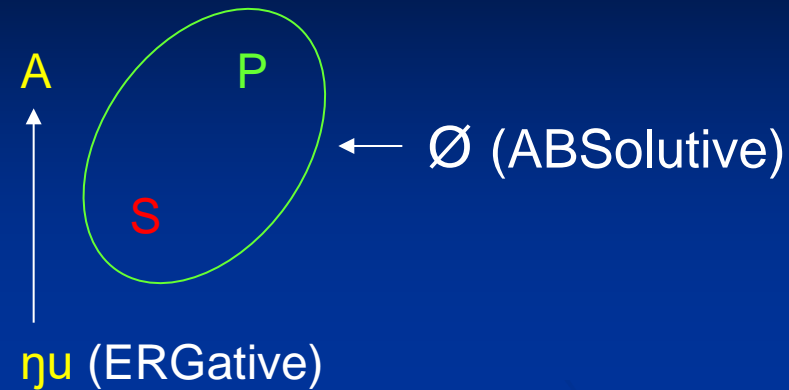
Do S and P form Subject category?

Subjects in other lgs consist of S and A

Dyirbal (Australia; Dixon 1979)

- a. **ɲuma** banaga-ɲu
 father.ABS return-PAST
 ‘Farther returned.’
- b. **ɲuma** **yabu-ɲu** bur-n.
 father.ABS mother-ERG see-PAST
 ‘Mother saw father.’

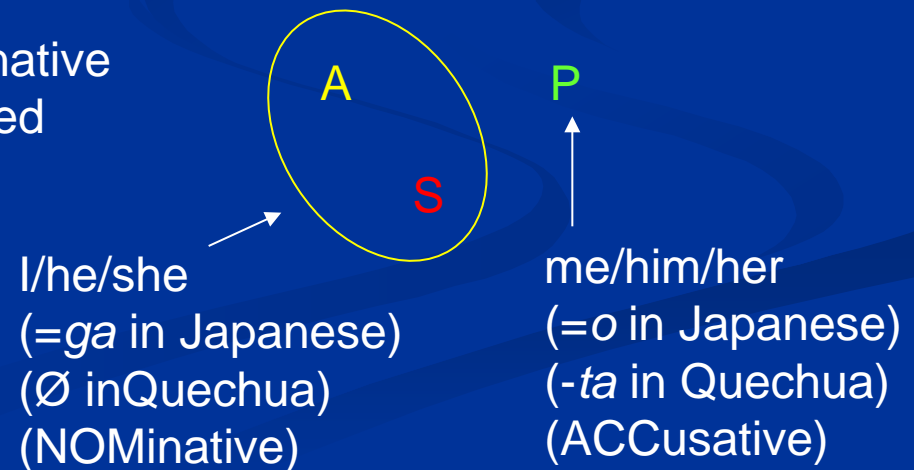
“(Absolutive-) Ergative pattern/language”



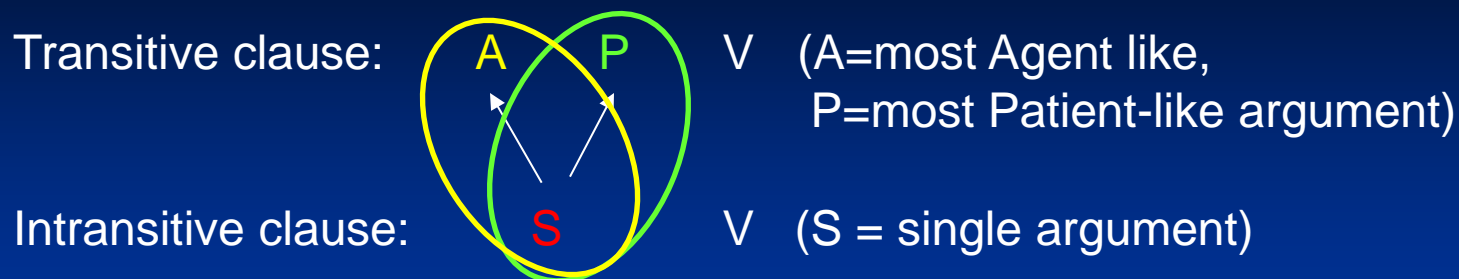
“(Nominative-) Accusative Pattern/language”

English/Japanese/Quechua

In many languages (e.g., Quechua) Nominative is zero-marked as ABS is often zero-marked in ergative constructions.



S=A≠P and S=P ≠A grouping once again



S can be either **Agentive** (*The dog ran*) or **Patientive** (*The dog died*).

Theoretically **S**, therefore, can assimilate either to **A** or **P** for the purpose of generalization

When **S** assimilates to **A** (when a language treats **S** and **A** alike for syntactic purposes), we obtain a **S=A ≠P** pattern—the **nominative-accusative pattern**, as in English. S and A form Subject category.

Subject (union of S & A) is an Agent-based category

When **S** assimilates to **P** (when a language treats **S** and **P** alike for syntactic purposes), we obtain a **S=P ≠A** pattern—the **absolutive-ergative pattern**. S and P form Absolutive category.

Absolutive (union of S & P) is a Patient-based category

Split-intransitivity

He killed her.

A

P

He ran

S_a is treated like A.

*Her died.

He died.

S_p is treated like A.

Eastern Pomo (McLendon 1978:)

a. xá:su:là wí ko:k^hóya
rattlesnake 1SG.P bit
'A rattlesnake bit me.'

b. há: mí:pal śáka
1SG.A him killed
'I killed him.'

Patientive Intransitive Subject

a' . wí c'e:xelka
1SG. S_p slip
'I am slipping.'

Agentive Intransitive Subject

b' . há: c'e:xelka
1SG. S_a slip
'I am sliding.'

Different kinds of Topic

English preposing:

I believe this. **This** I believe.

I cannot help them. **Them** I cannot help. (P=OBJ=TOP)

Marked topics:

As for her father, he didn't want to know about it.

Speaking of fish, I really like sushi.

Japanese-style Topics (Korean, Chinese, Quechua):

Taroo=ga kono ko=ni ano hon=o yat-ta. (Topicless sentence)
Taro=NOM this child=DAT that book=ACC give-PAST
'Taro gave this child that book.'

Taroo=**wa** kono ko=ni ano hon=o yat-ta. (A=SU=Topic)
Taro=TOP this child-DAT that book=ACC give-PAST
'Taro gave this child that book.'

Ano hon=**wa** Taroo=ga kono ko=ni yat-ta. (P=DO=Topic)
that book=TOP Taro=NOM this child=DAT give-PAST

Kono ko=(ni)=**wa** Taroo=ga ano hon=o yat-ta. (G=IO=Topic)
this child=DAT=TOP Taro=NOM that book=ACC give=PAST

Unlike Austronesian Topics, Japanese Topics do not display Subject properties—the properties that Subjects show in other languages.

Austronesian Topics are more integrated into the clausal structure

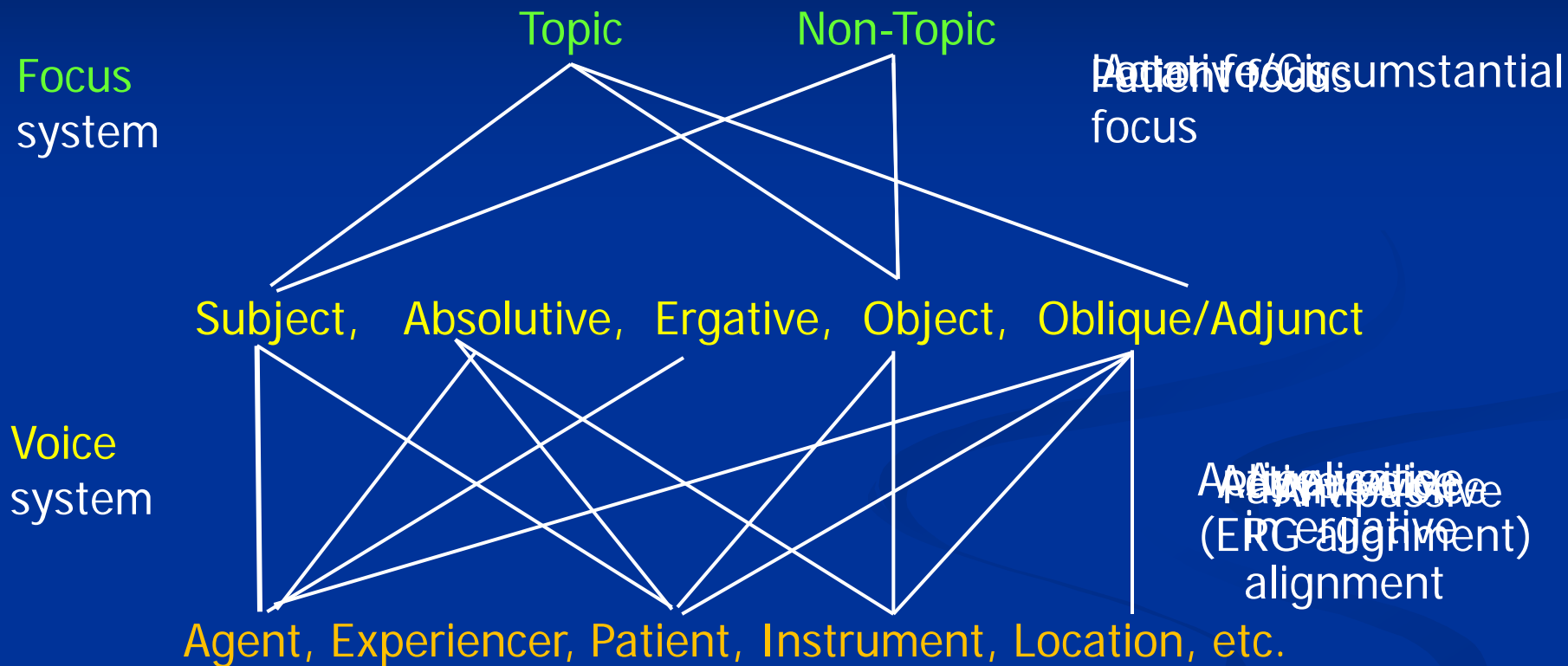
(i.e. more grammaticalized):

- 1) They are indispensable (except in exclamatory and existential sentences)
- 2) They occur in subordinate clauses. (Japanese Topics do not.)
- 3) They display certain properties of the Subjects in other languages

Shared similarity: Topics in all languages must be definite—referring to entities whose identity is shared by both speaker and hearer

How does Austronesian **focus** system (and Japanese-style Topicalization) differ from **voice** system

Focus system regulates the alignment between **semantico-syntactic relations** and **the pragmatico-syntactic relations** of Topic and Non-topic.



Voice system regulates the correspondence pattern between **semantic roles** and **semantico-syntactic relations** (Subject, Object, Absolutive, etc.).

It is incorrect to characterize the Austronesian focus system as a voice system (e.g. AV, PV per I Wayan Arka and others).

Summary of how Subject, Absolutive, and Topic differ

Even though they may be functionally similar in being syntactically prominent, **they are based on different defining properties.**

- Subject is an **Agent-based** relational category.
- Absolutive is a **Patient-based** relational category.
- Topic is a **pragmatically-defined** (e.g. definiteness) relational category.

All religions play similar functions

But they differ in basic tenets



Capturing crosslinguistic generalizations over relativization

If GRs differ across different languages, and if relativization is sensitive to different kinds of GRs (Subject, Topic, Absolutive, etc.), is there anyway to capture the kind of crosslinguistic generalizations that Keenan and Comrie (1977) tried to capture in terms of the relational hierarchy?

Depends on whether a relational hierarchy can be established for each GR system: **Suppose** we can establish the following hierarchies based on grammatical properties of different kinds of syntactic relations

SU > DO > IO > OBL > ADJCT (NOM-ACC)

ABS > ERG > IO > OBL > ADJCT (ABS-ERG)

TOP (> SU) > DO > OBL > ADJCT (Austronesian)

1 2 3 4 5 (primacy of GRs)

“Primary arguments are the most relativizable of all NPs ”

But we will be presently asking whether these GRs are relevant to relativization at all.

Keenan & Comrie (1977) analysis of relative clauses

Largely based on the traditional generative analysis, in which it is assumed that

- (1) RCs are clauses/sentences with full arguments and possibly adjuncts,
- (2) RCs contain a gap (or a pronoun in some languages,
- (3) this gap represents the position of relativization (for K & C), and
- (4) this gap is created by a *wh*-movement transformation.

Relative clauses vs. content clauses

Relative clause

I heard the rumor [that/which [everyone was talking about ___]

Cf. *Everyone was talking about.

↑
gap

Content clause

I heard the rumor [that [John got married recently]

Cf. John got married recently.

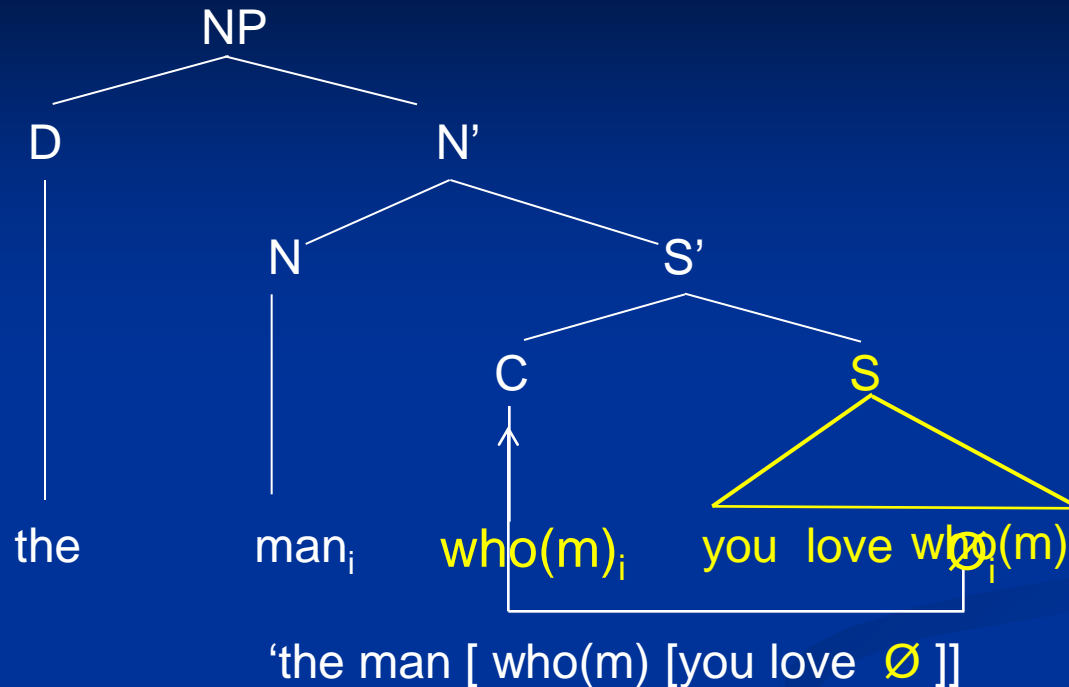
↑
No gap

Question: How does a gap in so-called RCs get created?

Chomsky's answer:

By a movement of WH-element to COMP position.

A gap in RCs is a trace of the coreferential NP in RCs that has moved to the C position.



This movement transformation is the same rule that applies to Wh-interrogative pronouns.

I wonder **who(m)** [you love **who(m)**]

Who(m) do [you love Ø]?

- (a) In this analysis interrogative pronouns play a crucial role,
- (b) because the RC gap is created by the movement of an interrogative pronoun such as *who(m)* and *which*

This parallelism between relative pronouns and interrogative pronouns does not obtain even in some other Germanic languages

German Wer kommt morgen? (Direct WH-question)
 who comes tomorrow

Ich weiss nicht, [wer morgen kommt] (Indirect WH-question)
I know not who tomorrow comes
'I don't know who comes tomorrow.'

der Mann, *[wer [Ø morgen kommt]] (Relative clause)
ART man who tomorrow comes
Intended: 'the man who comes tomorrow'

der Mann, [der [Ø morgen kommt]] (Relative clause)
ART man ART? tomorrow comes
'the man who comes tomorrow'

die Frau, [die [Ø morgen kommt]]
'the woman who comes tomorrow'

das Mädchen, [das [Ø morgen kommt]]
'the girl who comes tomorrow'

English *that*-relatives

the man [**that** [\emptyset came]]

the man [**that** [I met \emptyset]]

We still see a gap in RC

that here is not considered a relative pronoun
(although there is demonstrative pronoun *that*)

that here is thought to be the **conjunction** seen in

I know [**that** [John is honest]] (Object complement clause)

[**That** [John is honest]] is widely known. (Subject complement clause)

The idea [**that** [John is honest]] is absurd. (Noun-complement: content clause)

English also allows RCs without a relative/interrogative pronoun or the complementizer.

I know the man [you love \emptyset]

We still see a gap in RC

Spanish *que, quien, cual, cuyo, donde*, etc.

Tengo un perro [*que* [Ø es negro]]
I.have a dog that is black
'I have a dog that is black.'

Just like English *that, que* occurs where no movement is involved.

Sé [*que* [Juan es honesto]] (Object complement)
I.know that Juan is honest

[*Que* [Juan es honesto]] es absurdo (Subject complement)
that Juan is honest is absurd

La idea [*que* [Juan es honesto]] es absurda. (N-complement:
ART idea that Juan is honest is absurd content clause)

We said that *that* in English that-relative clauses is not a relative pronoun, because *that* is also seen in non-RC clausal complements like the above.

English conjunction *that* is known as a "complementizer" in Generative Grammar (we will see if this a good characterization of *that* and *que*, etc.)

In other languages there is something like a relativizer, but which cannot be a pronoun

Bahasa Indonesia

Beri aku buku [yang [Ø di atas meja]
give I book REL? on top table
'Give me the book that is on the table.'

Yoruba (Niger-Congo)

èrè [tí [Kunélé ni Ø]]
statue REL? Kunele own
'(the) statue that Kunele owns.'

Thai

chǎn chǎp kràproon [thīi [Ø khwě̃n nay tūu]]
I like skirt REL? hang in closet
'I like the skirt that hangs in the closet.'

Chinese

[[lǎoshī gěi wǒ Ø] de] shū
teacher give I REL? book
'the book which the teacher gave me'

In some languages, there is nothing like a relative pronoun or a relativizer—there simply is a gap in the RC, and no sign of movement

Wulai Atayal (Austronesian; Taiwan)

squiliq [n-wah-an=mu ∅ mitaʔ hiraʔ]
man PAST-come-LF=1S.GEN see yesterday
'the man whom I came see yesterday'

Japanese

[Taroo=ga ∅ katta] hon
Taroo=NOM buy-PAST book
'the book which Taroo bought'

Thus, in RCs there is a gap whether there is something like a (wh)-relative pronoun, a complementizer, a relativizer, or nothing of this sort.

How are RC gaps created in these languages?

By invisible/covert wh-/operator-movement?

Many, if not the majority, of the world's languages, and even among many Germanic languages, wh-interrogative forms are not used in RC formation.

In the majority of the languages there is no (synchronic) connection between the RC gap and interrogative pronouns

Spanish

el libro [que [el estudiante leyó Ø ayer]]
the book ? the student read yesterday

interrogative
pronouns

qué 'what'
quién 'who'

Bahasa Indonesia

buku [yang [siswa baca Ø kemarin]]
book ? student read yesterday

apa 'what'
siapa 'who'

Thai

panhǎa [thīi [dèk thay mii Ø yùu]
problem REL? child Thai have STAY
'the problems that Thai kids have'

khray 'what'
aray 'who'

Japanese

[gakusei ga kinoo Ø yon-da] hon
student NOM yesterday read-PST book

nani 'what'
dare 'who'

Chinese

[wǒ zuótiān dú Ø] de shū
I yesterday read ? book

shénme 'what'
shuí 'who' ₁₀₀

Summary: How is the RC gap created?

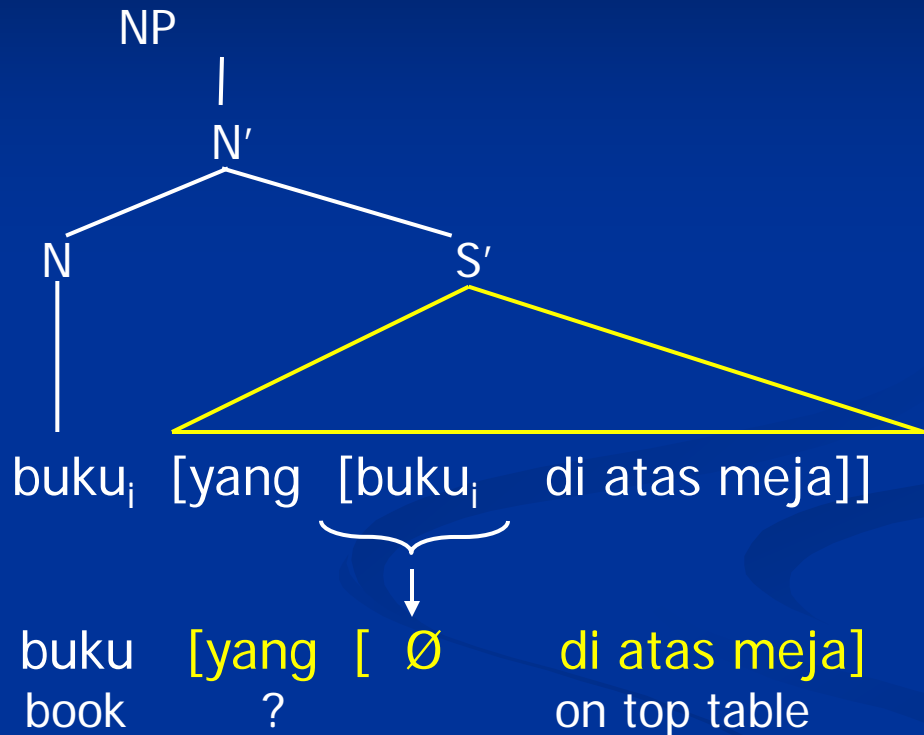
1. In Generative Grammar the RC gap is analyzed as a trace left by the movement of a *wh*-element/interrogative pronoun.
2. There have been many studies (mostly by the students of Generative Grammar e.g., Huang 1998) following this analysis that posits **a null operator** that moves to C similar to an interrogative pronoun in English.
 - ◇ But, as we saw above, the use of interrogative pronouns as relativizers is rare among the world's languages.
 - ◇ Why extend the analysis based on the minority pattern to other languages?
 - ◇ There are, in the first place, other possible analyses of English-type interrogative sentences without positing a movement rule (e.g., Categorical Grammar, Generalized Phrase, Structure Grammar, Lexical Functional Grammar, Construction Grammar)

Summary of the discussion so far

1. In Generative Grammar, relative clauses are considered to be sentences, or their equivalents in more recent frameworks.
2. But there is little evidence that they are sentences.
3. Perhaps RCs are clauses as the term relative **clause** suggests. But then we need to know how clauses are different from sentences. (We will argue below that RCs are not clauses either.)
4. In many descriptive grammars, elements marking RCs are glossed “REL” or described as relative pronouns (similar to the English relative pronouns), but there is actually little evidence that they are relative pronouns.
5. There is no connection in the majority of the world’s languages between the occurrence of interrogative pronouns and that of the RC gap. Hence there is little motivation for attributing the RC gap to the movement of an interrogative pronoun.
6. Even if there is parallelism between interrogative and relative pronouns, there is no need to analyze interrogative/relative pronouns as a movement phenomenon. There are other ways to handle the relationship between a “relativizer” and the RC gap, as we will try to show below.

We still have the problem of the RC gap—how is it created, if there is no movement?

Maybe we simply have deletion of the coreferential NP in an RC, as in



But then we have a structure like this, where there is no coreferential NP.

[yang [Ø di atas meja]] adalah milikku.
 ? on top table is mine
 'What is on the table is mine.'

Most languages we have seen above display a similar pattern

Spanish

- (a) [El **hombre** [que **está leyendo un libro**] es mi padre.
the man that is reading a book is my father
'The man that is reading a book is my father.'
- (b) [El [que **está leyendo un libro**] es mi padre.
the that is reading a book is my father
'The one who is reading a book is my father.'

German

- (a) Ich empfange den **Mann**, [der **morgen kommt**].
I receive ART man ART morning comes
'I will see the man who comes tomorrow.'
- (b) Ich empfange den, [der **morgen kommt**]
I receive ART ART tomorrow comes
'I will see the one who comes tomorrow.'

In fact, English also shows a similar pattern

(a) You should marry the man [**who(m)** [you love \emptyset]]

(b) You should marry [**who(m)** [you love \emptyset]]

<https://books.google.com/books?isbn=1612049818>

Life is a race and **who gets there first wins**. **Who gets there first or who gets the most stuff** defines self-esteem, self-worth and status. Life becomes a maddening ...

More difficult to use **which** forms in the (b) pattern:

Designer Daigo Fukawa has created this fantastic collection managing **which looks like sketches** transferred into real pieces of furniture.

(www.minimalisti.com/furniture/02/contemporary-furniture-design.htm)

(a) a flower [which we call a rose]

(b) that [**which we call a rose**] (from "Romeo and Juliet")

Middle English: And [**which falleþ on þat furste flur**] schal beo Quene.

- (a) We visit **the place** [**where he lives** \emptyset] at least once a year.
(b) We visit [**where he lives** \emptyset] at least once a year.

- (a) I forgot **the time** [**when he arrived** \emptyset]
(b) I forgot [**when he arrived** \emptyset]

- (a) We know **the reason** [**why he didn't come** \emptyset]
(b) We know [**why he didn't come** \emptyset]

So, what is called a relative clause seems to occur independently outside the RC context. And we see that a gap is seen even in non-RC context—i.e. **the gap in question is independent of the relative clause construction.**

The same can be said about Japanese and other languages, as seen above.

Japanese (Izumo dialect)

(a) [okaka ga ∅ yaita] sakana o kutta.
 mother NOM broiled fish ACC ate
 ‘(I) ate the fish that mother broiled’

(b) [okaka ga ∅ yaita] o kutta.
 mother NOM broiled ACC ate
 ‘(I) ate what/the one mother broiled.’

What is the nature of the structures like (b)?

Three views:

- (1) they are relative clauses without a head—Headless RCs,
- (2) they are nominalizations derived from RCs,
- (3) they are basic nominalization structures, independent from RCs (RCs represent a use of nominalizations).

Problems with the past analyses of so-called headless RCs — a mistaken view on nominalizations

Sneddon's deletion analysis of nominalizations

Bahasa Indonesia (Sneddon 1996:300)

a. Mobil [yang di-beli Ali] berwarna biru.
car that PASS-buy Ali colored blue
↓ 'The car which Ali bought is blue.'

b. Ø [yang di-beli Ali] berwarna biru.
that PASS-buy Ali colored blue
'The one Ali bought is blue.'

"Nominalization occurs when the head noun is ellipited ...The yang phrase then functions like a noun." (Sneddon 1996:300)

This type of analysis considers nominalizations as secondary structures derived from relative clauses.

Where does such a lop-sided view on nominalizations come from?

Imbalance in our understandings of relative clauses and nominalizations due to historical reasons—there have been many studies on RCs but only a few on NMLZs

International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences (Elsevier)

There is an entry on Relative clause but no entry on Nominalization

(Cf. Wikipedia entries for “relative clause” and “nominalization”)

Changing the perspective

From deletion analysis to nominalization analysis

Sneddon 1996:300

Bahasa Indonesia

- a. Mobil [yang di-beli Ali] berwarna biru.
car NMZR PASS-buy Ali colored blue
↓
'The car which Ali bought is blue.'
- b. ∅ [yang di-beli Ali] berwarna biru.
NMZ PASS-buy Ali colored blue
'The one Ali bought is blue.'

“**Nominalization** occurs when the head noun is ellpited ...The **yang** phrase then functions like a noun.” (Sneddon 1996:300)

Sneddon's deletion analysis has a wrong perspective on relative clauses, but his identification of Indonesian *yang* forms as nominalizations is correct.

Correct perspective on nominalizations and so-called relative clauses.

1. There are nominalization structures (or simply nominalizations/NMLZs)

[yang [aku baca Ø kemarin]]_{NMLZ}
NMLZR I read yesterday
'what I read yesterday'

2. There are two major **USES** of nominalizations

- (a) **NP-use**: as the head of a noun phrase

[[yang [aku baca Ø kemarin]]_{NMLZ}]_{NP} bagus. (So-called headless RC)
'What I read yesterday was good.'

Cf. [[buku]_N itu]_{NP} bagus.
'The book was good.'

- (b) **Modification-use**: as a modifier of a noun head

[buku [yang [aku baca Ø kemarin]]_{NMLZ}]_{NP} bagus. (So-called RC)
'The book that I read yesterday was good.'

The same can be said about Japanese and other languages, as seen above.

Japanese (Izumo dialect)

(a) NP-use

[[okaka ga Ø yaita]_{NMLZ}]_{NP} o kutta.
mother NOM broiled ACC ate
'(I) ate what/the one mother broiled.'

(b) Modification-use

[[okaka ga Ø yaita]_{NMLZ} sakana]_{NP} o kutta.
mother NOM broiled fish h ACC ate
'(I) ate the fish that mother broiled'

As nominals, nominalizations have entity (thing/thing-like) denotations

[okaka ga Ø yaita]_{NMLZ} →



etc.

Morphological evidence that NMLZs (or so-called RCs) are not clauses/sentences, and that they denote, rather than predicate and assert

Plural-marking on NMLZs/RCs

Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan)

jusí- m	bisikleeta- m	
child-PL	bicycle-PL	
[in	jinu-ka-'u]- m	sikili
1SG.GEN	buy-PERF-NMLZ-PL	red
'Ones/what I bought are red'		

The fact that the NMLZ can be marked by a plural marker indicates that the NMLZ is denoting a thing, not predicating or asserting like a clause/sentence. Sentences in Yaqui can never take the plural marker.

Modification-use of NMLZ

U-me	bisikleeta- m	[in	jinu-ka-'u]- m	sikili
DET-PL	bicycle-PL	1SG.GEN	buy-PERF-NMLZ-PL	red
'The bicycles that I bought are red'				

Plural marking in Nheengatu (Tupi-Guarani subgroup III, Brazil; Cruz 2014)

nhaã [yawaka pe iku waa] u-sendu-pa yande
DEM heaven LOC be NMLZ 3SG.A-listen-COMPL we
'The one who is in heaven listens everything from us.'

re-su re-mu-tawari kau [re-yu-mu-kuaku wa]=ita u-mbau arã
2SG.A-go 2SG.A-CAUS-tabacco DEM 2SG.A-R/R-CAUS-be.fasting NMLZ=PL 3SG.A-eat PROS
'You are going to bless those whom you made fast.'

Ai-te paa nhaã pedasu itá=ita [maxi posu upe wa]=ita
3SG=FOC REP DEM piece stone=PL leper well LOC NMLZ=PL
'(They say that) he becomes those stones that are in the well of lepers.'

Classifier-marking on NMLZs/RCs

Thai

- a. **khruu** [lǎaj **khon**]
teacher many CLF.PERSON
'many **teachers**'
- b. **mǎa** [sìi **tua**]
dog four CLF.BODY
'four **dogs**'

Speaker A: Which skirt do you like?

Speaker B: (chǎn chǎp) [**tua** [thîi* khwěen nay tûu]]
I like CLF.BODY NMLZ hang in closet
'(I like) the one hanging in the closet'

Modification-use

Speaker B': chǎn chǎp **kràproon** [**tua** [thîi khwěen nay tûu]]
I like skirt CLF.BODY NMLZ hang in closet
'I like the skirt which is hanging in the closet.'

(*thîi is typically glossed REL in the literature.)

Cantonese

[nī dī] yú
this CLF fish
'this fish'

[sām go] hohksāang
three CLF student
'three students'

[[Ngóhdeih hái Faatgwok sihk] dī] yéh géi hóu-sihk ga.
we in France eat CLF food quite good-eat PRT
'The food [we ate in France] was pretty good.'

[[Gaaú léih tàahn kàhm] gó] go?
teach you play piano that CLF
'The one who teaches you (play the) piano?'

Matthews, Stephen and Virginia Yip. 1994. *Cantonese: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London and New York: Routledge

Barasano (Colombia; Jones and Jones 1991:150)

(480) *hũũ* *õ* *kãhi-ri-kũ* *ãbo-a-ha* *yũ*
hammock there hang-PTCPL-hammock want-PRES--3 1s
I want that hammock which is hanging there.

(481) *õ* *kãhi-ri-kũ* *ãbo-a-ha* *yũ*
there hang-PTCPL-hammock want-PRES--3 1s
I want that hammock which is hanging there.

Lit. 'I want that hammock-thing.'

Jonese, Wendell and Paula Jonese. 1991. *Barasano Syntax*. Dallas; Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Newar (Sino-Tibetan; Nepal)

Animate classifier **-mha**

a. ni-**mha** masta
two-CLF.ANIM child
'two children'

b. [**ana dan-ā cwã:=mha**] rām=yā(=**mha**) macā kha:
there stand-CM exist.ND=/NMLZR Ram=GEN(=NMLZ) child COP
'The one standing there is Ram's child.'

c. [**ana dan-ā cwã:=mha**] macā rām=yā=**mha** kha:
there stand-CM exist.ND=NMLZ child Ram=GEN=NMLZ COP
'The child standing over there is Ram's.'

Inanimate classifier **-gu:**

a. ni-**gu:** saphu:
two-CLF book
'two books'

b. [**ana du=gu**] rām=yā(=**gu**) gāri kha:
there exist.ND=NMLZ Ram=GEN(=NMLZ) car COP
'The one that is there is Ram's car.'

c. [**ana du=gu**] gāri rām=yā=**gu** kha:
there exist.ND=NMLZ car Ram=GEN=NMLZ COP
'The car that is there is Ram's.'

English

a. Marry [**who** [you love]]
HUMAN

a'. Marry a man [**who** [you love]]
HUMAN

b. You may choose [**which** [you like]]
NON-HUMAN

b'. You may choose a dog [**which** [you like]]
NON-HUMAN

a', b'に見られるwho, which等は、通常関係代名詞とみなされているが、本研究では、これらを体言化辞(nominalizer)だと考える。以下にみる他言語の体言化辞のように、これらは項準体言が指定するモノの文法的・意味的特性を標示する役割を果たす。

ドイツ語体言化辞 der, die, das, etc.

- a. Ich empfangen den, [der/die/das ∅ morgen kommt].
I receive ART SUB.NMLZR.MASC/FEM/NEUT tomorrow comes
'I receive the one who comes tomorrow.' (主語準体言)
- b. Ich empfangen den, [den/die/das du mir ∅ vorgestellt hast].
I receive ART DO.NMLZR/MASC/FEM/NEUT you me introduce have
'I receive the one whom you introduced to me.' (直接目的語準体言)
- c. Ich empfangen den, [dem du ∅ den Brief gegeben hast]. (間接目的語準体言)
I receive ART IO.NMLZR you ART letter give.PP have
'I receive the one whom you gave the letter.'
- d. Ich empfangen den, [dessen ∅ Buch ich gelesen habe] (属格準体言)
I receive ART GEN.NMLZR book I read.PP have
'I receive the one whose book I have read.'

これらはすべて、修飾用法をもつ。

- a'. Ich empfangen den/die/das Mann/Frau/Mädchen,
[der/die/das ∅ morgen kommt].

Morphology of nominalization

While many languages do not have overt markers (other than positional indications with a gap) distinguishing

Mandarin Chinese Subject/Object nominalizations,

a. [Ø zài nàr diào yú]=de (shì Xiǎo Wáng) (SUB NMLZ)
LOC there angle fish=NMZ COP Little Wang
'The one fishing there (is Little Wang.)'

b. [háizi zài nàr diào Ø]=de (shì lǐ yú) (OBJ NMLZ)
child LOC there angle =NMZ COP carp
'What Little Wang is fishing there (is carp)'

Japanese

a. [Ø asoko=de sakana=o tutte-iru]=no=wa Taroo=da. (SUB NMLZ)
there=LOC fish=ACC angle-PROG=NM=TOP Taro=COM
'The one fishing fish there is Taro.'

b. [Taroo=ga asoko=de Ø tutte-iru]=no=wa koi=da. (OBJ NMLZ)
Taro=NOM there=LOC fish-PROG=NM=TOP carp=COP
'What Taro is fishing there is carp.' (NM=nominalization marker)

Many languages have morphology indicating the grammatical role of the arguments nominalized, e.g.,

Austronesian focus morphology marks the argument types evoked
Mayrinax Atayal (Formosan; based on Huang 2002)

a. Actor focus (Actor nominalization)

βaq-un=mu kuʔ [m-aquwas] kaʔ hacaʔ
know-PF=1SG.GEN NOM.REF AF-sing LIN that
'I know that singer/one who is singing there.'

b. Patient focus (Patient nominalization)

ma-hnuq kuʔ [β-in-ainay nukʔ naβakis]
AF-cheap NOM.REF buy<PF.REALIS>buy GEN.REF old.man
'What the old man bought was cheap.'

c. Locative focus (Locative nominalization)

yayhapuyan kuʔ [naniq-an cuʔ βuŋaʔ nkuʔ ʔulaqiʔ]
kitchen NOM.REF eat-LF ACC.NONREF yam GEN.REF child
'The kitchen is (the place) where the child eats yam.'

d. Circumstantial focus (benefactive/instrumental nominalization)

ini=mu sʔ waʔ=i kuʔ [si=ghahapuy nkuʔ kanairil]
NEG=1SG like=LF NOM.REF CF=cook GEN.REF woman
'I don't like the one for whom the woman cooks.'

Bahasa Indonesia

AF (nasal) marking indicates that it is a SUBJECT
ARGUMENT NOMINALIZATION

[yang [Ø membeli buku itu]] adalah putri=ku.
'The one who bought that book is my daughter.'

*[yang [Ø beli buku itu]] adalah putri=ku.
'The one who bought that book is my daughter.'

PF (oral) marking indicates that it is an OBJECT ARGUMENT NOMINALIZATION

[yang [Ø saya beli] bagus.
'What I bought is good.'

*[yang [Ø saya membeli] bagus.
'What I bought is good.'

NB: You cannot not combine **AF (SUBJ NMLZR) marking** and **OBJECT nominalization** or **PF (OBJ NMLZR) marking** and **SUBJECT nominalization**.

Languages with nominalization morphology similar to the role-indicating Austronesian focus morphology

Qiang (Tibeto-Burman): subject/agent (-*m*, etc.) , object/patient (- \emptyset + GEN), instrumental (-*s*, etc.)

Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan): subject (-*me*), Non-subjects (-'u), locative (-'apo)

Kamaiurá (Tupí-Guaraní; Brazil): S(-*ma'e*), A (-*taʔ*), P (-*ipyʔ*), O (-*emi*), OBL (-*waʔ*) etc.

Quechua (Bolivian): subject (-*q*), non-subjects (-*sqa*)

Turkish: subject (-*En*), object (-*dIk*/-*cEk* plus a personal suffix)

German: subject (*der*), object (*den*), indirect object (*dem*), genitive (*dessen*)

Newar (Tibetan; Nepal): animate (-*mha*), inanimate (-*gu*)

English: subject (*who*), object (*whom*), genitive (*whose*), time (*when*), reason (*why*), manner (*how*); human (*who(m)*), non-human (*which*)

The role of the NMLZR in German argument nominalizations

- a. Ich empfangе den, [der [∅ morgen kommt]]. (SUB NMLZ)
I receive ART SUB.NMLZR tomorrow comes
'I receive the one who comes tomorrow.'
- b. Ich empfangе den, [den [du mir ∅ vorgestellt hast]]. (DO NMLZ)
I receive ART OBJ.NMLZR you me introduce have
'I receive the one whom you introduced to me.'
- c. Ich empfangе den, [dem [du ∅ den Brief gegeben hast]]. (IO NMLZ)
I receive ART IO.NMLZR you ART letter give.PP have
'I receive the one whom you gave the letter.'
- d. Ich empfangе den, [dessen [∅ Buch ich gelesen habe]]. (GEN NMLZ)
I receive ART GEN.NMLZR book I read.PP have
'I receive the one whose book I have read.'

NB: SUB.NMLZR (der), for example, cannot be combined with DO NMLZ;
*[der [du mir ∅ vorgestellt hast]] 'the one whom you introduced to me'.

In the nominalization-based analysis advocated here, relativization does not **involve a clause or sentence**

- ◇ What has been thought to be a clause or sentence is actually argument nominalization with a gap/missing argument.
- ◇ Relativization process simply juxtaposes a head noun and a modifying argument nominalization, as below:

Argument NMLZ
[Taroo ga Ø katta]_{NMLZ}

Noun
[hon]_N

[[Taroo ga Ø katta]_{NMLZ} [hon]_N]_{NP}
'book that Taro I bought'

Creation of a gap in so-called RC is not part of the relativization process.

Keenan & Ccomrie's NP Accessibility Hierarchy

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

Malagasy



Welsh, Finnish



Basque, Tamil



N. Frisian, Catalan



German, French



English, Urhobo

(Niger-Congo)

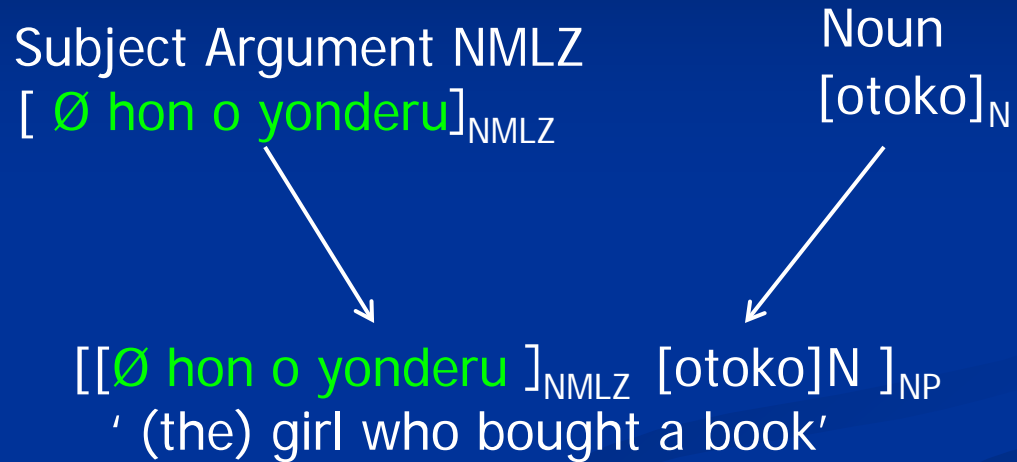


1. Are grammatical relations relevant to relativization? No
2. Do the relativization possibilities exhibit the above pattern? No
3. Can there be a hierarchy of grammatical relations like the above? Yes

Grammatical relations are irrelevant to relativization

- ◇ Relativization process simply juxtaposes a head noun and a modifying argument nominalization, as below:

This is so-called subject relativization, but **the relativization process itself never affects or accesses the subject position**: it simply merges a head noun and an argument NMLZ



So-called object relativization [[Otoko ga \emptyset yonderu]_{NMLZ} [hon]_N]_{NP}

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1. Are grammatical relations relevant to relativization? No
2. Do the relativization possibilities exhibit the above pattern? No
3. Can there be a hierarchy of grammatical relations like the above? Yes

Keenan and Comrie's view on nominalization possibilities

English allows **relativization on** any grammatical relation; SU (subject), IO (indirect object), DO (direct object), etc.

SU SO PO

The man gave the boy the book.

Relativization on **subject (SU)**

The man [who [\emptyset gave the boy the book]] (was my father)

Relativization on **DO**

The book [which [the man gave the boy \emptyset]] (was expensive)

Relativization on **(IO)**

The boy [who(m) [the man gave \emptyset the book]] (was my son)

If you want to relativize on Patient/OBJ

n-i-kapoka ilay alika t-aminy hazokely ilay lehilahi (AF)
 PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog PST-with stick DEF man
 'The man hit the dog with a stick.'

A=TOP (SU?)



no-kapoh-in-ilay lehilahy t-aminy hazokely ilay alika
 PST-hit-PF-DEF man PST-with stick DEF dog
 'The man hit the dog with a stick'

P=TOP (SU?)

(PF)

"Patient focus"

n-a-hita ilay alika (izay)
 PST-AF-see DEF dog REL

[no-kapoh-in-ilay lehilahy t-aminy hazokely Ø] aho
 PST-hit-PF-DEF man PST-with stick ISG

'I saw the dog that Ø was hit by the man with a stick.'

(REL on P/SU?)

Keenan and Comrie (1977) on relativization

NP Accessibility Hierarchy (66)

SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

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(Niger-Congo)



This is an artifact of the erroneous clause/sentence-based analysis of so-called relative clauses; our nominalization-based analysis yields a very different pattern.

German and Malagasy compared

a. German subject nominalization in NP-use

Ich treffe [den [der Ø morgen kommt]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
I meet ART.ACC SU.NMLZR morning comes
'I'll meet the one who comes tomorrow.'

a'. German subject relativization (Mod-use of subj nominalization)

Ich treffe [den Mann [der Ø morgen kommt]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
I meet ART.ACC man SU.NMLZR morning comes
'I'll meet the man who comes tomorrow.'

a. Malagasy subject/Actor nominalization in NP-use

H-ihaona amin' [ilay [ho-avy rahampitso Ø]_{NMLZ}]_{NP} aho
FUT-meet.AF with the FUT-come.AF tomorrow 1SG.TOP
'I'll meet with the one who comes tomorrow.'

a'. Malagasy subject/Actor nominalization (Mod-use of subj/Actor nominalization)

H-ihaona amin' [ilay lehilahy [ho-avy rahampitso Ø]_{NMLZ}]_{NP} aho
FUT-meet.AF with the man FUT-come.AF tomorrow 1SG.TOP
'I'll meet with the man who comes tomorrow.'

b. German object nominalization in NP-use

Ich treffe [den [den du mir Ø vorgestellt hast]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
I meet ART OB.NMLZR you me introduce have
'I'll meet the one whom you introduced to me.'

b'. German object relativization

Ich treffe den [Mann [den du mir Ø vorgestellt hast]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
I meet ART man OB.NMLZR you me introduce have
'I'll meet the man whom you introduced to me.'

b. Malagasy patient nominalization in NP-use

Fantatr=o [ilay [no-vonoin' Ø i Onja]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
know=1SG.GEN the PAST-kill.PF ART Onja
'I knew the one whom Onja killed.'

b'. Malagasy patient relativization

Fantatr=o [ilay lehilahy [no-vonoin' Ø i Onja]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}
know=1SG.GEN the man PAST-kill.PF ART Onja
'I knew the man whom Onja killed.'

c. German indirect object nominalization in NP-use

Ich treffe den, [[dem du den Brief gegeben hast]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}

I meet ART IO.NMLZR you ART letter give.PP have

'I'll meet the one to whom you gave the letter.'

c'. German indirect object relativization

Ich treffe den [Mann, [dem du den Brief gegeben hast]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}

I meet ART man IO.NMLZR you ART letter give.PP have

'I'll meet the man to whom you gave the letter.'

c. Malagasy goal nominalization in NP-use

H-ihaona amin' [ilay [an-lefas-ana i Onja Ø taratasy]_{NMLZ}]_{NP} aho.

FUT-meet.AF with the CF-gone-CF ART Onja letter I.TOP

'I will meet the one to whom Onja is sending the letter.'

c'. Malagasy goal relativization

H-ihaona amin' [ilay lehilahy [an-lefas-ana i Onja Ø taratasy]_{NMLZ}]_{NP} aho.

FUT-meet.AF with the man CF-gone-CF ART Onja letter I.TOP

'I will meet the man to whom Onja is sending the letter.'

d. German oblique/source nominalization (in NP use)

Ich treffe den [**von dem ich das Buch bekommen habe**]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}

I meet ART from ART.DAT I the book receive.PP have

'I'll meet the one from whom I received the book.'

d'. German oblique/source relativization

Ich treffe den [**Mann von dem ich das Buch bekommen habe**]_{NMLZ}]_{NP}

I meet ART man from ART.DAT I the book received have

'I'll meet the man from whom I received the book.'

d. Malagasy source nominalization (in NP use)

Ho hita-ko ilay [**n-indrana-ko (an'ilay/ilay) boky**]

FUT see-1SG.GEN the PST-borrow.CF-1SG.GEN (OBJ'the/the) book

'I will see the one from whom I borrowed the book.'

d'. Malagasy source relativization

Ho hita-ko ilay **lehilahy** [**n-indrana-ko (an'ilay/ilay) boky**]

FUT see-1SG.GEN the man PST-borrow.CF-1SG.GEN (OBJ'the/the) book

'I'll meet the man from whom I borrowed the book.'

e. German genitive nominalization (in NP use)

Ich treffe den [dessen Kopf gross ist]_{NMZN}]_{NP}

I meet ART ART.GEN head big is

'I'll meet the one whose head is big.'

e'. German genitive relativization

Ich treffe den [Mann [dessen Kopf gross ist]_{NMZN}]_{NP}

I meet ART man ART.GEN head big is

'I'll meet the man whose head is big.'

e. Malagasy genitive nominalization (in NP use)

Ho hita-ko ilay [be loha].

FUT see-1SG.GEN the big head

'I will meet the one whose head is big.'

e'. Malagasy genitive relativization

Ho hita-ko ilay lehilahy [be loha].

FUT see-1SG.GEN the man big head

'I will meet the man whose head is big.'

So, whatever German can relativize, Malagasy can, too.

Keenan and Comrie (1977) on relativization

NP Accessibility Hierarchy (66)

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Welsh, Finnish



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English, Urhobo
(Niger-Congo)



We do not get this kind of pattern between Malagasy and German.

Keenan and Comrie's (1977) **observation**

Malagasy

P=OBJ
ADJCT
Act=SU
 n-i-kapoka **ilay** **alika** t-aminy **hazokely** **ilay** **lehilahi** (AF)
 PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog PST-with stick DEF man "Actor focus"
 'The man hit the dog with a stick.'

n-a-hita ilay lehilahy (izay) You can relativize on the subj of
AF construction

PST-AF-see DEF man REL
 [n-i-kapoka **ilay** **alika** t-aminy **hazokely** ∅] aho
 PST-AF.MID-hit DEF dog PST-with stick 1SG
 'I saw the man [who ∅ hit the dog with a stick].' (REL on **Act=SU**)

*n-a-hita ilay alika (izay) You cannot relativize the object of an
 PAST-AF.see DEF dog REL AF construction

[n-i-kapoka ∅ t-aminy **hazokely** **ilay** **lehilahi**] aho
 PAST-AF.MID-hit PST-with stick DEF man 1SG

'I saw the dog [that the man hit ∅ with a stick].' (REL on **P=OBJ**)

True reason why the above is ungrammatical:

You cannot combine Actor/SU nominalizer (AF marking) and Patient NMLZ, because AF/SU nominalizer marks Agent NMLZ

Languages with nominalization morphology similar to the role-indicating Austronesian focus morphology

Qiang (Tibeto-Burman): subject/agent (*-m*, etc.) , object/patient (*-∅ + GEN*), instrumental (*-s*, etc.)

Yaqui (Uto-Aztecan): subject (*-me*), Non-subjects (*-'u*), locative (*-'apo*)

Kamaiurá (Tupí-Guaraní; Brazil): S(*-ma'e*), A (*-tat*), P (*-ipyt*), O (*-emi*), OBL (*-wat*) etc.

Quechua (Bolivian): subject (*-q*), non-subjects (*-sqa*)

Turkish: subject (*-En*), object (*-dik/-cEk* plus a personal suffix)

German: subject (*der*), object (*den*), indirect object (*dem*), genitive (*dessen*)

English: subject (*who*), object (*whom*), genitive (*whose*), time (*when*), reason (*why*), manner (*how*); human (*who(m)*), non-human (*which*)

Classificatory function of NMLZRs (see below)

Newar (Tibeto-Burman; Nepal): animate (*-mha*), inanimate (*-gu*)

The same problem as Malagasy can be observed in German

a. German subject relativization (SUBJ ARG NMLZ in modification-use)

Ich treffe [den Mann [der [Ø morgen kommt]]]_{NMZN}]_{NP}
I meet ART.ACC man SU.NMLZR morning comes
'I'll meet the man who comes tomorrow.'

b. German object relativization (OBJ ARG NMLZ in modification-use)

Ich treffe den [Mann [den [du mir Ø vorgestellt hast]]]_{NMZN}]_{NP}
I meet ART man OB.NMLZR you me introduce have
'I'll meet the man whom you introduced to me.'

c. Combination of SUB NMLZR(der) and Object ARG NMLZ

*Ich treffe den [Mann [der [du mir Ø vorgestellt hast]]]_{NMZN}]_{NP}
I meet ART man SU.NMLZR you me introduce have
'I'll meet the man whom you introduced to me.'

Combination of Actor/SUB NMLZR (AF-focus morphology) and Obj ARG NMLZ

d. *n-a-hita ilay alika (izay)

PAST-AF.see DEF dog REL

[n-i-kapoka Ø t-aminy hazokely ilay lehilahi] aho
PAST-AF.MID-hit PST-with stick DEF man 1SG

'I saw the dog [that the man hit Ø with a stick].'

Same can be observed in English

whom uniquely marks Obj Arg NMLZ: Marry [*whom* [you love \emptyset]]

Modification-use of Obj Arg NMLZ: Marry a man [*whom* [you love \emptyset]]

You cannot combine *whom* with Subj Arg NMLZ:

Marry * [*whom* [\emptyset loves you]] (combination of Obj NMLZR and Subj Arg NMLZ)

This ungrammatical NMLZ is also ungrammatical in modification-use.

Marry a man * [*whom* [\emptyset loves you]] (combination of Obj NMLZR and Subj Arg NMLZ)

This is essentially the same problem as the combination of Subj Arg NMLZR/AF-marking and Obj Arg NMLZ.

What my lectures were about

1. Keenan's approach to grammatical relations, especially Subject, is problematic.
2. The Keenan-Comrie approach to relativization is incorrect.

My claims:

- (a) Grammatical relations are not directly relevant to relativization.
 - NP Accessibility Hierarchy is problematic and irrelevant
 - Their claim that "Subjects are most relativizable of NPs" is incorrect.
- (b) There are nothing like **relative clauses** apart from a use of **nominalizations**.
 - So-called relative clauses are nominalizations.
 - So-called relative clauses are neither clauses nor sentences.